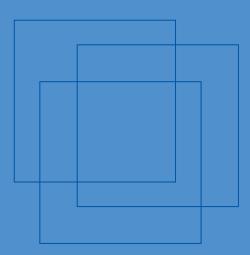




Rapid Assessment on Child Labour

in North Lebanon (Tripoli and Akkar) and Bekaa Governorates



Rapid Assessment on Child Labour in North Lebanon (Tripoli and Akkar) and Bekaa Governorates

By

Roula Abi Habib-Khoury

Université Saint-Joseph

International Labour Organization Regional Office for Arab States

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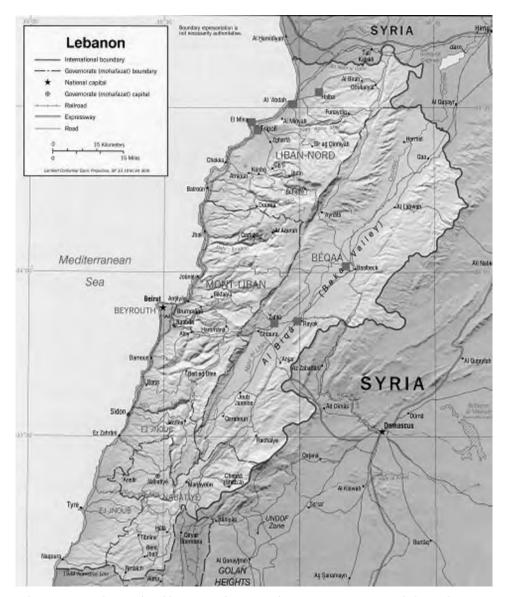
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The gray dots indicate the regions concerned by the RA

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Executive Summary

This rapid assessment (RA), implemented over a period of six months (March to August 2011), was commissioned by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and carried out by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut. Its purpose is to study the working conditions of children in the governorates of the North and the Bekaa¹.

The study is based on interviews with 1,007 children aged 5 to 17 working in Lebanese territory and 174 household visits. It covers the following regions and sub-regions: the North (Tripoli, Mina, Beddawi and selected areas of Akkar) and the Bekaa (Baalbek, Zahleh - the industrial zone, Bar Elias, Dalhamieh). The sectors covered by the RA are: small shops; meat treatment; restaurants and snack bars; agriculture; construction; waste collection; handicraft manufacture (carpentry, painting, blacksmithing); automobile workshops; cleaning of market places, stalls and other premises; carrying goods (porter); shoe-repair/shining; begging.

The first chapter of this report deals with the legal aspects of child labour. It identifies the breaches of Lebanese law on child labour and the protection of children from hazardous work. It also underlines the hazy definition of child work and child labour in the national context.

Chapter two consists of a socio-economic overview of the two governorates, giving the official figures on the labour force and unemployment. Given the size of the sample on which this study is based (1,007 children) and the fact that the official statistics are out-of-date, this chapter is a summary intended to give the rapid assessment approximate general context.

Chapter three details the methodology used. Through the quantitative technique, we aimed to collect data on some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the children interviewed, who did various kinds of job, and on their work-related characteristics. Focus groups were also used to gain insight into the lives of working children.

The main findings are detailed in chapter four:

A total of 823 child questionnaires were completed in the North: Tripoli (482 children, 58.6%), Mina (106 children, 12.9%), Beddawi (55 children, 6.7%) and Akkar (180 children, 2.9%). 29.5% of these children were under 13 years of age. 97.3% of the respondents in the North were male, 2.7% female. 702 children out of 823 (85.3%) were Lebanese.

A total of 192 children were interviewed in the Bekaa. 140 of them were Syrians working in agriculture; 54 worked in various sectors in the regions of Zahleh (the industrial zone), Bar Elias, the outskirts of Dalhamieh and Baalbek. 36.5% of the working children in the Bekaa were under 13 years of age.

¹⁾ This report was commissioned by the ILO Regional Office for the Arab States to USJ under the framework of the project "Strengthening National Action to Combat the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Lebanon" (Third phase, 2009 - 2011) funded by the Italian Development Cooperation office in Beirut.

The main characteristics of the 174 households visited in the North and the Bekaa were lack of sufficient living space and poor sanitary conditions. With an average of 5.4 children per household in the North and 5.5 in the Bekaa, almost all the families were crowded into a maximum of 2 rooms (including kitchen and bathroom).

School attendance and drop-out statistics are detailed in section 4.3: 33.1% of the children interviewed in the North cannot read or write. Of this, 33.1%, 6.4% said they were currently attending school and 89.5% of them had been to school for more than 3 years.

Of the 798 children in the North, 77.2% were not currently attending school. Most of the 22.8% attending school had started their schooling at the age of 4 (56.7%). Most of the children who drop out of school in the North seem to do so between the ages of 10 and 16, with a peak at 13.

In the Bekaa, 35.8% of the children interviewed cannot read or write. 75% of the illiterate children said they have attended school for at least two years. 67.9% of the children were not currently attending school. Of the 32.1% currently attending school, 41.3% started school at 4 years of age and 10.9% at 7. As in the North, most of the children who drop out of school do so after primary school.

Section 4.4, the report provides some information on the children's work environment, the hazards they are exposed to, as well as their employers' perception of their work. Oblivious of the perils surrounding them, most children dismissed our questions on the characteristics of their workplace as irrelevant.

Working children in both governorates are paid on a weekly basis. The average weekly salary is 51,740 LL in the North and 50,000 LL in the Bekaa.

Chapter five gives a thematic account of the researchers' interactions with working children in focus groups organized in the regions visited. The recurrent themes revolve around the children's perception of adulthood and manhood, their relationship with their parents, cigarettes, drugs and especially their work.

Chapter1 · Legal Aspects of Child Labour

Child labour is age-old, but the legal concept is relatively recent. Historically, the first attempt to acknowledge and circumvent the negative effects of what would later be covered by the legal concept of "child labour" may have been the Bill introduced to the British House of Commons on 16 March 1832 by the Member of Parliament Michael Thomas Sadler. The Bill proposed to limit the work-day to ten hours for all persons under the age of 18. After much debate, it was clear that Parliament was unwilling to pass Sadler's Bill. In 1836, Lord Ashley made a speech in the House of Commons based on a survey of doctors arguing that *«ten hours is the utmost quantity of labour which can be endured by the children»*².

In 1989, article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, defined the "child" as "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier". Before that, in 1973, the key ILO instrument had been adopted: Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment, article 2 of which provides that the minimum age for admission to employment "shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years". It was the combination of these two conventions that enshrined the legal concept of "child labour" in international law. The concept was crystallized a decade later when ILO Convention No. 182 (1999) defined, categorized and detailed the "worst forms of child labour".

Therefore, the term "child labour" generally refers to any economic activity performed by a person under the minimum age of 13. Conceptually, child labour is defined by its consequences and includes work that:

- (a) is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- (b) interferes with their schooling:
 - (i) by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
 - (ii) by obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
 - (iii) by requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

The term *child labour* reflects the engagement of children in prohibited work and, more generally, in types of work to be eliminated as socially and morally undesirable as guided by national legislation, the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182).

1.1 - International Law and International Conventions

In 1919, the first ILO child labour convention, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (No. 5), adopted within months of the creation of the International Labour Organization, prohibited the work of children under the age of 14 in industrial establishments.

In 1930, the ILO Forced Labour Convention (No. 29) protected children from forced or compulsory labour, such as victims of trafficking, children in bondage, and those exploited in prostitution and pornography.

In 1924, the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child recognized "that mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, [men and women of all nations] declare and accept it as their duty that [...] the child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation".

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the United Nations proclaimed that "childhood is entitled to special care and assistance" (Article 25 (2)).

In 1959, article 9 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child reaffirmed that "the child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development."

In 1966, Article 24 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in particular articles 23 and 24), declared that "every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State." Article 10 (3) recognized that "children and young persons should be protected from economic and social exploitation. Their employment in work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development should be punishable by law. States should also set age limits below which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law".

On the basis of the above international juridical corpus, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138) and ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) enshrined the international principles on child labour by providing practical measures for their implementation.

1.1.1- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

Adopted by General Assembly resolution 4425/ of 20 November 1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child is the most widely ratified international convention confirming the commitment of the international community and governments around the world to the well-being and protection of the child. In essence, this convention sets out the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and hazardous work, and requires States Parties to refrain from recruiting any person under 15 into the armed forces. Article 1 of the Convention sets the age of majority at 18 years. Any person under that age is a child. Article 32 recognizes "the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development". The same article contains a set a measures to ensure implementation of the right enshrined therein by holding States Parties responsible for taking legislative, administrative, social and educational measures such as: "(a) provision for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment; (b)

provision for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment and, (c) provision for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article".

Articles 43, 44 and 45 provide for a specific follow-up mechanism to examine "the progress made by States Parties in achieving the realization of the obligations undertaken" in the Convention. Thus article 43 governs the establishment of a Committee on the Rights of the Child by the States Parties and details the composition, date of establishment, mandate, election procedures and functions of the Committee. Then, article 44 provides for the submission by the States Parties to the Committee of reports on the measures adopted to "give effect to the rights recognized" in the 1989 Convention and on the "progress made on the enjoyment of those rights". Last but not least, article 45 fosters the effective implementation of the Convention by allowing specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund, and other United Nations organs to cooperate, and provide technical advice and assistance to the States Parties upon request or indication. The States Parties compliance with the Convention is evaluated and sanctioned through the general recommendations transmitted to the concerned State Party and reported to the General Assembly.

Two guiding principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are participation and the best interests of the child. Article 12 states that children have the right to participate in decision-making processes that may be relevant to their lives, and to influence decisions taken in their regard within the family, the school or the community. A UNICEF report states that this "principle affirms that children are full-fledged persons who have the right to express their views in all matters affecting them and requires that those views be heard and given due weight in accordance with the child's age and maturity. It recognizes the potential of children to enrich decision-making processes, to share perspectives and to participate as citizens and actors of change. The practical meaning of children's right to participation must be considered in each and every matter concerning children." ³

The "best interests of the child" is a legal principle which often appears in family law. This principle is defined under article 3 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and in the Committee's comments. The Committee has repeatedly stressed the importance of mainstreaming the principle of "best interests of the child" in the application of all other articles of the Convention. This principle requires that, in all cases, only individual need of a particular child in a given context should be considered. The Committee has stressed that this principle must be understood in the context of the Convention as a whole and should not be interpreted in contradiction to the rights and freedoms it enshrines.

Lebanon ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child on 14 May 1991 and is therefore bound by all its provisions. Since ratifying the Convention, Lebanon has demonstrated its commitment to improving the condition of the child and protecting its well-being, but is not fully in compliance with the Convention, however.

1.1.2 ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)

In 1919, the ILO drew up the first Minimum Age Convention regulating the age at which children can work. Then, in 1973, a more comprehensive Minimum Age Convention, No. 138, was

³⁾ UNICEF. "Fact Sheet: The Right to Participation." [www.unicef.org/crc/files/Right-to-Participation.pdf (Accessed on 27 July 2011)].

adopted. This consolidated Convention remains the fundamental standard. It links the minimum age below which no child should work to the age of completion of compulsory schooling. The aim is to ensure that children's human capital is fully developed. The range of minimum ages defined depends on the country's level of development and the type of employment and work. Almost everywhere, age limits formally regulate children's activities, including the age for work. Many countries make a distinction between light and hazardous work, with the minimum age for the former generally being 12, and the latter varying between 16 and 18. ILO conventions adopt this approach, allowing light work at age 12 or 13, but hazardous work not before 18. The ILO establishes a general minimum age of 15 years, provided 15 is not less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling. This is the most widely used yardstick when establishing how many children are currently working around the world⁴. Convention No. 138 has been ratified by many States worldwide. Lebanon ratified it on 10 June 2003, specifying 14 years as the minimum age.

1.1.3 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)

On 17 June 1999, the ILO unanimously adopted the Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Convention No. 182. In essence, this Convention calls on States to prevent the most damaging child exploitation practices or the worst forms that currently exist. While complementing the Convention and Recommendation on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (1973), this Convention recognizes that child labour is "to a great extent caused by poverty and that the long-term solution lies in sustained economic growth leading to social progress". The present sociological Rapid Assessment on Child Labour in Lebanon is part of ILO action under Convention 182 which acknowledges that the "effective elimination of the worst forms of child labour requires immediate and comprehensive action, taking into account the importance of free basic education and the need to remove the children concerned from all such work and to provide for their rehabilitation and social integration while addressing the needs of their families".

The key article of this Convention is article 3, which sets out the worst forms of child labour in four categories: firstly, all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery (including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict); secondly, the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; thirdly, the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and fourthly, work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. While the illicit activities in the third category are defined in the relevant international treaties, the types of work referred to in the fourth category are a matter for national laws or regulations. In this regard, Lebanon ratified the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour on 11 September 2001 and the Lebanese Labour Code has determined specific types of activities in which children are prohibited to work and others in which children's work is subject to prior approval⁵.

1.1.4 Other conventions

To date, Lebanon has ratified 50 ILO conventions⁶, of which only seven concern child labour. Apart from C 138 and C 182, Lebanon has ratified the following child labour conventions:

⁴⁾ http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/briefing/labour/clprogress.htm

⁵⁾ Vide infra Decree No. 149/

⁶⁾ Vide Annex L1

- International Labour Convention No. 58: Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936 (Ratified on 6 December 1993)
- International Labour Convention No. 59: Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised) 1937, (Ratified on 1 June 1977)
- International Labour Convention No. 77: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry, 1946 (Ratified on 1 June 1977)
- International Labour Convention No. 78: Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946 (Ratified on 1 June 1977)
- International Labour Convention No. 90: Night Work of Young Persons (Industry), 1948 (Ratified on 26 July 1962)

1.2 International Institutions concerned with Child Labour

Two UN agencies have directed their attention to the prevention of child labour worldwide: the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Organization (ILO). They have helped define the problems and develop international legal frameworks to remedy them. As a result of their work, there are now several international treaties (or conventions) banning child labour and identifying concrete measures for Governments to take. Once a country ratifies a convention, UN bodies monitor compliance and hold countries accountable for violations.

In addition to the Committee on the Rights of the Child established and governed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child⁷, the International Labour Organization is the UN specialized agency which seeks the promotion of social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights. With its broad mandate to promote social justice and decent work, the ILO has is uniquely competent to combat child labour. Since its creation in 1919, the ILO has addressed the issue of child labour, first through the formulation of minimum age levels for various types of work. This process culminated in 1973 in the adoption of one consolidated Convention on the minimum age for admission to work: Convention No. 138. Since 1999, the struggle against child labour has been strengthened by the adoption of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), which calls on countries to take immediate action to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

The present sociological Rapid Assessment on Child Labour in Lebanon (Tripoli, Akkar & Bekaa) is part of ILO action to combat child labour in Lebanon, and its cooperation with the Lebanese State and institutions to bring about full compliance with Lebanon's international obligations through the implementation of the relevant Conventions by Lebanese institutions (bearing in mind that Lebanon has been a member of the ILO since 1948). The ILO is therefore aware of its role

in identifying areas that require particular and continued attention in order to allow NGOs and INGOs to enhance their support for the Lebanese Government and civil society in moving towards full implementation of children's rights and protection in Lebanon.

1.3 Lebanese Law

1.3.1- Legal Obligations

The Preamble of the Lebanese Constitution declares that Lebanon is a founding and active member of the United Nations and bound by the conventions thereof. It is therefore a constitutional obligation for the Lebanese State to abide by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the conventions on child labour. Article 4 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides that, "States Parties shall undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights recognized in the [...] Convention". This obligation is twofold: it implies that the Lebanese State will enact laws and regulations in accordance with the UN convention in order to implement its provisions; and it requires the Lebanese State to amend its laws and regulations in such a way as to bring them into line with it. In other words, whenever the Lebanese juridical corpus comprises texts or legal elements that are in contradiction with the international obligations of which Lebanon is a signatory, the Lebanese State should – prior to ratifying the international conventions enshrining those obligations, i.e. prior to the integration of these international obligations in the Lebanese national legal corpus – amend the texts in such a way as to eliminate any such contradiction.

Before looking at the ins and outs of the relevant Lebanese laws and regulations, it should be noted that Lebanese texts use a dual terminology to refer to the "child" ("walad" (ولد)) and "child labour" ("amal" ((عمالة and "amala" عمل))). In Arabic, "walad" (وحدث)) means a minor, while "hadath" (حدث) is the legal term for a minor. As for "amal" ((عمالة, it means "work" (i.e. legal work), whereas "amala" (عمالة)) means illegal work. Despite these differences in meaning, we shall consider the words of each pair synonyms and give no further attention to these Arabic linguistic nuances, especially since the report is written in English.

a) Labour Law

The Lebanese Labour Code devotes a chapter to the work of children and women and a section of that chapter to the work of children (Articles 21 to 25). In general, the relevant section governs the employment of children under the age of 18.

i) Minimum ages

The Lebanese Labour Code considers any person under the age of 18 a child. This definition is implied by article 21.

Article 22 lays down an absolute prohibition on employing any child before he/she has reached the age of 14 and, once that age has been reached, makes employment subject to prior medical examination and certification that the child is fit to do the type of work for which he/she has been recruited. Such medical certificates are issued by the Ministry of Public Health (free of charge) and

must be renewed annually until the child reaches the age of 18. The certificate becomes invalid if at any time the child proves to be "unfit" to perform the work for which he/she has been recruited. Thus the minimum age in Lebanon is 14.

Article 23 sets two different minimum ages: 15 and 16. This article prohibits the employment of children in "industrial occupations", exhausting types of work or those harmful to health" before they reach the age of 15. These types of work are listed in two annexes to the law⁸. It also prohibits the employment of children in any work which is "hazardous by nature and dangerous to life, health or morals due to the circumstances in which it is performed" before the age of 16. These types of work are listed in table No.1 appended to Decree No. 700°.

ii) Working hours and breaks10

With regard to working hours, article 23 sets a maximum number of working hours per day and provides for a compulsory daily, weekly and annual break for children under eighteen. The maximum number of working hours is six per day and, whenever there are more than four consecutive working hours, the child is entitled to a break of at least one hour. The law prohibits night work, i.e. between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., and provides for a period of 13 hours of rest between two work periods. Furthermore, no additional work may be given to the child during the daily or weekly break or during holidays. Every child is entitled to annual leave of 21 days (with full salary) upon the completion of his/her first year of employment. If this leave is not taken in its entirety, the law provides that the child may benefit from two-thirds of the annual leave and from the remaining third in separate days throughout the year.

However, the conditions set forth in articles 22 and 23 may be waived in the framework of "institutions designed for the teaching of craftsmanship" (Article 25). Such an exception may be made provided that the following two requirements are met: firstly, the child concerned must have reached the age of 12 and, secondly, the institution programme that prescribes the craft, working hours and working conditions must be approved by the Ministry of Labour and the relevant public health authorities.

iii) Liabilities

Last but not least, the liability lies with the employer – belonging to any category of employers whatsoever – with respect to verification of the age of children, i.e. the employer must ask to see the Identity Card of every child prior to extending any offer of work to him/her (Article 24).

Employer liability is confirmed by article 30, which explicitly provides for the criminal liability of employers who employ children in contravention of the provisions of that law. Furthermore, under the same article, the parents and guardians of the child have a duty to ensure proper implementation of the provisions on child labour. In other words, parents or guardians who employ or allow the employment of their children or the children who are in their custody are criminally liable for any breach of their legal duties under the applicable labour law.

⁹⁾ Vide infra Decree No. 700.

¹⁰⁾ Vide Infra: Legal Challenges.

b) Law No. 422

Law No. 422 of 6 June 2002 concerns "Protection of minors in conflict with the law or at risk"¹¹. This Law applies to any child (i.e. "a person under eighteen years of age"¹²) who has committed a crime punishable under the applicable law or is at risk in certain specific situations. A child is considered at risk in the following cases¹³:

- 1- If found in an environment where he/she is subject to exploitation or in an environment that threatens his/her health, safety, morals or the circumstances of his/her upbringing;
- 2- If he/she has been subjected to sexual assault or physical violence beyond what is customarily admissible as "harmless discipline";
- 3- If found begging or homeless.

According to this law, a child is considered a beggar if he/she is regularly "begging by any means whatsoever" and as homeless if he/she has "left home to live in the streets and public places or has no home and was found in the situation described" above.

Law No. 422 also lays down the legal procedure to be followed in such cases. A special judge called the "juvenile judge" takes the appropriate protection or probation measures or applies the appropriate remedy. In practice, cases are referred to the juvenile judge upon the complaint of the child or one of his/her parents or his/her guardians or the persons who have custody of him/her or a social worker or the public prosecutor or on the basis of a report. In urgent cases, however, the judge may act *ex officio*. The public prosecutor or the juvenile judge orders a social investigation. Before taking any measure with respect to the child's situation, the child and his/her parents (or one of them or his guardians or the persons who have custody of him/her) are heard by the juvenile judge or the public prosecutor. This procedure may be waived in urgent cases. It should be noted that, in practice, it is local police officers who are responsible for implementing the provisions of article 25 and reporting cases of children at risk.

c) Decree No. 700

Decree No. 700 was enacted on 25 May 1999 to ensure implementation of Lebanon's international and national legal obligations in relation to child labour. At the legal and administrative level, this decree reflects one of the aspects of the right of the child to live and grow up in a healthy and sane environment¹⁴ and "to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health"¹⁵. In addition, the enactment of this decree fulfils the legal obligation of the Lebanese State to define in its national regulations the types of occupations referred to in the fourth category of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour as "work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children" ¹⁶. Furthermore, this decree is specifically referred to in the third paragraph of article 23 of the Lebanese Labour Code. Indeed, this Decree concerns the "prohibition of the employment of children before the age of 16 or 17 in any work which is hazardous by nature or dangerous to life, health or morals". This prohibition is explicitly set out in article 1 of the Decree. The types of work described as "hazardous by nature or dangerous to life, health or morals

¹¹⁾ Prior to its enactment, this law was reviewed by the Lebanese Parliamentary Commission on the Child and Woman and the Commission on Human Rights

¹²⁾ Article 1 of Law No. 422.

¹³⁾ Article 25 of Law No. 422.

¹⁴⁾ Article 6 of the Conventions on the Rights of the Child.

¹⁵⁾ Article 24 of the Conventions on the Rights of the Child.

¹⁶⁾ Vide supra ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999.

due to the circumstances in which they are performed" are listed in Table No.1 ¹⁷ (attached to the Decree) in a tripartite categorization as follows: "dangerous to life", "dangerous to health" and "dangerous to morals and psychology". Some types of work are prohibited before the age of 16, others before the age of 17. The reason for this is that children are physically vulnerable and more prone to accidents than adults, since mental maturity, and therefore awareness of risk, develops at a pace similar to physical growth. It should be noted that many of the occupations listed in Table No.1 are present in the areas surveyed.

Article 2 of the Decree makes a clear distinction between employment and "vocational" and "technical training" and under this article the admission of children under the age of 17 to a factory or a laboratory with a view to vocational and technical training is not considered employment and is subject to the approval of the Ministry of Labour and issuance of a medical certificate by the Ministry of Public Health.

This legal distinction creates a serious practical problem¹⁸.

d) Decision No. 149/

The purpose of Decision No. 149/ of 6 February 1997 prohibiting the employment of children in non-industrial occupations was simultaneously to implement the International Labour Convention No. 78 (particularly articles 2 and 5) and the Lebanese Labour Code (particularly articles 22 and 23). Firstly and most importantly, this decision makes the employment of children under the age of 18 in non-industrial occupations subject to medical examination and the issuance of a certificate of fitness to undertake the particular work they have been recruited to perform (Article 1). Secondly, it exempts the child and his/her parents or guardians from the cost of this medical examination (Article 2). Thirdly, it makes the Labour Inspection Department responsible for its implementation.

1.3.2- National Institution(s) concerned with Child Labour

In Lebanon, there are three main institutions concerned with child protection: (a)the Higher Council for Childhood, (b) the Juvenile Protection Department, and (c) the Unit to Combat Child Labour. Whereas the action of the first two institutions is subsidiary and intermediate in the field of child labour, the third is fully dedicated to the protection of the child in the work environment and ultimately the elimination of child labour in Lebanon.

a) The Higher Council for Childhood

The Council was established in 1994 by virtue of Cabinet Decision No. 29 / 94. It is chaired by the Minister of Social Affairs and includes members from several ministries, non-governmental organizations and international organizations specialized in child-related issues. The Higher Council for Childhood is the national framework for intermediate work between nongovernmental organizations and the public sector regarding childcare and development in compliance with international conventions, especially the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in collaboration with international organizations.

The Council seeks to implement and disseminate the general principles on child protection by

¹⁸⁾ See infra: Legal Problems

designing national strategies and action plans to improve the situation of children in Lebanon and ensure their rights to survival, development and protection.

In compliance with articles 43 and 44 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Council submits periodic progress reports to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in Geneva. At the legislative level, the Council proposes draft laws, seeks to amend and develop legislation and follows up its implementation in order to ensure compliance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It cooperates and coordinates with the Parliamentary Commission on the Rights of the Child in all matters pertaining to legislation and child-related draft laws¹⁹.

b) The Juvenile Protection Department

The Department was established by virtue of Decree No. 5734 organizing the Ministry of Social Affairs. The action of this Department is relevant in the context of child labour whenever a child is considered as a "child at risk" as defined by Law No. 422²⁰.

The mission of the Department can be summarized as follows:

- It proposes plans, programmes and draft laws and regulation to address the problems of juvenile delinquency;
- It implements the relevant programmes and projects planned by the Ministry of Social Affairs;
- It promotes the establishment of institutions and centres for the purpose of hosting, training, rehabilitating and educating juvenile delinquents; and
- In cooperation with the competent public administrations, it coordinates the action of institutions, local and international organizations to provide juveniles with care in accordance with the applicable law.

c) The Unit to Combat Child Labour

The Unit was established by virtue of a memorandum of understanding signed in 2000 between the ILO (through the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour) and the Lebanese Government (represented by the Ministry of Labour).

The goal of this specialized unit (established within the Ministry of Labour) is gradually to eradicate child labour. Its objective is to: (i) raise awareness of hazardous child labour; (ii) to coordinate the efforts of the different government administrations, civil society organizations and regional and international organizations for that purpose; (iii) disseminate international and Arab conventions on child labour; (iv) contribute to the development, unification and classification of national laws on child labour, (v) contribute to the establishment of national strategies and action plans to enforce the eradication of child labour. In other words, the Unit coordinates the efforts made by stakeholders (i.e. the ILO, the Arab Labour Organization, the Lebanese administration and civil society) and participates in the amendment of national laws in such a way as to bring them into line with the international labour conventions on child labour signed by the Lebanese State.

In order to achieve its objectives, the Unit plays an active role in establishing a database, a specialized library and a Website on child labour. It also develops vocational training programmes

¹⁹⁾ Vide: http://www.atfalouna.gov.lb/en/AboutUs/Ourmission.aspx; http://www.atfalouna.gov.lb/en/AboutUs/Councilmembers.aspx

for working children (over 15) and organizes specialized training sessions for parties concerned with child labour. It involves the local community in development programmes to combat child labour by raising awareness of the dangers of child labour and stressing the right of each child to free compulsory education. A particularly interesting aspect of the Unit's action is that it is authorized to receive complaints and petitions regarding infringement of the legal provisions on child labour²¹.

1.4 Law and Praxis

1.4.1 - Legal and Practical Problems

(a) Discrepancies between different Arab Labour Conventions and between Arab Labour Conventions and the Lebanese Labour Code regarding daily working hours

Article 59 of Arab Labour Convention No. 1, which has been ratified by Lebanon, provides that children under the age of 15 may not work more than six hours per day and requires that they should have one or more one-hour breaks. Law No. 91 of 14 /6/ 1999 amending the provisions of article 23 of the Lebanese Labour Code provides that children under the age of 18 may not work for more than six hours per day. Arab Labour Convention No 18 provides that children (a child being defined as a person between the ages of 13 and 18) may not work more than six hours per day. The Lebanese Labour Code is therefore in line with Convention No. 18, since it is more favourable to the child.

(b) Absolute prohibition on requiring children to undertake additional work during breaks or holidays

Article 62 of Arab Labour Convention No. 1 allows additional work or night work to be allocated to children in certain types of occupation, as provided for in the national legislation of a State Party. However, Law No. 91 of 14 /6/ 1999, amending article 23 of the Lebanese Labour Code, provides greater protection since it absolutely prohibits the allocation of any additional work to children in general and, in particular, during daily or weekly breaks or holidays. This is also true of Arab Labour Convention No. 18 (Article 19).

It can be concluded from the above that the Lebanese Labour Code has been amended in line with the principle of the "best interests of the Child" enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of Child²².

(c) Medical examination and issuance of a certificate of fitness to work

A general observation can be made on the basis of articles 21, 22 and 23 of the (Lebanese Labour Code) taken together.

The amendments to articles 21, 22 and 23 of the Labour Code under Law No. 536 of 24 /7/ 1996, Law No. 91 of 14 /6/ 1999 and Decree No. 700 of 25 /5/ 1999 are insufficient as these articles should be amended is such a way as to bring them into line with International Labour Conventions Nos. 77, 78, 59 and 90. These conventions make the employment of children conditional upon

²¹⁾ Vide: http://www.clu.gov.lb/english/definition/index.html

²²⁾ Vide supra Labour Code.

periodic medical examinations and issuance of a certificate of fitness to carry out work involving high and serious risks and danger to health in order to ensure efficient control of the health conditions of the child with respect to the risks and danger of his/her work and changes in his/her health in comparison with previous medical examinations.

On the basis of article 22 the Lebanese Labour Code, medical examination is required for children working on their own account or for their parents or undertaking any work in the street or in public places. Prior to issuing permits for such types of work, municipalities are required to ensure that the medical examination has been carried out. The Labour Inspection Department of the Ministry of Labour is responsible for ensuring that these examinations have been carried out.

(d) Lack of social security for children

The Lebanese Labour Code makes no social security provision for working children, so children are neither covered by general social security provision, i.e. that pertaining to the work of persons over the age of 18, nor by any special provision particular to them. Children therefore enjoy less legal protection under Lebanese law than any other category of worker.

(e) Comparison with other Arab countries with regard to minimum age and ratification of International Labour Conventions²³

Lebanon is one of the top three Arab countries with respect to ratification of international labour conventions but the minimum age specified upon the ratification of C. 138 is the lowest of all Arab countries (14 years).

(f) The distinction between employment and vocational/technical training

The legal distinction made between employment and vocational/technical training under article 2 of Decree No. 700²⁴ raises a practical problem. Employers, in general, and many of those surveyed, claim that the work carried out by the children in their businesses is done in the framework of vocational/technical training and not of an employment contract in order to evade many of the legal obligations and child rights related to the employment of children under Lebanese law. The question arises as to whether there is any practical means of preventing employers getting round the law on the pretext that the children are undergoing vocational training.

(g) Verification of the child's age by the employer prior to employment

In practice, we found that a high percentage (97%) of the children were not in possession of their identity cards for a number of reasons (unavailable, lost, left at home). We are therefore somewhat sceptical about employers' compliance with their legal obligation (Articles 24 and 30 - Lebanese Labour Code) to verify the age of children prior to employment.

Chapter2 · Socio-economic Situation in North Lebanon (Akkar & Tripoli) and the Bekaa Valley (Zahleh & Baalbek)

This chapter provides a general context to the rapid assessment. It is mainly based on national studies published by the Central Statistics Administration (1997 and 2004).

2.1 North Lebanon

North Lebanon is an economically forsaken part of Lebanon where post-civil strife surveys reveal a rate of deprivation, poverty and under-development even higher than that of the South. 20.5% of the Lebanese population lives in the North, with an average family size of 4.7 individuals (the highest in Lebanon compared to the national average of 4.3). With one of the country's lowest economic activity rates (41.9%, compared to the national rate of 47% and 11.2% for women), the North has a rigid traditional socio-cultural structure.

The labour force suffers from a deep imbalance in gender distribution, with working women representing only 14.1% of the labour force, significantly lower than the national average of 23.3%. Although hidden unemployment is unaccounted for in rural areas, officially declared unemployed individuals in the North account for 10.8% of the total unemployed population of the country (around 5% of the workforce of the region). The female unemployment rate is 7.4%.

Official statistics published in 1997 stress the low income of families in the North. Although the percentage of deprived families went from 43% in 1994 to 31% in 2004, and although the National Survey on Household Living Conditions of 2004 showed a substantial improvement in housing conditions over a 10-year period, it also pinpointed the deterioration in some other fields, including employment.

2.1.1 Akkar

The Akkar district or caza is a desolate area with unexploited human and natural potential. Some neglected villages in the area lacked basic infrastructure and services until the late 1980s.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 43% of the agricultural potential of Akkar is wasted. The people working in agriculture in Akkar account for a mere 17.57% of the labour force.

The total labour force of Akkar is 45,000, most of them working in agriculture. 23,000 of those working in agriculture are seasonal workers or have an intermittent job.

The labour force is distributed as follows: agriculture 29.6%; army and public administration 17.6%; trade 14.3%; education 8.4%; industry 8.4%; construction workers 8.2%; transport and communication 6%. Men are mainly engaged in the military sector (a secure and stable source of income) at the rate of 14.8% of the male workforce. Males in Akkar join the labour market at an early age: 3.8% between the ages of 10 and 14 and 28.4% between the ages of 15 and 19.

Government sources state that unemployment in Akkar is around 13.5%, affecting essentially young adults.

According to government statistics, 16.6% of families in Akkar live on a monthly income of US\$ 40.

2.1.2 Tripoli

Tripoli, the capital of North Lebanon, presents significant discrepancies between neighbourhoods. Its poor and overcrowded quarters have always displayed alarming signs of urban poverty and misery.

The estimated total labour force in Tripoli is around 68,000 persons, of whom 19% are women. The male labour force is mainly involved in commerce and small industry, whereas the bulk of the female labour force is in education. The unemployment rate in Tripoli is estimated at around 7%.

The industrial sector in Tripoli has been flourishing for the last few years and employs approximately 16,000 persons, 8% of whom are women. Handicraft is a prosperous sector with no fewer than 400 crafts.

7.1% of the families in Tripoli suffer from extremely poor living conditions. 27.8% of families are poor, 37.2% of families have average living conditions, while 21.2% have a relatively high, and 5.7% a very high standard of living. Tripoli ranks twelfth in the national classification with regard to deprivation and standard of living.

2.2 The Bekaa

The Bekaa valley, historically referred to as the granary of Rome, is known for its large, mainly agricultural estates. It is Lebanon's interface with the neighbouring Arab Countries, a major area for transit and trade.

In 1996, the land reclaimed and used for agricultural production was 31.3% of the total area of the governorate. While statistics show that more land is now irrigated and that the use of greenhouses has become widespread, non-irrigated land remains substantial.

In the tough weather of the Bekaa valley there are two kinds of agriculture: the annual and seasonal crops, such as vegetables, and crops for industrial use (61.9% of agricultural production); and the permanent crops, such as grapes, apples, lemons and other kinds of fruit (38.04% of agricultural production).

The remote area of the Bekaa is nevertheless as neglected and deprived as the South and North of Lebanon. 12.5% of the Lebanese population lives in the Bekaa region with an average family size of 4.58 individuals (in second place after North Lebanon, but still higher than the national rate of 4.3). The Bekaa has the lowest economic activity rates in Lebanon (40.2%). A look at the labour force reveals 14.4% of women work, a rate much lower than other regions of Lebanon and the national average of 23.3%. The unemployed in the Bekaa area account for 7.4% of total unemployed in Lebanon. 1997 government statistics show that the Bekaa was in third place with regard to low-income families, with no substantial improvement in living conditions between 1994 and 2004.

2.2.1 Baalbek

Baalbek has a dual image in the collective consciousness of the Lebanese. On the one hand, it is associated with the sophistication of the Baalbek International Festival and, on the other, with infamous fugitive outlaws and drug plantations.

Alongside agriculture, Baalbek is an area where animal husbandry (goats, sheep and cattle) is an important productive sector. Industry in the Baalbek area is prosperous. There are more than 1,400 industrial enterprises of all sizes, in the following fields: vehicle maintenance and production (34.55% of the total number of businesses); light metallurgy (13.36% of businesses); food production (12.4%); extraction industry (11.81%); furniture, wood, textiles, leather, paper, cardboard, and plastics. The industrial sector in Baalbek employs 22.12% of the local labour force. Handicrafts are an important sector, with 1,282 craft workshops and 1,652 crafts.

The core labour force in Baalbek consists of 50,000 people (approximately 29% of the residents of the caza). The male labour force accounts for around 51%, of the total male population while working women account for only 6.5% of the total female population. Women working in rural areas are usually not included in labour force statistics. The labour force is distributed as follows: craftsmen (18.99%); retailers (16.49%); farmers (11.83%); workers and unskilled employees (11.73%); civil servants, educators, technicians, administrative staff, and other categories. Female employment is predominantly in education, training and care-related jobs.

The unemployment rate in Baalbek is 8.5%. Male unemployment is estimated at around 9%, and female unemployment of around 3.4%. Baalbek caza ranks ninth in the national classification of local unemployment.

49.2% of families in Baalbek (53.1% of residents) have a low standard of living, 40.15% an average and 10.2% a high standard of living.

7.62% of the deprived people of Lebanon live in Baalbek, which ranks fourth among Lebanese areas in terms of deprivation and neglect.

2.2.2 Zahleh

Although Zahleh is located in the midst of a rural area, the predominance of the service sector is obvious. The city of Zahleh is the commercial centre of the Bekaa Valley. This area has approximately 11,000 enterprises, of which only 8% are concerned with agriculture and 14.4% with industry.

Zahleh has 24 agricultural cooperatives, which help in well-drilling, pond creation, irrigation line construction, and land reclamation, as well as sales and distribution of agricultural products.

There are more than 300 industrial enterprises, predominantly micro-enterprises or SMEs. These firms work mainly in the food industry and agribusiness (31.5%); furniture-making (12.6%); footwear and tanning (11.2%).

The craft sector is prosperous in Zahleh with more than 400 craftsmen. 65.2% work in weaving, 9.5% in ceramics, 6.7% in traditional food production and the others in carpentry. In the mosaic sector, females represent 85.6% of the workers.

The total labour force in the Zahleh area accounts for 40.1% (approximately 39,000 people). 10.15% work in agriculture, 16.7% in industry and metallurgy-related trades, while 10% are in construction and 63.2% in services.

With regard to gender distribution of the labour force, 80.8% of females and 59.4% of men work in the service sector.

As regards job stability, the labour force in the area has the following features: 75.5% are permanent employees; 9.7% are seasonal workers, and 14.7% have intermittent jobs. 72.8% of males have permanent jobs; 10.7% have seasonal jobs and 16.5% have intermittent jobs. 88.1% of females have stable jobs; 4.9% them have seasonal and 7% intermittent employment.

The professional distribution of the male labour force in the Zahleh area is as follows: 24.8% are in crafts; 20% in commerce; 12.3% in industry; 9.7% are unskilled workers, and 6.4% skilled or managerial staff.

The female labour force has a different distribution: specialists in medical, scientific and educational fields (32%); sales (19.7%); assistants in different medical, technical and scientific fields (12.3%); administrative employees (9%).

The unemployment rate in the Zahleh area is 5.7% of the labour force, which is an acceptable rate compared to the national 7.3%.

28.9% of families in the area are deprived; 45.3% have an average standard of living; 25.8% are well-of, of whom 22.7% have a high standard of living and 3.1% an extremely high standard of living. The Zahleh area therefore ranks 21st on the national deprivation scale. Zahleh has 3.43% of the deprived families in Lebanon. It is among the least underprivileged of the peripheral and neglected areas of the country.

Chapter3 · Methodology

The purpose of this RA is to enquire into child labour in the North of Lebanon and in the Bekaa in order to:

- 1) Provide information on:
 - the socio-demographic and economic situation of children (5 to 17 years old) working in those two specific regions (their identity, living environment, households, working conditions and environments, working hours and rates of pay);
 - the actual work that boys and girls do: sectors, employers (social identity and perception of child labour);
 - the consequences of child labour (social and educational schooling -, physical, psychological, economic).
- 2) Identify problems and hazards experienced by child workers in those areas
- 3) Provide a basis for promoting protective measures (including legislation) and initiating programmes and interventions by the Government and NGOs

3.1 Definitions

In this RA, the term "child" means all people who are between 5 and 17 years of age. The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) has the same definition. "The ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) does not specify an age cut-off for the term "child"; however, while it acknowledges the fact that in some countries children younger than 18 years may work legally, it stipulates that they need special protection in the workplace". (Source: Manual on Child Labour - Rapid Assessment Methodology)

Under Lebanese law, children may work from the age of 14.

Children's work — "Almost all production activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organized) sector or the informal sector. Children's work includes work in family enterprises and in household-based production activities, as well as domestic work performed in another household for an employer. Child labour is a subset of 'children's work'." (Source: Manual on Child Labour - Rapid Assessment Methodology)

Child labour — "Children's work that deprives girls and boys of their childhood and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development. Whether a particular kind of work performed by a child is to be considered child labour may depend on the child's age, the type and conditions of work, and the effects of the work on the child. Some kinds of work are always child labour. Child labour is a subset of 'children's work'". (Source: Manual on Child Labour - Rapid

Assessment Methodology)

In the case of the present rapid assessment, respondents tend to define the activities carried out by children as "work" and not "labour". The legal considerations we mentioned earlier explain this bias. Furthermore, more activities might have been identified as child labour had we had access to:

- Children (girls) working as domestic servants in the homes of others
- Children involved in commercial sexual exploitation
- Children exploited in various ways by their own families.

3.2 Target Population

Children: aged 5 to 17

Gender: males and females

Although we are aware of the fact that gender plays a considerable role in child labour research, we were not able to cover girls' labour properly. Boys outnumber girls in the sectors covered. The prevailing perception of gender in the areas visited dictates that girls help their mothers with household tasks. The Bekaa provides an interesting example of the social construction of gender through the way in which girls are involved in agriculture. However, the fact that these girls are Syrian seasonal workers does not allow generalization.

Nationality: this rapid assessment targets working children in Lebanese territory, irrespective of nationality. In Tripoli, the Beddawi camp was part of the initial sampling but we did not assign a special section for the camp as it needs to be assessed separately. The Syrian population living in central Bekaa and working in agriculture was singled out when it exhibited specific features.

Workers in drug plantations: we were unable to reach drug plantations situated in the northern part of the Bekaa for security reasons. In June 2011, during the RA period in that region, the Lebanese Army and the Internal Security Forces of the Office of Drug Control were razing the hashish fields.

Households: 25% of the households of the children interviewed were targeted. Door-to-door enquiries about households (with working children under 17) proved impossible. Testing of the child questionnaire showed that children were willing to give their address and/or telephone number, which allowed us to contact their parents and fix appointments by neighbourhood.

In the Bekaa, where children work near their homes, household questionnaires were filled in concomitantly. In almost all cases, the main respondent was the mother.

3.3 Locations

The rapid assessment covered the North (Tripoli and surroundings, the cities of Mina and Beddawi) and Bekaa governorates with selected areas of Akkar. The locations were initially dictated by the Terms of Reference (TOR) according to the following facts:

"Administratively, the country, with a surface area of 10,452 km2, is divided into six Governorates, called Mohafaza, which are sub-divided into 25 Districts, called Cazas. The Bekaa is the largest Governorate (4,161 km2), followed by the North (2,025 km2). The geographical coverage of this project therefore accounts for approximately 60% of the area of Lebanon. As the populations of the North and Bekaa are estimated to be 807,200 and 539,500 respectively, it becomes evident that one of the salient demographic features of Lebanon is the uneven distribution of its population. In other words, the North population of 807,200, which accounts for 20% of the total population, is dispersed over an area of 2,025 Km2, resulting in a population density of 399/km2; whereas the Bekaa, with a population of 539,500, accounting for 13% of the total population, results in a population density of 130/km2, which is the lowest nationwide".

Regions and sub-regions covered by the RA

Tripoli: the whole city
Mina: the whole city

Beddawi: the Palestinian camp. The camp has its own specificity; this study does not lay

emphasis on the data collected there.

Akkar: areas where other partners of ILO are already working:

Bebnine, Al Abdeh, Wadi Al Jamous, Halba

Bekaa: Selected areas where other partners of ILO are already working:

Zahleh (the industrial zone), Baalbek (the city), Dalhamieh and surroundings.

A pre-survey period involved a socio-anthropological observation of the regions concerned, where child labour turned out to be widespread, common and visible. This observation helped us to map the area, then localize relevant activities, and assess their scale in different neighbourhoods. It was decided to visit all workplaces in the identified neighbourhoods.

Accessing children in their workplaces implied that the child-based survey had to be conducted before the household-based survey.

Although interacting with children out of sight of employers and outside working hours would have given us more insight, the testing showed that it was impossible to follow children when they leave work and that accurate information would be no more forthcoming in front of the parents.

The nature of the relations with the employers being paternalistic, alternately admonishing and caring, supervisors were asked to engage in general conversation with employers while the teams of researchers were interviewing children, filling in the questionnaires and noting their remarks.

3.4- Sectors

The RA covers the following activities (as defined by the TOR)

1.	Small shops	9.	Automobile workshop (car repair, painting, etc.)					
2.	Meat treatment	10.	Tyre repair					
3.	Restaurants and hotels, including cafés and tea stalls	11.	Car minding					
4.	Agriculture (vegetables, tobacco, etc.)	12.	Cleaning market places, stalls and other premises					
5.	Construction work, including mixing cement and carrying	13.	Carrying goods (porters)					
6.	Collection of waste materials, e.g. paper, bottles, cans, iron, etc.	14.	Shoe repair / shining					
7.	Manufacture of handicrafts	15.	Begging					
8.	Car washing	16.	Schools (to monitor attendance and absenteeism)					

A close look at the distribution suggested by the TOR showed that some sectors were overrepresented and others underrepresented in the initial sampling. According to the findings, we have added to sector 6 (Manufacture of handicrafts) the categories: blacksmithing, carpentry, painting and furniture making.

3.5 Timing

The RA had to be carried out before the end of July 2011. In accordance with the availability of the children (agricultural and fishing cycles, religious holidays, weekends, security problems), we tried to alternate visits to the field (weekdays / weekends). Children in the North were visited during the months of March and April 2011 on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Those in the Bekaa were interviewed during May and June 2011 on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The household visits in both the North and the Bekaa were carried out from June to mid-August, mainly on Saturdays and Sundays.

3.6 Research Methods

The Rapid Assessment sought to collect data on the actual numbers of children involved in various activities and their basic characteristics. Care was taken to follow as closely as possible the methodological approach adopted and detailed in ILO publications. The pre-survey phase, which included the literature review and the field exploration, enabled the questionnaires to be customized to fit the local context. Additional questions were formulated, while some of the existing ones were reformulated or deleted.

Focus groups were used to obtain qualitative insights into the lives of working children. Children talked to us freely about cigarettes, drugs and their understanding of life, money and family.

The focus groups with children were organized in four different areas:

- 1) Bab el Tebbaneh (Tripoli) in a public garden situated between a mosque and a public school
- 2) Mina (Tripoli) in a neighbourhood behind the old souk (the khan)
- 3) Bebnine (Akkar) in a vast piece of land used as a football playground near a mosque
- 4) In Dalhamieh (Bekaa), a village of tents where Syrian Bedouin live and work.

Moreover, in-depth interviews were conducted with 38 employers selected according to their willingness to answer our questions.

3.7 Enumeration, Verification and Data Entry

In the field, interviewers were accompanied by supervisors. The supervisors' work was to proofread every single questionnaire, correct it, and make comments to the entire group and to other supervisors about "common mistakes".

A second confirmation was done through the depuration of data and through statistical tests on SPSS. Information was double-checked and some of the children and/or households were called for verification.

3.8 Training of Interviewers

Intensive training sessions for interviewers were organized throughout the month of February 2011. During these sessions, footage of the area studied were projected, a summary of the literature review was presented and discussed and a detailed and lengthy explanation of the assumptions, variables and indicators was given. The participants' input resulted in the adjustment and/or rewording of some questions, especially those related to sexual harassment.

Researchers were sensitized to the dialectal specificities of the regions and to ethical issues regarding approaching children and employers. Some strategies were defined to convince children of the need to answer our questions (friendly conversations preceding the actual filling in of the questionnaire, definition of areas of interest of children, such as football or games, etc.)

Interviewers were then asked to test the in order to identify difficulties and hesis could complete questionnaires.	child questionnaire informally on street children in Beirut itations and to estimate how quickly and efficiently they

Chapter4 • Findings

A total of 1,007 child questionnaires were completed during the period March to early July 2011. By 6 August, 174 household visits had been made and 38 in-depth interviews conducted with employers.

The distribution of child questionnaires by region and sector compared to the initial sampling in the TOR is summarized in tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Number of children interviewed by sector and region - North

		North Lebanon													
		Tripoli Akkar Mina Bedawi To								Total					
	SECTORS	Ur	ban	done	Rı	ıral	done	Ur	ban	done	Url	ban	done		done
1	Small shops (e.g. grocer's, clothes, shoe-maker's, etc.)			54	20	5	11			3			6	25	74
2	Abattoirs and butchers	10		4	5		3	5		7	5		1	25	15
3	Restaurants and hotels, including cafés & tea stalls	7	3	30	4	1	18	4	1	7			4	20	59
4	Work in construction, including mixing cement and carrying	50	3	3		-	5			6			4	50	18
5	Scavenging (collecting iron)	10	5	7	5	2	0	5	2	0	5	2	1	36	8
6	Manufacture of handicrafts (blacksmithing, carpentry, painting, furniture-making)	10	5	101	5	2	17	5	2	41	5	2	8	36	167
7	Car washing	10		0			0	5		0	5		0	20	0
8	Automobile workshops (car maintenance & repair, painting, tyre repair, etc.) Cleaning market places, stalls and other	15 0		164	50		46	50		20	50		14	300	244
9	premises	10	5	2	5	3	0	5	3	1	5	3	1	39	4
10	Porter	10		9			6	10		3	10		1	30	19
11	Shoe repair / shining	30		18			4			1			1	30	24
12	Other (including begging)	30		34			5	20		2	20		3	70	44
13	Agriculture			0		50	26			0			3	50	29
14	Hairdressing			16			9			1			2	0	28
15	Fishing			1			12			8			1	0	22
16	Electrical work			9			4			1			0	0	14
17	Driving			1						1				0	2
	Missing values	22						10			10				42
	Sub-totals	32 7	18		94	63		10 9	8		10 5	7			
Totals 345 453					1	57	166	1	17	102	11	12	50	731	813

Table 2: Number of children interviewed by sector and region - Bekaa

SECTORS	U			Bel R				
32020A	M	F	Done	M	F	Done	Total required	Done
Small shop (e.g. grocers, clothes, shoe-maker's, etc.)			2	20	5		25	4
Abattoirs and butchers	5		2		5		10	2
Restaurants and hotels' including cafés & tea stalls	4	1	5	4	1		10	5
Work in construction, including mixing cement and carrying			1				0	1
Scavenging (collecting cans and iron	5	2	1	5	2		14	1
Manufacture of handicrafts (+blacksmithing, carpentry, painting, furniture-making	5	2	5	5	2		14	5
Car washing	5						5	
Automobile workshop (car repair and maintenance, painting, tyre repair, etc	50		24		50		100	24
Cleaning market places, stalls and other premises	5	3		5	3		16	0
Porter	10		1		10		20	1
Shoe repair / shining							0	
Other (including begging)	20		6				20	6
Agriculture			3		50	140	50	143
Missing values								2
Sub-totals	109	8			128			
Totals	11	17	52	167			284	194

The "missing values" in tables 1 and 2 correspond to incomplete questionnaires in which crucial information was missing.

4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Working Children

4.1.1- Socio-demographic characteristics of working children in the North

A total of 823 child questionnaires were completed in the North. The data is distributed as follows: Tripoli (482 children, 58.6%), Mina (106 children, 12.9%), Beddawi (55 children, 6.7%) and Akkar (180 children, 2.9%).

The age distribution in this region is detailed in table 3. It is noteworthy that 29.5% of these children are under 14. At the time of the survey, children of 6, 7 and 8 years old in the North had been working for at least 6 months. In fact, it is not unusual for a 5-year-old child to enter the labour market in Tripoli and Akkar.

Table 3: Age of children interviewed - North

Age	Frequency	Valid %	Cumulative%
6	1	0.1	0.1
7	1	0.1	0.3
8	5	0.6	0.9
9	12	1.5	2.4
10	29	3.6	6
11	38	4.8	10.8
12	62	7.8	18.6
13	87	10.9	29.5
14	123	15.5	45
15	128	16.1	61.1
16	142	17.8	78.9
17	166	20.9	99.7
18	2	0.3	100
Total	796	100	

97.3% of the respondents in the North were male, 2.7% female. 702 of the 823 children (85.3%) were Lebanese. The others were distributed as follows:

Table 4: Nationality of children interviewed - North

	Frequency	Valid %
Palestinian (Beddawi camp)	64	7.8
Syrian	44	5.3
Nawar (Gypsies)	4	0.5

Only 12% of the children interviewed in the North were orphans and lived with a member of their extended family (in most cases, a paternal or maternal uncle). 88% lived with their parents.

Table 5: Presence of parents of children interviewed - North

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Father deceased	42	5.1	5.1
Mother deceased	41	5	5
Parents deceased	15	1.8	1.8
Parents present	720	87.5	88
Total	818	99.4	100
System	5	0.6	
Total	823	100	

No link was detected between the child's place in the family and his/her premature entry to the job market. Most of the children interviewed were the second or third child in their families and had older siblings.

4.1.2- Socio-demographic characteristics of working children in the Bekaa

A total of 192 children were interviewed in the Bekaa. 140 of those children worked in agriculture and 54 in various sectors in the regions of Zahleh (the industrial zone), Bar Elias, the outer reaches of Dalhamieh and Baalbek. The number of questionnaires in the second are of this region (Zahleh (the industrial zone), Bar Elias and Baalbek) was unsatisfactory. This was because the scheduled fieldwork days coincided with particularly stormy weather and most of the children in Baalbek work during the summer, which was outside the survey's timetable.

4.1.2.1 - Dalhamieh

Children working in agriculture were contacted in three different places:

- In the fields stretching from Dalhamieh all the way to the outskirts of Bar Elias
- On their way to the fields, crammed into small trucks
- In Dalhamieh, where data-collectors visited a camp of 50 tents.

The 140 children working in this area were Syrian-born, and their families go back and forth to Syria in a seasonal pattern. Interviewing them was no easy task. The recent turmoil in their home country made them suspicious of us. During the first two visits, we were able to count them and engage in informal conversation with their parents. We were also able to organize a focus group in Dalhamieh (see Chapter 5). The last two visits were unsuccessful, however. Men stood at the entrance of each neighbourhood and told us everything was fine inside and that they did not need help from the Government.

Almost 55% of these Syrian children were females aged 9 to 16. The boys were aged between 6 and 18.

4.1.2.2- Zahleh, Bar Elias and Baalbek

As a result of the restrictions outlined above, tables 6 to 9 concern only 54 children in the regions of Zahleh, the outskirts of Dalhamieh, Bar Elias and the city of Baalbek.

Table 6: Number of children interviewed by region - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Zahleh	16	29.6	29.6
Dalhamieh	9	16.7	16.7
Bar Elias	17	31.5	31.5
Baalbek	12	22.2	22.2
Total	54	100	100

36.5% of the population concerned is under 13 years of age.

Table 7: Age of children interviewed - Bekaa

Age	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative%
7	1	1.9	1.9	1.9
9	3	5.6	5.8	7.7
10	3	5.6	5.8	13.5
11	2	3.7	3.8	17.3
12	1	1.9	1.9	19.2
13	9	16.7	17.3	36.5
14	11	20.4	21.2	57.7
15	10	18.5	19.2	76.9
16	5	9.3	9.6	86.5
17	7	13	13.5	100
Total	52	96.3	100	

As in the North, male workers predominate in this area of the Bekaa

Table 8: Gender distribution of children interviewed - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Male	47	87	87
Female	7	13	13
Total	54	100	100

74.1% of the children are Lebanese, 24.1% Syrians who, unlike their fellow-countrymen living in Dalhamieh, live in stone or concrete houses.

Table 9: Nationality of children interviewed - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Kurds	1	1.9	1.9
Lebanese	40	74.1	74.1
Syrians	13	24.1	24.1
Total	54	100	100

4.2 Households

During the household visits in both the North and the Bekaa families were disinclined to give information about their income and expenditure. They gave vague answers and preferred to leave gaps or give approximations. The household questionnaires consisting of 173 variables on SPSS yielded scant information. We relied on the observations of data-collectors to fill the gaps.

Leaving aside the section of the Syrian population living in tents, the household characteristics did not vary according to sector of activity of the child and/or father. There was strong homogeneity within each region.

The data presented below do not allow valid comparisons to be made between the two governorates because of the discrepancies in the numbers of household by region. Some percentages have to be carefully weighed according to the number of households especially in the region of Zahleh-Bar Elias-Baalbek. (NR = not revealed / NR = not revealed by the respondent).

Table 10: Number of households visited by region

	Bekaa (Zahleh-Bar Elias-Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Number of households	11	41	66	56

Interestingly, the average number of persons per household of the children interviewed in the North and in the Bekaa (the Lebanese households) is almost identical: 5.4 per household in the North (6 for Akkar) and 5.5 per household for the Bekaa. For the Syrian workers, the figure is 4.5 per household. In the Bekaa, 83% of Lebanese children and 89% of Syrian children were under 17 years of age; in Tripoli and Akkar, the figures were 82% and 92%.

Of those between 5 and 17, in the Bekaa and Akkar, 2 to 4 were already working, while in Tripoli the figure was 1 to 2.

Main characteristics of fathers of children interviewed

Early marriage is still the norm in all the regions visited. In Akkar, it is very common for a 35-year-old man to have fathered 10 to 12 children.

Paternal literacy rates vary enormously in different regions. While the rate is relatively high in the Bekaa (82% of Lebanese fathers) and Tripoli (82%), it is unsatisfactory in Akkar (45%) and extremely low among Syrians in the Bekaa (11%). Of fathers who had been to school, few had gone beyond the primary level (11% of Lebanese in the Bekaa) and 20% in Tripoli.

Most such fathers had entered the labour market at an early age and were still working at the time of the survey. The figures indicating their average income are unreliable: numerous inconsistencies were identified when the questionnaires were analysed.

Table 11: Main characteristics of fathers of children interviewed (North and Bekaa)

Main characteristics of fathers	Bekaa (Zahleh - Bar Elias - Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Under 45	44%	65%	45.60%	72%
F Able to read and write	82%	11%	82%	45%
Has been to school	90%	11%	82%	45%
Only completed primary school	78.00%	11%	62%	45%
Reached and completed secondary school	11.00%		20%	
Working fathers	80%	100%	91%	98%
Do not work and are not seeking work	10%		3%	
Unemployed seeking work	10%		3%	2%
Employees	62.00%	100%	90%	100%
Self-employed	25%		10%	
Work in the family business	12.00%			
Has a regular job	87.00%		100%	93%
Has a seasonal jobs		100%		6%
Has an occasional second job	20%	0%		30%
Has social security / insurance	0%	0%	0%	0%
Average age when he started working	12	10	NA	9

Main characteristics of mothers of children interviewed

All the mothers interviewed in the Bekaa and Akkar were under 45 years of age. In Tripoli, 46% were under 45. Unlike the fathers, they exhibited a high literacy rate and valued educational achievement. Mothers tend to devote their time and energy to housework. Setting aside the Syrian women actively engaged in agriculture, almost 90% of Lebanese women respondents had never worked and were not seeking work. In Akkar, some women engage in intermittent agricultural activities such as stemming and sorting fruits and vegetables.

Table 12: Main characteristics of mothers of children interviewed

MOTHERS	Bekaa (Zahleh - Bar Elias- Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Under 45	100%	100%	46%	100%
Able to read and write	73%	0%	90%	73%
Has been to school	73%	0%	90%	73%
Completed only primary school Reached and completed	80%		100%	45%
secondary school	20%			20%
Working mothers Does not work and is not seeking work	10% 90%	100%	100%	25%
Employees	100%	100%		100%
Has a regular job	100%			
Has a seasonal job Average age of mothers when they started work	11	100% 10		100% 20

Household characteristics

The types of dwelling and property in the North and the Bekaa are detailed in the tables below.

Table 13: Types of dwelling of households visited by region

Type of dwelling	Bekaa (ZahlehBar Elias-Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Apartment	40%		45%	
Private house	40%		45%	65%
Part of a private house			10%	35%
	10%			
Tent	10%	100%		

In the regions visited, an apartment is usually part of a two- or three-storey building in which the occupants of the other floors are not related to our respondents. Private houses often accommodate two households.

Table 14: Type of property of homes visited by region

Type of property	Bekaa (Zahleh - Bar Elias- Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
House owned by a member of the household	44.40%		65%	
House owned by extended family	44.40%		25%	100%
Rented house Tent provided by employer	11.1	100%	10%	

44.4% of households visited in the Bekaa (Zahleh, Bar Elias, Baalbek) and 65% in Tripoli own their houses; those occupying a house owned by a member of the extended family are in a precarious situation. This is particularly true in Tripoli where almost all the women interviewed complained that their relatives were trying to repossess the house by offering very modest compensation. In Dalhamieh, the households visited lived in tents provided by their employer.

Table 15: Number of rooms in households visited by region

Number of rooms	Bekaa (Zahleh- Bar Elias- Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Number of rooms= 1		100%	25%	25%
Number of rooms= 2	25%		75%	75%
Number of rooms=3				
Number of rooms >3	75%			

The lack of sufficient living space in all the regions we visited is alleviated in the Bekaa by the distance between houses. Moreover, 75% of the households visited in the Bekaa had 4 to 5 rooms (including kitchen and bathroom). The tents of Dalhamieh measure approximately 9m2. Most of the tent is used alternately as a living-room and a bedroom. Besides sleeping mattresses and a straw mat on the floor, there is no furniture whatsoever in the tents.

In Tripoli and Mina, the demographic density makes the small homes almost unbearable. In Akkar, 75% of the private houses visited consisted of 2 rooms. Some of our respondents extend their living space by adding roofing tiles on wooden pillars. The extension is often used as a kitchen.

In all the regions visited, it is not uncommon for 9 to 12 individuals to sleep in the same room and put away the thin mattresses in the morning in order to reconstitute something resembling a living-room.

Table 16: Sanitary conditions in households visited

Sanitary conditions	Bekaa (Zahleh- Bar Elias- Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Kitchen inside the house	100%	100%	100%	100%
Bathroom and toilet inside the house	100%		100%	80%
Bathroom and toilet outside the house		100%		
Bathroom inside and toilet outside the house				20%

All the households visited had a kitchen (a sink, some cupboards, and a refrigerator). In many cases, the tenants take their bath in the kitchen space using the sink and small buckets. In many homes in Tripoli-Mina (22%) and Akkar (30%), toilet seats were adjacent to the kitchen sink.

While all the households visited had electricity, most of them rely on candles during power-cuts. Old gas ovens are widespread and often placed outside the house. In Tripoli, Mina and Akkar 20 to 22% of households are unheated in winter.

Table 17: Type of energy used by households for lighting, cooking and heating

Energy	Bekaa (Zahleh-Bar Elias-Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Lighting when electricity is cut	candles	candles	candles/ generator	candles
Cooking Heating	Gas wood	Gas wood	Gas no heating	Gas no heating

A large number of households (50% in the Bekaa and Akkar and 100% in Dalhamieh) fetch drinking water from a tap outside the house. They are not worried about the quality of the water. Tripoli is better served with water (80% of households).

Table 18: Source of drinking water of households visited

Drinking water	Bekaa (Zahleh- Bar Elias- Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Drinking water from tap inside the house	20%		80%	50%
Drinking water from tap outside the house	50%	100%		50%
Drinking water from tap in a neighbour's house			20%	
Drinking water from well	30%			

Most of the households visited had the essential equipment listed in table 19. Surprisingly, almost all of the households had a satellite connection for their television. Most of them had the essential household equipment (regardless of the condition of the equipment).

Table 19: Availability of essential equipment in households visited

Essential equipment	Bekaa (Zahleh - Bar Elias - Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Car	50%	0%	10%	6%
Tractor	20%	0%		
Washing machine	100%	0%	100%	75%
Gas oven	100%	63%	100%	100%
Television	100%	100%	100%	100%
Satellite (TV)	50%	100%	75%	63%
Radio	90%	50%	75%	42%
Cellular phones (prepaid recharging system)	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sewing machine	22%	0%	0%	2%

Housing conditions

Households were asked about the problems and difficulties they had faced during the 12 months preceding our visit. Almost all of them had had water leaking from the ceiling.

Table 20: Housing problems faced by households visited in the last 12 months

	Bekaa (Zahleh-Bar Elias-Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Water leakage from wall and ceiling or tent	25%	100%	60%	100%
Substantial cracks in wall / ceiling	-	-	30%	50%
Water flooding in the house Mud entering the house	-	- 82%	-	30%

Pecuniary conditions of households visited

Information about the income and expenditure of households visited are unreliable. Our respondents thought the survey would be followed by social assistance. One thing is sure: all the households were indebted at least to their grocer. Accurate data about amounts and repayment methods are not available (see table 23). Respondents said they were "eternally indebted" and that they "do not worry about that".

We also tried to enquire into the events that may have affected household income. Respondents were uncommunicative about this. In the Bekaa, the income of 25% of the households visited fallen when one of their members had a serious accident.

Table 21: Events negatively affecting household income in the last 12 months

	Bekaa (ZahlehBar EliasBaalbek)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Fire Household member jailed		1%	5%
Household member had serious accident	25%		

Table 22: Household debt

	Bekaa (Zahleh -Bar Elias-Baalbek)	Bekaa (tents of Dalhamieh)	Tripoli (without Beddawi)	Akkar
Perentage of indebted households		100%	100%	100%
Identity of the creditor	Grocer	NR	Grocer	Grocer
How is debt paid	Instalments	NR	Instalments	Instalments

NR= not revealed

4.3- School Attendance and Drop-out Rates

4.3.1 School attendance and drop-out rates in North Lebanon

In North Lebanon, a region that has traditionally had an age-grade retardation and a high school drop-out rate, school attendance rose by 21% between 1995 and 2004.

65% of the students in North Lebanon are enrolled in public schools, a high proportion compared to the national average of 44.6%. The illiteracy rate of 8% is close to the national average and lower than some other areas of the country, in particular the South and the Bekaa valley.

On the institutional level, 2008 government statistics show that North Lebanon has 450 public schools, the highest number of any region of Lebanon. There are 80 free private schools and 188 fee-paying private schools (21.6% of total private schools in Lebanon). 367 of the public schools are mixed, while 51 are for boys and 32 for girls. The free private schools are mixed, as are 186 of the 188 fee-paying private schools.

There are 24 public vocational training schools in the region with a total of 2,980 staff, of whom 107 occupy managerial positions and 2,873 are educators.

Private technical education in North Lebanon is provided by 97 private schools with a total of 1,743 staff, of whom 97 occupy managerial positions and 1,646 are educators.

Educational services in Tripoli

Tripoli has 90 public schools and 24 private schools with a total of 69,000 students. 47% of those students are in public schools, 12% in free private schools and 41% in fee-paying private schools. Unlike Akkar, Tripoli has several branches of the Lebanese University and other private universities. The Lebanese University has more than 10,000 students in Tripoli.

The public schooling sector in Tripoli includes more than 2,400 educators (14 students per educator), and school premises are judged to be in fair to good condition.

Moreover, the city has 30 vocational training schools (1 public and 29 private) with a total of more than 7,000 students.

Educational services in Akkar

Akkar has 165 public schools and 9 private schools with a total of 61,844 students. Education is provided by 3,151 educators. This sector is therefore overstaffed (12 students per teacher). Most of the schools suffer from equipment and infrastructure shortages concerning potable water, toilets, playgrounds, laboratories and general facilities.

Children with special needs attend 18% of the schools in Akkar but no support is provided to ensure that they receive the care they need.

There are 9 private vocational institutes with more than 2000 students but no universities in Akkar.

This area is in dire need of educational services rehabilitation since it has the highest illiteracy rate in the country: 30.5% compared to a national average of 13.6%. Moreover, it has the lowest

school-enrolment rate for the 15 - 19 age group: 39.3% compared with the national average of 61.9%.

Data collected data on school attendance and drop-out rates in the North

Literacy

33.1% of the children interviewed in the North cannot read or write. Interestingly, 6.4% of those children said that they were currently attending school and 89.5% of them had been to school for more than 3 years.

37% of the children surveyed in the North were able to read and write Arabic, 18.3% Arabic and French and 4.7% Arabic and English.

Of 798 children, 77.2% were not currently attending school. Most of the 22.8% who were currently attending school had started school at the age of 4 (56.7%).

Although the majority of the children attend free public schools, most complained of the expense involved. In 85.8% of cases, parents attend to their children's schooling needs, while 2.6% of the children pay such "minor" expenses themselves. 7.9% of the children rely on charity and 1.1% on a tutor in order to be able to attend school. The 22.8% of enrolled students for the year (2010 - 2011) are distributed as follows:

Table 23: Distribution of children interviewed by present school level - North

	Valid %	Cumulative %
Kindergarten	1.6	1.6
Primary	58.6	60.2
Intermediate	28.5	88.7
Secondary	2.2	90.9
Vocational training	9.1	100
Total	100	
System Total		

30.5% of respondents had missed school for one day in the week preceding the survey date. 25.4% had missed more than 5 days of school during that period. The reasons for the high absenteeism were allegedly sickness but the respondents admitted that it made no difference whether they went to school or not. Education is perceived as unimportant and leading nowhere. Only 2.1% of children skip school to work for money outside the household and 4.2% to help their parents (unpaid).

The respondents who never went to school often dismissed the question about the reasons with a confused "I don't know". When pressed to think of the most probable reason, 71 out of 832 gave the following answers:

Table 24: Interviewed children's reasons for never attending school - North

	Valid %
I don't care about school	40.8
To learn a job	14.1
My parents were unable to pay	11.3
To work for money	9.9
My family did not allow me to go to school	2.8
I was sick	1.4

Most school drop-outs seem to occur in the North between the ages of 10 and 16, with a peak at 13 (median value). Asked about the reasons for leaving school, children and their families answer that by about 12 years of age compulsory education has been completed. The table below details the percentages of drop-outs by age:

Table 25: Interviewed children's age when they left school - North

Age	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
3	3	0.4	0.5	0.5
4	5	0.6	0.8	1.4
5	4	0.5	0.7	2
6	5	0.6	0.8	2.9
7	6	0.7	1	3.9
8	18	2.2	3	6.9
9	15	1.8	2.5	9.5
10	50	6.1	8.5	17.9
11	47	5.7	8	25.9
12	93	11.3	15.7	41.6
13	117	14.2	19.8	61.4
14	102	12.4	17.3	78.7
15	88	10.7	14.9	93.6
16	33	4	5.6	99.2
17	5	0.6	0.8	100
Total	591	71.8	100	

It was explained above why 73% of children in the North leave school once they have completed the primary level. It is noteworthy that only 19.5% reach the intermediate level and 5.5% the secondary level.

Most of the reasons given for dropping out are subjective. 54.6% of the children in the North do not spontaneously link their dropping out with their work. They say they dropped out because of their inability to succeed (referred to as if it were inevitable), or their lack of interest in "learning".

Table 26: Interviewed children's reasons for leaving school - North

	Valid %
I did not succeed	20.9
I was not interested	18.3
No specific reason	15.4
To learn a job	12.8
My parents were unable to pay	7.2
To work for money	6.7
I was expelled	4.5
I did not succeed and I wanted to work for money	3.4
To learn a job and work for money	3.3
It was a family decision	2.6
I was ill	1.2
My parents were unable to pay and I wanted to learn a job	1.2
I had completed my compulsory schooling	1
I was becoming too old for school	0.9
To help my family without being paid	0.3
To help my family with housework	0.3

4.3.2-School attendance and drop-out rates in the Bekaa

As in North Lebanon, education in this region is marked by age-grade retardation and a high school drop-out rate. 45.7% of students in the Bekaa region go public schools, which is close to the national average of 44.6%.

The illiteracy rate is 13.4%, almost 50% higher than the national average and the worst of any region of Lebanon.

On the institutional level, 2008 government statistics show that the Bekaa region has 260 public

schools (the second highest number after North Lebanon), 91 free private schools and 137 fee-paying private schools. Of the public schools, 251 are open to both sexes, while 6 are for boys and 3 for girls. The free private schools and 136 of the 137 fee-paying private schools are mixed.

Vocational training in the Bekaa region is provided by public and private schools. There are 19 public vocational training schools, run by a total of 2,410 educators, and 24 private vocational training schools run by a total of 490 educators.

Educational services in Baalbek (the caza)

According to the National Survey of Household Living Conditions, Baalbek is an educationally deprived area.

It has 217 schools: 109 public schools, 53 free private schools and 55 fee-paying private schools with more than 55,000 students, of whom 51% are male.

In Baalbek, 36.6% of the student population attend public schools, as against a national rate of 30%; 33.4% attend fee-paying private school, as against a national rate of 55%, while 30% attend free private schools as against a national rate of 15%.

The school drop-out rate is quite high in Baalbek: 97.5% of 5 - 9 year-old go to school; 92.75% of 10 - 14 year-old, but only 56.5% of 15 - 19 year-old.

The illiteracy rate in Baalbek is around 14.3% of the population, while the national average is around 11.6%. 66.58% of the illiterate are female. 69% of the local population have an elementary education, compared with a national rate of 59%.

Baalbek has 9 vocational training schools, of which only 2 are public. Public schools in Baalbek lack human resources, and nursing and medical facilities.

Educational services in Zahleh (the caza)

Zahleh has 127 schools distributed as follows: 56 public, 22 free private and 49 are fee-paying private academic schools.

The vocational training sector has one public school with approximately 400 students and 50 staff. There are also 12 private vocational training schools covering a wide variety of fields with more than 1,200 students (31.5% of total students in the Bekaa area).

Zahleh has several university branches, mainly the Lebanese University which has five faculties in the caza with more than 10,000 students. Saint Joseph University and the Holy Spirit University are also present.

Data collected on school attendance and drop-out rates in the Bekaa

140 of the children interviewed in the Bekaa were Syrian citizens working in agriculture who said they were not attending school. Although we were sure that some of them did (either in Lebanon or Syria), we were not able to verify their claims. In view of this, the figures below concern only the 54 children interviewed in the industrial part of Zahleh, in Bar Elias and in Baalbek.

Literacy

35.8% of the children interviewed in the aforementioned regions cannot read or write. 75% of those illiterate children say they have attended school for at least two years. 41.5% of those surveyed read and write Arabic, 9.4% read and write Arabic and French, and 9.3% Arabic and English.

67.9% of the children interviewed in the three areas were not currently attending school. Of the 32.1% currently attending school, 41.3% entered school at 4 years of age and 10.9% at 7. 81.3% of them were in primary school and 5.6% in intermediate school.

In 66.7% of cases, parents paid school fees, while 33.3% of the boys said that charitable donors had enrolled them at school.

30% of respondents said they had missed school during the week preceding the survey, but not for more than one day and then because of illness or fatigue.

17.6% of children had never attended school for pecuniary reasons. 25% of them simply did not care about school.

In this region, as in the North, most children who drop out do so after primary school.

Table 27: Level at which children interviewed left school - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative%
Kindergarten	1	1.9	3.1	3.1
Primary	25	46.3	78.1	81.3
Intermediate	3	5.6	9.4	90.6
Vocational training	3	5.6	9.4	100
Total	32	59.3	100	

12 is the average age when these children leave school (mean value = 12.18. Median value = 12.00)

Table 28: Interviewed children's age when they left school - Bekaa

Age	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
4	1	1.9	3	3
6	1	1.9	3	6.1
8	1	1.9	3	9.1
9	1	1.9	3	12.1
10	6	11.1	18.2	30.3
11	1	1.9	3	33.3
12	6	11.1	18.2	51.5
13	4	7.4	12.1	63.6
14	5	9.3	15.2	78.8
15	3	5.6	9.1	87.9
16	3	5.6	9.1	97
17	1	1.9	3	100
Total	33	61.1	100	

The reasons these children left school are distributed as follows:

Table 29: Interviewed children's reasons for leaving school - Bekaa

	Frequency	%
I did not succeed	13	24.1
To learn a job	8	14.8
Other	8	14.8
Parents unable to pay	2	3.7
To work for money	2	3.7
It was a family decision	1	1.9
To help my family without being paid	1	1.9

4.4-Working Conditions of Children

4.4.1- Working conditions of children in the North

89% of the children interviewed in the North had been working for over a year. 11% were seasonal (agriculture) or occasional workers. The types of work distributed by sector are set out in the table below:

Table 30: Kinds of work children interviewed do - North

	Frequency	Valid %
Automobile workshop	244	31.6
Small shop	74	9.6
Carpenter	59	7.7
Restaurants & snack bars	59	7.7
Blacksmithing	51	6.6
Not specified	46	6
Painting	39	5.1
Hairdressing	28	3.6
Agriculture	26	3.4
Shoe-making	24	3.1
Fishing	22	2.9
Porter	19	2.5
Construction	18	2.3
Furniture-making	18	2.3
Butchering	15	1.9
Electrical work	14	1.8
Iron collecting	8	1
Cleaning	4	0.5
Driving	2	0.3
Municipal employee	1	0.1
Total respondents	771	100
Total North	823	

81.8% of these children work during the day (6 am-6 pm) and 13% during the day and part of the night. Only 3.3% (fishermen) work exclusively at night.

Working schoolchildren work mainly at week-ends, during vacations (43.6%) and after school (37.8%). A small proportion (2.3%) work when they are absent from school.

The children in the North gave the following reasons for working:

Table 31: The reasons children work - North

	Frequency	%	Valid%
Supplement family income	260	31.6	33.2
Learn a job	255	31	32.6
Not specified	93	11.3	11.9
Supplement family income and learn a job	93	11.3	11.9
Not interested in school	14	1.7	1.8
Supplement family income and not interested in school	14	1.7	1.8
Help pay family debt	13	1.6	1.7
Replace someone unable to work	13	1.6	1.7
Not interested in school and to learn a job	12	1.5	1.5
School is not useful	7	0.9	0.9
Unable to pay	6	0.7	0.8
Unable to pay school and supplement family income	3	0.4	0.4
Total	783	95.1	100
Total	823	100	

All the working children in the North were paid on a weekly basis. The average weekly salary was 51.740 LL (mean value).

Only 10.3% of children complained about their employer occasionally refusing to pay them and only 12.7% occasionally had less money than promised.

The use children make of their weekly income does not necessarily reflect the hard times their families are going through.

Table 32: Uses children interviewed make of their weekly income - North

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Buy things for myself	165	20	21.5
Give part of it to my parents	163	19.8	21.3
Buy things for myself and give part of it to my parents	153	18.6	19.9
Give all of it to my parents	133	16.2	17.3
Save money	80	9.7	10.4
Give part of it to my parents and save money	39	4.7	5.1
Buy things for myself and save money	20	2.4	2.6
Not specified	5	0.6	0.7
Pay school fees	3	0.4	0.4
Buy things for household	3	0.4	0.4
My employer gives it to my parents	1	0.1	0.1
Fun	1	0.1	0.1
Buy things for myself and have fun	1	0.1	0.1
Total	767	93.2	100

Hazards at work

Working children in the North are exposed to numerous health hazards, which they generally deny by boasting about their strength and endurance.

The difficult environmental conditions they work in are mentioned in the following order:

Table 33: Working environment of children interviewed - North

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Dust and fumes	120	14.6	22.9
Not specified	84	10.2	16
None	43	5.2	8.2
Loud noise	31	3.8	5.9
Cold or heat	23	2.8	4.4
Fire and gas	17	2.1	3.2
Dangerous tools	15	1.8	2.9
Chemicals	6	0.7	1.1
Lack of ventilation	4	0.5	0.8
Underground work	3	0.4	0.6
Work at heights	2	0.2	0.4
Incandescent material	2	0.2	0.4

Accidents and work-related injuries or illnesses are dismissed by children as "minor injuries". When data-collectors pointed out some obvious problems (redness of the eyes, swellings on arms or legs, skin or scalp problems), children would look at them as if they were seeing them for the first time.

Table 34: Work-related injuries and illnesses of children interviewed - North

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Minor injuries	204	24.8	43.6
Never hurt at work	41	5	8.8
Extreme fatigue	30	3.6	6.4
Fractures	26	3.2	5.6
Burns	19	2.3	4.1
Unspecified discomfort	14	1.7	3
Sprains	11	1.3	2.4
Skin problems	4	0.5	0.9
Amputation	4	0.5	0.9
Fever	4	0.5	0.9
Respiratory problems	3	0.4	0.6
Eye problems	2	0.2	0.4
Stomach problems	2	0.2	0.4

Only 29% of the children stopped going to work when they had been badly injured once, while 8% changed their job when that occurred.

52% of respondents carry or move heavy weights and 20.4% work on heavy machinery, especially in the carpentry sector.

Most of the children were interviewed while their employer was at the workplace. The replies as to how he treats them were largely dictated by his proximity.

Table 35: Mistreatment of children interviewed by their employer - North

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Never been mistreated	182	22.1	41.8
Shouted at	160	19.4	36.8
Shouted at and beaten	29	3.5	6.7
Insulted	24	2.9	5.5
Insulted and beaten	21	2.6	4.8
Beaten	16	1.9	3.7
Unspecified mistreatment	1	0.1	0.2

Sexual abuse was particularly hard to detect. As direct questions are not culturally acceptable, we tried to ask the children if the employer ever touched or molested them in a disturbing way. A large majority of 98.7% gave a firmly negative answer.

4.4.2- Working conditions of children in the Bekaa

Syrians working in agriculture in Dalhamieh

As indicated earlier, the data collected in the agriculture sector in the central Bekaa is not very reliable. The sector is dominated by Syrian workers who, because of the security situation in Syria, suspected us of collecting information for political use.

The age at which the Syrian population of Dalhamieh starts working is about 6 for both boys and girls. They are paid on a daily basis: 5,000 LL to 20,000 LL for girls and from 7,000 LL to 50,000 LL for boys, according to age and stature.

They work during the day and have a two-hour lunch break. Most of them, especially girls, suffer from back discomfort because they spend their time bent over cutting weeds. They also suffer from the burning sun and most of them cover their heads and faces and wear long sleeves in order to prevent excessive tanning.

Employers are rarely present. Men of 30 - 40 years old are employed to supervise the workers. Most supervisors are also Syrian. When asked about how they are treated by their supervisors, children stated that they were shouted at if they wander off.

Children working in Zahleh, Bar Elias and Baalbek

92.3% of the children surveyed in those three areas of the Bekaa had worked full-time for at least 9 months. Their distribution by sector was as follows:

Table 36: Kinds of work the children interviewed do - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Automobile workshop	24	44.4	46.2
Not specified	6	11.1	11.5
Restaurants and snack bars	5	9.3	9.6
Small shop	4	7.4	7.7
Carpentry	3	5.6	5.8
Agriculture	3	5.6	5.8
Butchery	2	3.7	3.8
Blacksmithing	1	1.9	1.9
Collecting iron	1	1.9	1.9
Porter	1	1.9	1.9
Construction	1	1.9	1.9
Painting	1	1.9	1.9
Total	52	96.3	100
Total	54	100	

As in the North, most children work from Monday to Friday, and 89.8% work exclusively during the day. Only 10.2% work during the day and part of the night. 80% of those who go to school work after school hours and 20% at week-ends and during vacations.

The reason why they work is mainly to supplement the family income:

Table 37: The reasons children work- Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Supplement family income	23	42.6	46
Learn a job	9	16.7	18
Supplement family income and learn a job	7	13	14
Not interested in school	4	7.4	8
Not specified (does not know)	3	5.6	6
Supplement family income and not interested in school	3	5.6	6
Help pay family debt	1	1.9	2
Total	50	92.6	100

Salaries are distributed on a weekly basis. 50,000 LL is the average. Only two children said that their employer had refused to pay them or paid them less than agreed upon at least once. 33.3% of the children give their weekly salary to their parents:

Table 38: Uses children interviewed make of their weekly income - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Give all of it to my parents	18	33.3	36.7
Give part of it to my parents and save money	12	22.2	24.5
Give part of it to my parents	9	16.7	18.4
Buy things for myself	6	11.1	12.2
Pay school fees	2	3.7	4.1
Save money	1	1.9	2
Buy things for myself and give part to my parents	1	1.9	2
Total	49	90.7	100

The working environment is a source of discomfort for the children, dust and fumes being the most frequently cited problem.

Table 39: Working environment of children interviewed - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Dust and fumes	13	24.1	38.2
Chemicals	3	5.6	8.8
Loud noise	2	3.7	5.9
Lack of ventilation	1	1.9	2.9
Unspecified discomfort	1	1.9	2.9

Injuries and health problems are minimized:

Table 40: Work-related injuries and illnesses of children interviewed - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Minor injuries	17	31.5	68
Burns	2	3.7	8
Extreme fatigue	2	3.7	8
Fractures	1	1.9	4
Eye problems	1	1.9	4

85.7% of children did not stop work when they were badly hurt. 30.6% of children carry heavy weights and 10.4% of them operate heavy machinery.

Employers' severity towards the children is summarized in the following table:

Table 41: Mistreatment of children interviewed by their employer - Bekaa

	Frequency	%	Valid %
Shouted at	9	16.7	81.8
Insulted and beaten	2	3.7	18.2
Total	11	20.4	100

2 children said that the employer had touched them in a way that troubled them.

4.4.3- Employers

As indicated earlier in this report, the nature of the child/employer relationship is very ambiguous. Employers are looked upon with respect and fear but also with a degree of complicity in the presence of the data-collectors.

It was difficult to interview 3 employers per sector as originally intended. Employers were suspicious and most refused to answer our questions.

We were able to talk to 38 employers distributed as follows:

Table 42: Number of employers interviewed by region and sector

		Automobile workshops	Carpentry	Agriculture	Blacksmit i ng	groceries, clothes, shoe - makers, etc.)	Abattoirs and butcheries	Restaurants and hotels including café, tea stalls	Fishing	Electricity	Total employers interviewed
Tripoli	Tripoli	3	2		2	3	3	3			18
	Mina								2		
	Beddawi										
Akkar	Halba	3					3				9
	Al Abdeh							3		2	
	Bebnine										
	Wadi el Jamous										
Bekaa	Zahleh	3	3								9
	Bar Elias										
	Dalhamieh			3							
	Baalbek										
	Total employers interviewed										
	by sector	9	5	3	2	3	6	6	2	2	38

The employers who agreed to be interviewed did not provide information about the general profile of their business (total number of employees/permanent and daily employees/employees between 5 and 17 years old/family members working with him/his children working with him). They were also reluctant to give their full names and ages (they were in fact between 30 and 55) in order to ensure maximum anonymity.

A very high homogeneity was found in their answers to our questions, despite the geographical and socio-cultural disparities between regions.

The reasons given for employing children were:

- The child did not succeed at school, did not like school or is not very gifted and had to learn a job.
- The child is bright but he does not want to go to school. He came looking for a job.
- The child's parents cannot afford school. If the child does not work, he will end up in the streets and become a drug user or a thief.
- Not everyone is gifted for academic work; someone has to do manual work.

- The child has to help support his family. Turning him down would be a crime.
- Children are "multi-taskers". They can work, clean and run errands. They don't actually work, they help.

Although none of the employers said that the parents of a working child were indebted to him, at least 20 of them stated that parents should be grateful he was sheltering and protecting their child who, otherwise, would have gone astray. This paternalistic attitude is also adopted to justify the sometimes harsh treatment of children. If mistakes occur, children are mostly yelled at "as if they were one's own off-spring". Beating is infrequent, "a slight slap on the neck isn't beating," said one employer in Tripoli. "We're human beings, and one might lose one's temper," said another in Al Abdeh. Children were not threatened with withholding of salary.

All the employers had had child employees for more than a year and were on the whole satisfied with their work. The employers interviewed had no specific criteria for recruiting children. One of them, the owner of a tyre repair shop, asked his child-employee to show us his skin disease consisting of purple swelling spots on his legs.

Employers' assessment of children's working conditions:

According to the employers, working hours are between 8 in the morning and 6 in the evening, except for fishermen, who work at night. Weekends were rest days for the employees, some of whom do not work on Fridays. All the employers pay their employees weekly, except for farmers and fishermen who pay them daily.

The employers interviewed were convinced that, as long as they were exposed to the same hazards as their employees, they could have a clear conscience. "He, who treats you as he treats himself, is not unfair to you," said one. As owners of small shops and small industries, they believe the children working for them to be in a safe place.

They all regarded the hazards connected with the production process as minor. Even carpenters did not operate on heavy machinery and, if they did (one case in Mina), they did not put children on the machine. They said that, in any case, a child would not be efficient. Data-collectors saw no protective equipment in the workplaces they visited and employers did not consider such equipment necessary.

Employers denied the occurrence of work accidents involving children in their enterprise. They mentioned minor injuries, and the answers in the child questionnaires seem to corroborate their claim. Dealing with insurance companies or with parents in the eventuality of accidents seems not worth considering.

Furthermore, employers do not expect Ministry of Labour inspectors to visit. At first, when they suspected us of representing the Government, most of them said that the child/children working for them was/were visiting or that he/they had come to watch him work and learn only at weekends. None of the 38 employers had ever had inspectors visiting his workplace.

Chapter5 · Focus Groups with Children

The focus groups in the North and the Bekaa were spontaneous and could not be fully organized in advance. Although the children were curious about us, we had to wait for them to gather around our team. We also had to avoid crowding. Two or three visits to the places selected were needed before focus groups could be organized. Their purpose was to identify:

- 1- the days and hours when the children visit the places selected;
- 2- the kinds of activities that take place there and the possibility for our team to interrupt or interfere;
- 3- the group leaders who would help to call in their friends and companions.

The visits also aimed to make us welcome by taking part in the activities (playing football) or engaging in casual conversation.

Casual interactions and focused conversations also took place with the less reluctant children in order to draw up a list of themes to be tackled during the focus groups.

5.1- Focus Group in Bab el Tebbaneh

The setting

Bab el Tebbaneh is a crowded neighbourhood of Tripoli known for its poverty. The public garden is a big playground where the boys play football wearing the colours of international teams. This season most of them support Spain, which has recently won the World Cup. Around the football arena stretches what looks like a park dotted with puddles from the rain. On the benches, boys between 12 and 15 engage in vehement conversations about cellular phones and Lebanese singers. One of them says he is about to join Star Academy. When approached, they are a bit shy although they have met the team earlier.

When the other boys finally gather round us, the conversation is oddly initiated by Abd who is scathing about a short film made by a Lebanese director entitled "Tattooed eye". The film portrays children of the Tripoli suburbs being abused and using drugs.

Themes

a) Drugs and cigarettes

"We're not drug users," the boys argue. "We're not those boys [in the film]. They don't represent us." "We only smoke regular cigarettes".

If focus group participants smoke it's because:

- 1- "We enjoy it"
- 2- It's manly. After all, they are providers, so why should they refrain from the bad habits of adults? Most of them say they started smoking at around 9 years of age and that they have at least one parent who smokes.

Smoking is a cheap habit in their eyes and most of them think that the money they spend on cigarettes "is nothing".

b) Girls/Honour

The boys we talked to in Bab el Tebbaneh deployed subtle and straightforward techniques to get the attention of the team of female data-collectors. Some of them used bold language and had to be admonished. One of them would not stop touching one data-collector's hair until she asked him if he would allow a stranger to touch his sister's hair. These boys do not mention their sister's names. They leave them out when it comes to counting their siblings. When asked if any of their sisters work, the answer was unanimous: "neither our sisters nor our mothers".

c) School

Some boys boast about the fact that they have been kicked out of school because they have allegedly assaulted a teacher. They tell numerous of their courage facing an abusive teacher. Some of them claim to have hit the instructor because the latter insulted them. Others assaulted the teacher just because "he gets on my nerves". Two children say they have sabotaged a teacher's car, punctured their tyres in revenge.

Most of the boys say that school is pointless and they might drop out next year. In their discourse, leaving school is not related to the need to make money. The most frequent comments on school were:

"The time I waste going to school would be better spent learning a job".

"What would I do with a diploma in a country where university graduates are unemployed?"

"It's pointless, believe me. I've been going to school for years now and I still can't read a sentence".

d) Cellular phones

Like all boys their age, those of Bab el Tebbaneh who participated in the focus group are fascinated with cars and cellular phones. Some of them exhibit new mobiles. All of them have prepaid cards but they rarely use the phone to actually speak to anyone. They use it to store music or send messages.

Cellular phones are crucial for planning their day. Their favourite technique is the "call and hang up" commonly known as the "missed call technique". It is used to signify: "I'm here", "come down", "let's meet" or just "hello". They recharge their phones by the unit from strolling vendors.

e) Child work as a natural phenomenon

It is definitely child work and not child labour that these children are talking about when they describe their jobs. Even those whose fingers are stained with engine oil and rust think that their work is "easy".

Although they are aware of the fact that "some children do not work", they tend to accept their situation as "providers". They "want to work" and make money and some of them are thinking of marrying and having children as soon as they are 19.

Their parents did not encourage them to work. They simply arranged for them to start working as part of their normal duties and also as an initiation to becoming a man. "Men work; it's as simple as that."

5.2- Focus Group in Mina

The setting

In Mina, children gather in a neighbourhood they like to call "behind the khan", the old souk, which is now nothing but an abandoned building where a poor family or two live without water or electricity.

Behind the khan, the children are younger than those at Bab el Tebbaneh (6 - 11). They are also less aggressive. They spend their time in a computer shop where they play video games. The noise is almost unbearable until we step into the small shop, welcomed by the sleepy owner seated at the door.

Children ask the purpose of our visit. They all want us to meet their parents, thinking that we are providing financial support. A medium-sized rat passes by and a 5-year-old cries, "Look, a cat!". In the meantime, a man carrying a notebook calls the boys by their names and asks discreetly for money. He is a special kind of creditor: he sells "units" for cellular phones and collects his money at the end of the month. While children flock around him, Ahmad a 14-year-old, tells us that he sells "units" too. "It's a lucrative business," he adds.

Themes

a) Grateful sons help their parents

Most of the boys playing in the shop work in order to help their parents. More specifically, they help their mothers. "Otherwise, I'd be ungrateful," says Mohammad, whose mother we visited earlier in the day. But the boys' work is irregular and sometimes, the mothers are disappointed. "What have I done to deserve this from you?" a child's mother asks. "She doesn't hit me or anything," he continues, "but I can see she's upset and I feel guilty".

b) Computers as a sign of modernity and as a useful hobby

Children boast about their dexterity with computers. Although they use only some of the keys, they say they "operate" computers. "I type and delete like in an office". "I spend my time here," says a 12 year-old, "because it's better than spending it in the street. At least here, we have computers and we do something useful."

c) Beirut, a dream land

All the boys express the wish to go back to Beirut with us. Only two of them have been there. Asked how they imagine Beirut to be, the children say:

- "A big place with tall buildings"

- "A city with schools and a lot of shops"
- "A place where we walk by the sea and eat candy." Reminded that Mina is also by the sea and that they could do the same near their house, they insist that "It's not the same".

5.3- Focus Group in Bebnine-Akkar

The setting

In the big football field behind the largest mosque in the village, the boys are already playing when we arrive. The girls are running, most of them barefoot, in the surrounding pitch. When they see us coming they start throwing flower petals at us as a sign of welcome. The boys begin to flock round a boulder at the side of the playground.

The women (very influential) are here too. They want to make sure that their children are included in the survey in case any financial aid is forthcoming. They all want to cook us lunch after the "meeting" is over.

Themes

a) Predominant role of the mother

The boys look at their mothers every time they want to express a thought or answer a question. Most of them, a bit nervous, check their ages with their mothers. The children also express a very touching tenderness toward their mothers. They describe how hard they work and cannot bear to see them "sad or worried". Most of these working children give half of their weekly income "to mother and not to father, because he works and he doesn't need money". "Besides, mother does everything; she is responsible for everything in our house".

b) "Going to Beirut" where children are rich

The participants ask us if there is enough room in our bus for them to go to Beirut. In Beirut, they say, "all the children go to school and they have nice clothes". "I've seen them in films. They're rich".

c) Social status and honour

The boys in the Bebnine focus group were very concerned with their fathers' social position. A fight almost broke out when one of them reminded his friend that his father "used to be" the mayor of the village and that "he no longer is". For half an hour, some boys explain that they have a picture of their father with a prominent politician; others insist that ministers and members of parliament have visited them more than once. We saw some of the pictures proudly hung in the houses, but the parents did not confirm their children's claim of officials visiting their dwellings.

Speaking French is another distinction the children seek. Some of them address us exclusively in French and two of the boys say they would become French language teachers.

5.4- Focus Group in Dalhamieh- Bekaa

The setting

The "village" stretches behind a fruit and vegetable washing and packing station. It is the property of the employer, who offers shelter to his Syrian employees.

The ages of the children vary from 5 to 16 and we could not easily separate them into groups. They all want their picture taken with us. Yet, they do not talk a lot. They smile and stare at us.

Themes

a) Girls are efficient workers

The girls are extremely shy and some of them run out in the fields when we try to approach them, although we were careful to send female data-collectors to meet them. Traditionally, the girls say their major role is bringing up their younger brothers and sisters. They do housework, such as cleaning in and around the tent. While the boys explain that they carry, pack and transport fruit and vegetables, girls and women usually do the weeding and harvesting.

b) Smoking at 12 and driving a tractor

The dream of every little boy is to drive a tractor and be able to plough. At 12, some of the boys already smoke. In order for us to see how strong they are, we have to check out their biceps. Some of the boys, like the 8 year-old Bashar, carry heavy fruit cages.

Suggested Pointers for Action

Child work in Lebanon is entrenched in the culture of deprived families in both the North and the Bekaa. It is a duty and a socialization process paving the way to adulthood. Children do not expect action to be taken to improve their working conditions. They just hope for social assistance. They graciously answer researchers' question and engage in lengthy conversations with data-collectors "just to have fun", as most of them said. They "know for a fact that no one will help them".

Any long-term plan aimed at reducing child labour and/or improving the working conditions of children should include the following:

Raising awareness

Child labour is an insufficiently discussed subject in Lebanon. It is thought of as a marginal and minor phenomenon. Awareness needs to be raised through the media and the action of social workers.

Coordinating efforts

In Tripoli, Mina and Akkar, the overlapping work of associations, municipalities and social workers needs to be coordinated. The children interviewed complained about the number of data-collectors visiting them every month, while those in the Bekaa seem to be little visited.

At the administrative level, it is imperative to foster cooperation and coordination (through specific regulations) between the relevant Lebanese public authorities, namely:

Reform education

Reform of the public education system is crucial to reducing the numbers of working children. Not only would it delay their entry to the labour market, it would also help them to link education to skilled work and productivity.

Raise the minimum age for labour market entry from 14 years (applicable minimum age under the Lebanese Labour Code) to at least 15 years (the general minimum age set by ILO Convention No. 138); and take into account "the special situation of girls" in the framework of national laws and regulations, in compliance with article 7(e) of ILO Convention No. 182.

Categorize the businesses listed under "vocational/technical training" (as per Decree No. 700) in a clear way so as to avoid potential infringements of children's rights by employers as a result of the unclear distinction between employment and vocational/technical training.

Activate the Unit to Combat Child Labour in Lebanon through specific programmes designed by the ILO and specialized UN Agencies in coordination with local NGOs concerned with child labour.

Activate the Labour Inspection Department (referred to in Decision 1 / 49) in order to investigate and monitor the effectiveness of the implementation of the legal obligations with respect to every type of industrial occupation.

Make provision for a special and highly protective social security system for working children; create or help to create a mechanism to ensure that working children undergo the relevant medical examination and that the issuance of the certificate by the relevant authorities is subject to a clear description of the work to be performed.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1

List of Ratifications of International Labour Conventions ²⁵ Lebanon

Member since 1948 50	Conventions ratifie	d (48 in force)
C. 1 Hours of Work (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 1)		1.06.1977
C. 8 Unemployment Indemnity (Shipwreck) Convention, 192	,	6.12.1993
C. 9 Placing of Seamen Convention, 1920 (No. 9)		6.12.1993
C. 14 Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921 (No. 14)		26.07.1962
C. 17 Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 19	925 (No. 17)	1.06.1977
C. 19 Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Conventi	on, 1925 (No. 19)	1.06.1977
C. 26 Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928 (No. 26)	26.07.1962
C. 29 Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)		1.06.1977
C. 30 Hours of Work (Commerce and Offices) Convention,	1930 (No. 30)	1.06.1977
C. 45 Underground Work (Women) Convention, 1935 (No.	45)	26.07.1962
C. 52 Holidays with Pay Convention, 1936 (No. 52)		26.07.1962
C. 58 Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936 (No.	58)	6.12.1993
C. 59 Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937	(No. 59)	1.06.1977
C. 71 Seafarers> Pensions Convention, 1946 (No. 71)		6.12.1993
C. 73 Medical Examination (Seafarers) Convention, 1946 (N	lo. 73)	6.12.1993
C. 74 Certification of Able Seamen Convention, 1946 (No. 7	4)	6.12.1993
C. 77 Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Conven	ion, 1946 (No. 77)	1.06.1977
C. 78 Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industria	Occupations)	
Convention, 1946 (No. 78)		1.06.1977
C. 81 Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81)		26.07.1962
C. 88 Employment Service Convention, 1948 (No. 88)		1.06.1977
C. 89 Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised), 1948 (N	э. 89)	26.07.1962
C. 90 Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revise	ed), 1948 (No. 90)	26.07.1962
C. 95 Protection of Wages Convention, 1949 (No. 95)		1.06.1977
C. 98 Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention	on, 1949 (No. 98)	1.06.1977

²⁵⁾ Database available at : http://webfusion.ilo.org/public/db/standards/normes/appl/index.cfm?lang=EN [Accessed on 2 August 2011].

C. 100 Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)C. 105 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)C. 106 Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1957 (No. 106)	1.06.1977 1.06.1977 1.06.1977
C. 109 Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1958 (No. 109) Convention not in force	6.12.1993
 C. 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) C. 115 Radiation Protection Convention, 1960 (No. 115) C. 120 Hygiene (Commerce and Offices) Convention, 1964 (No. 120) C. 122 Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122) C. 127 Maximum Weight Convention, 1967 (No. 127) C. 131 Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970 (No. 131) C. 133 Accommodation of Crews (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1970 (No. 133) C. 136 Benzene Convention, 1971 (No. 136) C. 138 Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) Minimum age specified: 14 years C. 139 Occupational Cancer Convention, 1974 (No. 139) C. 142 Human Resources Development Convention, 1975 (No. 142) C. 147 Merchant Shipping (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 147) C. 148 Working Environment (Air Pollution, Noise and Vibration) Convention, 1977 (No. 148) C. 150 Labour Administration Convention, 1978 (No. 150) C. 152 Occupational Safety and Health (Dock Work) Convention, 1979 (No. 152) C. 159 Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment (Disabled Persons) Convention, 1983 (No. 159) 	1.06.1977 6.12.1977 1.06.1977 1.06.1977 1.06.1977 1.06.1977 1.06.1977 6.12.1993 23.02.2000 10.06.2003 23.02.2000 23.02.2000 6.12.1993 4.04.2005 4.04.2005 6.09.2004 23.02.2000
 C. 170 Chemicals Convention, 1990 (No. 170) 26.04.2006 C. 172 Working Conditions (Hotels and Restaurants) Convention, 1991 (No. 172) C. 174 Prevention of Major Industrial Accidents Convention, 1993 (No. 174) C. 176 Safety and Health in Mines Convention, 1995 (No. 176) C. 182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) Denunciation (as a result of the ratification of Convention No. 138) 	23.02.2000 4.04.2005 23.02.2000 11.09.2001
C. 15 Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921 (No. 15) Denounced on 10.06.2003	1.06.1977

يحظر تشغيل الاولاد والاحداث والنساء في الصناعات والاشغال الاتية وفقاً لاحكام المواد ٢٢ و٢٣ و٢٧ من قانون العمل

- ١ _ العمل تحت سطح الارض في المناجم والمقالع وكل عمل الستخراج الحجارة.
- ٢ _ العمل في الافران الصناعية المعدة لتذويب وتصفية وطبخ المنتوجات المعدنية.
 - ٣ _ تفضيض المرايات بطريقة الزئبق.
 - ٤ _ صنع المتفجرات ومعالجتها بالايدى.
 - ٥ _ سبك الزجاج وتبريده في الفرن الخاص.
 - ٦ ـ لحام القطع المعدنية بتذويبها الجزئي.
 - ٧ _ صنع الكحول وسائر المشروبات الكحولية.
 - ٨ ـ الدهان بطريقة الديكو.
- ٩ _ تقليب ومعالجة او تحويل الرماد المحتوى على رصاص واستخلاص الفضة من الرصاص.
 - ١٠ ـ تركيب مزيج اللحام او امزجة معدنية محتوية على اكثر من ١٠ بالمئة من الرصاص.
- ١١ ـ صنع الليتارج والماسيكو والالمنيوم والسيروز اورانج او سلفات او كربونات او سيليكات الرصاص.
 - ١٢ _ عملية الميح والمعالجة بالطرطير في صنع الخزانات الكهربائية او اصلاحها.
 - ١٣ ـ تنظيف المعامل التي تجرى فيها الاعمال المنصوص عليها تحت الارقام ٩ و١٠ و١١ و١٢.
 - ١٤ _ قيادة الالات ذات المحركات الكبرى.
 - ١٥ _ اصلاح او تنظيف الالات ذات المحركات اثناء دورانها.
 - ١٦ _ صنع الاسفلت.
 - ١٧ _ اعمال الدباغة.
 - ١٨ _ العمل في مستودعات الاسمدة المستخرجة من البراز والزبل والعظم او الدم.
 - ١٩ _ سلخ جلود حيوانات.

ان قبول الاحداث في احدى المصانع او المعامل بقصد التعليم او الاعداد الفني لا يعتبر بمثابة استخدام، شرط ان يكون المصنع او المعمل قد استحصل من اجل ذلك على ترخيص من وزارة الصحة العامة.

INDUSTRIES DANS LESQUELLES L'EMPLOI DES ENFANTS, DES FEMMES ET DES ADOLESCENTS EST INTERDIT

Conformément aux dispositions des articles 22, 23 et 27, il est interdit d'employer des enfants, des adolescents et des femmes dans les industries et aux travaux suivants:

- 1 travail souterrain dans les mines et carrières, tout travail d'extraction de pierre.
- 2 travail aux fours pour la fusion, le raffinage et la cuisson des produits minéraux.
- 3 argentage des miroirs par le procédé au mercure.
- 4 fabrication et manipulation des explosifs.
- 5 fonte et cuisson de verre dans le four spécial.
- 6 soudure autogène des pièces métalliques.
- 7 fabrication de l'alcool et de toutes autres boissons alcooliques.
- 8 peinture au Duco.
- 9 renversement, traitement ou réduction des cendres contenant du plomb et désargentage du plomb.
- 10 fabrication de la soudure ou des alliages métalliques contenant plus de dix pour cent de plomb.
- 11 fabrication de la litharge, du massicot, de l'aluminium, de la céruse-orange ou du sulfate, du chromate ou du silicate de plomb.
- 12 opération de mélange et de tartinage dans la fabrication ou la réparation d'accumulateurs électriques.
- 13 nettoyage des usines où sont effectués les travaux énumérés sous les numéros 9, 10, 11 et 12.
- 14 conduite de machines motrices à grand engin.
- 15 réparation ou nettoyage de machines motrices en action.
- 16 fabrication de l'asphalte.
- 17 travail dans les tanneries.
- 18 travail dans les dépôts d'engrais extraits de matières fécales, de fumier, d'os ou de sang.
- 19 écorchement des animaux.

L'admission d'adolescents dans une usine ou dans un atelier aux fins d'apprentissage ou de préparation technique ne sera pas considérée comme un emploi au sens de cet article, à la condition que l'usine ou l'atelier ait obtenu une autorisation à cet effet du ministère de la Santé Publique.

الصناعات التي يخضع استخدام الاحداث فيها لتقديم شهادة طبية

يحظر تشغيل الاولاد ويخضع لترخيص تشغيل الاحداث في الصناعات والاشغال الاتية وفقا لاحكام المادتين ٢٢ و٢٣ من قانون العمل

- ١ _ طبخ الدم.
- ٢ _ طبخ العظام.
- ٣ _ طبخ الصابون.
- ٤ _ طبخ الشحم.
- ٥ _ طبخ الاسمدة.
- ٦ _ كل عملية ذات علاقة بصنع الجلود.
 - ٧_صنع الغراء.
 - ٨ _ السيمنتو.
- ٩ _ قطاف القطن (العمل في محلات قطف الآلات)
 - ١٠ ـ صنع الزجاج.
 - ١١ ـ صنع السكر.
 - ١٢ _ كبس القطن.
 - ١٣ _ الطباعة.
 - ١٤ _ نسل الخرق وصناعتها.
 - ١٥ _ صنع القنب والكتان والصوف.
 - ١٦ _ نقش وتقصيب الرخام وسائر الحجارة.
 - ١٧ _ حرفة النحاس.
 - ١٨ ـ صناعة التبغ.
- ١٩ _ غزل ونسيج وحياكة الحرير والقطن والكتان بواسطة الآلات.
- ٢٠ _ اشغال البناء ويستثنى من ذلك الابنية في الارياف التي لا يتجاوز علوها الاقصى ثمانية أمتار.
 - ٢١ _ تركيب الدهان والدهان اللميع.
 - ٢٢ _ الحدادة.
- ٢٣ ـ نقل المسافرين او البضائع على الطرق العادية والحديدية والنهرية وتعاطي نقل البضائع ضمن المستودعات والعنابر وعلى الجسور والارصفة.

توضيعاً لبعض التعابير الواردة في الجدولين رقم ١ و٢ الملحقين بقانون العمل، تولت دائرة الترجمة في دار المنشورات الحقوقية ترجمة نص هذين الجدولين الى اللغة الفرنسية.

INDUSTRIES DANS LESQUELLES L'EMPLOI DES ADOLESCENTS EST SOUMIS A LA PRESENTATION D'UN CERTIFICAT MEDICAL

Conformément aux dispositions des articles 22 et 23 qui interdisent le travail des enfants, l'emploi des adolescents est soumis à autorisation dans les industries et aux travaux suivants:

- 1 cuisson du sang.
- 2 cuisson des os.
- 3 cuisson du savon.
- 4 cuisson du suif.
- 5 fabrication d'engrais.
- 6 toute opération afférente à la fabrication du cuir.
- 7 fabrication de la colle.
- 8 fabrication du ciment.
- 9 engrenage du coton (travail dans les pièces où sont installées les machines).
- 10 fabrication du verre.
- 11 fabrication du sucre.
- 12 compression du coton.
- 13 imprimerie.
- 14 effilochage et traitement de lambeaux.
- 15 préparation du chanvre, du lin et de la laine.
- 16 sculpture et taille du marbre et d'autres pierres.
- 17 chaudronnerie.
- 18 traitement du tabac.
- 19 filature, tissage et tricotage de la soie, du coton, et du lin au moyen de machines.
- 20 travaux de construction sauf les bâtiments ruraux n'excédant pas une hauteur maximum de huit mètres.
- 21 fabrication des peintures et du vernis.
- 22 l'art du forgeron.
- 23 transport de passagers ou de marchandises par route, par voie ferrée ou fluviale, ainsi que le transport des marchandises au sein des dépôts, des hangars, sur les ponts et les trottoirs

Decree No. 700 Table No. 1

جدول رقم ١

يحظر استخدام الاحداث في الاعمال الخطرة بطبيعتها او التي تشكل خطرا على الحياة او الصحة او الاخلاق بسبب الظروف التي تجرى فيها:

أ ـ قبل اكمالهم سن السادسة عشرة

خطر على الحياة	خطر على الصحة	خطر على الاخلاق والوضع النفسي
- معامل الثلج والتبريد.	- التبغ بما فيه صناعة البيدي والسجائر.	- تجارة الشوارع.
- التخلص من رماد الافران وتنظيف حفر الرماد.	- الاعمال المتعلقة بصناعة واستخدام المواد الكيمائية الزراعية.	- العمل في المحاكم او السجون او الاصلاحيات.
- العمل البحري: التخزين - التستيف - الوقادون.	- الورق والطباعة.	
- صناعة النسيج. - نسج السجاد.	- صناعة الصابون. - صناعة الكاوتشوك.	
- صناعة الالمينيوم. - النجارة الآلية.	- نسل الخرق وصناعتها. - حرفة النحاس.	
	- غزل ونسيج وحياكة الحرير والقطن والكتان بواسطة الآلات. - الحدادة.	

ب - قبل اكمالهم سن السابعة عشرة

خطر على الحياة	خطر على الصحة	خطر على الاخلاق والوضع النفسي
- صنع المتفجرات ومعالجتها بالايدي.	- الاعمال التي تستدعي التعرض لغبار الاسبستوس او القطن.	-انتاج المشروبات الكحولية او بيعها.
- اعمال توليد وتحويل ونقل الكهرباء والقوى المحركة من أي نوع.	- اعمال استعمال وتعبئة وتحويل وتفريغ البنزين.	- العمل كمضيفين في الملاهي
- الامدادات في محطات السكك الحديدية.	- استخراج الرصاص والزنك الابيض ورصاص الطلاء.	- العمل في البار ات.
- الهدم.	- تفضيض المرايات بطريقة الزئبق.	- العمل المنفر د اذا تضمن خطر
- صناعة الكريستال او الزجاج.	- الطلاء، المذيبات الطلاءات الراتينجية، الورنيش، الغراء، الميناء.	5

- الألات المتحركة التشغيل، التنظيف الاصلاح.
- الاباحية والعمل بها في اماكن تنتجها.

- القار والاسفلت والبترمين.

- صناعة الثقاب.
- العمل تحت سطح الارض في المناجم والمقالع وكل عمل لاستخراج الحجارة.
- الخدمة المنزلية. صناعة استخراج البترول وتكريره.

- حوادث او

- انتاج المواد

- اعمال رعاية

المضطربين عقليا.

- التسول (حظر بصورة مطلقة)

اعمال اجرامية.

- الترفيه (الملاهي - العمل تحت الماء (اعمال الغوص). الليلية، الحانات - الكازينوهات - الملاكازينوهات السيرك - قاعات القمار)

- مصانع السكر .

- المدابغ.
- النقل المركبات العامة.
- صهر المعادن وتشغيلها.
- الاعمال التي نتطلب التعرض لأي مادة ذات نشاط اشعاعي والاشعاعات المؤينة.

- حمل الاثقال اذا زاد وزنها على 20 كلغ.

- الاعمال التي تعتمد على استعمال مادة السوديوم.
 - طبخ الدم.

- ابخرتها او ابخرة المواد المحتوية عليها. - اللحام بالاوكسيجين والاستيلين والكهرباء.
- العمل في فرق المطافىء وخدمات الانقاذ من الغازات.

-صناعة ملئ الاسطوانات بالغازات المضغوطة

- الاشتغال بالمواد التي ينتج التسمم من

استعمالها او تداولها او التعرض لغبارها او

- الاشتغال على الآلات الرافعة والحفر والاشغال العامة.
- العمل على المناشير الدائرية وغيرها من الألات الخطرة.
 - العمل مع الحيو انات الخطرة او المتوحشة.
 - المخابز: العمل قرب النار القطاعة.

- طبخ العظام.
- طبخ الشحم.
- طبخ الاسمدة.
- كل عملية ذات علاقة بصناعة الجلود.
 - السمنتو.
- نقل المسافرين او البضائع على الطرق العادية والحديدية والنهرية وتعاطي نقل البضائع ضمن المستودعات والعنابر وعلى الجسور والارصفة.
- الاعمال التي تعرض لعناصر مسببة للامراض مثل: العمل في المستشفيات تنظيف المدن الاعمال المتصلة بالمجاري مناولة الجثث، ...
- المذابح وتخليص اللحوم وسلخ جلود الحيوانات.

- صناعة الطابوق والبلاط وحفر ونحت الرخام وغيره من الاحجار.
- عمليات المزج والعجن في صناعة اواصلاح البطاريات الكهربائية.
- صناعة السماد ومعامل الحوامض المعدنية والحاصلات الكيماوية او العمل في مستودعاته.
- العمل في الافران الصناعية المعدة لتذويب وتصفية وطبخ المنتوجات المعدنية.
 - سبك الزجاج وتبريده في الفرن الخاص.
 - لحام القطع المعدنية بتذويبها الجزئي.
 - الدهان بطريقة الديكو.
- تركيب مزيج اللحام او امزجة معدنية محتوية على اكثر من 10% من الرصاص.
- صنع الليتراج والماسيكو والالمنيوم والسيروز اورانج او سلفات او كربونات او سيليكات الرصاص.
- عملية الميح والمعالجة بالطرطير في صنع الخز انات الكهر بائية او اصلاحها.
- العمل في مستودعات الاسمدة المستخرجة من البراز والزبل والعظم والدم

Tabular Overview of Ratification of ILO Child Labour Conventions in Arab States²⁶

Country	Minimum Age Specified	Convention 138 on Minimum Age – Ratification Status	Convention 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labour –Ratification Status	ILO Conventions Ratified
Bahrain	Not applicable ²⁷	No	Yes	9 Conventions ratified and in force
Iraq	15 years	Yes	Yes	66 Conventions ratified (59 in force)
Jordan	16 years	Yes	Yes	24 Conventions ratified (23 in force)
Kuwait	15 years	Yes	Yes	19 Conventions ratified and in force
Lebanon	14 years	Yes	Yes	50 Conventions ratified (48 in force)
Oman	15 years	Yes	Yes	4 Conventions ratified and in force
Qatar	16 years	Yes	Yes	6 Conventions ratified and in force
Saudi Arabia	Not applicable ²⁸	No	Yes	15 Conventions ratified and in force
Syrian Arab Republic	15 years	Yes	Yes	50 Conventions ratified and in force
United Arab Emirates	15 years	Yes	Yes	9 Conventions ratified and in force
Yemen	14 years	Yes	Yes	30 Conventions ratified (29 in force)

 $^{26) \} Database \ available \ at \ http://webfusion.ilo.org/public/db/standards/normes/appl/index.cfm?lang=EN \ [Accessed \ on \ 2 \]$ august 2011]. 27) C. 138 not ratified

²⁸⁾ C. 138 not ratified

