



**CHILD LABOUR
IN KYRGYZSTAN**

An Initial Study

DRAFT WORKING PAPER

**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour**

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Child Labour in Kyrgyzstan

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Introduction

There are many children in Kyrgyzstan working in unfavorable and unlawful conditions. Independence has been a serious challenge to the country, and economic instability has led to delays in salary payments, mass unemployment and poverty. In 1999,¹ 55.3 per cent of the population was classified as poor, with 80.0 per cent residing in rural areas (mainly in high mountainous regions); many are families with children, unemployed, and elderly citizens with no sources of income. Families with children have a direct relation to the poverty level, since children as a rule are dependents who bring no revenue into the family. In such conditions, child labour is common.

Child labour is in demand, despite the fact that children's rights are protected by state legislation based on the international Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by the "Jogorku Kenesh" (parliament) on 12 January 1994. The laws of the Kyrgyz Republic formally protect children by restricting the age at which they can start to work, the areas in which they can work, and the duration of their working day. However, when hiring children, the labour contracts are often not honoured because child labour is part of the illegal economy and is therefore not reflected in official reports.

Children in Kyrgyzstan work in four main occupational sectors: agriculture, heavy industry and manual labour, housework, and service. The agrarian character of the republic has traditionally attracted children to watering, weeding, and carrying the harvest. The use of child labour at a market began with the emergence and expansion of "*chelnochestvo*" (shuttle commerce), and the expansion of a wild and uncontrollable market. Children are often employed to transport goods to bazaars, load and unload goods and baggage, sell small items from portable stands, and gather bottles and aluminium. Other children performing household duties are in effect servants. They do the washing and cleaning, wait at the table, stock up on firewood and work in the garden. The distinguishing feature of child domestic work is that the relationships of employer and employee overlap with family relationships. Parents often hire their children out to relatives living in urban areas, in order to protect them from harsh living conditions in the rural areas. These children are not paid, but servants and baby-sitters are provided with food, clothing and money for school. Children also work in repair shops, bakeries, cafes and restaurants.

In light of the prevalence of child labour in Kyrgyzstan and the urgent need to set up mechanisms for its regulation, the aim of this project is to obtain data on the peculiarities and prevalence of child labour in Kyrgyzstan. No previous studies on this topic have been conducted in Kyrgyzstan; however, some general studies have been undertaken on the problem of child labour, such as "Children at Risk," set up by international organizations such as UNICEF and "Save the children".² The book *Children's rights in Kyrgyzstan: Reality and future*³ traces the principal mechanisms of legal regulation, observance and protection of

¹ Reports of the first national population census of Kyrgyz Republic, 1999.

² "Vulnerable children in Central Asia", Report, Save the Children.

³ M. Jangaracheva and T. Vinnikova, eds.: *Children's rights in Kyrgyzstan: Reality and future* (Bishkek, 1998).

children's rights. These studies are valuable but do not provide sufficient insight into the nature or prevalence of child labour in Kyrgyzstan.

This report therefore aims to identify the main problems concerning child labour, which will hopefully increase public understanding of this problem and make it easier to regulate state and international policies to alleviate the problems associated with it.

Methodology

This study used several methods of data collection: data were gathered by studying documents and historical research, in-depth interviews with experts, and informal interviews with working children. In view of the complexity of the problem and the importance of having a good interview team, members of the research team were chosen from psychologists, NGOs, and state organizations dealing with children.

After collecting various materials on child labour, researchers encountered major problems in ascertaining the prevalence of child labour in Kyrgyzstan. Official reports were of little use: for example, statistical data⁴ gave a figure of 575 working children throughout the entire republic in 1999, which because of the low estimate, clearly indicates that the quantitative scope of child labour in Kyrgyz Republic had not been taken into consideration. According to the report of the working group on human resources, the number of children living and working on the streets ranged from 5,000-7,000 (working and involved in high-risk business). The number of working children increases in summer periods. In order to resolve these discrepancies, researchers conducted their own sample survey of working children in the Republic.

Primordial, approximately 750 children were planned to interview who are involved in intended main types of children occupation which is about 10% of total number of working children. But after the fieldwork beginning, the informal types of child labour were revealed. For example, such as collection (aluminum, bottles), production and installation of doors, repairing and manufacturing furniture, yard work, herding, growing mushrooms and flowers, repair work in apartments, etc. It was turned out that working at fuel station for children was forbidden by legislation. It was difficult to interview children in Bishek who are employed in loading and unloading goods from lorries, working on trains and buses, working at fuel station. As to Osh and Kara-Suu there were difficulties in finding children who are occupied with cleaning cars and shoe shining, begging, loading and unloading goods, working at fuel station.

In this survey 693 children were interviewed. Because there was little information about the extent of child labour, a preliminary sample was developed. Finding and interviewing children was a lengthy process, since it was necessary to contact the child and, if he/she was not free at the time, to arrange a subsequent meeting. In these cases, informal conversations were conducted and interviewers filled out the questionnaire to report on what was said. Trained interviewers looked for children in crop fields and in the markets, in different business enterprises and on the streets, depending on the area of activity. The total sample developed at this stage was only a model and was later modified when difficulties were encountered.

⁴ Reports of the first national census of population of the Kyrgyz Republic, 1999.

The most usual work carried out by children was sampled beforehand. The greatest number of working children are found in the north (Chui oblast) and south (Osh oblast and Kara-Suu town) of the country. This is because these regions are considered to be the most developed in the Republic and therefore are the most attractive in terms of employment. The capital, Bishkek, is in Chui oblast, the Republic's industrial and commercial centres; children go there looking for a better future. The Osh oblast attracts children because of its agricultural importance, especially in the spring and autumn months, when field work begins. Naryn is situated in mountain area and was selected as it is the poorest oblast in the country.

Once the fieldwork began, children involved in other forms of activity were also interviewed. For example, the difficulties of the crop fields stage were caused by the peculiarities of the study objects: here, working children had no time for conversation and were afraid to answer different questions about themselves, frequently not wanting to be in contact with unfamiliar adults. The situation was further aggravated because children working at gas stations were difficult to find, except in the city of Naryn. This is because gas stations in these regions generally ignore the prohibition on child labour; where as it is more often respected in the capital. Links with under-age prostitutes were established with the assistance of various NGOs. Children working in private houses were very difficult to locate, and interviewers had to track them down through personal contacts and visiting apartments.

The respondents in the sample were selected in three different stages. First, children were chosen from a sample of geographical locations: Bishkek (the northern capital city), Osh and Kara Suu (cities in the southern part of the country), and the city of Naryn (representing the most central oblast of Kyrgyzstan). The children were then disaggregated according to gender and age. Children aged from 5 to 15 were divided into two groups: (1) children from 5 to 9, and (2) children from 10 to 15; gender distribution was 34 per cent females and 66 per cent males. It is necessary to point out that children working as house servants were deliberately distinguished from the children interviewed: 94 children working in houses were interviewed for this study.

Finally, children were disaggregated by occupational fields: hawking on the streets, bazaars, transportation of goods and baggage, loading and unloading of goods, working on trains and buses, cleaning tables in cafes and restaurants, begging, prostitution, home servants, field work, washing cars, shoe cleaning, and working at gas stations.

Fieldwork: Interviews

Data were gathered through informal interviews. Questionnaires for children working in houses and other occupational fields were elaborated separately, to reflect and account for different kinds of problems in these areas. It was occurred the possibility to interview some employers during the pilot interview. Based on positive results on these interviews, the survey team decided to conduct an interview in this group in three regions. It was intended to get information of about 20 employers. In addition, a separate questionnaire was compiled for a small group of 23 employers that hired children, designed to reveal relationships between the employer and the hired child, as well as attitudes of individuals who employ children. The methodology of the survey included the interviewing of 15 to 20 officials and NGO activities. Experts from state, international and non-governmental organizations who work on child issues were also interviewed and each one was recorded on audiocassette for subsequent analysis. Informal interviews were conducted with officials from the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Head of School Direction Department; the Senior Paediatrician of the

Ministry of Health; Deputy Director of the Government Labour Inspection, the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection; and NGOs (the assistant on educational programmes in the “Youth Human Rights Group”, and the Centre for Children’s Protection).

Each member of the research team was taught how to use the questionnaire, and additional instructions for conducting interviews and writing reports about the destiny and situation of each child were provided. Because the interviews were conducted with children from 5 to 15 years of age, and a child might be frightened at the sight of a questionnaire and therefore not give honest answers, the interviews were conducted without the questionnaire, in the form of a game, and therefore all interviewers were shown how to do this. At the end of the interview, they wrote down the information obtained and transferred it to the questionnaire. Data collection began in August and was completed in October.

1. Child labour in Kyrgyzstan

After Kyrgyzstan declared its independence and became a sovereign state in 1991, a number of socio-economic and other problems of social development emerged. One of the negative results of the transition period in the Kyrgyz Republic was child labour. As the most essential problem for many countries, it can be considered as a major issue for the future of Kyrgyzstan.

1.1 Defining “child labour”

First and foremost, this report attempts to illustrate the real situation of children's labour activities, to find out why children work, and to show the main types of work activities children are involved in. However, the absence of an exact definition of child labour in national legislation makes it difficult to appreciate this problem. Is "child labour" seen as any labour that violates a child's rights? Is it a job that prevents them from going to school? We should consider any type of economic activity of children less than 15 years old as child labour, regardless of how many hours a day they work.

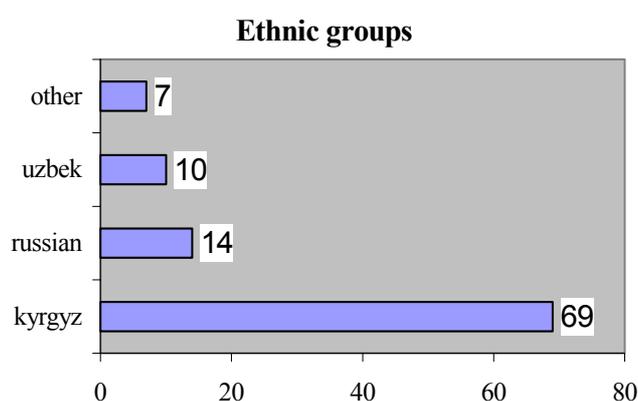
To try and quantify the amount and distribution of child labour in Kyrgyzstan is a very difficult task. According to the interviews conducted, 90 per cent of children interviewed have brothers and sisters, and 5 per cent of them work together, which makes it more difficult to define the exact number of working children; part-time work accounts for 8 per cent, with seasonal and holiday jobs. There is another category of children whose parents believe work teaches them independence and self-survival, which is called "labour education". It is clearly impossible to define the constant working status of children in general, or whether they are unprotected and need special attention.

Apart from the definition of child labour, another problem arises: where is child labour found? Internal migration presents particular difficulties, as young people are more likely to move than adults. The urban labour market attracts more women than men, while men who are engaged in agriculture tend to stay in rural areas. This is a factor in the geographic location of child labour because usually women take their children (who then leave school and have to work) with them. According to this study, 42.6 per cent of the total number of children interviewed do not attend school; out of this number, 27.4 per cent (11.7 per cent of the total) think the main reason for their non-attendance is because they moved. Most children who moved to the more developed Chui valley and the capital of Bishkek are children from Batken and Issyk-kul oblasts, and the cities of Naryn and Osh.

Ethnic and gender differences of child labour

There are some 100 nationalities in Kyrgyzstan (the Kyrgyz are an indigenous population). The distribution of interviewed working children by ethnic group is shown in Chart 1.

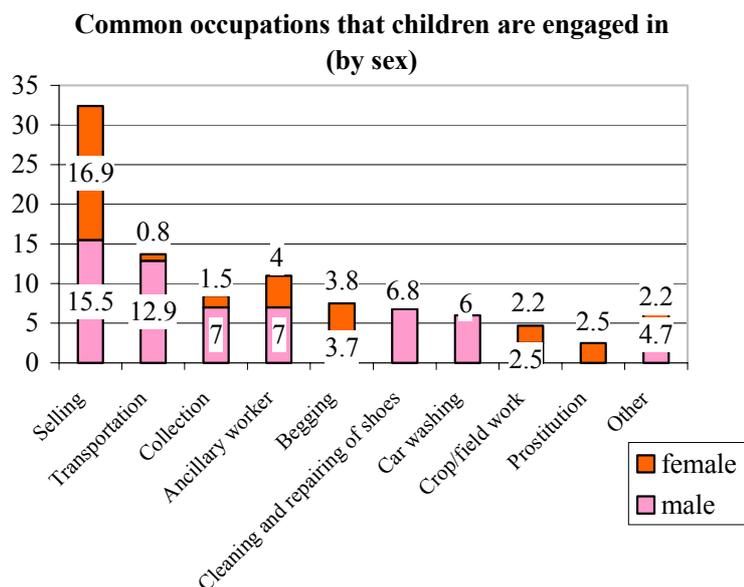
Chart 1



The largest of Kyrgyzstan's 100 nationalities are the Kyrgyz (64.9 per cent). Thus the majority of working children are Kyrgyz and are consequently involved in all the main occupations. Some 37 per cent of the total number of Kyrgyz children interviewed were involved in selling goods, 17 per cent in transportation, and loading and unloading of goods (86.4 per cent of all children who transport goods are Kyrgyz). The majority of Russian children were ancillary workers (26.2 per cent); 25.0 per cent of children beg (46.7 per cent of the total of beggars); although only 6.0 per cent of Russians are prostitutes, that constitutes 33 per cent of the total number of prostitutes interviewed. For Uzbeks, the general occupation is selling goods (49 per cent), and 19.3 per cent are ancillary workers. Turks, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Uyghurs, Germans and others make up the rest of the Kyrgyzstan's population.

Chart 2 shows the differences by occupation between girls and boys. Boys dominate the work done in activities such as car washing, cleaning and repairing shoes; and only a very small percentage of girls work in the transportation and collection (aluminium, bottles etc) occupations. There were no boys found and interviewed who said they worked in prostitution, only girls. Girls also dominated the domestic occupations as will be seen in the tables presented later.

Chart 2



1.2 Causes of child labour

There are many factors that influence the emergence of child labour. Most important are the low standard of living of the population, the on-going economic decline in the Republic, and unemployment. There are 277,000 unemployed citizens (14.4 per cent of the economically active population) and the number of poor people in republic is 55.3 per cent; 23.0 per cent of whom live in conditions of extreme poverty.⁵

The effects of such poverty are reflected in the interviews conducted in this study. According to the children interviewed, 25.7 per cent said that lack of money for food and clothes was the most important problem in their families. Data analysis on the level of poverty in rural and urban areas shows that in rural areas the standard of living is declining and the number of poor people is increasing: 80.0 per cent of poor people live in rural areas. This data show that any economic improvements in Kyrgyzstan have mainly benefited urban areas, and are perhaps linked to industrial growth. For example, in Naryn oblast, there is a critically high level of poor and extremely poor people (94.7 per cent).

Child labour is inevitable, partly due to the high birth rate, especially in rural areas: the rural population has grown by 511,000 people (19.4 per cent) over the last ten years.

The critical condition of the public educational system also has certain influences on child labour. The reduction of government education allowances has led to a decrease in the number of public schools and overcrowded classrooms (sometimes 35 to 40 students per class). Under such conditions it is very difficult to provide a good level of education and therefore some children are not interested in secondary education. They prefer to work and to earn money.

⁵ Reports of the first national population census of the Kyrgyz Republic, 1999.

Family crises and general moral instability can also play a role in the high rate of child labour. The family – a social institute that has traditionally provided stability for society in general – is no longer so reliable. The change in family values and poverty have unfortunately changed the child's status within the family: now he/she has to help support the family.

The research has shown that child labour can be both forced and voluntary, in other words, sometimes a family, parent, or employer makes a child beg for money, sell products, etc. In other cases children work voluntarily in order to help their parents, to strive for an early independence, and also because some actually believe that it is a good way of spending time. On such example is the case of Batyr:

“Batyr is 13 years old, and works as a conductor at his sister's husband business. His family makes enough money to live. The boy lives with his parents, elder sister with husband and younger sister; everyone in the family works, except his young sister. However, they don't spend much money: they are saving for an apartment for his elder sister and so he has to earn his own pocket money. He gets about 20 soms per day, which is enough for bits and pieces. He goes to school, but he does not like it, because in order to do well at school he has to get up very early. He used to try to go to bed early, but there are always very interesting TV shows and movies.”

In reply to the question “How do adults treat the child?”, 49.1 per cent said “good”; 38.5 per cent “not bad”; 9.9 per cent “bad” and 0.5 per cent “very bad”. From the children's point of view, 16.9 per cent say people think they are hardworking, diligent and welcome the help they give their families; 19.7 per cent of children are well treated and people reward them by giving them food and clothing; 11.4 per cent say people take no notice of them but at least do not abuse them; and 11.4 per cent found it difficult to answer. Some children believe they gain adults' respect through working and feel they themselves are treated more like adults.

In general, material help (money, clothes, foods etc.) to the family is approved of and children are rewarded by parents, relatives and other adults.

The change in family values and increases in poverty resulting in part from the growth in unemployment, crime and alcoholism inevitably leads to cruelty and violence within the family. Families often have serious economic and financial problems that occupy them to an extent where they have little time to worry about their children. According to children's replies, 24.4 per cent of family problems include scandals, arguments and alcohol abuse, and there is a definite link between violent behaviour towards children and teenagers, and the increase in violence and crime in general. This influence is clearly visible in the following extract from an interview⁶⁶:

“Zamir is 15 years old; he came from Naryn. His mother drinks, there is no food and clothing in the house - everything has been sold, nothing is left. He came to Bishkek to look for his brothers who went there several years ago. When he arrived, he could not find them and had to live on the street; neither could he find a job. At the market he met a man who taught him how to steal from pockets and bags.

⁶ State report on health condition of population in Kyrgyz Republic, 1999.

'Thanks to this I can live, and I sleep at the bus stations; if I am asked to leave I sleep on benches at bus stops. I go to sleep at 12 p.m. and get up in the morning at 4 a.m., when everybody is still asleep. I don't have breakfast, eat whenever I find some money, and buy something at the market. Sometimes I buy toys, ice cream. At the market people abuse me, older kids force me to give them money and beat me, but there is no one to help me. At home, my mother drinks alcohol and the house is nearly empty; when she drinks she beats me and tells me to leave the house. Once when she was drunk she hit me hard and it cut my head open, so I had to spend some time at the hospital. Neighbourhood kids also beat and abuse me all the time.'

'It was very difficult living at home: I was always hungry, had no money and did not know what to do. So I came to Bishkek to find my brothers. People here don't treat me well and haven't helped me at all. In Naryn I studied in 8 classes; I do not know if I will continue, but I think I have missed a lot.'

In the future Zamir wants to work, to take care of his own family and never hurt or insult anyone in his life. He knows he has his rights: the right to live, right to have an education. 'If I am caught by the police I can complain, but it won't do me any good (...) I know about the CPC⁷, where people say they feed children for free'."

The problems of child labour are rarely reported by the mass media, and overall it receives little attention in Kyrgyzstan. The existence of working children is not seen as signalling a major growth in poverty, crime, and disease; working children are not seen as a threat to stable social development. In general, people neither realize nor appreciate the consequences and dangers of this phenomenon, possibly due to lack of proper information about and consideration of this problem.

1.3 Occupational fields in which child labour is used (excluding house work)

The study attempted to analyse the link between the occupational fields in which children work, their age, and the regions in which they worked. Before describing the main activities, it is important to point out that the greatest number of working children are in the north (Chui oblast) and south (Osh oblast and Kara-Suu town) of the country. This is because these regions are considered to be the most developed in the Republic and therefore are the most attractive in terms of employment. The capital, Bishkek, is in Chui oblast, the Republic's industrial and commercial centres; children go there looking for a better future. The Osh oblast attracts children because of its agricultural importance, especially in the spring and autumn months, when field work begins.

Before beginning this research, the basic types of jobs in which children take part were enumerated, but research showed that the types of jobs vary depending on the season, region, and socio-economic factors. Therefore, a more detailed description of children's occupations by region and age is given below.

The most economically active children in Osh and Kara-Suu are aged between 9 and 13 years of age; 70.3 per cent of those interviewed work in trade, transportation of goods, gathering precious metals, and also as subsidiary workers, in cafes, construction, and in agriculture (70.3 per cent from the number interviewed in Osh and Kara-Suu).

⁷ The Child Protection Centre. See chapter 3 of this document for more information.

A significant number of children are involved in the production of bricks, which is only found in the southern region of the country. According to the data on local authorities, brick production is a main field of employment for rural and unemployed youth. In addition, at least one third of brick production is done by children and teenagers. In the Aravan district alone, every summer boys produce up to 5 million grey bricks.⁸

In Bishkek, labour extends to children of all ages (from 5 to 15 years old), but the most active children (45.0 per cent) are engaged in activities such as trade, cleaning and repairing shoes, washing cars, transportation, loading and unloading goods, and working in cafes (ranging from 14 to 15 years). In Naryn, children are mainly occupied in trade, working in gas stations, and begging (ranging from 8 to 13 years). Table 1 shows a list of the types of jobs that are most popular and most frequently undertaken by children (other than domestic work) broken down by geographic location.

Table 1

Common occupations in which children are engaged (%)

Occupation	% of children engaged in each occupation (by geographic location)				Total % of children engaged in each occupation (whole Republic)
	Bishkek	Osh	Kara-Suu	Naryn	
Selling goods	23.8	48.1	26.0	49.0	32.4
Transportation, loading and unloading goods	17.2	5.8	12.0	16.3	13.7
Collection (aluminium, bottles)	8.1	8.3	18.0	2.0	8.5
Ancillary worker	9.9	12.8	12.0	12.2	11.0
Begging	10.5	0.6	12.0	4.1	7.5
Cleaning and repairing shoes	8.1	7.1	--	4.1	6.8
Washing cars	8.7	3.2	--	2.0	6.0
Crop/field work	3.2	6.4	10.0	4.1	4.7
Prostitution	3.2	1.3	4.0	--	2.5
Other	7.3	6.4	6.0	6.1	6.8

As table shows, in all four regions the most common occupation for children to be working in is the selling of goods: sweets, cigarettes, papers, bread, sunflower seed, milk, fruits, besom etc. Collection of aluminium, bottles and sacks is widely practised in Kara-Suu. According to study results one of the children's main activity in South (Osh, Kara-Suu) of the country is crop/field work. Because of this region is considered as agricultural, there are cotton fields here.

⁸ M. Hamidov "Bricks of our childhood". Vechernyi Bishkek. 21 July 2000, p. 8

However, this table is not a complete list of all economic activities in which children are involved, as research results proved that an even greater number of children are involved in informal types of child labour. Some children work in the areas of production and installation of doors, repairing and manufacturing furniture, yard work, herding, growing mushrooms and flowers, repair work in apartments, etc. Girls are sometimes employed to do ironing in sewing factories.

Remarkably, working children rank the areas of their activities according to their levels of prestige: 44.6 per cent of children believe they are involved in prestigious work; 51.1 per cent claim that they work in low-prestige activities, and 4.3 per cent had difficulty in answering (sometimes children could not answer or did not understand the question). Those who thought their jobs were prestigious included children involved in selling and trading (53.4 per cent), cart-pushers and loaders (52.5 per cent) and subsidiary workers (52.4 per cent). "Low prestige" work includes begging (88.6 per cent), prostitution (84.6 per cent), collecting bottles, acorns, and metals (70.0 per cent), field work (60.7 per cent), and cleaning and repairing shoes (53.7 per cent). This list of activities and the existence of "prestigious" jobs for children characterizes the increase in the extent of child labour and the gravity of the problem.

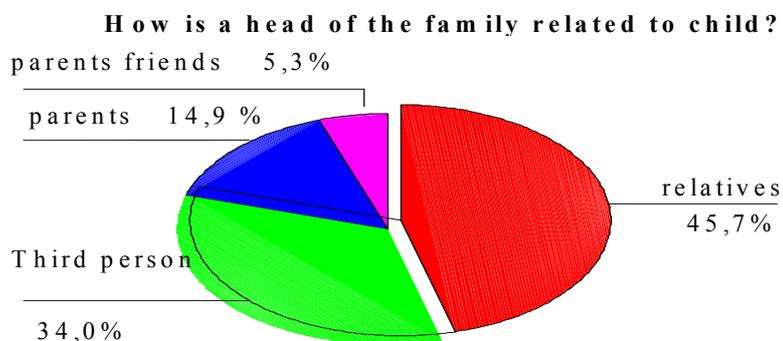
1.4 Children involved in domestic work

When looking at the occupational fields of child labour, it is impossible to ignore the hidden labour of children working as house servants. The research showed that children working in homes were singled out because of the special nature of their work and the ways in which they differ from children working in other areas. For example, the gender distribution of children doing domestic work is different to that of other occupations. The majority of domestics are girls (83 per cent) and only 17.0 per cent are boys. Because of these peculiarities, another survey was undertaken to identify the particular problems of these children.

Children working in the home are employed to clean houses, launder, cook meals, set tables, store wood, work in gardens, and baby-sit. Children working as servants are mainly Kyrgyz (72.3 per cent, 85.3 per cent of whom are girls); 13.8 per cent are Russian and 7.4 per cent as Uzbeks. The distinctive characteristic of this type of activity is that it is invisible. It remains hidden due to the intimate, mutual blood-relative relationships between the employers and the child workers. This is also due to the traditional culture of the Kyrgyz people, when one tribe will have both rich and poor relations. As can be seen from Chart 3, among the domestic servants interviewed, 45.7 per cent of heads of the families in which children live are relatives, proving that a child tends to live not with his/her parents, but where he/she works. A small percentage of children engaged in housework live with their parents, who live in urban areas, while 34.0 per cent of child servants live at the home of a third party (i.e. neither parent nor relative).

Because life in rural areas is difficult, parents themselves often ask relatives living in urban areas to take care of their children. The reason for this is often not only poor economic conditions in rural areas, but also the parents' desire to give their children an education in the city. Of the children interviewed, 54.3 per cent have parents who live in rural areas; 64.7 per cent of these children from rural areas are employed by either relatives, a third party (31.4 per cent) or friends of their parents (3.9 per cent).

Chart 3



Servants' duties are varied and children's working hours differ in length: 25.5 per cent of them work full time, 62.8 per cent work less than 8 hours per day, and 6.4 per cent work only when they are now studying. The most popular work for girls includes cleaning (71.3 per cent), laundering and ironing (47.9 per cent), baby-sitting (41.5 per cent), cooking and baking (31.9 per cent), and buying food and gardening (29.8 per cent). Boys work in livestock care (10.6 per cent), gardening, timber procurement and stove-stoking (12.8 per cent); 16.0 per cent of children interviewed said they had previous work experience (some had sold small-scale products, tended livestock, helped with housework, and worked in the fields).

In most cases, because servants live in the house of their employers (the house owners), their payment differs from that of workers in other fields. For example baby-sitters are provided with clothing (47.9 per cent), wages (38.3 per cent), food (35.1 per cent) and educational tuition (6.4 per cent). In 81.9 per cent of the cases the children receive the payment themselves, and in 18.1 per cent of the cases the payment goes to the parents.

When the children were asked how they bought clothes and shoes, they had a choice of up to three replies. An almost equal percentage of children updated their wardrobe at their parents' expense (54.3 per cent) or at the expense of the family with which they lived (55.3 per cent). Moreover, children have clothes handed down from older children twice as frequently from a family that employs them (26.6 per cent) than when they live in their own family (11.7 per cent); 23.4 per cent of child servants provide their own clothing.

The questionnaire on housework included a number of questions about housing conditions, and the following data reveal something about the conditions of houses where children work. Not every house has sewage, central heating, a toilet/bath, or gas, and over half the houses have no hot water (see Table 2 below).

Table 2**Availability of basic amenities in houses where children work (% of cases)**

Amenity	Yes (%)	No (%)
Cold water	95.7	4.3
Hot water	47.5	52.1
Sewage	67.0	33.0
Central heating	61.7	38.3
Toilet/ bath	78.7	21.3
Gas	77.7	22.3

The family in which a child works and lives greatly influences his/her development and upbringing. Only 26.6 per cent of children interviewed said they see their parents every day; the rest met their parents once a week (13.8 per cent), once a month (27.7 per cent) and up to four times a year (21.3 per cent). Children are brought up entirely by employers or relatives because their parents never see them. This occurs when families live far away or because the parents have no money.

Children evaluated relationships between employers and child servants as excellent (14.9 per cent), good (54.3 per cent), satisfactory (26.6 per cent), blood related (5.3 per cent) and bad, unsatisfactory (3.2). Sometimes they differentiated between “labour” and “business” relationships, possibly because those children themselves did not realize what kind of relationships they should have with their employers: 13.8 per cent of those who said they had “excellent” or “good” relationships also mentioned that they were sometimes apprehensive about living with a host family, and missed their own parents.

1.5 Hiring children

Despite the fact that the problem of working children has recently escalated, child labour is being taken for granted in Kyrgyz society.

One negative side of this phenomenon is an increased demand for child labour: that is because it is relatively cheap, no contact with the parents is necessary, and employers are exonerated from criminal responsibility. Although employers are not legally allowed to enter into labour contracts with persons younger than 14 years,⁹ 28.0 per cent of children aged 7 to 15 years were hired (56 per cent boys, 44 per cent girls). The employers of 40.0 per cent of these children (9.5 per cent of the total number interviewed) are their relatives.

Agreements between employers and children regarding working conditions and payment are generally verbal (96.7 per cent of children interviewed), so there is no guarantee that the employer will fulfil his/her obligations not to exploit the child. Sixty per cent of children hired said they began working at the suggestion of relatives, friends or other employers, and 24.0 per cent work voluntarily to help support their families. Children are frequently hired as ancillary workers in restaurants, cafeterias, bakeries, and for construction

⁹ Labour Code of the Kyrgyz Republic (Ch. 16, Art. 317).

work, as well as to work in the fields in trade, in transportation and in loading and unloading goods and luggage. But 33.3 per cent of children interviewed were not free to make decisions about leaving their jobs (7.1 per cent of them were pressured by their employers). This is clearly a violation of the Constitution, the Labour Code, and, most importantly, children's rights.

When hiring children, an employer must ensure that mechanisms are in place to avoid causing the child any stress, and must monitor their working conditions.¹⁰ Table 3 shows the presence or absence of different factors that positively and negatively influence the emotional and intellectual development of working children. These figures show that working conditions for children in Kyrgyzstan are at present very poor.

Table 3
**Factors affecting the emotional and intellectual development
of working children (%)**

Factors	Exist	Doesn't Exist
Repetitive tasks	90.4	9.6
Lack of time	60.5	39.5
Tension in quality	55.1	44.9
Persecution by employer, competitor, etc.	19.3	80.7
Oral abuse by employers (coarseness, railing, swears)	49.7	50.3
Punishment	15.0	85.0
Insufficient nutrition as punishment	4.2	95.8
Possibilities for studies, further promotion at work	21.7	78.3
Possibilities to develop creative potential	16.2	83.8
Stimuli and rewards for good work	24.7	75.3

In addition to these poor working conditions, most workers receive no health and medical benefits from their employers. Table 4 shows who pays for the medical service in the case of both accident and illness. Almost always it is the responsibility of the worker to pay for medical expenses for both accidents and illnesses that occur at work.

Table 4
Percentage of workers who pay for their own medical expenses (hiring children)

Type of medical expense	Employer	Worker
Accidents at work	11.3	88.7
Illnesses of workers	10.1	89.9

1.6 Working conditions

Child labour attracts the attention of the international community not only because of the unprecedented scale of children's exploitation and the violation of their basic rights, but also because of its negative impact on the physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social

¹⁰ Labour Code of the Kyrgyz Republic (Ch.16, Arts. 317, 318 and 319).

development of children. The overwhelming majority of work is dangerous to the health of children's bodies that have not yet fully developed. There is no health monitoring system for children working in Kyrgyzstan, and they receive no elementary education not even about their own basic hygiene. They not only live below the poverty line, but they also work in unsanitary conditions. Research shows that 16.7 per cent of working children live in 1- and 2-room flats or houses, or in houses with from 5 to 13 other people; 15.4 per cent rent rooms for up to 8 people. Children live in wagons, car parks and shelters, and only 45.3 per cent actually have a place to sleep; 38.0 per cent have beds, 19.4 per cent have special children's rooms and 9.9 per cent sleep in shared room, on balconies, in corners, etc. As a rule, children wake up between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. and go to bed at 11 p.m. or midnight. On any given day, 67.1 per cent of them do not sleep and only 19.5 per cent get some rest.

Children's nutrition – what and where a child eats – remains a major cause for concern. Research data show that on average, 90.0 per cent of children have breakfast, dinner, and supper, but only half of them have a hot dish for dinner. For many children, the basic menu is a cup of tea and loaf of bread. Their food allowances are meagre; they eat practically no fruit, confectionery or vitamins. Working children's nutrition is barely enough to support the basic functioning of the body, and is totally inadequate for their full development, growth and general health.

Children often suffer from diseases of alimentary canal dystrophy and problems with their nervous system (due to malnutrition). Regular, balanced nutrition is an important condition for children's health and development but how to achieve this still remains a major problem.

2. Education and health of working children

2.1 Influence of child labour on children's education

Any discussion on child labour must include the issue of education, since children's work affects their education: the two are interdependent. What happens to working children's education? How many children study in school and how many work instead? Why do children quit school? These are the questions addressed in this chapter.

2.1.1 Legislation in the educational system

Education in Kyrgyzstan – including social relations in schools – is regulated by the Constitution, by the Legislative Act “On Education”, and by other legislative acts and by-laws of the Kyrgyz Republic. In accordance with the Legislative Act “On Education,” all citizens of the Kyrgyz Republic have guaranteed equal rights to a free education in public institutions, irrespective of gender, nationality, language, social or financial status, type of occupation, denomination, political or religious beliefs, or any other factors. Education in the public institutions of the Kyrgyz Republic is free and available to everyone.

2.1.2 Structure of the educational system of the Kyrgyz Republic

There is a multi-level system of education in Kyrgyzstan, consisting of pre-school, secondary school, technical school and higher education. This research targets questions of child labour at the level of secondary and technical schools.

Pre-school education

The system of pre-school institutions in Kyrgyzstan is currently facing many problems. Due to the abrupt increase in the costs of keeping children in kindergartens, many families find they cannot afford their children's pre-school education. The reduction of financing the kindergartens by government has become the main reason of cost increasing. Since 1990, there has been an abrupt decrease in the number of pre-school institutions, especially in rural areas; some have been privatized (private kindergartens), reorganized or closed.

Secondary school education

In terms of sheer numbers of students and teachers, secondary school education is the most significant. At the beginning of the 1999-2000 academic year, there were 1,985 secondary schools in Kyrgyzstan, including 1,950 public schools, 29 non-public schools, 354 specialist schools, and 53 technical schools. More than half the secondary schools are situated in the south, and 82.5 per cent are in rural areas.¹¹ “Secondary education” includes several levels of schooling – elementary school (up to the 4th grade), incomplete secondary education (nine years of study), and complete secondary education. In the early 1990s, the system of a 10-year basic education was changed to an 11-year system, according to which a child starts school at the age of 6 (as opposed to 7 in the former system). This does not necessarily mean that school children in Kyrgyzstan receive 11 years of education: some

¹¹ Basic results of the First National Census in the Kyrgyz Republic, conducted in 1999 (Bishkek, 2000), p. 43.

school children study for the whole 11 years, some cover the curriculum of the first and second grades in one year, and some jump from the third to the fifth grade.

In 1996, 16000 pupils quit school without completing the required course of nine grades. The Government of the Kyrgyz Republic passed a Resolution "On the project of the Legislative Act of the Kyrgyz Republic", on making changes and supplementing the Legislative Act of the Kyrgyz Republic "On Education" (passed on 12 January 1997). The resolution stipulates mandatory secondary school education. Its purpose was to reduce the number of pupils who quit school without completing the ninth grade. The resolution was submitted for consideration by the "Jogorku Kenesh" of the Kyrgyz Republic, and is based on Government Resolution No. 396, dated 1 July 1997, "On the state and measures on strengthening the monitoring of delinquencies and criminality among the under-aged", and state report forms on education departments, concerning the registering neglect and the number of students who dropped out of general education schools.¹²

Within the scope of "Araket" (a programme dedicated to overcoming poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic), The Government assists the poor and large families by obtaining and donating study supplies, footwear and clothing. At the beginning of the 1998-1999 academic year, more than 26,000 students from large families received aid. In 2000, the government programme "Jetkinchek," has been set up, aimed at the improvement of education.

Table 5

**Number of children aged 5-16 studying in all educational institutions
of the Kyrgyz Republic (by gender)
(Data from the First Census conducted in 1999)**

Type of educational institution	Male	Female	Total in the Republic
Elementary schools	204,251	197,965	402,216
9 years of study schools	277,702	272,783	550,485
Technical schools	1,764	898	2,662
Total	483,717	471,646	955,363

Table 6

**Number of children aged 5-16 studying in all educational institutions
of the Kyrgyz Republic (by region)
(Data from the First Census conducted in 1999)**

Type of educational institution	City	Country	Total in the Republic
Elementary school	111,765	290,460	402,216
9-years-of-study school	159,976	390,509	550,485
Technical school	1,286	1,376	2,662

¹² M. Dgandaracheva and T. Vinnikova, eds: *Children's rights in Kyrgyzstan: The reality and the future* (Bishkek, 1998), p. 36.

Total	297,718	743,410	955,363
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There are many possible explanations why children do not attend school. Table 7 was compiled from official data from the Ministry of Education, according to the annual report of the “Araket” programme, whose aim is to overcome poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic.¹³ These data suggest that the number of children not going to school is decreasing. Table 7 shows the main reason why children do not attend school; children with physical or mental disorders are categorized as “children with special needs”. As to whether or not the children work is not significant in this context, the data do not show whether the child is from a family with financial or other problems.

Table 7

Reasons for not attending school given by children and young people of school age

	1997	1998	1999
Total number of children who did not attend school	8,558	5,078	4,261
Children with special needs	1,401	1,299	1,777
Children without special needs	7,157	3,779	2,484
- Financial difficulties	1,944	948	769
- Family consequences	99	371	276
- Unwilling parents	225	1,141	691
- Unwilling children	507	370	240
- Unhappy family	124	236	226
- Work	101	222	66
- Health problems or other	4,157	491	225

2.1.3 Education and working children

Based on the research results, the following conclusions can be drawn concerning the types of schools attended by the interviewed children: 45.6 per cent attended secondary school, including primary school, 3.8 per cent attended gymnasiums, 2.3 per cent attended a working young people’s school, college (institution providing specialist instruction at secondary level) or evening school, and 0.8 per cent attended a boarding school and specialized school for blind children.

The children who attend school (59.0 per cent of those interviewed) also face problems in getting a proper education because not all of them started school at the proper age (6 or 7 years old); therefore some are more advanced than others. It is difficult to analyse these figures for the reasons given above.

¹³ Information from two sources have minor discrepancies. For example, in the annual report of the “Araket” programme, the number of children not attending school due to disease is 1,107. However, according to the data of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, this figure is 1,299. Therefore we cannot be completely certain about the accuracy of the information provided, which merely illustrates how difficult it is to find the actual tendency of children to quit school.

Reasons why children do not attend schools

According to the results of the research, 42.6 per cent of working children do not attend school. This means that effectively, the future of Kyrgyzstan is going to be in the hands of people without even a secondary school education, who are thus inadequately prepared for life in general. It is likely that their moral values will reflect the principle "survival of the fittest," which is what they learn from working in the streets.

Why don't children attend school? First, education is not available to all sections of the population, and the system of registering children has not been introduced. According to the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic all citizens enjoy the right of equal access to education. Until 1992, all educational services were offered for free and were fully financed by the Government, but today parents must pay part of the costs of books, new equipment, maintenance of buildings, educational activities, etc. It has thus become difficult for some families to realize their constitutional right. The results of the research show that 29.4 per cent of all children who do not attend school mention one important reason: lack of money. Those children who lack the money to attend school, and who work instead, may have lives like Alisher:

"Alisher is 9 years old. He lives in Ken-Say village of the Karasuu region. For two years he and his brother have been working as regular workers in an onion field, owned by Mr. Gena (Korean), along with other boys. His father is dead; his brother Yuldash, who is 14 years old, is an invalid; his sisters are younger than him. His mother has tuberculosis and is often ill.

Alisher often skips his classes at school. He will start going to school at the end of September, when the harvest is gathered in. He is very thin, but he dreams of being a super-hero, like Jean-Claude Van Damme. He is afraid of the dark, of rats, snakes and scorpions. Once a snake crept into the tent, and Alisher woke up when it touched him. Only the fear of being laughed at keeps him in the field at night.

When he is at home, he is always hungry. In the field the master calls him "Koschey" and often feeds him Korean food and sausage. Alisher's working conditions are bad; weeding is especially difficult because it is tricky work. He has to squat or stay on his knees all the time and his back hurts, but he is not going to quit. The harvest season will soon be over, but there is a potato field near the onion field and he was promised that he would be allowed to gather the remains when the harvest was gathered in."

The effects of poverty on a child's health and education are also evident in the case of Majid:

"Majid is 9 years old. He lives with his father in the village of Kashkar (Karasuu region). His mother was ill and died three years ago. Their home has been very quiet since then. In the house they have two filthy blankets and a mat that they sleep on.

His father used to be an unskilled labourer, but he has been collecting non-ferrous metals with his son for the last two years. The boy did not attend school, and now he is not willing to study. He is scared, and always shivering; he speaks very badly and quietly.

His working day begins at the old dump, where they make a prospecting shaft and if they find metals they take them. On good days they finish by 1 p.m., and sometimes even by 11 a.m; on bad days they only go home when it is dark. He needs to have a

thorough medical examination and elementary basic education (he does not even know what a toothbrush is)."

The experts of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture of the Kyrgyz Republic claim that each school has a parents' committee to help poor families cope. A family with several children can turn to the committee for help and if it rules in their favour, such families can be exempted from payments for education, school maintenance, books, etc. But this regulation is not enforced everywhere; in addition, for many families (especially in rural areas), the main problem is trying to feed and clothe children so they can go to school.

During the Soviet era, the educational system worked well. Each child was registered, and there were mechanisms for controlling and regulating this process. The following figures show the shortcomings in the educational system for 2000; 27.5 per cent of children interviewed cited moving from their native village as one of the reasons for not attending school. The assumption that children who move can work seasonally is not valid: 90.0 per cent of them work full time, and only 2.9 per cent work seasonally or in part-time jobs. The chief of the education department of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture explained the system of registering children attending schools. All children who drop out of school because they move away are registered on local levels by "ayil-okmotu", which in turn forwards this information to the school. The child can be registered in a new school by signing a certain form and submitting his/her papers, which the previous school will then provide. This is when the parents often start to have financial problems, because they need money for travel expenses since they need to travel to get the documents.

While some children cannot afford to attend school, other children (15.3 per cent) do not attend classes because of family circumstances, mostly due to illness of one of the parents or relatives. Children bear the burden of responsibility to care for their families and consequently become the main breadwinners. In recent years, more and more children are leaving school; there are those who believe that if they know how to earn money, they do not need education (9 per cent of children gave this reply to indicate they did not want to continue studying) Currently, children's non-attendance is also connected to the decrease in the quality of education. In rural areas, for example, one teacher may teach both drawing and physics classes; salaries are low and as a result there is a shortage of teachers.

Children who refuse to attend school and do not want to continue their studies can be divided into groups according to their jobs: ancillary workers (21.7 per cent), beggars (21.7 per cent), load carriers (13.0 per cent), prostitutes (13.0 per cent). There is a special micro-climate in social groups which has a great impact on working children. Children who work as load carriers¹⁴ and ancillary workers are different from children working in other spheres: they have a feeling of group identity and safety in numbers. That is why there are stereotype situations in these groups that can be used as examples. The situation with prostitutes is different, because most of them work under supervision; they live in flats together with "mothers." The formation of a specific group does not mean children lose their traditional set of values, but it does help them form a barrier against the outside world, and focus on the values of other children.

¹⁴ Carriers of load on wheelbarrows, who usually work in markets. Load carriers usually wait for clients in a specific place.

There is still controversy over whether or not children actually want to study; 13.5 per cent of children said that what bothered them most was “health and studies”; 46.9 per cent of them attend classes and 53.1 per cent do not. Once distanced from the education system, children begin to see themselves as different compare to other children; they can be offensive and abusive to those who are not part of their group or who are not like them.

Many experts and representatives of NGOs and international organizations say that family values have declined and that families fail to fulfil their basic responsibilities to protect children and help them fit into the community. The survey revealed that 7.1 per cent of children who do not attend school had left their families.

The educational system has also declined as a major social institution in the community, where children learn about his/her fundamental human rights. Only 18.6 per cent of children interviewed know their rights; 80.2 per cent of those who know their rights attend schools, 19.8 per cent do not. In general, children who attend school are aware of their right to an education (88.4 per cent of those who know about this right attended school).

Children also pointed out the benefits of the educational system – 24.7 per cent said it was good in providing education, knowledge, and professional skills (94.6 per cent of them were school pupils); 19.5 per cent said it is good for socializing (93.1 per cent of them attended school); 14.2 per cent liked teachers and classes (90.6 per cent); and 2.5 per cent said it teaches students to be independent and tidy (93.3 per cent). Children said that they attend school to have a rest from jobs and housework, which suggests that children work too much and get exhausted (this was an open-ended questions which children answered themselves).

Children did note some negative aspects of schools: teachers who shouted, too much study; they disliked lessons and found them boring. The also disliked the quarrels and fights that break out between pupils. The also felt it was wrong to have to pay for tuition. Of the children who work as servants, 24.9 per cent do not attend school, and 29.0 per cent do not have enough time to finish their homework (82.5 per cent of children not attending school said they had not time for studying or homework).

All of the above shows that the educational system is in a poor condition, which leads to an increase in the number of working children. Therefore education should and could become one of the key factors in the development of the Republic.

2.2 Influence of child labour on children’s health

2.2.1 Working children and healthcare

It is very difficult to link child labour and children’s diseases. Maybe many of diseases which could be associated with specific occupations or activities may not be known or occur for several years since they may take a long time before they become obvious through appropriate diagnosis. But nevertheless it was made an attempt to reveal children’s diseases and work influence on theirs health. Of those children asked if they have or have had any illness or disease, 33.6 per cent gave a positive answer; 4.1 per cent of them said they have had two or more diseases.

Table 8
Number of children who have diseases

Type of Disease	Total number of ill children		
	Number	%	% (total no.)
Internal (kidneys, bladder, stomach)	38	16.8	6.3
Infectious diseases	53	23.5	8.8
Cold (quinsy, flu, etc.)	42	18.6	7.2
Nervous system problems (headaches)	29	12.8	4.8
Tuberculosis, asthma, lung disease	14	6.2	2.3
Illness and injuries of the legs and hands	15	6.6	2.5
Heart diseases	6	2.7	1.0
Emaciation	4	1.8	0.7
Venereal disease	4	1.8	0.7
Other	21	9.3	3.5
Total	226	100	37.7

Table 8 shows that the majority of children suffer from infectious diseases, internal diseases and colds. Other illnesses include problems with eyesight, swelling, drug addiction, toothache, allergies, etc. The percentage of sick children by occupation is as follows (the per cent within the specified activity):

- Prostitution – 46.7 per cent: they often have venereal and infectious diseases
- Crop/field work – 46.4 per cent: internal (kidneys, bladder, stomach), infectious diseases and colds;
- Ancillary workers – 39.4 per cent: infectious, tuberculosis, asthma, lung disease, colds;
- Cleaning and repairing shoes – 34.1 per cent: infectious diseases and colds;
- Collecting aluminium, bottles – 33.3 per cent: nervous system problems (headaches), infectious and internal diseases;
- Begging – 33.3 per cent: colds and infectious diseases.
- Transportation, loading and unloading goods – 31.7 per cent: colds, infectious and internal diseases;
- Selling goods – 31.4 per cent: colds, internal and infectious diseases and nervous system problems;
- Car washing – 23.1 per cent: infectious diseases.

2.2.2 Threats and risks to the development of children

Physical development

Article 317 of the Labour Code of the Kyrgyz Republic lists the kinds of jobs that do not harm a child's health and development that can be done by children aged 14 to 16 years old. However, the Government has not yet approved this list. Studies have shown that a child's health condition worsens if he/she does certain work: for example, children selling newspapers and washing cars breathe in automobile fumes. The situation is worsened by the fact that the busiest and most polluted intersections are often chosen for this kind of work. Children who work loading and collecting bottles and metal (42.6 per cent) complain that this is bad for their health; load carriers often transport goods weighing 150 kg or more, and

carry over 15kg. This kind of hard work can lead to various physical problems, and even to disabilities.

Another factor that negatively affects children's physical condition is the environment in which they work; 40.3 per cent of children interviewed indicated bad sanitation and appalling working conditions. In most cases the children working in trade, cleaning and repairing shoes, and those working in cafes and construction indicated that they worked in bad sanitary and appalling working conditions. Children complain about noise, crowded areas, polluted air, dirty jobs, and no toilets; many children work outside and complain of being cold, of bad fumes from petroleum and plastics, and having to work with electrical equipment. Some children complain about the weather conditions (17.8 per cent): humidity, cold weather in the winter, hot air in the summer, sun, and wind make children's jobs more difficult. They said that their work and place of work had negative effects on their health (14.5 per cent); that their bodies were always in uncomfortable positions, and they had no freedom of movement. Table 9 shows some of the risks that are common at the workplace.

Table 9

Common risks at Children's workplaces (%)

Factors/Risks	Exist at place of work	Do not exist
Electrical equipment	9.5	90.2
Poisonous chemicals	15.5	84.5
Noise	77.1	22.9
Polluted air	75.5	24.4
Impact of sun, high/low temperatures	83.6	16.4
Carrying/lifting weights	59.9	40.1
Uncomfortable body position during work	49.6	50.3
Dangerous animals	8.3	91.3

In characterizing the possible negative effects on and risks to a child's physical condition, account must be taken of physical violence that is sometimes inflicted by employers, managers, or co-workers. The results of survey have shown that 37.0 per cent of working children have been abused; usually, children are shouted at or beaten (20.7 per cent) or militia and racketeers extort goods and money (17.1 per cent); sometimes they were raped. In most cases, abused working children were traders, loaders, beggars, prostitutes and collectors of bottles, metals, etc.

The workplace itself is dangerous for children; 46.4 per cent of children interviewed work in marketplaces and 24.5 per cent on the streets (including in dumps and rubbish collection areas). Working children can also be found in fields, shops, cafes, schools, hairdressers, saunas, hotels, restaurants, billiard bars, factories, bakeries, repair shops, and mines. The broad cross-section of child labour again demonstrates how little is known about this problem and how little the State and society know about it. Moreover, many workplaces can be dangerous and unsafe for children to work in: when asked whether their workplaces were protected from various mafia groups, 72.3 per cent gave a negative answer and 80.3 per cent said their workplaces were isolated and unsafe.

This investigation was conducted to find out whether certain basic conditions are met in places where children work. Table 10 shows whether certain basic conditions are met (the majority of replies are average or tolerable).

Table 10

Basic conditions at places where children work

Conditions at the place of work	Very good	Average	Below average, but tolerable	Intolerable
Nutrition	9.2	53.9	28.9	8.0
Drinking water	10.9	56.1	25.0	8.0
Toilet conditions	7.8	43.2	34.1	14.9
Light	28.9	60.4	6.0	4.7
First aid	0.7	14.0	20.6	64.8
Freedom of movement	30.2	56.1	11.5	2.2
Freedom of interaction with other people	28.9	58.6	10.9	1.7

The table shows that in many cases working children have poor access to first aid. In addition (not shown in the table), only 6.8 per cent of the children said there were first-aid facilities, meaning that in case of accidents or illness at work, there was no provision for treatment. Accidents are not rare occurrences: 17.8 per cent of the total number of interviewed children reported accidents in the work place; 63.8 per cent of them had fractured hands or feet, injuries, dislocations, cuts, and scalds, which later became infected. Such injuries are characteristic of ancillary workers and children engaged in trade, product transportation, and car washing, and 18.1 per cent reported having accidents resulting in head trauma. Children frequently suffered from concussions: there were cases when a child had his/her head beaten to the point of losing consciousness, either by parents or clients.

Working children are frequently victims of road accidents because they are on the street more than children who do not work. They know there is a danger of road accidents (25.2 per cent); 15.2 per cent of them had been hospitalised due to crashes. Of the total number of traumatized children (17.8 per cent), 21.0 per cent had had two or more accidents.

Another reason that first-aid facilities are not available is because 96.6 per cent of the children have to pay for medical treatment at work themselves. The situation is deteriorating in that 24.4 per cent of working children are subjects to arguments and drunkenness in the family, and so neither the home nor the workplace are safe for them.

Taking into consideration all of the above, and also that 49.2 per cent of children work full time and 42.9 per cent part time (and therefore spend a lot of their time at the workplace), it is evident that working children are at a much higher risk from negative influences on their physical, moral, and intellectual development. These examples characterize the problem, and offer some notion about the development of the next generation of the country. This should be a convincing argument that urgent action must be taken on how to address the present forms of child labour.

Moral harm

Some forms of child labour are harmful not only physically but morally as well. In particular, selling alcohol and tobacco products, begging and prostitution can lead to the formation of amoral views, and could lead to criminal activity. There is a tendency for child

labour to become criminalized; certain activities such as drug trafficking, juvenile prostitution, stealing, and begging, are organized and managed by adults. The juvenile sex business is thriving, and as children have no legal protection, this often attracts criminals.

Children are often abused; 18.0 per cent of those interviewed reported that clients abused and humiliated them, and used bad language: this sometimes led to bad relationships with clients or refusal to pay for work. The activities children are involved in require no special training or qualifications and clients prefer to use child labour rather than adult workers because child labour costs less. The consequence is that children are oppressed, beaten and abused, which makes them miserable; they lose all faith in human nature and later they often express their anger through abuse and violent behaviour. Table 11 lists the main factors that influence children's emotional health.

Table 11
Factors that influence children's Emotional health

Factors/ risks	Exist	Doesn't exist
Repetitive tasks	94.3	6.0
Lack of time	59.6	40.4
Quality tension (mistakes)	48.1	51.9
Persecution by employer, competitors, etc.	25.2	74.0
Verbal abuse by employers, chiefs or co-workers	46.4	53.6
Any punishment	11.2	88.8
Punishment in the form of malnutrition	2.9	97.2
Opportunities for study, work promotion	15.5	83.0
Opportunities for creative potential development	11.2	88.8
Stimulus and reward for good work	16.9	83.1

The data show that 94.3 per cent of the children interviewed perform work that is repetitive and monotonous. Mechanical work, quality tension and lack of free time prevent children from realizing their potential and developing their own creativity. With only limited options available to them, children are oppressed and develop no ability to think, build plans for a future, or even to dream. More importantly, neither do they have any desire to change their lives: of the 28.4 per cent who replied negatively to the question on whether they were worried about something, only 13.5 per cent worried about their studies or health; only 9.0 per cent worried about hardship, lack of shelter, or their future. This is due to lack of enlightenment and low self-esteem: children assume they will spend the rest of their lives begging, transporting and selling goods, and working on the streets.

The phenomenon of child labour is comparatively new in Kyrgyzstan. Most children have studied in at least the first classes. Some of them were even good and talented students, but who are not given an opportunity to realize their potential. Working children's plans for the future reflect this lack of opportunity: 55.4 per cent want to get a good job and have a profession – some of the most common professions mentioned being miner, teacher, deputy, artist, customs official, cosmetologist, fireman, programmer, accountant, banker, etc. But only 16.2 per cent of the children make plans for a future that includes study or education, and 10.9 per cent want to be "comfortably" well-off.

Childhood is the most sensitive and unprotected period of a human being's life. During this time, through the socialization process, a child first develops basic convictions about the environment they live in, basic notions and views are formed and a certain pattern begins to emerge. The lack of research on child labour and ignorance about its impact on children and lack of assistance from the State and public organizations can result in abuse, a lack of norms and values, an increase in the number of children without education and physical, psychological and emotional problems. This problem exists and cannot be ignored: therefore, coordinated efforts must be made and action taken by all those working with children in order to improve the fate of working children.

3. National policy on child labour

National legislation is of fundamental importance in the formation of national policy on child labour, the regulation and prevention of the worst forms of child labour, and the protection of the rights of working children. In Kyrgyzstan, the regulation of child labour is addressed on two levels: national and international.

National legislation is guided by two major international documents on child labour: the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138). This international legislation has been transformed into national legislation in the Labour Code, the Law on Education, and the Civil Code of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Unfortunately, the transformation of international norms into national legislation is taking a long time. Kyrgyzstan ratified Convention No. 138 in 1992. The Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, however, has not ratified Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour. Meanwhile, the economic and social difficulties in the transition process are accentuating the child labour problem. This plays a part in the unprecedented number of children working and dropping out of school over recent years, the lack of protection of children, and the non-observance of their rights. These phenomena show that rapid resolution and regulation of this process is imperative. In January 2000, by Decree No. 81, the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic resolved to appoint a labour inspection unit.

3.1 Fundamental legislative framework on child labour

National legislation aims to protect working children in the following areas: education, minimum working age, occupational fields, and the duration of the working day. The Labour Code does not allow employers to draw up labour contracts with persons under the age of 16 (Article 317, paragraph 1). However, persons 14 years and over can contract for work with the written consent of parents, guardians, or trustees, on the assumption that it is a type of work detrimental to the child's health and development, and would not interfere with his/her general education. Such types of work are set out by the Government in the Labour Code (Article 317, paragraphs 2 and 3).

The next Article of the Labour Code prohibits the recruitment of persons under the age of 18 for laborious tasks and work under unhealthy or dangerous labour conditions. When recruiting persons under 18 for work involving the handling of heavy materials, legislation obliges employers to provide appropriate machinery and other accessories for hauling freight. Persons under 18 are not allowed to work with machines, mechanical equipment, or any equipment that carries no safety certificate. Recruiting persons under 18 for night and overtime work, as well as work on rest days and assignment work (without their consent), is prohibited. The duration of their working day can be no longer than 6 hours. The definition of work that is not permissible for persons under the age of 18 is subject to approval according to the Order of the Government.

The Law on Education indicates that all citizens of the Republic are entitled to the free provision of education without limitation based on age, nationality, race or religion. A number of standard international acts directed at the formation of a legal basis against discrimination were ratified in 1996. Among them is the Convention on the struggle against trafficking in people and prostitution or exploitation with third persons.

A Significant legal problem in child labour has been pointed out. Turdubekova Nazgul, an expert from the Youth Rights Protection Group, has revealed the dysfunctional nature of many state structures. Legal authorities are entitled to detain and forward to the Children Allocation Centre any children who beg or clean shoes, even if they identify them only by their outward appearance as homeless. However, they have no means of actually identifying whether a child is homeless or not. This demonstrates once again the necessity of establishing a range of appropriate mechanisms to address the problem, in particular matching national legislation to international standards, and drawing the attention of agencies concerned with children's rights to the need to resolve the problem of working children.

During the interviews conducted in this survey, employers were asked: "What is your attitude towards child labour in Kyrgyzstan?" The majority answered that with the given unemployment situation in Kyrgyzstan, this phenomenon is forced but tolerable. They seem to feel that if problems of unemployment exist and the adult population is on the edge of survival, the Government has no time to deal with the problems of working children. At present, state organizations have established and are implementing a number of programmes to try and reduce the incidence of child labour.

Child labour in Kyrgyzstan as seen by a working group of sociologists stems from the real economic and political situation of the Republic. Realistically, it would be impossible to eradicate all forms of child labour in immediate future, because Kyrgyzstan has ratified C.138 to pursue a national policy aimed at the effective abolition of child labour. The most immediate step in this process is the elimination of discriminating forms of child labour that infringe upon children's rights, and that hinder a child's further intellectual and physical development. This should be reinforced by setting up of a concrete legal basis to determine the most dangerous occupational fields; the formation of state, regional, local, and non-governmental structures to eliminate the worst forms of labour; the creation of acceptable labour conditions; and the return of working children to schools.

There are many gaps in national legislation on child labour. There are omissions and inaccuracies in the Articles of the Labour Code, due mainly to a lack of consensus on the enumeration (established by the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic) of simple and laborious types of work, and work under unhealthy or dangerous labour conditions. Thus, there is no clear distinction between economic activities of children that are acceptable and activities that constitute child labour and therefore need to be stopped.

3.2 Programmes aimed at resolving issues on child labour

What is essential to help reform this process in Kyrgyzstan is the availability of programmes to address the problem of child labour. The programme "Bilim" (for 1996-2000), for example, is aimed at reforming the form and content of education in compliance with international standards, including: the improvement of its legislative base; the implementation of new technologies and educational standards, computerized education, and improvement in the quality and effectiveness of education; and improvement of the material and technical basis for and funding of education.¹⁵ This programme envisages benefits for

¹⁵ M. Jangaracheva and T. Vinnikova, eds: "Child rights in Kyrgyzstan: Reality and future", p. 69.

children from low-income families, children with physical and mental disabilities, children from unfortunate families, and orphans.

On 6 March 1996, the President of the Kyrgyz Republic passed a decree outlining the main objectives of the national programme "Ayalzat" for 1996-2000. This programme is concerned with the education and advancement of the functional literacy of women, the lowering of maternal and infant mortality, the elimination of poverty, increase in employment, and the creation of special programmes to support girls and reduce all forms of coercion.¹⁶

The Government of the Kyrgyz Republic also approved the national programme for poverty elimination for 1998-2005. The programme, "Araket", is aimed at improving the economic situation, eliminating poverty, and enhancing the level of education. In particular, it addresses issues on how to help low-income families and support families that cannot send their children to school. Problems of child labour, however, were not put a top priority for this programme.

Within the framework of this programme, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture has taken measures to improve the mechanisms for giving students equal access to schools and other educational institutions by way of benefits for low-income families and families with several children. In Chui, Jalal-Abad and Issuk-Kul oblasts, 717 children did not attend schools because they lacked clothing and shoes. At the beginning of the 1998-1999 academic year, thanks to the education support funds of the Issuk-Kul oblast, assistance was given to more than 26,000 students from low-income families and families with many children. In the Chui oblast, 1,208 students in trusteeship from low-income families were provided with free transportation to their educational institutions.¹⁷

Another programme, "Jetkinchek," began in 2000 and specifically targets problems of education in schools and improvement in the number of children not attending school.

The above-mentioned state programmes are directed primarily at the elimination of poverty, the improvement of the socio-economic position of the population, and improving education. An analysis of documents and reports on these programmes revealed that child labour as a distinct problem is not considered, studied, and resolved at the state level. Child labour is considered primarily to be a consequence of the country's economic crisis and the low economic situation of families. Accordingly, the study of this problem and the elaboration of different measures to prevent and reduce the number of working children have only one aim: to provide allowances and benefits to low-income families and families with several children. In theory, the material well-being of families, the stable economic development of the Republic, and the reduction of unemployment will substantially help to reduce the number of working children. But in practice, the conditions deemed necessary for the resolution of this problem do not actually exist. The allowances and benefits allocated are so small that they cannot be considered an essential source of support for families' material needs and situations.

Hence, this research confirms the absence of a unified state program or policy to address child labour. The ratification of several United Nations and ILO Conventions is a

¹⁶ M. Jangaracheva and T. Vinnikova, eds.: *Child rights in Kyrgyzstan: Reality and future*, p. 42.

¹⁷ Annual Report on the Implementation of the national programme "Araket" to overcome poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic.

step towards the formation and adoption of national standard acts which will facilitate and promote the effective observance of the clauses of these Conventions.

3.3 State and non-governmental structures on child labour

The absence of efficient administrative structures in the sphere of child labour stems from the underdevelopment of the legislative base. The main reason for this is the total absence of national policy on child labour and the discrepancy between legal norms and objective social conditions and reality.

The system of protection for children in Kyrgyzstan is in an embryonic stage. Under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, the State Commission for Family, Women and Youth Affairs is in charge of coordinating and implementing state policy related to children and youth, including working persons. A group of sociologists contacted them but unfortunately at present the Commission is not dealing with the problems of working children.

The Commission for Under-age Youth Affairs, under the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, should deal with issues concerning children's rights. During an interview with officials of the State Labour Inspection (under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection), however, these officials were surprised to learn of the number of working children in Kyrgyzstan as they had seen no data on this before.

One example can be cited from the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection: there is no definitive base for the regulation of problems of child labour. The staff of this institution had difficulty dealing with the problems of an under-age child (17 years old), who worked at the bakery plant and had an industrial injury (her right arm was injured), thus becoming a second-class disabled worker. She asked the Ministry to help her; when she had recovered from her injury she returned to work, but her employer did not want to hire her again; as she had not labour contract with the enterprise, they refused to compensate or hire her. Only through great efforts was the Ministry of Social Protection able to assist her. Experts point out that their hands are tied in resolving the problems of such children, as no labour contracts for under-age children exist.

As data reveal, the limited financial and material resources of the Kyrgyz Republic make the resolution of the child labour problem difficult. Therefore, the burden of responsibility in the sphere of child labour is transferred to non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Currently, the Law "On non-governmental (non-profit) organizations of the Kyrgyz Republic" has been drafted; at the end of 2000, there were 33,009 NGOs registered in Kyrgyzstan, 678 of them dealing with problems of children and youth (including 236 NGOs dealing specifically with children's problems). The NGOs that emerged in the 1990s participate in the resolution of children's problems, such as the protection of and information about their rights, the increase of creative potential, the problems of disabled children, and care of the homeless, neglected children who are at risk.

The Centre for Child Protection, set up in 1998 by the "Children in Risk" organization (by Holland Interchurch Aid and the Interchurch Organization for Partnership Development), is implementing four programmes involving work with children:

Asylum for homeless children. At present, this includes 30 homeless children (petty thieves, pickpockets, prostitutes, and orphans). They help prevent them from

becoming involved in criminal activities. The reasons why the children have left home include alcoholism, drug addiction, and parents' requests that they beg, or earn money for alcohol. If children took bread home instead, they were beaten.

The *medical programme*, where the Centre's doctors give inoculations, treatment and send children to sanatoriums and medical establishments.

The *food programme* conducts its project in the "Dordoi" and "Oshskiy" markets, where they feed children free of charge. The children there usually sell soft drinks, fruits, and sweets, and pass between counters, deliver loads, and beg. The number of working children visiting the kitchen of this organization is 200 per day. However, their budget does not allow the programme to satisfy the needs of all of them. An evaluation is made of a child's family situation; those who come to the Centre are usually weak and underdeveloped. One of the Centre's staff said that they serve meals at a certain time and then close. Sometimes children are late for meals, in some cases because they could not leave their work or clients. The food programme does help to a certain extent because if a child has food, he/she will not leave home and can therefore use any money earned to buy food or clothing.

Professional orientation. In this programme, they teach children from orphanages and food programs applied art (where they learn to sew). Children then exhibit their products for sale; they also learn how to work as hairdressers. Children from the "Food programme" study in the Tenth School of working youth (by agreement with the organization), which allows working children to attend classes three times a week and work for the rest of the time. Asylum children attend School No. 42. There were some cases of children not attending school for 15 years; special measures were taken, in cooperation with the Department of Education, to create special Russian and Kyrgyz language classes of intensive education for such students in the fourth and fifth classes.

The impact of this organization's work on child labour is negative, mainly because children mostly work in markets and are therefore used to the tough conditions there; they are sometimes beaten, and members of the militia take their goods. The Centre strives to ensure that all measures should be taken to eradicate child labour, and cooperates with the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, the Mayor of Bishkek, and the Department of Employment. The Centre has found that many Batken families migrate because of the war, and believes that the improvement of the socio-economic situation and the provision of jobs for parents is one of the way to reduce the number of working children.

The Youth Human Rights Group, established in 1995, works on the legislative aspects of eradicating youth illiteracy in the following ways:

The monitoring and observation of human rights. In 1998, they conducted research on the situation of Tajik and Afghan refugee children in Kyrgyzstan; in November-December 1999 they conducted research on educational accessibility for refugees in the south of the Republic. In January 1999, they began monitoring child labour, and conducted pilot research in the Chuy and Osh oblasts.

Legislative work. The Youth Human Rights Group has prepared comments on and suggestions for the improvement of the laws “On youth policy” and “On under-age rights protection”.

Enlightening educational programme. The volunteers of this organization teach classes and seminars about human rights in the ten schools of Bishkek. They publish a methodology textbook on teaching human rights in the fifth and sixth classes, and have prepared a special video course for this purpose.

Consultations. Youth Human Rights Group members offer consultations about human rights through radio programmes and by telephone, mail, and private meetings.

Alternative UN report about the fulfilment of the Complex Programme of Development. The Group have helped prepare comments on the initial report of the Kyrgyz Republic on the fulfilment of the Human Rights Convention and a representative made a speech at the meeting of the work group meeting held in Geneva in 2000.

Unfortunately, all NGOs in Kyrgyzstan have major organizational, staff, financial, and other constraints; they suffer from a lack of qualified specialists, office equipment, facilities, transport, etc. Very few NGOs cooperate with other organizations, and regional NGOs in particular lack much information. The integration and cooperation of NGOs with international organizations and governmental structures is very important: a coordinating body is therefore necessary to regulate and manage this process.

This analysis of governmental and non-governmental organizations shows that their activities are only indirectly related to the problems of child labour. There is a danger, therefore, that the present situation might get out of control and have serious adverse effects on the nation’s youngest generation.

Conclusions and recommendations

Child labour is a phenomenon existing in many countries, but child labour in Kyrgyzstan could assume very extreme forms and have dire consequences, due to insufficient attention being paid to the problem, and the virtual non-perception of the very existence of child labour. One illustration of this is the *non-participation* of Kyrgyzstan in the annual International Labour Conferences in Geneva. Child labour must become a topic of acute public awareness, one that will attract and involve the society as a whole, to help solve the problems of working children. The Government should establish and elaborate control mechanisms and institutions to take responsibility for guaranteeing the observation of international conventions and agreements on child labour.

Such mechanisms, however, must be carefully designed. Child labour is caused by a variety of factors and appears to be the consequence of cultural, historical, social and economic conditions. Because of this, mechanisms must be flexible, take account of individual criteria, and correspond to actual facts. The different social factors that influence this process include:

- a weak economy that leads to unemployment and to a reduced standard of living. Many families with several children are forced to send them to work;
- the transformation of family relations and changes in economic relations directly influence changes in family relations: today, children as young as 5 (as well as their parents and elder brothers and sisters) must take care of their families and look after themselves. This need for family care is a main incentive for child labour;
- the change in people's values as the prospect of having a good education, or any education, becomes less important. Some children consider work to be much more useful than education;
- disorder in the registration system of people coming from other regions of the Republic due to processes of internal migration. Many migrants and their children look for jobs in the illegal economy;
- Traditional (adult) attitudes towards working children should also be taken into consideration. The lack of attention to the child labour problem stems as much from society as it does from the Government. This is because of the approach to children's education; which is that child labour is a norm for Kyrgyz society and that furthermore it is to the credit of parents to choose the "right upbringing" for their children.

The main factors for the increase of child labour in modern Kyrgyzstan are:

- cheapness of labour: due to their inability to compete, children offer their services at cheaper prices;
- development of economic relations and prevalence of a wild and unregulated market. and the absence of regulatory mechanisms in the area of child labour. Today, the relations of an employer and a working child are not regulated by labour agreements, which leads to relations that are determined and dominated by the employer;

- children generally have no idea about their rights and do not know where they can turn for support; it is easy for employers to violate their rights.

The problems that face working children are very diverse:

- because many working children are non-registered migrants, they have problems with health services. Registration and servicing by medical institutions is only possible with a residence permit; in all other cases, medical care must be paid for;
- lack of legal provisions, not only for children but also for their parents;
- physical and moral risk.

Kyrgyzstan is at a stage when issues facing society as a whole also demand an immediate solution of the child labour problem, but it cannot be solved by the Government alone. The main support for measures aimed at reducing child labour should come from legislation that functions effectively. Child labour in Kyrgyzstan should be approached with unified national policies, oriented towards international standards such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its supplements. Such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its optional protocols, as well as the ILO standards, especially Convention №. 138, already ratified by Kyrgyzstan. Special and immediate attention should be paid to the worst forms of child labour as outlined in ILO Convention №.182.

Preventive measures should primarily be aimed at the improvement of labour conditions for children who have to work, and towards the eradication of the worst forms of labour (those that cause harm to the physical, mental, and spiritual development of a child).

Under the current economic conditions in the Kyrgyz Republic, the complete eradication of child labour is impossible. The most important task now is the creation of an organization to coordinating actions on child labour among state, international and non-governmental organizations. This body could also coordinate the ratification of the ILO Convention on eradication of the worst forms of child labour, and strengthening the effectiveness and efficiency of existing mechanisms (ministries, state commissions, NGOs, etc.).

In addition, concrete measures aimed at uniting children are essential; children should not have to work individually by selling, loading and unloading goods, or gathering bottles, non-ferrous metals, or acorns. It might even be possible to create guilds in schools to give children an option to gather there rather than leaving school.

Regulations to ensure that children return to and stay in school are vital, and could include the creation of labour schools for youth and evening schools for working children who do not get along well with other children of their own age. These schools would teach working children their basic rights and introduce them to the Labour Code.

To support NGOs, state organizations must become involved in monitoring and solving the problems of children (abandoned or working children) and children's rights. When interviewing experts, it became apparent that there is a great lack of coordination between NGOs and state organizations in their efforts to solve the existing problems of working and street children.

As is obvious from the results of this research, the most urgent task is to bring the question of “Child labour in Kyrgyzstan” to the public’s attention; to tear people away from their everyday problems and show them how many children are actually working in the Republic, in what conditions they work, and what dangers they face. Many people are already used to seeing children gather bottles and juveniles sitting alone at counters, selling small items. They are accustomed to seeing children loading very heavy goods and doing many different things just to survive and not to starve. Not long ago, such sights would have been shocking to society in Kyrgyzstan; today, however, the number of working children is frightening, but few pay attention to it. Our mission is to help every person understand the danger of this situation — a situation that means a miserable future for those children, and thus for all the peoples of Kyrgyzstan.

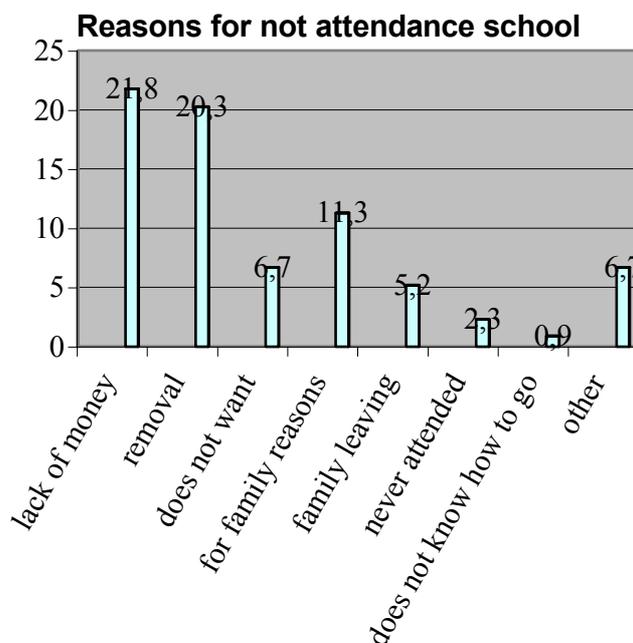
Such awareness of and understanding about the problems of child labour could be promoted by the organization of a round table, attended by representatives from state, international, and non-governmental organizations, the mass media, sociologists, psychologists, and representatives of schools and local organizations.

Appendix

Work routine of the child, by sex and age

age		male	female	Total
5 years	full working day	3		3
		0,5%		0.5%
	part-time	1		1
		0.2%		0.2%
6 years	full working day	2	3	5
		0.3%	0.5%	0.8%
	part-time		1	1
			0.2%	0.2%
7 years	full working day	4	1	5
		0.7%	0.2%	0.9%
	part-time	3	2	5
		0.5%	0.3%	0.8%
	temporary\seasonal work	1	1	2
		0.2%	0.2%	0.4%
8 years	full working day	16	6	22
		2.7%	1.0%	3.7%
	part-time	19	11	30
		3.2%	1.9%	5.1%
	temporary/seasonal work	4	4	8
		0.6%	0.6%	1.2%
11 years	full working day	26	13	39
		4.3%	2.2%	6.5%
	part-time	35	14	49
		5.8%	2.3%	8.7%
	temporary/seasonal work	4	1	5
		0.6%	0.2%	0.8%
12 years	full working day	35	17	52
		5.8%	2.8%	8.6%
	part-time	29	14	43
		4.8%	2.3%	7.1%
	temporary/seasonal work	3	1	4
		0.5%	0.2%	0.7%
13 years	full working day	34	19	53
		5.7%	3.2%	8.9%
	part-time	28	21	49
		4.7%	3.5%	8.2%
	temporary/seasonal work	4	4	8
		0.6%	0.6%	1.2%
14 years	full working day	45	11	56
		7.5%	1.8%	9.3%
	part-time	28	15	43
		4.7%	2.5%	7.2%
	temporary/seasonal work	8	5	13
		1.3%	0.8%	2.1%

15 years	full working day	42	18	60
		7.0%	3.0%	10.0%
	part-time	17	19	36
		2.8%	3.2%	6.0%
	temporary/seasonal work	3	2	5
		0.5%	0.3%	0.8%



School attendance (By regions)

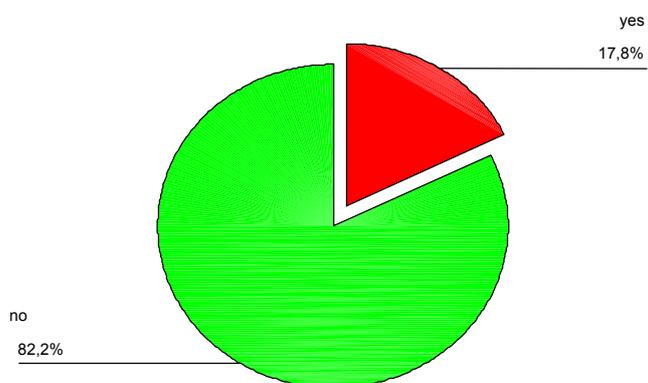
	Bishkek	Osh	Kara-Suu	Naryn	Total
attendant	163	120	28	33	344
	27.2%	20.0%	4.7%	5.3%	57.4%
	47.4%	35.0%	8.1%	9.6%	100%
non-attendant	181	36	21	17	255
	30.2%	6.0%	3.5%	2.8%	42.6%
	71.0%	14.1%	8.2%	6.7%	100%

School attendance (By sex)

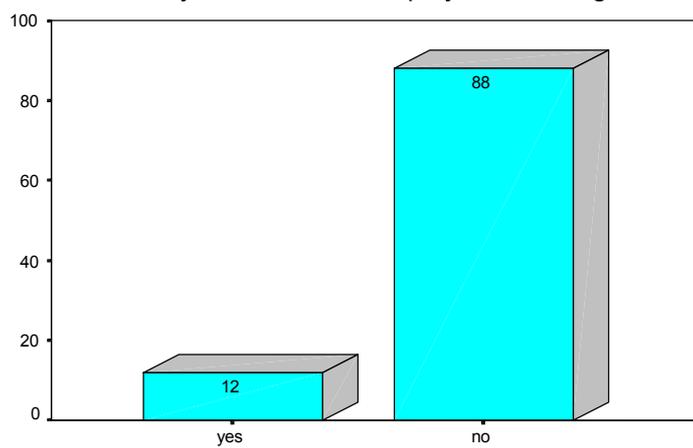
	Boys	Girls	Total
attendant	212	132	344
	35.4%	22.0%	57.4%
	62.0%	38.0%	100%
non-attendant	184	71	255
	30.7%	11.9%	42.6%
	72.1%	28.0%	100%

Threats and risks for children

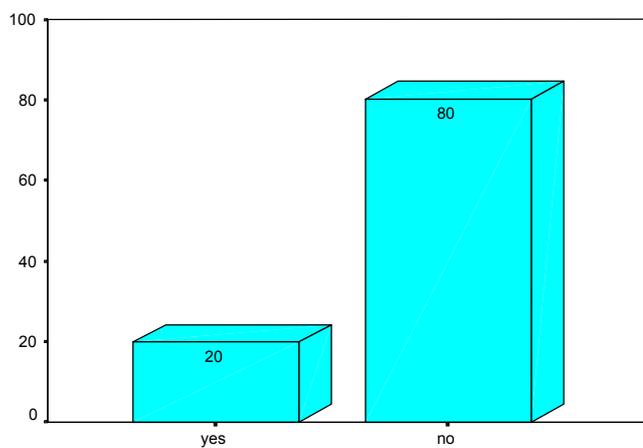
Was there any accident with child?



Is there any violence from employer or colleagues?



Is working place of child isolated but safe?



Domestics**Did a child work before? Domestics. (By sex)**

	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	3	15	18
	3.2%	16.0%	19.1%
	16.7%	83.3%	100%
No	13	63	76
	13.8%	67.0%	80.9%
	17.1%	83.0%	100%
Total	16	78	94
	17.0%	83.0%	100.0%

School attendance. domestics. (By regions)

	Bishkek	Osh	Kara-Suu	Naryn	Total
Attends constantly	22	26	5	8	61
	23.4%	27.7%	5.3%	8.5%	64.9%
	36.1%	43.0%	8.2%	13.1%	100%
time to time	3	2			5
	3.2%	2.1%			5.3%
	60%	40%			100%
Does not attend	11	11	2	4	28
	11.7%	11.7%	2.1%	4.3%	29.8%
	39.3%	39.3%	7.1%	14.3%	100%

School attendance. domestics (By sex)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Attends constantly	7	54	61
	7.4%	57.4%	64.9%
	11.5%	88.5%	100%
Time to time	1	4	5
	1.1%	4.3%	5.3%
Does not attend	8	20	28
	8.5%	21.3%	29.8%
	28.6%	71.4%	100%