



International
Labour
Organization

Knowledge-Based Mapping and Review of Child Labour information in Sri Lanka

October 2007

International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child
Labour (IPEC)

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements are made to:

- Ms. Shyama Salgado, Senior Programme Officer, ILO-IPEC, for providing the opportunity to undertake this study and for her continuous support;
- Ms. Randika Jayasinghe, ILO-IPEC for her co-operation;
- Ms. Savithri Hirimuthugoda, for her laborious work in accessing research studies;
- The key persons who gave their time for personal or telephone interviews; and
- Vathany Narendran and Chandan Nishantha for assistance in the production of the report.

Swarna Jayaweera
October 2007

Table of contents

Knowledge-Based Mapping and Review of Child Labour information in Sri Lanka.....	4
1. Introduction.....	4
1.1 The Context.....	4
1.2 Objectives and scope of the study.....	4
1.3 The Framework of the study.....	5
1.4 Structure of the study report.....	6
2. Incidence of Child Labour.....	6
2.1 The Census and annual and quarterly Labour Force Surveys of the Department of Census and Statistics are a regular and continuous source of macro level data.....	6
2.2 A more specific source of national level data is the Child Activity Survey carried out by the Department of Census and Statistics in 1999. The sample in this survey was 14,400 households. The survey concentrated on the 5-14 and 15-17 age groups.....	7
3. Facets of Child Labour.....	8
3.1 Domestic Labour.....	8
3.2 Manufacturing industries.....	11
3.3 The Informal Sector.....	13
3.4 Child Beggars.....	16
3.5 Street children.....	18
3.6 Commercial child sex workers.....	19
3.7 Children affected by armed conflict.....	21
3.8 Worst forms of Child Labour.....	23
3.9 Trafficking children into employment.....	23
4. Causes and Consequences.....	24
5. Reducing the gaps in knowledge.....	26
6. Research output.....	29
6.1 Availability of accessible research output pertaining to child labour.....	29
6.2 Use of modalities of research.....	29
7. References.....	30
8. Interviews.....	32

Knowledge-Based Mapping and Review of Child Labour information in Sri Lanka

1. Introduction

1.1 The Context

Child labour has been recognised as a grave threat to the developmental needs of children since the early twentieth century. A long history of international interventions to reduce and eventually eliminate child labour began with the advent of the International Labour Organisation and has culminated in landmark Conventions in recent decades such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and in particular its sections 32, 34 and 35, the ILO Conventions No. 138 on the Minimum Age of Employment (1973) and No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999), and the UN Protocol for Prevention, Suppression and Punishment for Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000).

Sri Lanka too has a record of legal enactments since 1919 including, inter alia those pertaining to the prohibition of the employment of children under 10 years in plantations in 1927, the prohibition of the employment of children under 12 years in 1939, a reversal of this absolute ban and some restrictions in different sectors in the Employment of Women, Young persons and Children Act of 1956 and its subsequent amendments in 2003 and 2006, in particular, prohibiting the employment of any children under 14 years and those under 18 years in hazardous occupations. These laws have tended to be ad hoc and contradictory, leading to considerable confusion regarding the minimum age of employment and the various exceptions such as for children engaged in family labour. Recent legislation such as the ratification of The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990, ILO Conventions No. 138 in 1999, and No. 182 in 2001, the amendments to the Penal Code in 1995 and 1998 recognising all forms of sexual abuse and imposing penalties for them, and the SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution have established some norms. Some ambiguities, however, persist particularly regarding 14 as the minimum age of employment in a country which has compulsory education regulations for the 5-14 age group.

From a socio-economic perspective too, attitudes to child labour have been and continue to be ambiguous among a sizable section of the population. There has been a passive acceptance of child labour as a family strategy as in developed countries before their rise to prosperity and in other economically developing countries also with a relatively high incidence of poverty. As pointed out by Goonesekere (1993) an old tradition among the Sinhalese and Tamil communities was to sell their children in time of need. A 'benevolent' perception of child labour inbuilt in patron-client relationships between elite and low income families has persisted to the present. A better quality of life is envisaged by both employers and parents for children in domestic service in affluent families. The labour of children tends to be perceived as an economic asset and a strategy for family survival and parents do not appear to perceive the ill effects and dangers to children employed in diverse situations from houses to factories to commercial sex work. Awareness of the relevant legislation has yet to reach these disadvantaged communities. The increasing demand for child labour in a changing socio-economic milieu, however, has seen concomitant regulatory controls that operate in the formal sector in employment. It is against this background that an attempt is made in this study to ascertain the current situation pertaining to child labour.

1.2 Objectives and scope of the study

The study seeks to facilitate policy formulation and action to reduce and eliminate child labour by

- (i) providing a knowledge base on the current situation with respect to its
 - incidence
 - nature and manifestations
 - causes
 - consequences
- (ii) identifying gaps in knowledge, and
- (iii) exploring ways of filling this lacuna

The methodology has been to review available published and unpublished literature on child labour and to refine perceptions embodied in the literature by interviews with key persons in the areas of research, policy and action. Focus Group Discussions were not considered useful as the studies often had incorporated information from such discussions at a much greater depth. A limitation was the lack of access to all unpublished data and also to some studies published abroad.

1.3 The Framework of the study

The study is based on the premise that child labour as defined in international instruments includes paid and unpaid work and activities that are mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous or harmful to children and deprives them of access to education and opportunities that will improve their life chances. As defined by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, children are persons under the age of eighteen.

The ILO Convention No. 182 identified the worst forms of child labour that should be prohibited for persons under 18 years as

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography, or for pornographic performances;
- (c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) Work which, by its nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of the children

In accordance with the provisions of the Convention, the National Steering Committee recommended a list of hazardous forms of Child labour appropriate to the local context which were then adopted by the National Labour Advisory Council.

These encompassed

- any form of slaughter; work connected with or use of pesticides, Lead, Zinc metallurgy, hazardous or harmful chemicals, ionising radiation, Tannery, manufacture; transport, sale and use of explosives, armed combat, fireworks industry, production of weapons /knives /guns;
- work connected with heavy manual work in construction and demolition sites, lifting, carrying or moving any load, transportation of passengers and heavy goods, cleaning or repair of machinery in motion. Mining, Quarries and underground work, gem mining, smelting of metals, manufacture of glass, brass foundries, metal/rock stone crushing, sand mining, limestone industry, garment industry, textile including batik ,brick manufacture, rubber manufacture, road construction and land reclamation, work in tree climbing, felling of trees, at unguarded heights above two metres,

- dangerous performances including acrobatics, garbage collection, disposal, conservancy, and scavenging;
- agricultural work including plantations, bio hazardous substances including infective agents, inside forests, fishing
- work on vessel or craft, shipping, water transport; diving, ports or harbours;
- work in day and night clubs, bars and casinos, night work between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.; hotel work, eating houses, restaurants and shops; tourist related ; call centres and telemarketing; alcohol production, transportation and sale; tobacco production, making of beedi, cigars and such other items; child domestic labour.

1.4 Structure of the study report

Following this introduction the study report presents a situational analysis based on the review of existing child labour related studies encompassing

- o information on its incidence documented in national surveys, as due to lack of evidence sectoral data is fragmentary,
- o trends and issues in ten categories of child labour about which some information is available,
- o a synthesis of (i) causes and (ii) consequences
- o identification of gaps in information that need to be filled for policy and action, and suggestions for research to fill these gaps and to enhance the quality and relevance of the knowledge base.

2. Incidence of Child Labour

The invisibility of some forms of child labour and the right claimed by families to using the labour of their children as a survival strategy makes it difficult to make a quantitative assessment of its incidence. This limitation is reflected in the national level statistics that are available.

2.1 The Census and annual and quarterly Labour Force Surveys of the Department of Census and Statistics are a regular and continuous source of macro level data.

According to the statistics presented in these reports, the percentage of children in the 10-14 age group who were in the labour force has declined over the years – from 8.1% (male) and 4.3% (female) at the 1963 Census to 5.6% and 2.4% respectively at the 1981 census. The data in the Labour Force Surveys since 1991 indicate a substantial decline in numbers since the earlier period and some fluctuations in the last two decades, - 1.1% in 1991, 0.3% in 1995, 0.5% in 2000 and 0.1% in 2005. In 2006 male and female labour force participation rates have been 1.8% and 0.9% respectively. Regrettably these percentages are considered to be negligible to merit detailed information in these surveys. In view of the small size of the sample and the relatively small numbers of children involved it is difficult to provide conclusive data. However, the number of children in this age group in the labour force is clearly large enough to be an issue of concern. The total number of children has been 22,478 in 1991, 30,105 in 2000 and 22,349 in 2006.

Labour force participation rates in the 15-18 age group have also declined in the official statistics but continue to be high- 41.5% (male) and 18.8% (female) at the 1981 Census, and 36.2% and 26.9% respectively and 27.6% and 19.3% in 1990 and 1995 in the Labour Force Survey Reports. The percentages in 2006 were 29.0% and 18.5% and the total numbers were

232, 055 (male) and 141,102 (female) young persons/children. (Dept. of Census and Statistics, 1963, 1981, 1990, 1991, 1995., 2000, 2005, 2006).

It is to be noted that the Consumer Finances and Socio-economic Survey of 2003/04 of the Central Bank has reported an even lower labour force participation rate – 0.6% male and 0.3% female in the 10-14 age group and 17.6% male and 10.6% female in the 15-18 age group (Central Bank, 2005). Macro level statistics appear to be determined by the sample and by the interpretation of ‘employment’ by household respondents.

2.2 A more specific source of national level data is the Child Activity Survey carried out by the Department of Census and Statistics in 1999. The sample in this survey was 14,400 households. The survey concentrated on the 5-14 and 15-17 age groups.

Among the children in the 5-14 age group in this representative sample of households, 25,533 or 0.8% of the age group were out of school and engaged in economic activities and could be categorised clearly as child labour. Of these children, 34.1% were assisting in agricultural activities and 60% were in paid employment. In addition, 449,998 or 14.1% of the age group were engaged in economic activities while attending school. They were involved chiefly in family labour (91.3%), including 73.6% in agriculture, spending less than two hours on their economic activities.

Household chores can be disguised child labour if it exceeds four hours. The survey found that 48,697 children (1.5% of the age group) were out of school and engaged in household tasks and 13.1 of them had to spend more than four hours each day on these chores thereby falling into the category of child labour. On the other hand, 2.1 million children, 67.9% of the age group, assisted in household tasks for less than one hour while attending school. Overall, the survey identified around 32,000 children, that is, around 1% of the children in the age group as victims of child labour.

Among the 15 – 18 age group of the out of school population, 17.9% were engaged in economic activities, and 22.4% in household chores, of whom 16.3% had to work for over 4 hours each day. In the former category around 60% were in paid employment and 38% in agricultural work. In addition, 20.8% of this age group were engaged in economic activities while attending school, chiefly in family labour (86.4%) and in assisting in agriculture (70%), and 58.1% were involved in household work for less than one hour a day while attending school.

Other interesting and relevant information that surfaced from the Child Activity Survey is the distribution of these child workers in the economy. In the 5-14 age group, 88.2% were unpaid family labour, 8.1% employees and 2.9% self employed; and in the 15-17 age group, 69.5% were unpaid family labour, 29.9% employees and 4.4% in self employment. Among these children, 4.2% of the children in the 5-14 age group and 19.9% in the 15-17 age group worked 7-8 hours, and 2.4% and 10.7% respectively worked nine or more hours a day which is clearly unacceptable in both groups as the maximum is four hours and six hours respectively for the two groups. Whether in paid or unpaid work substantial numbers of children are seen to work under exploitative conditions.

Inevitably in a still largely agricultural country, the majority of the children in both groups were engaged in economic activities in the agriculture sector – 63.3% male and 64.3% female children. Other areas of involvement have been in manufacturing (11.8% male and 20.0% female), in trade and hotels related activities (12.0% and 8.7%) and in personal services (5.4% and 5.5%). It is interesting to note that 19,111 children were reported to be in domestic service. (Department of Census and Statistics, 1999).

The findings of this survey do not appear to differ widely from labour force data. As will be seen later in this study, in comparison with the trends noted in qualitative studies, this data from national studies could well be the 'tip of the iceberg'. It is to be noted too that the information sent regularly to the Department of Probation and Child Care from its regional offices includes in its 2005 records, complaints pertaining, inter alia, to 116 boys and 111 girls employed in domestic service, 32 boys and 31 girls in begging, 43 boys and 12 girls in sale of drugs, and 14 boys and 8 girls in factories, which reflect overt activities which are about a small fraction of the information that are not necessarily captured by national surveys (Department of Probation and Child Care, 2006). The Department of Labour's investigative activities also surface some evidence of submerged child labour

3. Facets of Child Labour

Studies on Child Labour pertain generally to a limited number of geographical areas and households. They focus on children under the minimum age of employment engaged in any economic activity and on children under 18 years employed in the worst forms of child labour identified by ILO Convention No. 182. It is possible to identify ten categories of child labour in the total quantum of available information.

- i. Domestic Labour
- ii. Children employed in the formal manufacturing sector
- iii. Children engaged in economic activities in the informal sector in the agriculture,
- iv. industry and service sectors
- v. Child beggars
- vi. Street children
- vii. Commercial Sex Workers
- viii. Children engaged in illegal activities
- ix. (viii)Children in economic activities in conflict affected areas
- x. Child combatants – in armed conflict
- xi. Children who have been trafficked

3.1 Domestic Labour

It is the perception of policy makers, administrators and researchers that recent child labour related legislation and awareness campaigns have contributed to a decline in the number of child domestic workers. It is not possible, however, to ascertain the numbers of children employed in domestic service as there appears to be no comprehensive no system of registration of domestic workers in households. As they are often invisible in the privacy of homes, the staff of the Department of Labour are unable to monitor their legal status and their working and living conditions. The Department of Probation and Child Care has only information based on complaints and on statistics of those in its Homes. Hence statistics are limited to those identified in surveys by the Department of Census and Statistics, as for instance their figure of 19,111 in 1999 and qualitative data is found mainly in empirical micro studies undertaken by researchers.

The literature on domestic labour comprises

- i. reviews of the contemporary scene and discussions of issues such as in Goonesekere (1993),

- ii. in-depth micro studies, using relatively small samples, but providing useful and relevant information and insights.

This review is based on both categories of studies and It draws chiefly on the data in four recent empirical studies – Kanangara, de Silva & Parndigamage (2003), National Child Protection Authority- NCPA, (undated, 2003?) , Jayasena (2005) and Case Studies of Child Domestic workers (Marga, 2004). Some insights were also obtained from a paper on Child Labour by the Centre for Policy Alternatives (1999) and a study on Child Labour and Non Schooling (Cenwor, 2002) and a Tracer study of rehabilitated children (Cenwor, 2005). All these studies were based on small samples of less than 100 to around 300 child domestic workers, from a limited number of districts and it is not possible to generalise from their findings. Their salience is that they draw from the real experiences of child domestic workers. A significant caveat is, as pointed out in the NCPA study, the unreliability of the information pertaining to age as considerable numbers of child domestic workers do not have birth certificates, and the possibility that the information provided by some employers with respect to working conditions lacked credibility. Nevertheless, trends and critical issues emerge from these studies that are useful inputs to policy and action programmes.

Interface of Supply and Demand

Both earlier and recent studies have identified poverty as the major reason for the availability of a large pool of potential child domestic workers. Parents in low income families perceive child labour as a strategy to reduce the economic burden of children and to augment family income. There has been a traditional acceptance of domestic service as an appropriate occupation for children in their families in the context of dependence on the patronage of the affluent. Low education levels and consequent lack of awareness of the harmful consequences of possible ill treatment of child domestic workers in their most vulnerable years inures them to the tribulations of these children. Studies have indicated that poverty has been compounded by family breakdown resulting in dysfunctional families that do not provide care and protection for their children. The supply of child domestic workers is enlarged by the relatively high incidence of dropping out of school caused not only by poverty but also by the failure to enforce existing compulsory education regulations for the 5-14 age group.

The majority of domestic workers are reported to have come from far off homes (Jayasena, 2005). A recent trend has been the increasing visibility of the estate sector as a source of supply of domestic workers. (Kannangara et al, 2003, Marga, 2004 and Jayasena, 2005.) The enforcement of 14 years as the minimum age of employment precludes estate children from joining the estate labour force as in the past. At the same time continuing high drop out rates from schools as a consequence of laxity in enforcing compulsory education regulations has resulted in a pool of 'idle' children who are seen as an economic burden to families. It is from this source that domestic workers are recruited increasingly, often to fill the vacuum caused by the migration of women overseas as domestic workers and by the greater awareness of the official stance against child labour in the south of the country.

The traditional dependence of elite and middle class families on domestic labour and the feudal legacy of the legitimacy of child domestic labour have acquired a new dimension with the twin trajectories of the migration of young and middle aged women overseas for employment as domestic workers and the unmet demand for domestic workers from urban nuclear families in which both spouses are employed. As Jayasena (2005) points out, the demand for child domestic workers comes also from educated employers in responsible positions in the professions and in administration who are well aware of the illegality of employing children below 14 years.

While parents and relatives continue to play an important part in meeting the demand for child domestic workers, it appears that intermediaries outside the family nexus have embarked on a lucrative enterprise as agents who operate as a link between the sources of

supply and demand. In the estate sector, the kanganis or supervisors are reported to work with traders from outside the estates to facilitate the transfer of child workers to households chiefly in urban centres (Jayasena, 2005). In a context of high demand these agents or brokers are able to obtain substantial commissions from families in desperate need for assistance in child care, the care of the elderly and household chores. Families, however, continue to play a major role in supplying employers with child domestic workers, and to appropriate the wages due to the child workers (Kanangara et al, 2003).

Working and living conditions

According to the experiences of the child workers recorded in the studies, the age at which child domestic workers have been first employed appears to have been under 14 years for 75% and between 14 and 18 years for around 25%, with a few instances of children even below 5 years pressed into service. Employing children under 14 years is a gross violation of the ILO Convention on the minimum age of employment and The Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act. The hours of work were less than five hours a day for 3% of the child domestic workers, five to nine hours for 40% - 50%, and 10 – 14 hours for 30-55%. Juxtaposed with the tasks that children under 14 years had to perform, they were clearly used beyond their physical capacity. These tasks included cleaning the house, washing, cooking, cleaning toilets and other household chores, bringing water and firewood, child care, care of household pets, gardening and loading goods on to vehicles in households in which employers were engaged in economic enterprises. Hazardous tasks identified were using sharp objects, coping with fire, lifting heavy weights, climbing heights, and climbing trees, all tasks in the official list of hazardous work prepared in 2006.

Approaches to payment of wages has varied. Some employers have paid wages regularly direct to the child workers, amounting sometimes to a maximum of Rs. 5000 – 6000 a month, as well as additional payments to parents, relatives or brokers. Others have paid less than Rs.3000 or even Rs.1000 a month. A significant number of child workers (25% -30% in some studies) have not received any payment. Instead small payments were made to parents or relatives who ‘supplied’ child labour. Parents were often deceived by assurances that the children were well looked after and even had ‘savings accounts’.

The field studies have found that that the living conditions of the majority of child domestic workers in the homes of employers were relatively satisfactory. They were given three adequate meals a day, slept on mats, mattresses or even beds, and received medical treatment when ill from dispensaries and doctors, and had access during leisure to TV and radio programmes and play. There was evidence, however that some children did not receive adequate food and were even starved, slept on the floor or outside the house, had no facilities to store their possessions and had no leisure. Overall, very few were given the opportunity to attend schools and most child domestic workers were denied their right to education during the years of compulsory education.

Child abuse has been a part of the life of some of these child domestic workers. Around 7% to 15% had claimed to have been beaten, a few burnt and tortured as recorded by the City Women and Children’s Police Bureau. Around one third of some of the samples had said that they were sexually abused, different parts of their bodies had been ‘touched’ or they had been forced to engage in similar activities while a few of the girls had claimed to have been raped. It appears that these statements could well have been understatements in consonance with the traditional reluctance of victims to avoid publicity, as case studies of child domestic workers present horrendous evidence of abuse (Marga,2004). In all case studies, children under 14 years were beaten, inflicting in some cases head injuries, or raped by employers including professional and senior officials. The survey of former domestic workers currently in State Homes also noted that nearly 50% had been physically assaulted and around 5% sexually abused by employers. Both the survey and the case studies indicated that victims have either

run away from employers' houses or their plight has been reported by neighbours, culminating in the intervention of the police, appearance in court and relegation to state Homes. These Homes have provided the majority with access to education and some vocational training but have not facilitated their access to employment with the result that some have perforce returned to domestic labour and further experience of harassment and abuse.

There was clearly evidence of trafficking in the case of some child domestic workers as agents and even some relatives had brought them to employers' houses on the promise of being treated well, even as members of the family, and given light work while their experiences were contrary to these expectations. In fact the majority of the employers who were interviewed had said that they were aware that children were trafficked by agents for employment in domestic service. Around half the girls and one fourth of the boys had claimed that their movements were controlled by employers and that they could not leave if they desired to do so.

Major issues have surfaced pertaining to the employment of children as defined by the UN Convention;

- the sale of children by some parents in low income families to employers and
- their palpable indifference to the sufferings of their children,
- the low priority given to the needs and fate of domestic workers between 14 and 18
- years,
- the pool of school drop outs as a continuing source of child labour as a
- consequence of laxity in the enforcement of compulsory education regulations and
- absence of mechanisms to monitor school attendance,
- the unchecked unscrupulous activities of the intermediaries or agents,
- the incredible cruelty of some women and men employers of all socio-economic
- levels,
- the extent of physical, emotional and sexual abuse of children seemingly with
- impunity,
- lack of adequate recognition of the exploitative nature of domestic employment and
- permissiveness at all levels,
- lack of resources and facilities for monitoring violations of legislation.

The only positive trend is that the case studies indicate that some action has been taken by official authorities, including the police, in cases of employment of under age children and abuse of children.

3.2 Manufacturing industries

Labour legislation has sought to protect workers in the expanding formal sector in manufacturing industries. Monitoring by groups such as Ethical Trading Initiative and women's organisations has not surfaced overt child labour but such monitoring has not covered all large, medium and small scale industries. Even in the garment industry which has been the subject of considerable research, it has been noted that 16 to 17 year old female employees have been employed in some Industries in the Export Processing Zones, in rural garment factories and in factories in Industrial Estates (Cenwor, 2002). Working conditions in several of these factories do not conform to standards specified in ILO Conventions and national labour legislation with reference, inter alia, to working hours and occupational health and safety norms. The garment industry has been included in the list of hazardous occupations

under ILO Convention No.182 and the 2006 amendments to the Employment of Young Persons, Women and Children Act. This list includes a considerable number of industries in which working conditions are not conducive to the physical or mental well being of workers, Regrettably, in depth studies of child labour have not investigated very closely conditions in this organised sector, although, for instance, studies have found a considerable number of children under 18 years in employment in factories(Kanangara et al,2003). However, a recent study of child labour in the fireworks industry (CEPA, 2005), supported by ILO, has presented information pertaining to the full spectrum of economic exploitation and abuse and violation of labour laws in some factories.

Large and medium factory and small scale household production of fireworks are reported to be located in the Gampaha and Kandy districts. This in-depth study of 31 male employees (employment is apparently restricted to boys) and 22 employers examines supply and demand factors and the working conditions of employees under 18 years in fireworks factories in the two districts. Five boys (16%) were 9 to 13 years old and 26 (84%) were 14 to 17 years of age. These boys belonged to low income families that are dependent on their earnings according to 87% of the participants in the study. A large pool of labour is available as there is a high incidence of dropping out of school in these families and parents have a positive attitude to the industry as they tend to be ignorant of its nature and are motivated by their need for additional income.

Several factors have created a significant demand for the labour of younger and older children. As the demand for fireworks on an extensive scale is seasonal, during the New Year and Christmas holidays and at national and local elections, and a permanent labour force is not required, adult workers are not attracted to working in fireworks factories. There was no special training required to work in this industry and children in search of employment are more likely to be attracted as fireworks are a popular pastime and their access to crackers given to them by employers could be shared among friends. Local children however preferred to be engaged in household production during peak seasons and employers were averse to employing local children as they were apt to have family support that facilitated demands for better remuneration and tended also to cause losses by smuggling out material from factories.

The study found therefore that there was a specific demand for children from remote areas who were likely to be more amenable to control, to undertaking any task however difficult, at any time, and to work for long hours, away from their homes. in their virtually captive environment. These child workers from remote areas were a vulnerable group, who worked very hard without leave or rest and without adequate remuneration, providing maximum output at minimal cost. There was clearly an abundant supply of labour among the high proportion of school drop outs in remote areas that were influenced by their friends who were already employed, to seek work in the factories. Children from remote areas were encouraged and used by employers to recruit more young people to the factory labour force.

The vulnerability of these young workers was reflected in their conditions of work.

The study noted that the factory products required the use of chemicals to create special effects and the use of gunpowder to manufacture fireworks, sky rockets and sparklers, both hazardous occupations for children in any age group. Children were engaged in filling gunpowder without any protective measures such as the provision of masks, gloves or boots by employers. Half the boys were provided food and accommodation and their seclusion and isolation from social interaction were used to ensure long hours of work as well as night work. According to the workers, around half the employees worked eight hours or less and over one third worked 10 to 15 hours a day while 42% worked all seven days, 32% six days and 10% worked five days a week. Even two employers said that their employees worked 10 hours a day and all seven days a week. Payment of wages has been relatively on an ad hoc

basis, varying from monthly or weekly payments or payment at the end of the season to no payment. Workers have claimed that they have not received overtime payments or payment for work on Sundays or on night shifts.

In addition to these facets of exploitative treatment of child workers, the study also surfaces evidence of trafficking of children from remote areas to work in a hazardous work environment. Fathers and other relatives have forced children to work in the factory. Some of these boys had not been made aware of the nature of the work and its risks when they were brought to the factory, Two thirds of the boys had stated that they were forced to work with gunpowder. There was no escape for those from remote areas until the season was over. The specific demand for docile children from distant homes was an appropriate context for trafficking them to the workplace.

3.3 The Informal Sector

The informal sector in employment in which the majority of workers in low income families work is in its diffuse, unorganised and unprotected environment, a conducive environment for overt and hidden forms of child labour and for economic and sexual exploitation under a façade of invisibility. Diversity is also a characteristic of the sector as seen in the information presented from available studies.

(i) Subcontracting

Subcontracting production in all three sectors of the economy has proliferated with globalisation and the relocation of labour intensive enterprises in economically developing countries to reduce costs. Subcontracting is also used as a strategy for local enterprises to reduce production costs and operate outside the ambit of labour legislation by assigning piece rate tasks to home based workers. These operations straddle the formal and informal sectors by using labour in the peripheral or external market. Studies have underscored the unstable economic activities of home based women workers, their working conditions and lack of protection (Jayaweera and Dias,1989; Jayaweera and Sanmugam,2001).

The issue of child labour has not been a focus in these studies but there was evidence that such home based economic activities tended to use family labour which was chiefly child labour, to meet production deadlines, with adverse implications for children. The study of the subcontracting process in low skill, labour intensive tasks in the large scale manufacture of slippers, for instance, noted that the short deadlines given to home based workers put pressure on parents to use the labour of children of all ages to work long hours day and night to achieve targets. This unpaid intensive labour of children was detrimental not only to their health but also to their education as it resulted in irregular attendance. The use of child labour in subcontracted economic activities that involved handling noxious and dangerous materials exposed children to health and safety risks. This is an area of research that needs to be explored extensively and intensively.

(ii) Export oriented local production

The Export Production Village (EPVs) Scheme of the 1980s provided opportunities for the organisation of People's Companies that undertook production that was exported through large Colombo based Companies. As similar schemes are being envisaged currently or have been introduced, it is pertinent to note that the use of child labour as family labour to meet production deadlines also surfaced in studies of the EPVs (Cenwor,1987). It was seen that the production of reed boxes for export by one village based EPV Company required the participation of children during times of high demand to the extent that the Principal of the local school complained of sleepy children trying to cope with school work after a night of economic activity. The Export Production Village near Colombo that assembled umbrellas

was seen to use the labour of their children to meet targets. Both subcontracted and export oriented home based production could be harmful to the interests of children and are violations of labour legislation behind the façade of ‘family labour’.

(iii) Agriculture and related activities

The traditional occupation of agriculture has been perceived for years as a family undertaking. Even when labour legislation came into effect in the twentieth century, agriculture like domestic labour was an unregulated employment area providing space for ‘unpaid family labour’ with hardly any concern for the health and safety of children in their growing years. Whether in family based subsistence agriculture or in wage labour, there was a large pool of available labour including children who had dropped out at primary or secondary level and could assist in increasing production.

Agriculture, particularly during specific seasons in the growth and harvest cycle, was seen in all village based studies to involve working long hours in the heat of the sun, arduous manual labour, and hazardous activities that exposed workers to pesticides and other toxic materials. Children shared this hard life in a harsh environment as early as from six years as their labour was required by families without economic resources to hire labour. Those who could hire labour found children to be a source of cheap wage labour. Children have been seen also to operate machinery and tractors.

In the study of an agricultural community engaged in chena cultivation in an economically disadvantaged area, with 75% of the population in absolute poverty it was observed that children accompanied their parents to their chena fields, thereby missing schooling for a length of time that inevitably led to dropping out of school, engaging in fulltime agricultural or other low income activities and thereby perpetuating poverty and hardship. Among the school dropouts in the 5-14 age group, in addition to assisting families in cultivation, a boy and girl each 11 years old were found to be assisting in cutting sugar cane. In the 15-18 age group, 88.9% of the boys and one third of the girls were engaged in cultivation. A significant number of the drop outs were reported to be engaged only in family labour but more intensive investigation is necessary to ascertain the extent of hidden employment (Jayaweera, Sanmugam & Ratnapala, 2002).

The care of livestock is a complementary activity in agricultural communities requiring the labour of children. In a ‘modernising’ society, new forms of occupations have made demands on the labour of children. The poultry industry is a popular economic activity. A study has highlighted the case of a 15 year old child whose responsibility was to look after 1500 chicken and 25 pigs and kill 30 chicken a day, working 11 hours from morning to night and earning a small pittance a month (CPA, 1990).

(iv) Plantation children

For over a hundred years since immigrant labour was recruited to the plantations from South India child labour was an integral part of plantation life. Even when labour legislation was introduced in 1927, the minimum age of employment was 10 years. For generations plantation children shared the drudgery and hardships of tea plucking and manual labour as well as environmental and occupational hazards such as exposure to pollutants and toxic substances as documented in the literature on the plantation sector. Recent legislation imposing 14 years as the minimum age of employment appears to have resulted in a sharp decline in child labour in large estates.

In a study of a hundred households in a large plantation (Jayaweera, Sanmugam and Ratnapala, 2002), researchers were informed by the management that children were not recruited to the formal labour force. Two 13 year old girls were found assisting parents in tea

plucking. Half the boys and one third of the girls from 15 to 18 years were employed, most of them as tea pluckers or workers in the tea factory. On investigation it was found that plantation children under 14 years were employed in neighbouring small holdings or, in the case of boys, in the urban centre in manual labour such as loading goods on to lorries. There were also a large number of out of school children who were supposedly 'idle' but were likely to be employed outside estate, in domestic service or in retail shops in urban centres or other undeclared forms of employment.

A subsequent study (Jayaweera and Edirisinghe,2005) carried out in around 1200 households in 12 estates found that literacy and education levels and education aspirations had improved significantly and that the gender gap had narrowed but that drop out rates were still high. There was a high incidence of unemployment among those under 18 years or no overt evidence of economic activities. Girls who were employed were in domestic service in Colombo and urban centres, tea plucking in the estate labour force, while a few were garment workers and shop employees. Boys were employed in shops or were estate labour, agricultural labour or manual labour. Education aspirations were limited but unlike in the past, no child now envisaged moving from school to estate labour.

Plantation children who received some secondary education are clearly reluctant to join the plantation labour force, creating a shortage of labour on plantations. It was noted earlier that the plantations had become a new source of supply of exploited child labour in the urban environment. Hence plantation children continue to be vulnerable to employment beyond their capacity from their early years in diverse situations unlike their automatic employment historically as plantation labour within their familiar environment.

(v) Fishing

Around two decades ago one of the worst form of child labour was seen in slavery in fishing camps or wadiyas organised in remote islands and villages along the northern, eastern and western coasts of the country. To these camps children were trafficked from different parts of the country and held in virtual bondage to clean and dry fish for long hours in the open in the hot environment. They were reported to receive no remuneration and to be ill nourished, harassed and subjected to physical abuse by employers (INASIA,2000). It is a matter for regret that official reaction appears to have been muted for many years. It is believed that these camps are no longer operated as a consequence of the disruption caused by the ethnic conflict but as there has not been any recent investigation there is no certainty that such activities have not been or will not be resumed.

The fishing community has its affluent and low income families. Poverty was exacerbated in some families by family disruption through death or desertion and children were involved from their early in assisting families to increase their income.

A recent study (Marga,2004), found that in a fishing community to the north of Colombo, around 60% were engaged in fishing within a distance of two to three miles from the coast. In some of these families, boys of nine to fourteen years were major income earners engaging in activities such as cleaning nets, assisting boatmen when they landed fish, fish vending including assisting with fish vending carts, and even fishing in shallow water. Since these are overt forms of child labour it appears that action to assist families to prevent child labour receive low priority.

(vi) Small scale / micro level / family enterprises

Small and micro level enterprises are the refuge of workers in the informal sector. Traditional industries, known also as cottage industries, were historically family enterprises. This legacy persists as seen, for instance in the pottery, coir and brass industries, some of which exposed

children to pollutants and other harmful substances. The practice in traditional society of apprenticeship at a young age to master craftsmen has continued and has entered a new phase in a system of apprenticeship to skilled workers as a mode of employment related vocational training of school leavers and school dropouts. There is still the practice in low income families of sending school dropouts to acquire skills by assisting artisans such as carpenters and masons. Considerable leverage has been given to such work as family labour and studies that explore the ramifications of the informal sector have noted the participation of children at a young age in home or family based or micro enterprises.

While studies of child labour per se in these economic activities have been scarce, studies of child labour in general and non schooling have surfaced information that young children assist in trades such the micro manufacture of shoes and slippers, and low skill, low income typical informal sector enterprises such as making paper bags, envelopes and pillows (Jayawera, Sanmugam & Ratnapala,2002) and the more arduous and exploitative work in terms of remuneration and working hours of informal apprentices attached to skilled workers including carpenters and masons(Cenwor,2005 b).

(vii) Services

The most visible forms of child labour in the informal sector are casual manual labour, service in small shops and boutiques and street vending and pavement hawking, particularly in the context of the local environment as in populous urban centres. The study of a hundred households in a low income urban neighbourhoods in which parents were engaged largely in petty trade and manual labour, found that the home and immediate local environment predisposed children dropping out of school or while enrolled in school to assist or engage on their own in street vending. Children were seen selling flowers outside a popular place of religious worship blatantly during the day or selling fish, vegetables, fruits, cashew nuts, ground nuts and flags among other commodities. Others were working in small garages. They complained of the strain of shouting all day to attract customers and standing in the hot sun for long hours. Most importantly, their activities resulted in irregular school attendance and inevitably, dropping out of school with no skills to move on to more satisfying and rewarding employment as well in involvement in illegal occupations (Jayaweera, Sanmugam % Ratnapala,2002)The activities of children in the congested streets of the capital city will be discussed later.

It appears that child labour in the informal sector is not as invisible as assumed and that information and advocacy are necessary to activate official and public concern.

3.4 Child Beggars

Child beggars are a visible group of income earners in the informal sector, often as instruments of unscrupulous adults. Studies are scarce, and since Ratnapala's pioneering work, the only recent specific study has been by Gunawardena et al (2005). This study of 210 child beggars in the Western Province presents a sordid and degrading facet of child labour that is likely to cause irreparable damage to development of children and to expose them to anti social and criminal activities during and after their transition to adulthood.

The majority of these child beggars (59%) were girls of whom six had been married, divorced, separated, deserted or widowed during adolescence. Two thirds of the study sample had never been to school and the rest were school dropouts. The factors that contributed to push' them into begging were destitution compounded sometimes with disabilities, their sense of isolation caused by family disruption, and in the case of at least half these children, the fact that begging was the occupation of their families and that their families therefore had a positive attitude to the begging 'trade'.

Begging was perceived as a feasible mode of earning an income in the context of a relatively pervasive concept of merit acquired by charity or more specifically, by giving money, food or commodities to beggars. Such almsgivers were particularly sympathetic to those with disabilities, those who looked ill or helpless, and to young children. Families fuelled this preference for such beggars by exaggerating these characteristics. Agents known as 'beggar masters', converted this penchant for charity to a profitable source of income for themselves, to a veritable industry, and by expanding the number of child beggars and helpless adult beggars, virtually increased both supply and demand.

Both the male and female beggar masters interviewed in the study had expressed satisfaction with regard to their activities as they earned a considerable income with little exertion as the hardships were endured by the beggars. Their mode of operations was to recruit groups of beggars –men, women and children- and locate them in suitable places such as streets, pavements, markets, shopping areas, train and bus terminals, traffic lights, hotels and places of religious worship. Mobile groups of beggars were moved from place to place, particularly during weekends, at the end of the month when employees received salaries, around New Year and Christmas and particularly during religious and other festivals. They were trained in techniques to evoke sympathy such as by wearing dirty clothes or rags, appearing to be helpless, making direct appeals by singing or reciting poems, and pleading for money to meet specific needs such as medical treatment or buying stationery for school work. Beggar masters believed that children were an asset in begging, whether by themselves or with adults. It was not uncommon to see adults begging together with little children or adult beggars with disabilities being assisted by children.

The child beggars in the study were from all age groups – 15.2% below the age of 5 years, 33.8% from 5 to 9 years, 34.3% from 10 to 14 years, and 16.7% from 15 to 17 years. Childhood was the most vulnerable period as 83% were below 15 years. Three fourths operated in the towns in which they lived or to which they had migrated. Around 20% travelled daily to urban centres from their homes including travelling child beggars on trains and buses. They lived in harsh environments, on the streets or in low income neighbourhoods, with or without their parents, or in market places or near hotels. Around 30% had said that they worked alone, 46% begged with parents, eight % with family members and 16% with other street beggars. They worked in the dust and heat, from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., two thirds for over eight hours a day, and 6% for over 12 hours. Some of the beggar masters are reported to have provided food, care and security to young child beggars. Others are reported to have punished them verbally or physically if they failed to earn an adequate income.

Many of these child beggars shared their earnings with their families. These earnings were handed over to beggar masters who paid a fixed quantum of money to the beggars, or paid their expenses with a minimum of additional money or paid only their expenses. Beggars are said to have been paid Rs. 50 to Rs.450 a day, or in terms of monthly incomes, 80% are said to have received Rs. 500 to less than Rs. 3000, and three to have received around Rs. 7500 to Rs. 10,000. The beggar masters' monthly income ranged from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 30,000 as 'entrepreneurs' in an enterprise that negates human dignity and human rights.

The experiences of these child beggars indicate that child rights and labour laws are violated with impunity – under age employment, hardships faced in their work, denial of access to education, good health and safety, and in some instances forced begging and trafficking of children. Older child beggars were found to form their own groups, some of which developed into gangs with links with the underworld. Police personnel have not been totally indifferent to their activities and child beggars have reported that they have been beaten up by the police for 'loitering', which is hardly an appropriate response to a grave issue of violation of rights.

3.5 Street children

Children categorised as 'street children' are found in all countries in urban and other centres to which resourceless families and children converge to earn a livelihood or to live and earn a livelihood. While studies of such children have been undertaken since the 1980s there has not been comprehensive information regarding the number of such children. The Redd Barna study (1985) examined the living and working conditions of 228 children, Cooray (1986) 131 children, INASIA (2000) 250 children and De Silva and De Silva (2003?) 258 children from specific locations in Colombo city. Overall estimations have been few in number. The Department of National Planning estimated in 1992 that there were 2000 such children but the basis for this estimation is not clear. In 1998, the Department of Demography of the University of Colombo carried out a census of children in the streets of Colombo city on a specified date from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Siddhisena and Dissanayake, 1998). This investigation located 722 children (496 boys and 226 girls) on the streets of Colombo on that day, of a street population of 1572. Of the people encountered living on the streets, therefore, 52% were children. The majority of the children (56%) were concentrated in the Colombo Central Zone with its commercial and transport centres.

The National Child Protection Authority estimated that there were around 600 'street' children.

It has been observed in all the studies that these children had been driven to their present situation by dire poverty, homelessness in the context of the lack of housing facilities for families in urban congested areas, rejection as a result of family breakdown or ill-treatment in the workplace which had compelled them to runaway to the streets. The main attraction of the streets was the availability of some work in commercial areas to sustain families and children as there was always a demand for cheap labour.

Age wise, the majority of children were under the minimum age of employment according to the studies – 87% (Redd Barna, 1985), 50% (Cooray) and 43% boys and 70% girls (de Silva and de Silva, 2003). The enumeration in 1998 (Siddhisena and Dissanayake, 1998) found that of the 722 children, 68% of the boys and 94% of the girls were under 15 years. It is likely, however, that older girls were less visible on the streets during day time. Street families and beggar families as seen earlier, appear to have had very young children as 19.5% of the boys and 40.7% of the girls were below five years. They lived with their parents (38% boys and 48% girls), with mothers only (20% and 26%), fathers only (6% and 4%), alone (9% and 1%) and with others including in NGO Centres (28% and 22%). They slept on the streets, or in abandoned houses, railway stations and bus stands, near markets and shopping areas and places of religious worship or in temporary wooden sheds in low income neighbourhoods, congregating near shops on Fridays when shop keepers were reported to give free food and money (INASIA, 2000). They were often hungry, ill nourished, insecure and unable to protect themselves or their meagre belongings from violence in the 'concrete jungle' of streets.

A minority went to schools or non formal centres organised by NGOs but their major activity was earning their livelihood using any opportunities available in their environment. The economic activities ranged from pavement vending assisting traders to sell fish, vegetables, fruits, king coconuts, clothes; collecting and selling thrown away food, discarded vegetables, coconut shells, pieces of iron and other items; manual labour carrying bags and heavy goods and pushing hand carts; clearing garbage and cleaning public toilets; begging; guarding cars in car parks and attracting passengers to private buses; and assisting in jobs such as repairing shoes. Payment was minimal and adequate for bare survival while traders often paid them only in kind. Their earnings were used usually to buy food, and in the case of older children, to purchase cigarettes, or clothes in the case of girls, and to see films (Cenwor, 1991; INASIA, 2000; De Silva and De Silva, 2003).

Apart from their grim life and future as exploited child labour these children were exposed daily to a spectrum of hazards as documented in the studies. They were compelled to organise themselves into gangs to protect themselves against thuggery, robbery and extortion, but they were eventually drawn into gang fighting and street violence. They were used by families and middlemen to peddle drugs and tended to become addicted to drugs, smoking and alcohol. Vulnerability to sexual abuse was a part of their lives. Girls were said to have been violated before they reached puberty and had sexual relations with men from around ten years and were trafficked to brothels and houses of ill repute (de Silva and de Silva ,2003). Many street children were picked up by the Police under the Vagrants Ordinance for loitering or were drawn into criminal activities under the protection of the underworld.

3.6 Commercial child sex workers

Commercial sex work is an occupation perhaps more widely known as prostitution that has been practised over centuries. Attention has been focussed on it recently in the context of increasing concern regarding human rights, and particularly, child abuse that violates ILO Conventions 138 and 180 and labour legislation. In the absence of relevant census statistics, estimations of the number of child commercial sex workers have been varied and contradictory- UNIFEM (1998) 20,000 – 30,000, IOM (2001) 100,000 less than 16 years, ILO and UNICEF (2003) 40,000, and in the case of male child sex workers popularly known as ‘beach boys’, the state and the press 30,000. Such ‘guesstimates’ have been contradicted by local activists who have worked with and for these child victims. For instance, Ratnapala (1999) has stated that the number does not exceed 2000 – 2500, and Seneviratne (Black,1995) has said that the number of ‘beach boys’ was less than 10,000. None of these estimates are tenable without an inventory or census with the assistance of the National Child Protection Authority(NCPA), the Department of Probation and Child Care and NGOs working in this field.

Some in-depth information is available from the publications of NGOs such as PEACE (1996, 1997, 2003) and from specific studies of small samples by Amarasinghe (2002), Marga,(2004) and Cenwor (2005 a) as well as by INASIA (2000), SAP (2001, and Black (2007). Amarasinghe’s study sample comprised 120 children (78 boys and 48 girls), Cenwor had as apart of a larger study, 19 boys and 23 girls and Marga explored the experiences of case studies in four communities.

The majority of child commercial sex workers belonged to low income families who are engaged in a struggle to meet basic family needs. Their minimal education and skills limit their options in employment. Predisposing factors are also family instability, ignorance of parents of the value of education and of the risks to children selling their labour indiscriminately. Some of these families live in neighbourhoods which lack social cohesion or values that would prevent them from engaging in anti-social activities. Sometimes entire families are involved in commercial sex work while other families are unaware of the activities of their children or their need to augment family resources outweighs any forebodings of negative consequences of sex work. Girls seeking to escape sexual abuse in their own homes or in their workplace tend to be absorbed into the sex trade. A major factor that motivates engaging or continuing in sex work is the opportunity to earn ‘quick money’ ,and in the case of ‘beach boys’ in tourist locations, there is the lure of access to consumer articles displayed on TV and liberal gifts and the expectation of families of economic gains through the involvement of foreigners. The smaller numbers from upper or upper middle class socio-economic levels who engage in commercial sex work choose to do so for pleasure and profit unlike those whose economic needs trap them in a socially unacceptable but often economically rewarding occupation.

It is a common perception that commercial sex activities have increased in recent years to meet the perennial demand from clients of all socio-economic groups, and the demand fuelled

by increasing opportunities. Clients are drawn from members of the defence and police forces, tourists, professionals, businessmen, transport workers, construction workers and others whose jobs require travel away from their homes, and the unmarried and even students. On their own admission, those who are married desire sexual experiences that are perceived to be free of constraints imposed by marriage in 'exciting forbidden territory' or are habituated to seeking sex outside their homes (Cenwor,2005a). Foreigners seek to fulfil these desires in an alien environment at a relatively low cost. The demand is for physically presentable, pliant children from around ten years and women in their twenties and thirties. Both men and women from other countries, reportedly chiefly European countries, who are actors in international sex tourism, appear to prefer to seek sex with young boys and have acquired notoriety as paedophiles (Amarasinghe,2002, Marga,2004, Cenwor2005a, Black 1995).

As observed in these studies, opportunities have increased in recent years as a consequence of globalisation, the expansion in the tourist industry, easy access to information such as through the Internet and to mobile telephony, armed conflict, the emergence of new institutions such as 'health clinics' in the capital city, and the migration of women overseas to meet the demand for domestic workers and the extra marital sex activities of some of their spouses. Commercial sex activities are no longer concentrated in the capital city as new centres have gained visibility in coastal tourist areas and in the major provincial town in the North Central Province which became the transit station for armed forces engaged in the conflict in the north and east.

The vulnerability of children has increased with the development of a network of service providers and intermediaries who seek potential child sex workers from different parts of the country. Studies have shown that employers of commercial sex workers own or manage small hotels, guest houses, brothels, lodges and massage parlours and facilitate 'business' by providing locations and privacy. Among their employees are children from around 11 to 17 years. Sex workers are supplied to employers or directly to clients by agents such as pimps, tour guides, truck, car and three wheeler drivers. A well organised commercial sex industry is said to operate in houses, hotels, brothels and lodges in areas of concentration to which are brought or trafficked hundreds of young girls from different parts of the country to meet the demands of clients (Marga,2004). Despite the payments made to agents and the low rates per hour paid to sex workers, these employers are reported to earn from Rs.10,000 to Rs. 150,000 a month. Although those interviewed complained of harassment by the police, the need to pay bribes to circumvent legal action, violence from dissatisfied clients and social stigma, and admitted that they were engaged in an unethical occupation, they did not wish to abandon a job that provided 'easy and quick access' to substantial profits (Cenwor,2005 a). Some three wheeler drivers are reported to earn around RS.3000 – Rs. 4000 a day by serving a large number of customers (Marga,2004). Besides these channels of contact, commercial child sex workers also directly approached clients on the streets or at bus and railway stations.

Child sex workers were found to be eight to 17 years of age (Amarasinghe,2002) and to include school girls and school boys. 'Beach boys' drifted into the sex tourism net by selling shells and other items or idling on the beach and joining in the activities of the tourists on the beach. They were then drawn into sex activities and were soon providing sexual services to foreign tourists including a large number of older women tourists. They became addicted to cigarettes, alcohol and drugs and became entrenched in their activities by the expensive gifts they received. Their families were assisted with funds from Rs. 5000 to Rs.40,000 to build or repair their houses, or the tourists themselves constructed houses in which they resided for some months a year with their (boy) partners. Some of the boys had been taken to Europe, some had married and settled down and become agents or business men in the sex trade. Families tended to approve of the relationship of their children with foreign tourists in expectation of material gains and to have little concern regarding the health risks to which they were exposed.(Marga,2004, Cenwor 2005)

However, victims of sex tourism were not limited to low income families as school boys from middle income families were found to have been given drugs and taken to small hotels (Seneviratne, 1996).

Girls lived in brothels or lodges or were home based workers. They were very often victims of deception and had been inveigled to move to urban centres by the promise of remunerative employment such as in garment factories by friends or by agents and had found themselves in lodges or brothels compelled to provide sexual services to the clients of the owners or employers. They had no option as they could not return to their village homes and face the social stigma associated with such activities, and were therefore virtually trapped in commercial sex work. The payments they received were also a deterrent to returning to their poverty stricken homes and many sent contributions to their families without revealing the source of their incomes.

Their working conditions as described in the studies were harsh. They were expected to provide services requested by four to 20 clients a day, working 10-12 hours daily from 5.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.. They lived in congested houses with minimal facilities such as beds and food. They were subjected to verbal and physical abuse also by employers and clients if they were reluctant to serve them. They were permitted to leave only if they were rejected by clients or were considered to be too old. Many earned from Rs 5,000 to Rs. 10,000. while a few earned up to Rs. 36,000, particularly boys. Some employers provided non monetary benefits such as free meals, accommodation, medical treatment, time for rest and protection.

While some of the girls said they negotiated with clients to use condoms but could not always prevail, boys were less concerned about protection, and there was always the risk of STD and HIV-AIDS infection although there were facilities for tests and treatment in Colombo and in the hospital in the North Central Province. Overall they were vulnerable to drug addiction and to physical and psychological stress and exposed to harassment also from law enforcement authorities, appearance in courts and relegation to the only rehabilitation centre for commercial sex workers. Lack of facilities in this Centre drove them to escape and , in the absence of other options available to them, to return to commercial sex work to earn their livelihood. Clients, employers and agents were aware of the illegality of the involvement of children in sex activities and the fact that some of the children had been trafficked to meet the demands of clients but do not appear to have been deterred by their knowledge from pursuing their own interests.

3.7 Children affected by armed conflict

(i) Child combatants

Subsequent to the identification in the Geneva Convention (1949) of using children as soldiers as a war crime, ILO Convention no.182 and the amendment to the Women, Young persons and Children Act in 2006 have categorised child combatants as one of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, and the Optional Protocol to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child(2000) which Sri Lanka has ratified has specified 18 years as the minimum age for participation in armed hostilities by state and non state agencies.

Information regarding child combatants is scarce and is based largely on micro studies of former child soldiers – Human Rights Watch, de Silva (2003), Somasundaram (1998), Keairns (2003), Brett and Specht (2004), Ganepola (2005) and Wijetunge (2005). In the Sri Lankan context of over two decades of armed conflict in the north and east, children have grown up in an environment of war and violence and have been inducted into arms as, for instance, in the former LTTE ‘Baby Brigade’ and in the elite ‘Leopard Brigade’ reportedly drawn from LTTE orphanages. Around 40% of the child combatants have been estimated to be girls.

Studies have noted that child combatants belong to low income, disadvantaged families as those living in conflict areas that have resources and social networks tend to be moved out to the south or overseas. Poverty exacerbated by the loss of income earners and lack of traditional employment opportunities in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing, and family disruption and consequent lack of protection appear to have made these children vulnerable to recruitment, abduction and coercion in the prevailing culture of violence. Some parents too have handed over children through fear of harassment or in expectation of financial benefits as an allowance is reported to be paid to families. At the same time ideological propaganda and glorification of heroes and martyrs have attracted children, while boys look forward to carrying guns and riding motor bikes and girls seek to escape from restrictive lives and unwelcome arranged marriages.

Child conscription takes place in homes, en route to schools and markets and at festivals and around 90% are said to receive military training, in handling weapons, land mines, bombs and manufacturing explosives, and to take part in campaigns (SAVE,1998), despite an abortive LTTE – government Plan of Action and UNICEF’s unsuccessful intervention to establish transit centres for released child soldiers.

The consequences of active participation in armed conflict have been spelled out in studies - death, disability, getting accustomed to violence, trauma, missed education opportunities, and in the experience of former child soldiers, problems in effecting a smooth transition to adulthood, and to marriage and family life for women.

(ii) Internally displaced children

Many studies have focussed on single parent or female headed families who bear the brunt of the impact of war and have not examined the issue of child labour per se. It is clear, however, that children in displaced families and abandoned children are vulnerable to child abuse in the form of economic or sexual exploitation. There is anecdotal evidence that young children have been trafficked from refugee or welfare camps, streets or villages and sold by agents to employers.

The poorest and most vulnerable families have been seen to have suffered most and to have been compelled to live for many years in ethnic enclaves in segregated welfare centres (de Silva, 1999). Children have been compelled to become full time or part time income earners engaged in low skill, low pay work (Wimaladharma et al, 2005). Both children under 14 years and in the 14-17 age group have been found to be engaged in occupations such as plucking chillies, prawn farming, fishing, manual labour, vehicle repair, masonry, vending and cleaning toilets in hotels, for minimal pay (Gomez,2004).

Some studies have explored the extent to which children of these families have had access to education in a country in which over 90% of compulsory school age children are estimated to enrol in primary and junior secondary grades. Gunawardena (2002) in a study of children in internally displaced families in three districts in the ‘war zone’ and in three contiguous districts affected by the conflict found that 23% of children in the 5-14 age group in 3920 families and 49% in the 12-14 age group were not attending school. This denial of access to education is a grave issue as it creates a conducive environment for the use of the labour of these children by the family or by employers. It was found that 23% of the out of school population from 5 to 18 years were engaged in family labour, 19% were employed away from home and the majority, 58% had failed to respond. Those who were engaged in family labour were engaged in household chores as well as in assisting families in agricultural tasks, and manual labour and a few in animal husbandry, fishing, production of handicrafts, and petty trade while a substantial number (20%), were idle or ‘loitering.’ Of those who were away from home. 40% were employed in factories, hotels, fishing, paddy mills, tailoring, farming, construction, motor repair garages and retail shops such as shops selling pesticides . The

majority said that they were not employed or had not responded. The large number who had declined to provide information or were idle and loitering could have been engaged in 'hidden employment' that threatens their well being and exposes them to danger.

3.8 Worst forms of Child Labour

This review of available information on child labour in the formal and informal sectors substantiates the conclusion that there is significant overt and hidden forms of child labour below the minimum age of employment, 14 years, as well as extensive participation of children below 18 years in hazardous types of employment. It was seen that domestic labour, employment in manufacturing industries such as the fireworks industry and even the garment industry, agriculture, begging, commercial sex work, many of the activities of children living on streets, some occupations in the informal sector, and armed conflict are all hazardous forms of occupations listed in the national list of worst forms of child labour under the ILO Convention no.182.

The screen of invisibility of some of these activities has yet to be penetrated intensively in the informal sector.. For instance, the study of non schooling and child labour in a low income urban community (2002) found that child labour took forms that were not congruent with the economic activities stated by children and care givers. Intensive investigations surfaced information that 14 and 16 year old boys were actively facilitating contact between clients and commercial sex workers in collaboration with three wheeler drivers. Parents who were drug dealers and manufacturers of illicit liquor for taverns used their sons to transport drugs and alcohol and to purchase raw materials to reduce costs and to maintain secrecy. . Young children, eight to ten years old were used for petty thieving for pecuniary gain.

Case studies by researchers and investigations of the activities of 'street children' uncovered the involvement of children in hazardous occupations and in life threatening activities in conjunction with criminals.

3.9 Trafficking children into employment

Trafficking has become an issue of concern in recent years at international, regional and national levels, and as stated earlier, international and regional instruments and national legislation have been introduced to prevent it. Nevertheless the review of available information on child labour has pointed clearly to overt forms of trafficking children to economic exploitation and bonded labour or to sexual exploitation with or without the consent of the victims, with apparent impunity.

Agents and even friends and relatives were seen to deceive parents and children with the promise of caring employers and taken children to low cost domestic service in houses in which employers resorted to incredible cruelty in punitive action that resulted in their running away to an uncertain life. Instances of trafficking of potential sex workers have been reported, such as forty street children and children without parents or guardians, less than 12 years and in the 12-14 age group, trapped by an agent in a small shed on the beach for sale as sex workers(PEACE, 1997). Girls have been promised remunerative jobs in garment factories and brought to lodges and brothels where lacking other options they remain trapped in sex work. The power structure of clients controlling demand and pliant employers and agents facilitating supply for profit traps helpless commercial sex workers in an occupation that is virtually outside the ambit of protective legislation. Children are organised by 'beggar masters' to beg on the streets as a profitable enterprise. Some of the children employed in the fireworks industry were unaware of the nature of the hazardous tasks that awaited them. Children have been abducted, coerced or attracted by deceptive promises to become child combatants in a situation of armed conflict.

In the 1980s there was concern over the trafficking of children to two occupations which clearly qualified as worst forms of child labour. As in other countries in the South Asian sub continent, Sri Lankan boys were recruited and trafficked by agents to Abu Dhabi in the Gulf States as camel riders as the demand was for young boys. Adults with forged documents are said to have accompanied these children in the guise of parents. The high salaries paid by countries in the Middle East and the false information given to them regarding the jobs found for them deceived parents to whom the labour of their children was a critical asset in meeting basic family needs. These children were trapped in this hazardous and exhausting occupation. It was reported in the media that these boys were glued to the back of camels and beaten to ensure their optimal performance. There were reports too of boys who were beaten to death by camel owners for unsatisfactory performance. The media publicity led to official action to trace the boys and return them to their families and to introduce import restrictions on the issue of passports to minors. Consequently the practice of trafficking boys to be camel riders is said to have ceased, (Guoonesekere,1993). Camel riding appears to have continued as a profitable sport and recently rumours have circulated to the effect that Sri Lankan boys continue to be trafficked to the Middle East as camel riders. No investigation appears to have taken place leading to the fear that this enterprise in trafficking and exploitation will expand and destroy the childhood of boys in the poorest and most vulnerable families.

The second example is the practice referred to earlier of trafficking boys from different parts of the country to fishing camps to clean and dry fish under conditions of slavery (INASIA,2000). Although the ethnic conflict is said to have made these camps no longer practicable, there is no clear and reliable evidence that they have not continued in more remote locations or that it is unlikely to be revived with cessation of the conflict.

Other examples of trafficking have been the sale of mail order brides in Japan and the practice of sending young women who responded to advertisements of IT training programmes in Japan to be sent on their arrival to remote areas to be married to elderly farmers. Both these practices are said to have ceased as a consequence of the vigilance of NGOs in Japan and the Department of Labour in Colombo but similar operations could take place in other countries.

There is evidence in studies of current trafficking of girls and boys for illegal activities abroad. Young persons who respond to advertisements of training programmes in sales work in Singapore have been sent on arrival to lodges to engage in commercial sex work to meet the increasing demand of clients (Cenwor,2005 a). Young girls are recruited to be members of entertainment groups to perform in European countries and instead are taken on arrival to scattered islands while young boys are sent by agents to Cyprus as students and are forced on arrival to work on remote farms (Wanasundara, 2002). The most recent incident that has received media publicity and triggered official action is the case of the young housemaid employed in Saudi Arabia who is under the death penalty for the murder of the child whose care was entrusted to her. On investigation it has been found that she was under age for employment as a domestic worker overseas and that an unscrupulous agent had recruited her and sent her with forged passport and relevant documents. There is a wide perception that this type of fraud is commonly practised by such agents. Employment under 18 years is clearly illegal and also condemns these young housemaids to hazardous employment.

It appears therefore that what is known of trafficking of children under 18 years is minimal and that investigative studies are likely to uncover the real situation and to mobilise public opinion that appears relatively dormant at present.

4. Causes and Consequences

(i) The reasons that push children to sell their labour from a very young age irrespective of the nature of the employment such as unacceptable or hazardous economic activities have been

identified earlier in the review of information pertaining to specific forms of child labour. A synthesis of these reasons indicates that there are multi-faceted causes for the incidence of under age child labour and the 'worst forms of child labour' .

As development appears to have bypassed economically disadvantaged communities and areas in the country, families entrenched in poverty lack the resources to meet their basic needs. A major asset in these families is the labour of their children of all ages. Traditionally there has been an acceptance of child labour as a strategy for family survival and maintenance which has been a major barrier to reducing the incidence of child labour. Economic pressures and low levels of education and awareness blind families to the harmful effects of their children engaging in dubious economic activities. Poverty has been exacerbated in recent decades by rising costs of living and urbanisation that attracts rural migrants to shanties and other congested low income neighbourhoods in cities.

Family related factors have been seen to have a strong negative impact particularly in dysfunctional families in a poverty environment. In addition to lack of positive family support for children in these families, it has been noted too that whole families engage in commercial sex work, in begging or in sale of drugs and illicit forms of alcohol. Such families lack the social values that give priority to education rather than to child labour as a strategy for upward socio-economic mobility while their children themselves lack motivation to use education as an avenue to advancement. The conflict between education and child labour seen in the high incidence of irregular attendance in poor families and the extensive use of family labour from a very young age.

In Sri Lanka the extension of educational opportunity through free education and other incentives has contributed to decline in poverty and in child labour since the mid twentieth century. Regrettably lethargy in enforcing compulsory education regulations has been a major factor leading to non schooling and to a high incidence of dropping out of school that provides the pool of potential child labour that is utilised by families and by unscrupulous employers and agents activated by substantial profits.

Out of school children are used to meet the demand for cheap and casual labour created by macro economic policies that include also the relegation of the informal sector in which the poor work to the periphery of policy planning over many decades.

Inadequacy of resources for effective monitoring and weak law enforcement as well as the profits garnered by intermediaries contribute to the incidence of visible and invisible, hazardous and unacceptable forms of employment such as the thriving commercial sex industry. Studies have provided some insight into the factors that push and pull children into direct participation in military operations.

It is hardly surprising therefore that child labour exists openly, often along with schooling as the 1999 Census survey indicated, and that forms of employment that are harmful to children and push them into anti-social and criminal activities are actively pursued both overtly or as 'hidden employment' in surveys and studies.

(ii) Deployment of children in child labour from an early age and in hazardous forms of employment at any age has both immediate consequences and long term impact.

It was seen that children are exposed to occupational hazards that are life threatening or result in injuries such as those caused by handling dangerous objects and explosives, grave illnesses caused by exposure to toxic chemicals and pollutants, and strain caused by engaging in tasks beyond their physical capacity.

Sexual abuse and addiction to sex activities and working in conditions of enslavement cause emotional stress and their psycho social impact extends over their life time. Drug and alcohol addiction diminishes their quality of life. Consequences that are not immediately visible particularly where monetary gains are assured, are the long term effects of ill nourishment, work overload, and poor living conditions on their health and sense of well being as well as the denial of their right to education and their rights as workers.

The denial of access to education affects the life chances of children significantly. Family labour tends to leave children too exhausted to concentrate on their school work, and leads to absenteeism and finally to withdrawal from schools. Employment outside the home along with schooling accelerates dropping out of school. A recent study on child Labour, school attendance and performance (Gunawardena et al, 2006) found that over 28 hours of family labour or employment a week led to going late to school and to irregular attendance which inevitably leads to full time employment. The highest scores obtained in performance tests were by those who were engaged only in studies, and the lowest scores were obtained by those who were at the same time employed outside the family. The consequences of non schooling are the denial of opportunity to acquire formal education qualifications or vocational skills that would assist children in low income families to have access to employment that will enable them to escape from their poverty and immiserisation and to achieve upward occupational mobility.

Over all, child labour deprives children of a balanced life and the evidence indicates that many victims of child labour themselves have lost self esteem and have resigned themselves to a bleak future without a stable marriage and family life and economic resources from socially acceptable forms of employment. The experiences unfolded by former child combatants underscores their deprivation of the normal child development processes.

5. Reducing the gaps in knowledge

The review of the information to which easy access is available reflects very clearly the uneven distribution of knowledge pertaining to child labour including the 'worst forms of child labour' and the lacunae in information in virtually all aspects of this issue. Studies have been few and far between in the late 20th century when child labour was perceived to be a critical problem but they have increased in number with the ILO-IPEC initiative in commissioning studies on some of the worst forms of child labour under ILO Convention No.182 . Nevertheless, a large number of gaps need to be filled, particularly to stimulate policy formulation and implementation to eliminate child labour and to ensure children their human rights.

(i) National surveys

As referred to earlier, macro data is available in the surveys of the Department of Census and Statistics, in Labour Force Surveys and in the Special Survey undertaken in 1999 in the context of the need for information on the economic activities of children. Such large scale national level surveys do not usually generate in depth information but they do provide a framework for further studies. Child labour is not an issue in labour force surveys but perhaps a question could be included in the survey instrument to elicit specific information. As a follow up to the Child Activity survey, the Department could perhaps carry out a more in depth study in the areas of concentration of child labour inclusive of nature of employment and hours of work identified in the original survey. The socio-economic survey of the most disadvantaged one hundred administrative Divisions by the Department is an excellent precedent in this respect.

There are several useful studies of the inadequacies of labour legislation but the ambiguities that prevail regarding the minimum age of employment and overlapping provisions in

different pieces of legislation, the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 and the amendments to the Young Persons, Children and Women's Employment Act requires a comprehensive and intensive review of gaps in legislation and in provisions for effective law enforcement. The Department of Probation and Child Care and the Women and Children's Division of the Department of Labour have their local officials who already collect useful information on some of the less visible forms of hazardous child labour, based on complaints that are received and their interaction with communities and families. They have therefore a rich pool of field based researchers who could participate effectively in collecting in depth data to complement national surveys.

While ILO-IPEC could support such initiatives it could also collaborate in studies with other state departmental units such as the Division in the Ministry of Labour that deals with occupational health and hygiene, the Non Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education that gathers information on out of school children and their economic activities, the network of Family Health Workers/Midwives of the Family Health Bureau of the Ministry of Health who have access to information on children in families in areas under their purview and most importantly with the National Child Protection Authority (NCPA). It could also be useful to support action research in current programmes such as the Gamidiriya programme that could monitor the prevalence of worst forms of child labour and work towards eliminating such activities.

(ii) Micro studies

It was seen that much qualitative data based on the experiences of victims of child labour have been generated by micro studies on many facets of this issue. The quantum of data available, however, is not uniform in the ten broad categories or types of child labour pertaining to which information was presented. Recent studies of domestic labour provide information regarding push and pull factors, recruitment, working conditions and evidence of child abuse. A constraint to access to information is the invisibility of child domestic labour within the privacy of the homes of employers, the lack of credibility in the responses of employers and the dependence on information on children physically or sexually abused by employers and placed in Homes. This excludes the experience of the majority of domestic workers harassed or abused within houses and access to information on the behaviour of employers who ill treat their employees. The information available in studies except in case studies of those sent to homes can therefore be incomplete. Researchers are aware of this problem of access to information but have not been able to overcome this barrier.

Studies on child labour in employment in the manufacturing sector are scarce despite the potential in these industries for exposing employees below 18 years to danger and health hazards. The list of hazardous forms of employment is replete with examples of such industries which await investigation. The need for such studies is underscored by the information that has surfaced in the study on the fireworks industry. Likewise the extent of child labour in intensive labour processes subcontracted to home based workers who are compelled to meet production deadlines and in home based production for export has yet to be examined.

The informal sector teems with low skill, low income economic activities that are the refuge of both adults and children from low income families who lack the skills and resources to access more stable and remunerative employment. Most studies list occupations such as small scale manufacturing enterprises, assisting in garages and restaurants and shops and street vending, but have not ascertained adequate information regarding the conditions under which children work. Nor have they been able to uncover information pertaining to illegal and hazardous occupations which are part of the lives of those battling for survival in the informal economy. Agriculture and fishing are perceived to be traditional occupations and are therefore accepted as a part of the lives of these communities without adequate investigation of the

nature of the participation of children in these occupations. Studies of 'street children' and child beggars have raised concerns regarding the risks to which such children are exposed but have yet to explore their participation in the worst forms of child labour. Media publicity has stimulated interest in studies of 'beach boys' but researchers need to penetrate the institutions that are the centres of sexual abuse. The more sophisticated centres such as the façade of health clinics are unknown terrain in terms of research, policy and action. The travails of child combatants in armed conflict have yet to be documented adequately in the public domain.

Trafficking children for economic and sexual exploitation for financial gain is a topic of current concern but the perception that there is little cross border trafficking in Sri Lanka is hardly tenable in view of the lack of research on trafficking overseas for employment such as in camel riding or as migrant workers or commercial sex workers. Despite the strong action taken by the NCPA to ensure the safety of children in families affected by the tsunami and to monitor trafficking, there was still space for support for local investigations by researchers.

(iii) The geographical distribution of research covers most districts except some districts in the north and east, but they are confined to a limited number of locations so that there is space for many such studies to validate findings. There has been a tendency to concentrate on Colombo as the richest source of information on street children, child beggars and commercial sex workers and even the informal sector. Nevertheless Kataragama has been identified as a new venue for street children and child beggars, as seen by the decision of the Ministry of Education to establish a centre for street children under its ongoing non formal education programme, and could be a useful location for research. Commercial sex work has roots in other urban centres outside the current axis of Colombo, coastal tourist locations and Anuradhapura district. The plantation sector has been a popular centre for studies but the tentacles of child abuse that extend beyond the physical limits of plantations are an expanding field for exploration. Security considerations have limited studies in the north and east but collaboration with universities and NGOs in these districts has been productive and could be extended.

(iv) The most effective small empirical research studies have been those that combined sample surveys of representative locations and case studies. As seen earlier, case studies facilitate capturing real authentic experiences as opposed to superficial responses of householders jaded by 'questionnaire fatigue' and generalised second hand information by 'key informants'. Information relating to the causes of child labour are readily available but investigative studies that explore the processes of recruitment, exploitative, abusive and harmful conditions of work and the incidence and modalities of trafficking are necessary to unravel networks and power structures that trap children in their coils.

(v) It was seen that national statistics and household studies in all sectors and areas have found that a large number of children are out of school but are not reported by families to be engaged in economic activities or domestic chores and are purported to be 'idle' or even loitering. Case studies will perhaps yield information regarding any hidden or illegal forms of employment about which families are reluctant to provide information. As the numbers of children in this category as well as untraced non resident children in low income homes are large, there is obviously a lacuna in information that is pertinent to the investigation of the incidence and nature of 'worst forms of child labour.'

(vi) Support could also be provided for some under researched areas of study. Family labour appears to be a term that is socially and officially acceptable but covers at the same time a multitude of activities, some of which could be unacceptable forms of labour with respect to hours of work or hazards that are encountered. Studies focussed exclusively on family labour could yield information that may well lead to rethinking of the legitimacy of family labour. Studies on law enforcement procedures and court cases and hospital records of child patients could fill some of the gaps in knowledge. Several studies on Children's Homes have been

carried out and even published but follow up action has not received adequate priority. A specific study of the experiences of child labour by children and young adults in these Homes could provide information not only on the reality of child labour but also on the efficacy of current law enforcement and rehabilitation programmes.

(vii) Two research modalities that have been hardly used, partly perhaps because they have resource implications, are tracer studies and longitudinal studies. ILO has supported a tracer study of participants in a prevention of trafficking project and a rehabilitation of victims' programme, the findings of which uncovered several aspects of child labour and practicalities of interventions (Cenwor, 2005b). Longitudinal studies provide rich information on individual experiences, contextual factors and long term impact that provide perhaps the most realistic evidence of causes, processes, and consequences of all forms of child labour.

(viii) An important caveat in the organisation and/or support of research is that adequate time needs to be given for field based research, such as national surveys, sample surveys, investigative studies, case studies, tracer studies and longitudinal studies if quality output is required. Some leeway is necessary to accommodate unexpected problems in the identification of the subjects of research in a hidden area such as child labour as well as logistical difficulties. Hence tight deadlines are inappropriate for research excepting in studies based on secondary data.

6. Research output

6.1 Availability of accessible research output pertaining to child labour

Type of child labour	Adequate	Moderate	Minimal	None
Domestic Labour		X		
Manufacturing sector			X	
Informal sector			X	
Child beggars			X	
Street children		X		
Commercial sex workers		X		
Illegal activities			X	
Conflict affected areas			X	
Child combatants			X	
Trafficking			X	
Family labour				X
Not located-out of school and 'idle'				X

6.2 Use of modalities of research

Modalities	Adequate	Moderate	Minimal	None
National/ Macro Surveys		X		
Micro studies-In depth		X		
Geographical representation		X		
Case studies/Life histories		X		

Modalities	Adequate	Moderate	Minimal	None
Tracer Studies			X	
Longitudinal Studies			X	

7. References

Anarasinghe, Sarath W. (2002). *The Commercial Sex Exploitation of Children: A Rapid Assessment*. (ILO-IPEC, Geneva).

Black, Maggie (1995). *In the twilight zone; Child Workers in the hotel, tourism and catering industry*. (ILO, Geneva).

Central Bank of Sri Lanka (2005). *The Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey, 2003/2004, Part 1*. (Central Bank).

Centre for Policy Alternatives (1999) *Child Labour: Implementing Legal Reform*, Seminar. (Colombo, July 1999).

_ (2005): *The Demand Side of Trafficking in Sri Lanka: The Fireworks Industry*, Ch.7 (ILO, Geneva).

Centre for Women's Research (1987). *Export Production Villages*, CENWOR (Colombo).

_ (2002). *The Impact of Macro Economic Reforms: Women in Garment and Textile Industries*. CENWOR (Colombo).

_ (2005a). *The Demand Side of Trafficking in Sri Lanka: Commercial Sexual Exploitation*, Ch. 4 (ILO, Geneva).

_ (2005b). *Impact on Children and Families of Interventions in Two Trafficking Projects in Sri Lanka*. A Tracer Study. (ILO, Geneva).

Cooray, T. (1986). *Working with street children - the Sri Lanka Experience*. (Colombo).

Department of Census and Statistics (1963, 1981). *Census of Population*. (Colombo).

_ (1991,1995, 2001,2005,2006) *Labour Force Surveys*. (Colombo).

_ (1999). *Child Activity Survey*. (Sri Lanka, Colombo).

Department of Probation and Child Care (2005). *Annual Statistics of Cases of Child Abuse*. (Colombo Office).

Department of Labour (2005). *Handbook on Laws pertaining to the Prevention of Child Labour in Sri Lanka Women and Children's Affairs Division*. (ILO-IPEC, Colombo).

De Silva, Harendra, D.G. & de Silva, Dula S. (undated, 2003?). *An Assessment of Children in the Streets of Colombo*. (WHO, Colombo).

De Silva, Harendra, D.G. (2003). *Power Games in War and Peace*.

De Silva, K. Tudor (1999). *Armed Conflict, Displacement and Poverty Trends in Sri Lanka – Evidence from selected Displaced Population in Building Local Capacities for Peace: Rethinking Conflict and Development in Sri Lanka*. (Eds. Mayer et al.).

ETC. (2001). *Child Trafficking*. (ILO). Unpublished.

Ganepola, Varuni (2005). *Social and Cultural Factors that impact on children's involvement and participation in armed conflict in Vavuniya district*. Unpublished.

Gomez, Shyamala (2004). *Rapid Assessment on the Worst Forms of Child Labour Prevalent Amongst the Internally Displaced Persons in Sri Lanka*. (ILO-IPEC, Sri Lanka).

Goonesekere, S.W.E. (1993). *Child Labour in Sri Lanka*. Learning from the Past. (ILO, Geneva).

Goonesekere, Savitri W. E. (1993). *Children in Domestic Service in Sri Lanka*. (ILO, Geneva).

Gunawardena, Chandra, Lekamge, G.D. & de Zoysa, T.S.V. (2005). *The Demand Side of Trafficking in Sri Lanka*. Organised Begging, Ch. 5. (ILO, Geneva).

Gunawardena, Chandra, Kularatne, & Lekamge, Dayalatha (2006). *Child Work, School Attendance and performance in Sri Lanka*. Challenges of a Society in Transition. (Eds Laksiri Fernando & Sermal Wijewardene, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Colombo).

Gunawardena, K.L. (2002). Programme to eliminate Child Labour in Sri Lanka's Internal Displacement Camps and Conflict Affected Areas- Survey Report. (ILO, Sarvodaya).

INASIA (2000). Vol. 3, A Burgeoning Tourist Industry in a Traditional Fishing Community; Vol. 4, Children in a Coastal Community with a Flourishing Tourist Industry; Vol. 6, Community engaged in Small Enterprise Development founded on Traditional Industry; Vol. 12, Children living in a Shanty Town on the periphery of Colombo; Vol. 14, Street Children in the City of Colombo.

Jayaweera, Swarna, & Dias, Malsiri (1989). *Subcontracting in Industry: Impact on Women*. (Commonwealth Secretariat, London).

Jayaweera, Swarna & Sanmugam, Thana (2001). *Invisible Women*. Subcontracting in Industry in Sri Lanka. (CENWOR, Colombo).

Jayaweera, Swarna, Sanmugam, Thana & Ratnapala, Chathika (2002). *Child Labour and Non-schooling Children in Selected Low Income communities in Sri Lanka*. (CENWOR, Colombo).

Jayaweera, Swarna and Edirisinghe, Indika (2005). *Socio-economic Conditions and Education of Children in selected estates in the Nuwara Eliya and Badulla districts*. (CENWOR, Colombo).

Kanangara, Nayomi, de Silva, Harendra & Parndigamage, Nilakshi, (2003). *Child Domestic labour: A Rapid Assessment*. (ILO-IPEC, Geneva).

Keairns, Yvonne. E. (2003). *The Voices of Girl Child Soldiers*. (Sri Lanka).

Marga Institute (2004). *Child Rights Violations in Sri Lanka*. Cases and Recommendations Parts I & II (Save the Children, Sri Lanka).

National Child Protection Authority (Undated, 2004?). A Study of Youth Domestic Workers (14-18 years) in Sri Lanka: proposals for Legal amendments and a Code of Conduct. (ILO-IPEC).

Redd Barna (1985). *Learning with Children on the Street*. (Colombo).

_ (1996). *Children Affected by the Armed Conflict in the Anuradhapura district*. (Save the Children, Sri Lanka).

_ (1998). *Children Affected by Armed Conflict in the North and East in Sri Lanka*. (Save the Children, Sri Lanka).

Seneviratne, Maureen (1997). *Wednesday's Children*. (PEACE).

Ed. (1996). *An Evil Under the Sun*. The Sexual Exploitation of Children in Sri Lanka. (PEACE).

Ed. (2006). *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Sri Lanka*. The Crime Against Children. (PEACE).

Siddhisena, P. & Dissanayake L (1998). A Census of Street Children of Colombo City, Department of Demography, University of Colombo. (UNICEF, Colombo).

Somasundaram, Daya (1998). *Scarred Minds: The Psychological Impact of War on Sri Lankan Tamils*. (Colombo, Vijitha Yapa).

South Asia Partnership (2001). *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children- Sri Lanka perspective*. (SAP International, Colombo).

Wanasundara, Leelangi (2001). *Migrant Domestic Workers: Cyprus, Greece and Italy*. (CENWOR, Colombo).

Wijetunge, Swarna (2005). *Child Conscription and Displacement*. (UNICEF).

Wimaladharmasara, de Silva Amarasiri and Silva Nilakshi (2005). *Growing UP With War*. Working Paper Series No.11. (CEPA).

8. Interviews

In addition to a review of research studies to which it was possible to have access, key persons in state institutions (past and present) and in research institutions actively involved in studies in this area were interviewed to explore potential directions of research.

Prof. Harendra de Silva, former Chairperson, National Child Protection Authority

Dr. Hiranthi Wijemanne, former Chairperson, National Child Protection Authority

Dr. Jagath Wellawatte, current Chairperson, Child Protection Authority

Ms. Pearl Weerasinghe, Deputy Commissioner, Women and Children's Division, Ministry of Labour

Mr. Sarath Abeygunawardena, Commissioner of Probation and Child Care

Prof. Savitri Gooeneseckere

Prof. Tudor Silva

Ms. Myrtle Perera, Marga Institute

Ms. Maureen Seneviratne, Chairperson, PEACE (by email)