

Trinidad

The Situation of Children in Landfill Sites

and other Worst Forms of Child Labour:

A Rapid Assessment

by
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ILO Subregional Office for the Caribbean,
Port of Spain, Trinidad

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Preface

The unacceptable exploitation of children at work persists in many regions of the world including in the Caribbean. The ILO estimates that in 2000, there were approximately 246 million children in child labour worldwide with nearly 171 million in hazardous situations or conditions. This global plague continues to rob children of their health, their growth, their education and even their lives.

The world took a huge step forward in its fight against this scourge when the International Labour Conference reached a unanimous decision to adopt a new Convention and Recommendation banning the worst forms of child labour in June 1999. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No.182 calls for “immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency”. It defines the worst forms of child labour as all forms of slavery including debt bondage, trafficking of children and their use in armed conflict, in illicit activities, such as prostitution, pornography and drug trafficking and their employment in hazardous work in mines, factories and other workplaces which could cause serious risks to their health, safety and moral well being. The accompanying Recommendation calls for research and up-to date statistics on the nature and extent of child labour to determine priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, with urgent attention to the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms. To date, eleven of thirteen member States in the English and Dutch-speaking Caribbean sub-region have ratified Convention No. 182. The remaining two countries have indicated their intention to do so by June 2003.

The Sub-Regional Office for the Caribbean is providing support to member States in their fight against child labour and in the effective implementation of Convention No.182 through technical assistance and capacity-building in the areas of child labour research, policy formulation and intervention strategies. One intervention geared to this purpose is a Sub-Regional Child Labour Project entitled *Identification, Elimination and Prevention of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Anglophone and Dutch-speaking Caribbean*, which was launched in October 2001 with financial assistance from the Canadian Government. This project, which is being undertaken in the Bahamas, Barbados, Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago, has initiated rapid assessment research in these countries, leading to the identification of vulnerable groups and the collection of information on the causes, manifestations and consequences of child labour in general and its worst forms in particular.

The current series of reports presents the findings of this research. They reveal the existence of the worst forms of child labour in the countries researched in areas such as scavenging, commercial sexual exploitation, construction, mining, and street work. It is hoped that the reports will serve as a means of drawing increasing attention to the plight of children in the Caribbean who are having their childhood snatched away by child labour, many under the most horrific of circumstances. But even more, that they will serve as a basis for designing specific interventions to combat this scourge and to take measures for its prevention and for the rehabilitation and social reintegration of current child workers.

We wish to thank the Ministries of Labour, and other cooperating Ministries, and employers’ and workers’ organizations for their assistance and participation in the project; the many NGOs that have contributed to the research efforts and the researchers who were involved in

the various national assessments. We also wish to thank the Canadian Government for its continued support for the project. The wealth of information contained in these reports provides a basis for concerted action by governments, trade unions, employers, NGOs and concerned citizens everywhere who are determined to stand in the defense of working children. One child in child labour is one child too many. This is a challenge to be urgently addressed by all, while at the same time providing more and better jobs for parents, more access to education for children and greater development possibilities for the countries in which they live.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CDR	Crude Death Rate
CRY	Cry and Respect for Youth
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DPT	Diphtheria, Pertussia and Tetanus
ECCE	Early Childhood Care and Education
EFA	Education for All
EPI	Expanded Programme on Immunization
GMCS	Global Malaria Control Strategy
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MoE	Ministry of Education
MMR	Measles, Mumps and Rubella
NADAPP	National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Programme
NAR	The National Alliance for Reconstruction
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUDE	National Union of Domestic Employees
PNM	The Peoples National Movement
RA	Rapid Assessment
RAS	Rapid Assessment Survey
SEMP	Secondary Education Modernization Programme
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
UNC The	United National Congress
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
YTEPP	Youth Training and Employment Partnership Programme

Structure of the Report

This report is presented in five (5) sections. The first is the Executive Summary which is intended for use as a stand alone document.

Part 1 and 2 present the background and context of the study. It provides information on:

- International instruments and factors;
- Socio-economic conditions existing in Trinidad.

Part 3 and 4 present the research methodology and findings of the study. Focus is on one of the worst form of child labour, scavenging. Information is also provided for three other worst forms of child labour. Included in the findings is information on:

- Survey areas;
- Discussions with key informants and focus groups;
- Demographic characteristics;
- Family situation and causes;
- Working condition and wages;
- Hazards;
- Aspirations.

Part 5 looks at the legal framework as well as the institutions and programmes which target the conditions of children;

Part 6 and 7 present the conclusions and recommendations. In the recommendations, focus is on programmes which target communities and children deemed to be at risk.

References and appendices complete the report. The appendices include challenges and lessons learnt, instruments used and tables.

Map of Trinidad



Executive Summary

The mandate of the ILO Convention No. 182 is clear. It requires ratifying countries to “take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.” ILO Recommendation No. 190 states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up-to-date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.”

This Rapid Assessment (RA) on some of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Trinidad was undertaken as a result of decisions taken at the International Labour Conference in June 1999 at which the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No.182), together with Recommendation No. 190 were unanimously adopted and the more recent ILO Caribbean Tripartite Meeting on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Kingston, Jamaica in December 1999.

Primarily a qualitative study, the research utilizes the rapid assessment methodology developed by the International Labour Organization/International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The Rapid Assessment methodology combines both quantitative and qualitative data gathering processes and is aimed at obtaining information on the identified forms of child labour within a short period of time. It is expected that the results will provide policymakers with insights into the nature, character, causes and consequences of the worst forms of child labour being investigated.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

- Produce quantitative and particularly qualitative data related to child labour in targeted occupations.
- Assess the nature and extent of child labour in the aforementioned sectors, including pull and push factors related to the occupations.
- Characterize the working conditions and related hazards (inclusive of income earned).
- Characterize the child labourers (by age, sex, schooling, and racial background).
- Identify the socio-economic, cultural and family background of child labourers.
- Examine the root causes of the occupation, including historical trends, cultural mechanisms and social dynamics relating to the problems of child labourers.
- Examine the impact and consequences of the occupations on child labourers.
- Identify the perceptions and experiences of child labourers.
- Identify and critically assess Government, NGO and International agency interventions aimed at preventing and rehabilitating child labourers.
- Assist in improving methods to research, reach and eliminate the problems of child labourers.

Target Population

The target populations were child workers in scavenging, agriculture, domestic work, prostitution and pornography. These occupational areas were identified by officials of the Ministry of Labour and the National Project Manager of the Caribbean Child Labour Project at the ILO Caribbean Office as some of the worst forms of child labour in Trinidad. Child workers are defined in this case as persons under the age of 18 years.

The study covers both urban and rural areas where these various activities have been reported. The study was conducted from January- May 2002.

Methodology

The research on the worst forms of child labour targeted four occupational areas, namely scavenging, agriculture, prostitution and pornography and domestic work. For each of these areas, it was desirable to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. While the major focus of the study was the collection of qualitative data, some quantitative data were collected in each of the four occupational categories. A standard questionnaire was used to collect the quantitative information. Qualitative data were collected by means of focus group discussions with the child workers themselves in the first instance, and where possible, their parents formed a second focus group. Information was also collected from key informants.

The questionnaire used to collect information from the child workers contained 78 questions and sought descriptive data on interviewees, current and former households, educational levels, economic activity and consequences of this economic activity.

A total of 93 child workers were interviewed of which 42 worked in scavenging. Of the total number interviewed, 24 were 18 years old and over, 12 of whom worked in scavenging while 8 were victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

A team of six, inclusive of the main researcher, conducted the research. The main researcher was an experienced survey statistician and demographer. Other members of the team were two sociologists, a psychiatric social worker working with substance abuse persons and persons with HIV/AIDS, a socio-economic researcher with vast experience in this area, and an experienced field interviewer/supervisor. The last mentioned has worked with a national agency and has participated in a number of household and agricultural surveys and censuses. Four members of the team previously worked on a Rapid Assessment Survey on substance abuse for the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Programme (NADAPP), Ministry of Social and Community Development.

Findings

The findings that follow relate only to children under the age of 18 years. However, the main body of the report contain information on those 18 years old and over thereby allowing for a comparison between the two groups.

Characteristics of the Child Workers

The characteristics of the child workers vary according to occupational group. Children engaged in scavenging by and large come from poor families and from communities where

the levels of poverty and unemployment are high. Most child workers interviewed have obtained only primary levels of education. In the survey of the children engaged in **scavenging**, for example, 70% of those interviewed had only a primary level education, while 20% had a secondary level education up to form 4. These children come from both the urban and rural areas and are mainly of African and East Indian descent. About one-third lives with parent(s) alone or with parent(s) and brother/sister while an equal amount lives with another relative and 27% live with a non-relative. In one third of the cases one or both parents had left the home. The average household size where they now live is 4.3 as compared with the national average of about 3.5 persons. Their ages range from 13 to 17 years, with an average age of 15.5 years. There was only one female among these children.

Child workers in agriculture, similar to those in scavenging, are primarily from low- income households. Eleven (55%) of the 20 from this group who were interviewed left school with just a primary level education while five (25%) are still attending secondary school. The remainder were all exposed to a secondary education with one completing form 5. Their ages range from 12 to 17 years, with an average age of 16 years. Four of those interviewed from this group were female. Eighty percent live with their parent(s) and another sibling with an average household size of 5.8 persons. In three of the 20 cases one or both parents had left the home.

All of the domestic workers are female, with ages ranging from 13 to 17 years with an average age of 16.1 years. Nine (60%) of the 15, had just a primary level education, while four were exposed to a secondary education with 2 attaining form 5 while the remaining two are attending secondary school. Like their counterparts in scavenging and agriculture, these children also come from poor families. All, except three, are living with one or both parents, with 2 of the 3 living with their employers as sleep-in workers. The average household size is 5.0 persons.

The four girls who were victims of commercial sexual exploitation all had a secondary education and came from the urban and semi-urban areas. On average they are older than those from the other groups with all being 16 years of age. Two live alone while the other 2 live with a brother/sister.

Working Conditions

The average age at which child workers in scavenging started in this activity was 12.9 years and almost half of them have been working at this job for 3 years or more. Five (17%) have been involved in this type of activity for 5 years and more. They usually work 8 hours or more each day and about six days each week all year round. The average monthly income of these workers is just over TT\$1000 (*US\$1.00=TT\$6.20*). Generally they work under very hazardous conditions and face the ever-present danger of being crushed by a garbage truck. In addition, their consumption of food from the site exposes them to infection from expired food products.

The average age at which child workers in agriculture started in that type of work was 13.0 years with 30% working in it for 5 years or more. They work similar hours to those working in scavenging, working all year round, approximately 6 hours each day, and about 5 days each week. While many of them are family workers and do not earn a wage, those workers who get a wage earn on average about \$1000 per month. Most indicated that they did not use

chemicals and so their work was not hazardous. This report, however, could not be verified during the study.

Children working as domestics start working at an early age. Twelve (80%) of the 15 interviewed had started working in that type of work by age 13 years. The average starting age for the group was 13.5 years. Six (40%) have been working in this type of job for 3 or more years. They work on average about 7 hours each day, 7 days per week year round. These workers earn the lowest wages among all the children interviewed, with the paid workers all earning less than \$750 per month.

Children who were victims of sexual exploitation started in this activity at a later age, 14.5 years on average, than other child workers and all have been involved in the activity for 1 to 2 years. They also work fewer hours on average, 3 to 4 hours each day, and fewer days per week, about 4 days. Half work all the year round while the other half work seasonally. However the work is very hazardous as they are exposed to sexually-transmitted diseases and are often the subject of physical abuse. They reported earning comparatively good wages, on average between \$3000 and \$4000 each month.

Almost all child workers, regardless of occupation, would like to spend more time in school. They would also like to have better paying jobs and think they can achieve this by learning a trade or profession.

Conclusions

The results of the Rapid Assessment Survey suggest that the four worst forms of child labour studied, namely scavenging, agriculture, domestic work and prostitution and pornography do exist in Trinidad. The extent to which they exist, however, could not be determined by this study. The findings, however, demonstrate the harsh and dangerous circumstances child labourers face daily. Dengue fever infections and accidental deaths have occurred in landfill sites, prostitutes have been stabbed and infected with HIV/AIDS and other STDs. Domestic workers face physical and sexual abuse. All child labourers yearn for more fruitful lives and dream of “nice houses and better jobs”. The methodology used in the study, however, while it is sound, may have contributed to some of the problems encountered in carrying out the study. More lead-time is required to understand the phenomenon and the problems likely to be confronted in carrying out this type of research.

Estimation of the number of child workers engaged in all the occupations other than in scavenging proved difficult. Unlike workers in scavenging who all tend to work in designated places, workers in the other three occupations tend to be scattered. In the case of scavenging, the estimated number of children working at the three sites visited is about seventy (70). Estimates from the quarterly labour force survey (2000) conducted by the CSO suggests that close to 4000 children work in agriculture while almost 300 work as domestics. Based on information obtained from some of the interviewees and a key informant, there are about 30 female victims of commercial sex exploitation in the Port of Spain area. These numbers are increased occasionally by females, 12 to 16 years of age who abscond from a nearby home for children and who are deemed to be out of control. In addition there are about 40 boys aged 12 to 15 years of age who attend secondary school during the day and work in prostitution in the night in the same urban area.

In spite of the lack of quantitative data, the push factors that drive children into these activities are similar and could either be one or a combination of poverty, physical abuse, sexual abuse, delinquent fathers, single parent households and poor parenting practices. The pull factors include the potential incomes that can assist either the child labourers or their families and the opportunity to be “your own boss”. This is particularly true of workers engaged in scavenging and prostitution. Among child workers engaged in agriculture and domestic work, the perceived need to assist at home takes precedence over the potential benefits of education.

All of these child workers, except those victims of commercial sex exploitation, work long hours on a daily basis. Domestic child workers work the longest for the least amount of remuneration. Nevertheless, most of these workers, except for those victims of commercial sex exploitation, stated that they had no regrets in being involved in what they were doing. However, almost all would not want their younger siblings to be involved in the same type of occupation.

The need to earn an income has been given as the main reason for having to work. Physical and health risks are greatest among child workers in scavenging and victims of commercial sex exploitation.

Most of these child workers have left school with only a primary education and would like to return to improve their education. While many aspire to have a good job or learn a trade, some are very specific about the type of job they would like to do.

A number of studies have discussed the role of poverty and its relationship with child labour (Rodgers and Standing, 1981; Bequele and Boyden, 1988; Szanton, 1994). The evidence obtained in this study shows that in addition to low incomes, lack of access to social services plays a significant role in the problem of child labour. Deficiencies within the educational, health and legal systems exacerbate the problem of child labour. Critical adjustments in policy, programmes, and amendments to legislation need to be made urgently, if vulnerable social groups, which include children, are to benefit and to become empowered. Single headed low income households combined with the inadequacies and loopholes within the social systems act as push factors which facilitate the involvement of children in the worst forms of child labour. Physical and sexual abuse are also contributing push factors.

Recommendations

The recommendations put forward can be broken down into two broad groups namely immediate direct intervention and future activities or research.

I. Direct intervention:

a). Rehabilitation:

- The state should underwrite the cost of the training and counselling of those children who have expressed a desire to continue their education/training in programmes conducted by SERVOL and YTEPP and other such organizations.

b). Prevention:

- Greater involvement of community officers in assisting the communities such as the Beetham Estate, that is directly related to the landfill, to meet the challenges that they face.
- The introduction of Health and Family Life Education in all schools starting from kindergarten and including out of school children.
- Workshops on effective parenting for communities deemed as high risk for WFCL
- Closer collaboration among the key ministries responsible for the welfare of children including the Ministries of Education, National Security, Health and Social Development to ensure enforcement of the laws governing children.

c). Advocacy

- Implementation of public awareness, sensitization and education programmes to inform individuals and the general public about the concept of the worst forms of child labour.
- Facilitate outreach programmes to communities where children are deemed to be at greater risk of WFCL. These programmes need to take into consideration the cultural background and value system of the community.
- Workshops and/or programmes that will have as their objectives the sharing of information on work being conducted by various agencies and the introduction of collaborative efforts especially where funding is limited.
- Greater involvement of NGO's and CBO's in all of the above.

II. Future Activities and Research

- Continuous and consistent labour market analyses to ensure that school graduates meet the needs of a constantly changing job market.
- A re-examination and evaluation of the educational system to determine what programmes are in place to address the needs of children at risk, as well as the extent to which these programmes do have a tangible and positive impact on the lives of these children.
- An increase in the minimum compulsory age for school attendance from 12 years to 16 years;
- Development of laws that will make parents directly responsible for the actions of their children up to the compulsory age of education;
- Studies of other forms of child labour such as child porters and children in the drug trade.

1.0 Introduction

This Rapid Assessment (RA) on some of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Trinidad was undertaken as the result of funding provided by the Canadian Government (CIDA) for the project – **Identification, Elimination and Prevention of The Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Anglophone and Dutch-Speaking Caribbean**. The project was a direct response to a request made to the ILO Caribbean Office for support with research from Caribbean delegates at the ILO Caribbean Tripartite Meeting on the WFCL in Kingston, Jamaica in 1999.

The International Labour Organization (ILO), through the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), has made a major commitment to the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. A significant achievement was the unanimous adoption of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182, and Recommendation No. 190, adopted by the ILO Conference in June 1999. By May 2003, 138 countries had ratified ILO Convention No. 182.

The mandate of ILO Convention No. 182 is clear. It requires ratifying countries to “take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.” ILO Recommendation No. 190 states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up-to-date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.”

The major objective of the project is that quantitative and qualitative information related to the worst forms of child labour, and their magnitude, character, causes and consequences are clearly described. The secondary objective is the validation and further development of the body of methodologies – especially the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology on child labour – for investigating the worst forms of child labour. Rapid Assessments are uniquely suited to meet these objectives. Balancing statistical precision with qualitative analysis, rapid assessments provide policy makers with insights into the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the worst forms of child labour quickly and cheaply. These insights can then be used to determine strategic objectives for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in each country or region, to design and target policy packages, and to implement, monitor and evaluate those programmes.

According to ILO Convention No. 182, the worst forms of child labour comprise:

- *All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict*
- *The use, procurement or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or pornographic performances*

- *The use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs*
- *Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children*

Trinidad and Tobago has ratified the following relevant ILO Conventions: the Forced Labour Convention (No. 29), the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No. 105) and Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention (No. 15). Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour was ratified by Trinidad and Tobago in April 2003.

The two pieces of legislation which address the issue of child labour are the Education Act, which requires compulsory school attendance up to twelve years, and the Children Act, Chapter 46:01 which relates to the protection of children and young persons. The government remains committed to the abolition of child labour, and while no specific mechanism exists to deal with the problem of child labour, other measures have been put in place in the interim.

The Government has set up a Legislative Review Committee to examine all the various legislative provisions so that it could rationalize laws related to child labour. In addition, the Government also hopes to combat and eliminate the problem of child labour through its education policy, which is hinged on the full placement of all children in secondary schools.

Despite these legal and educational provisions, certain loopholes continue to exist, which make child labour a real phenomenon in Trinidad and Tobago. These will be discussed under the sections pertaining to educational and legal frameworks.

This Rapid Assessment study has examined four (4) economic activities in Trinidad that are seen as some of the worst forms of child labour:

- a) domestic labour,
- b) prostitution and pornography,
- c) work on the garbage dumps, and
- d) commercial agriculture.

and to determine the nature, and extent of the experiences of children under 18 years who are involved in these activities.

2.0 Background and Context

Recent research on child labour suggests that some conceptual distinctions exist between child labour and child work that depend on the conditions under which children work. Child labour is thus defined as a form of work, which thwarts a child's development potential, and is in effect, exploitative child work. Working at home or in family enterprises, whether paid or not, may not be prohibited child labour, the authors argue, as long as the work can lead to a productive learning process and can contribute to the child's socialization and enhancement of life skills. It also depends on the age of the child and the child's attendance at school and ability to benefit from their schooling. This position was very much in keeping with UNICEF and ILO/IPEC's definitions of child work.¹

The 2001 United Nations Secretary General's Report (Section: Road Map to Youth Employment) noted that the youth population of the Third World, which is ever increasing, is at greatest risk to health and poverty. This population is said to be almost half of the world's unemployed, accounting for 40% of the unemployed population.

The World Bank Report 2001 on Trinidad and Tobago: Youth and Social Development, identified two principal exclusionary factors that contribute to increasing conditions of risk for youth in Trinidad and Tobago. These were: *(a) restricted access to the secondary education system, which leaves out one-third of the school age population, and (b) the high level of unemployment which reaches over 30% for the 15-19 cohort, compared to 14 percent for the population.* "In addition, poverty, reduced family care, and exposure to youth protective services and the judicial system posed developmental risks that may contribute to negative outcomes."²

The present study on the worst forms of child labour in Trinidad is being examined against the background of mounting physical and statistical evidence that this phenomenon continues to exist, in spite of the positive economic and social developments that have taken place in the economy over the period 1994 to present.

A number of studies have discussed the role of poverty and its relationship with child labour (Rodgers and Standing, 1981; Bequele and Boyden, 1988; Szanton, 1994). The evidence obtained in the present study shows that while poverty plays a significant role in the problem of child labour, it can no longer be singled out as the only factor that results in this phenomenon. Rather, after analysing the educational, health and legal systems, it becomes apparent that the inadequacies that exist in these systems at present exacerbate the problem of child labour. Critical adjustments in policy, programmes, and amendments in legislation need to be made urgently, if vulnerable social groups, which include children, are to benefit and to become empowered. Therefore, while poverty is a reality in the lives of many children, the inadequacies and loopholes that continue to exist in these systems act as push factors which facilitate the involvement of children in the worst forms of child labour.

¹R. Fernandez and M. Melba: A Study on the Child Labour Situation in the Southern Phillipines.

² UN Secretary General's Report, Youth Employment Network Report United Nations 2001.

Against this background, the Rapid Assessment study seeks to understand and explain the factors which contribute to the nature and extent of the worst forms of child labour assumed to exist in Trinidad of the twin island republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

The sections below will discuss the development of the demographic, economic, health, and educational systems and how they have impacted on the child population. The discussions also point out some of the factors that continue to be problematic, thus making child labour a social issue that needs to be addressed urgently.

2.1 Population

Demographic Structure

The population of Trinidad and Tobago, much more than any of the other Caribbean islands, has been influenced by its ethnic and religious composition, by its colonisers, and its history of slavery and indentureship. Vestiges of its colonisers, namely the British, French, Dutch and Spanish, still exist in the economic, social and cultural institutions of the society.

At the time of the 1990 Population Census, the population was dominated by two major ethnic groups, namely African and East Indians, accounting for approximately 40% each of the population and persons of mixed descent accounting for 18 %. The remaining part of the population was made up of Chinese, Caucasian (White), Syrian/Lebanese and others.

The religions were dominated by Roman Catholics (30%), Hindus (24%), Anglican (11%) with an increased development of Evangelism among new religious groups - Pentecostals being the most prominent among these groups.

In addition, the disposition and occupations of the population have also been influenced by slavery and indentureship. East Indians are found mainly in the Central plains where sugar cane is grown and also in parts of the South. They dominate the agricultural sector. Africans are found mainly in the North and South and are employed mainly in the public sector, construction and the oil industries in the South. The other ethnic groups are found mainly in the urban areas and dominate the business sector.

The 1999 mid-year Population for Trinidad and Tobago was estimated to be 1,283,863. This represents an increase of 68,676 over the mid year population of 1,215,187 in 1990 or an increase of 5.7%, or just over 0.6% per annum. This low rate of increase is due primarily to declining births and continued emigration. Between 1988 and 1997 the annual number of births declined from 26,983 to 18,452 or about 32%. Deaths increased slightly from 8,036 in 1988 to 9,157 in 1997. Losses due to migration averaged almost 12,000 per annum.

As a result of the respective contributors to population growth, the population continues to age. The under 15 population decreased from 406,648 in 1990 to 322,798 in 1999, a 21% decline - the overall share of the under 15 years old declining from 33% in 1990 to 25% in 1999. In contrast, those aged 60 years and over moved from 105,957 in 1990 to 120,192 in 1999 an increase of 14%, their share moving from 8.7% to 9.4%.

The crude birth rate has declined from 22.3 to 14.5, while the crude death rate increased from 6.6 to 7.2. The infant mortality rate has shown an increase from 13.2 in 1988 to 17.1 in 1997.

However, this increase has been due in part to under-reporting of infant deaths in previous years. The general fertility rate declined from 86.6 to 52.2 over the same period.

In terms of employment, the total labour force was estimated at 521,000 in 1995, moving to 563,400 in 1999, an increase of 42,400 or 8%. Over the same period, the total unemployment rate declined from 17.2% to 13.1%. Persons aged 15 to 19 years accounted for about 7% of the total labour force in 1995 and about 8% in 1999. However, they accounted for 15% of the total unemployed in 1995 and 19% in 1999, so that in the face of increased employment opportunities, this group accounted for a greater proportion of the unemployed. None the less the unemployment rate for the group declined from 37.4% to 33.5%. The rate of decline in unemployment for this group, however, was approximately half of what it was for the entire population.

2.2 Human Capital

Education of the Population

In March 1993, after a series of consultations with stakeholders, the Ministry of Education (MoE) formulated a Policy Paper on Educational Development in Trinidad and Tobago, 1993-2003. Education For All (EFA) became the main objective of the MoE. One of the educational goals highlighted under EFA stated:

"The need to ensure that all children are provided with primary education, that the cost of primary education to needy families is not prohibitive (provision of school feeding, subsidized transport, etc.) that sound instructional management are pursued linking schools to their relevant communities and ensuring sound teaching and learning, and finally that under-performing schools are rendered more effective. These measures are calculated to ensure effective demand for schooling and improved learning achievement at the primary level."

(Educational Planning Department, Ministry of Education, 2002).

In order to achieve EFA, the MoE adopted certain measures. These measures sought to improve the following: the number of places available to children by constructing more primary and secondary schools; the quality of the curriculum that was offered; the level of training and the competencies of the teaching staff; and institutional strengthening of the administrative sector of MoE (Ministry of Education, 1999:67).

In terms of the physical plant, up to the year 1998, there were 852 Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) centres, of which 700 were privately owned. For the year 1999, there were 477 public and 68 private primary schools throughout Trinidad and Tobago, with 444 public schools in Trinidad. At the secondary level, for the year 1998/99 the total school population was 105,994 (51,798 males, 54,196 female) at 100 public secondary schools, 70 of which were government schools, and 30 of which were government-assisted. There were 55 private secondary schools (Ministry of Education 1999:4-9).

2.3 Educational Initiatives

Additional initiatives were introduced to expand free primary education. During the period 1988 and 2001, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago (GOTT), through loan agreements

with the World Bank (Fourth Basic Project) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) financed the construction of nineteen (19) new primary schools, and replaced fifty-three (53) schools. These construction and replacement projects were carried out in order to fulfil some of the objectives of the Education Policy Paper (1993-2003).

This construction and replacement phase has resulted in the reduction of the pupil/teacher ratio in primary schools from 28:1 in 1990 to 21:0 in 1999. (Tables 1&2). The pupil teacher/ratio in secondary schools was 20:1 in 1998/1999. However, there is a disparity in this ratio according to school type. While it ranges from 17:1 to 20:1 in the Senior Secondary and the Government and Government-Assisted Secondary Schools, in the Junior Secondary Schools it was 27:1. (*Junior Secondary Schools are three-year schools that cater for the first three years of secondary level education and operate on a two shift system*). However, the children that are placed there, based on the results of the Common Entrance Examination, are by and large those whose grades do not allow them to be selected for the more prestigious Government and Government-Assisted Secondary Schools. This has resulted in the negative stereotyping of children selected for these schools by the population at large. This together with the apparent large amount of unsupervised time that some of the children attending Junior Secondary Schools are exposed to are believed to have been contributing factors to increasing incidences of delinquency among some of the nation's youth.

The other goals are:

- a) The need to refurbish and repair those primary schools that are now not suitable as learning environments for the delivery of a sound education that will endure.
- b) The curriculum recommended pays attention to breadth ensuring that a place is found for the aesthetics, pastoral provisions and general personal and pro-social development. However basic literacy and numeracy skills have been given pride of place in keeping with the recognition that the kernel of a sound general education ought to be fully developed at this level.

According to the MoE, one of its major objectives is to achieve and to sustain quality education in schools. This is also in keeping with the World Bank's Fourth Basic Programme. A two-year training programme for Early Childhood Educators was developed at that level. At the primary level, the Science syllabus has been revised, and the Arts have been integrated within the Aesthetics Curriculum. The Mathematics and Language Arts syllabi have also been revised.

In the area of training, several programmes were also conducted. In 1997, a Bachelor in Education programme for principals, vice-principals, and senior teachers commenced. Thus far, 231 teachers have benefited, while another 181 are expected to complete the programme between 2002 and 2003. Some 478 teachers at primary schools were trained in the preparation of school improvement plans.

With loan funding from the IDB, the MoE has also commenced a Secondary Education Modernization Programme (SEMP). The purpose of the programme is to expand the secondary education in the following areas: curriculum development; teaching and learning strategies; professional development; assessment, testing and evaluation; institutional development; and construction and rehabilitation of schools.

In spite of all these initiatives, the National Report on Education (1999) notes that over 13,000 children of school age population are unable to access the formal educational system. Some of the reasons given for this inaccessibility are the individual cost of education, (in terms of transport, school textbooks, uniforms, and meals), and the relevance of the curriculum to their level of educational development. On account of these reasons, another system of education came into existence.

Hence, alongside the system of formal schooling, there exists another system which provides educational opportunities for out-of-school, and economically and educationally underprivileged children. The Adult Education Unit of the MoE provides literacy, numeracy and other skills for individuals 16 years and over (Ministry of Education 1999:19-20).

Despite the adoption of measures to increase the physical capacity, revise the curricula and upgrade skills, the report noted that the issue of poverty and its ramifications, affected the proper implementation of EFA. Many parents were still unable to finance the schooling of their children, and attendant costs such as food, transportation, school uniforms, and text books prevented some children from attending school.

Of even greater significance is the actual number of “missing children” from the formal school system. According to the UNDP, in any given year there are some 20, 000 children (10%) who have obtained little or no basic education. These children have either never been included in, or they may have been selected out of the process (UNDP, 2001:46). The inability, on the part of these children, to access the school system, meant that the strict application of compulsory schooling became impossible. It meant, also, that there was a strong correlation between enrolment and attendance levels at primary level and the existing macro-economic climate. This, of course, also implied that these were the children who would be more likely to become involved in various forms of child labour, as they engaged in economic activities in attempts to supplement the family income, in households where unemployment levels among parents were highest.

"The system of education in Trinidad and Tobago starts with an input of some 93% of the 5-year old population. By the time students have reached secondary level, less than 50% are still there. By the end of 6th Form, the percentage is 8%-10%, and at tertiary level less than 6%. Any system with such diminishing returns in efficiency, 93% to 6%, especially one aimed at human development, can hardly deny that “every child” does not have “an inalienable right to an education, which facilitates the achievement of personal goals...”(UNDP, 2001:51-52).³

The research findings of the UNDP study also indicate that there are certain vulnerable social groups who are at a greater risk of being “funnelled out of the school system, and are emerging with greater disempowerment than they had on entry” (UNDP, 2001:26). It goes on to say:

³ In the education system, children generally attend primary school from 5 to 11 years and secondary school from 12 to 19 years. At the primary level, ages 5 to 6 are called infants. From ages 7 to 11 years, the levels are designated Standards 1 to 5. At secondary level, there are six forms from Form 1 to Form 6. However, the first year in Form 6 is designated as Lower 6 and the second year as Upper 6.

"The system is shown as "not being user-friendly to youths of African descent, especially females, the poor; those from non-nuclear families." Stated another way, the school system has not adapted favourably to the special needs of vulnerable groups from hostile home and community environments." (UNDP, 2001:26).

In the National Report on Education, it stated clearly that there still remains a number of students who are not using available school spaces at the primary level. The Report recommended the introduction of appropriate systems that would ensure that students were not only enrolled, but were attending school regularly.

While the introduction of such systems may improve attendance levels, they may do little to improve achievement levels of these children, unless and/or until it is recognized that the needs of these children are different. It will be only through the introduction of the required economic, psychosocial and other motivational support services that these 'at risk' children will be able to achieve, become empowered, and obtain the type of holistic development that the National Task Force on Education espouses.

The tables below provide information on some of the key indicators in the area of education.

Pupil/Teacher Ratio

The pupil/teacher ratio, as the name implies, gives an index of the average number of pupils per teacher. It is an important measure since the system of education should ascribe to having lower pupil/teacher ratios, which would indicate that one teacher would have less students to instruct and so the average time spent with each student would be increased.

Tables 1 and 2 give the pupil/teacher ratio by Type of Primary School for the school year 1998 and for all primary schools for the years 1990 to 1998. As can be seen, there is little difference in the ratio by type of school except for Muslim schools where the ratio is 1:25 and the Methodist schools where it is 1:18. However, between 1990 and 1998 there has been a significant decline in the ratio, moving from 28.1 to 22.6, a decline of about 20%.

In Table 3, it can be seen that most types of Secondary schools have a pupil/teacher ratio of about 1:20. However, in the Junior Secondary schools this ratio is 1:27. Bearing in mind that most of the students in the Junior Secondary schools are students whose grades are at the lower end of the scale of the Common Entrance Examinations (which determine the type of school a student is likely to be placed in). Students in Junior Secondary schools are at a severe disadvantage. Unfortunately these are the ones that require more individual attention, but the pupil/teacher ratio in these schools is 33% higher than in other schools.

TABLE 1
PUPILS, TEACHERS AND PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS
1998/99

SCHOOL TYPE	PUPILS	TEACHERS	PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO
Government	52 322	2 565	20
Roman Catholic	45 972	2 094	22
English Catholic	18 591	882	21
Presbyterian	24 341	1 171	21
Methodist	1 847	101	18
Moravian	515	25	21
Seventh Day Adventist	1 781	78	23
Hindu	17 200	772	22
Muslim	5 735	230	25
Other	1 236	59	21
TOTAL	169 540	7 977	21

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

TABLE 2
PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO AT PRIMARY LEVEL 1990-1998

Year	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
1990	28.1
1991	27.9
1992	27.4
1993	27.0
1994	26.3
1995	25.5
1996	24.8
1997	23.7
1998	22.6

Source: National Report Education For All 2000, Ministry of Education, 1999.

TABLE 3
PUPILS, TEACHERS AND PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO FOR PUBLIC SECONDARY
SCHOOLS , 1998/99

SCHOOL TYPE	PUPILS	TEACHERS	PUPIL/TEACHER RATIO
Junior Secondary	33 126	1 205	27
Senior Secondary	25 363	1 529	17
Composite	8 401	408	20
Government Secondary	18 244	986	18
Assisted Secondary	20 860	1 042	20
TOTAL	105 994	5 170	20

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

Enrolment

Enrolment can be described as the act of identifying oneself as wishing to follow a particular educational programme and being accepted as a student. Registration, on the other hand, is enrolment followed by the recording of the student's name and other particulars on a register.

In terms of enrolment in Primary schools, as can be seen in Table 4, while there was an increase in enrolment in 1989/1990 and 1992/1993, there has been a significant decline from 1992/1993 where the total enrolled was 197,000 to 1998/1999 when the enrolment was 169,540, a decline of about 15%. It is safe to say that this decline in enrolment contributed in a significant way to the decline in the pupil/teacher ratio. From Table 5, it can be seen that there is a slightly higher number of males than females.

TABLE 4
ENROLMENT IN GOVERNMENT/ ASSISTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS,
1989/90-1998/99

Year	Enrolment
1989/90	189 752
1990/91	193 632
1991/92	196 333
1992/93	197 012
1993/94	195 041
1994/95	191 640
1995/96	185 898
1996/97	181 003
1997/98	176 218
1998/99	169 540

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

TABLE 5
ENROLMENT IN GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY
SEX, 1989/99

Year	Male	Female	Both Sexes
1998/99	86 234	83 306	169 540

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

TABLE 6
ENROLMENT IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY FORM,
SEX AND TYPE OF SCHOOL 1998/99

Sex	Total	Junior Sec	Senior Sec	Composite	Govt	Assisted Sec
Both sexes	105 994	33 126	25 363	8 401	18 244	20 860
Male	51 798	16 412	12 504	4 105	8 554	10 223
Female	54 196	16 714	12 859	4 296	9 690	10 637

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1989/90-1998/99

Year	Public Primary Schools	Public Secondary Schools	Technical Vocational Schools	University
1989/90	468	97	3	1
1990/91	471	97	3	1
1991/92	475	101	3	1
1992/93	476	101	3	1
1993/94	476	101	3	1
1994/95	476	101	3	1
1995/96	476	101	3	1
1996/97	476	101	3	1
1997/98	477	101	3	1
1998/99	477	101	3	1

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

TABLE 8
ENROLMENT IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1989/99

Year	Public Primary Schools	Public Secondary Schools	Technical Vocational Schools	University
1989/90	189 752	98 356	3 890	4 147
1990/91	193 632	95 701	4 936	4 137
1991/92	196 333	97 253	4 879	4 529
1992/93	197 012	99 489	4 971	4 947
1993/94	195 041	101 107	3 879	5 191
1994/95	191 640	101 970	4 073	5 227
1995/96	185 898	102 878	4 639	5 348
1996/97	181 003	103 866	4 221	6 007
1997/98	176 218	106 188	3 935	6 295
1998/99	169 540	105 994	4 110	6 641

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2001.

Dropouts

Dropouts are pupils who have not been enrolled in school since the beginning of the school year. (Definitions taken from Report on Education Statistics 1998/1999)

In viewing the dropout rate, it should be noted that at the primary level, dropouts range in the age from 6 to 11 years while most of the dropouts at secondary level are aged 12 to 14 years. Another area where attrition takes place, but which is not recorded, is at the transition from primary to secondary level.

Many children who are not successful at the placement examination for secondary level are likely to drop out of the system either because they are too old to return to the primary level or their parents are unable to pay the cost of private tuition.

These dropouts create a pool from which child labour can be sourced. Another area of dropout is at the transition from Junior Secondary to Senior Secondary/Comprehensive at age 14. At this stage, children are moved from the Junior Secondary schools which cater for ages 12 to 14 years. Some children are unlikely to take up placement in other schools and therefore drop out of the system. This is another source of child labour. These children are a little more educated than those dropping out after the Common Entrance Examination.

It is instructive to note that at both primary and secondary levels the boys constitute the greater number of dropouts. This is very important in the context of child labour, for as the survey suggests, they may be at a greater risk of becoming child labourers in some of the worst forms of child labour.

TABLE 9
SUMMARY OF DROP-OUTS BY GRADE, AREA AND SEX–2000/2001

Area	Infants		Primary		Post-Primary Standards	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F
Urban	44	34	158	114	43	23
Rural	13	13	99	62	35	27
TOTAL	57	47	257	176	78	50

Source: Ministry of Education, Educational Planning Division (2002)

TABLE 10
SUMMARY OF DROP-OUTS AT SECONDARY LEVEL 2000/2001

Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Lower VI	Upper VI
159	155	190	73	293	11	35

Source: Ministry of Education, Educational Planning Division (2002)

Expenditure

Except for the school years 1989/1990 and 1990/1991, there has not been an increase in the number of schools in the country, although plans were in place to increase the number of Secondary schools.

Tables 11 and 12 give expenditure on both primary and secondary level education. Expenditure on education has not kept abreast with total expenditure, measured either in terms of Total Current Expenditure or Gross National Product. The increase in expenditure at Secondary level is even less than at Primary level, at a time when the increase in enrolment at Secondary level is matched by a decrease in enrolment at Primary level.

TABLE 11
PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION AS % OF GNP, AND OF TOTAL
PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION; AND PUBLIC CURRENT EXPENDITURE ON
PRIMARY EDUCATION PER PUPIL AS % OF GNP PER CAPITA

Year	Public Current Expend. (\$Tm) A	Total Public Expend. (\$Tm) B	Total Enrol- ment C	GNP (\$Tm) D	Total Pop. E	Current Exp. as % of total Exp. A/B	Current Exp. as% of GNP B/D	Public Current exp. Per pupil as % of GNP (A/D) / (D/E)
1990	349,650,192	750.2	194,192	20,041.2	1,231,100	46.6	1.7	11.1
1991	355,585,409	865.6	196,329	20,054.2	1,258,100	41.1	1.8	11.4
1992	365,831,882	894.7	197,030	21,186.9	1,286,000	40.9	1.7	11.3
1993	386,511,880	912.1	195,013	23,135.0	1,314,700	42.4	1.7	11.3
1994	416,259,499	1,015.7	191,636	26,584.0	1,343,900	41.0	1.6	11.0
1995	459,208,935	1,278.2	186,000	27,990.1	1,373,300	35.9	1.6	12.1
1996	475,928,852	1,394.4	181,030	31,644.0	1,401,300	34.1	1.5	11.6
1997	489,520,200	1,432.2	176,204	33,635.8	1,429,900	34.2	1.5	11.8
1998	512,348,200	1,240.8	169,580	34,249.6	1,459,000	41.3	1.5	12.9

Source: Draft Details of Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure

TABLE 12
CURRENT EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION AS % OF GNP AND OF
TOTAL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION; AND PUBLIC CURRENT
EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION AS % OF GNP PER CAPITA

Year	Public Current Exp. A	Total Current Exp. (\$Tm) B	Total Enrol- ment C	GNP (\$Tm) D	Total Pop. E	Current Exp. as % of Total Exp. A/B	Public Exp. as % of GNP B/D	Public Exp. per Pupil as % of GNP (A/C) / (D/E)
1990	256,175,977	750.2	96,245	20,041.2	1,231,100	34.1	1.3	16.4
1991	274,182,837	865.6	98,868	20,054.2	1,258,100	31.7	1.4	17.4
1992	294,105,492	894.7	97,161	21,186.9	1,286,000	32.9	1.4	18.4
1993	300,489,282	912.1	99,590	23,135.0	1,314,700	32.9	1.3	17.1
1994	327,347,247	1,015.7	100,609	26,584.0	1,343,900	32.2	1.2	16.4
1995	348,483,423	1,278.2	100,676	27,990.1	1,373,300	27.3	1.2	17.0
1996	320,154,832	1,394.4	104,349	31,644.0	1,401,300	23.0	1.0	13.6
1997	335,477,900	1,432.2	106,050	33,635.8	1,429,900	23.4	1.0	13.4
1998	280,603,900	1,240.8	105,790	34,249.6	1,459,000	22.6	0.8	11.3

Source: Draft Estimates Details of Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure

2.4 Health of the Population

There are a number of overall guiding principles for the health care system in Trinidad and Tobago. These include universality/accessibility; equity; affordability/sustainability/quality; and accountability. In an attempt to fulfil these, a number of indicators has been introduced to measure the service that is provided to customers.

In the case of children, the country has certain health goals to fulfil since the World Summit for Children. Some of the policies and procedures that have been put in place to ensure success will be discussed in the following sections.

Quality

The quality of the health care service is measured by a number of indicators, which include attitude of staff, quality of care, equipment malfunctions and waiting time, to name a few. The table below lists the nature of complaints, and the percentages attributed to each, for the major hospitals in Trinidad and Tobago. The three main complaints for the period tabled were: attitude of staff (19.5%), medical care (10%) and waiting time in Accident and Emergency department (7.2%). For the same period, the total number of external complaints for all the hospitals was 629, from 626,211 persons who accessed the health service.

Currently the health system in the country is in an unsatisfactory state, due primarily to the emigration of trained personnel, mainly nurses, to the metropolitan countries mainly the United States and the United Kingdom. Poor working conditions and lack of facilities have also exacerbated the situation.

In an effort to improve a deteriorating health services, government 1995-1996 established four Regional Health Authorities in Trinidad and one in Tobago with the intention of focussing on the provision of primary health care services. However this has not been the case as the burden of health care services has been primarily placed on the hospitals.

Health service is provided by – hospitals including one in Tobago and a number of district health centres/medical facilities. The Mt. Hope Maternity Hospital and the Eric Williams Medical Science Complex both of which are on the same compound and midway between Port of Spain and Arima are the newest. The Eric Williams Medical Science Complex is perhaps the most modern in the English-speaking Caribbean. The other hospitals are from pre-independence days with additions and renovations taking place from time to time over the years. Most recently there has been a process of refurbishing and upgrading health centres, particularly in the rural areas to make health care services more accessible.

The Port of Spain General Hospital services the northern urban centre, in which about one-third of the population is found, while the San Fernando Hospital services the urban centre of San Fernando and its environs, and the rural areas mainly to the south of San Fernando. The Sangre Grande Hospital services the rural areas in the eastern part of Trinidad. The Scarborough Hospital, Tobago, services the health needs in the island of Tobago.

Given all of the above it is not surprising that the major complains are attitude of medical staff, medical and nursing care, delays in the Accident and Emergency department, and the postponement of surgical procedures. Of course some hospitals have their own peculiar problems so that at the Eric Williams Medical Science Complex inadequate billing, food

services and environment of care are the major complaints, while at Sangre Grande the long wait at the accident and emergency department (38%), (the highest single complaint in all hospitals) and waiting time in the pharmacy are the major complaints.

So that generally, problems of equipment and supplies, and an overworked staff will not contribute to the delivery of medical services the public expects and look forward to obtain. Despite the recognition of these various short-comings expenditure in the health sector remains at just above 2.6% of GDP between 1990 and 1993.

TABLE 13
NATURE OF COMPLAINT BY HOSPITAL MARCH 2000-FEBRUARY 2001 (%)

Nature of Complaint	POS	SF	Eric Williams	Mt. Hope	S. Grande	Tobago	% of Total
Attitude of staff	32.3	19.3	8.7	24.0	14.3	23.0	19.5
Medical care	18.5	6.7	9.2	16.0	1.5	9.8	10.1
Nursing care	9.7	4.4	3.1	-	1.5	1.6	4.6
Lack of communication skills	-	6.7	2.0	-	2.3	-	2.1
Attitude of security staff	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	1.3
Response time on ward	-	2.2	-	-	-	-	0.4
Waiting time in pharmacy	2.6	4.4	-	-	15.8	-	4.3
Waiting time in A + E dep't	-	1.5	-	-	38.3	1.6	7.2
Shortage of medication + supplies	3.1	0.7	2.6	-	-	-	1.6
Postponement of surgical procedures	4.1	5.9	4.1	-	-	1.6	3.4
Delays in obtaining medical records	6.7	15.6	1.5	-	2.3	3.3	5.6
Problems in accessing service	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	0.1
Shortage of linen	-	-	3.6	-	-	-	0.9
Environment of care	2.1	6.7	9.2	16.0	7.5	13.1	7.1
Problems in accessing service in X-ray dep't	1.5	-	2.0	8.0	5.3	-	2.1
Delays in obtaining lab reports	2.1	3.7	1.5	-	-	-	1.6
Problems with transport	0.5	0.7	-	-	-	3.3	0.5
Disappointment with clinic app't	1.5	11.1	0.5	-	3.0	1.6	3.2
Food service	-	0.7	12.8	-	-	-	3.5
Inadequate tech. Billing	-	-	16.8	-	-	-	4.4
Post-operation complications	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Equipment malfunctions	-	1.5	7.1	-	4.5	11.5	3.9
Administration	-	2.2	3.6	-	-	23.0	3.2
Customer services	-	-	1.5	-	-	-	0.4
Others	4.1	3.7	9.2	36.0	-	6.6	5.9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source : Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health.

Hospitals: POS-Port of Spain General; S.F – San Fernando General; E.Williams- Eric Williams Medical Complex; Mt. Hope – Mt. Hope Medical Complex; S. Grande – Sangre Grande Hospital; Tobago-Scarborough Regional

TABLE 14
DOCTORS IN POPULATION 1996-1999

YEAR	1996	1997	1998	1999
Doctors in population	957	949	1185	1171

Source: Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health.

As Table 14 indicates the number of doctors in the country increased by approximately 22.4% over the period 1996 to 1999. During that same period the total population was estimated to have increased by about 1.6%. This resulted in an improved ratio of the number of doctors per 1,000 population from 0.76 to 0.91.

Life Expectancy

Average life expectancy for the year 1980 was estimated to be 69.2 years, with that of males being 66.9 years and for females, 71.6 years. With improvement in general health conditions the average life expectancy at birth was projected to this was reach 72.4 years by the year 2010, with life expectancy for males expected to reach 72.4 years and that of females, 77.1 years. (Trinidad and Tobago 1985, A Demographic Analysis).

Main Diseases

HIV/AIDS

TABLE 15
CURRENT HIV/AIDS EPIDEMIOLOGICAL SITUATION - 2000

	CASES	RATE/100k
HIV/AIDS	9070	72.70
HIV cases (Asymptomatic)	5305	49.05
AIDS cases	3855	29.76
Deaths	2475	16.27

Source: Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health.

With regard to HIV/AIDS, the major mode of transmission is unprotected sexual contact, while mother to child transmission, and men who have sex with men (MSM) are two other modes which exist, but to a lesser extent. In the case of intravenous drug use and blood borne modes, these are practically non-existent. For the year 1999, HIV prevalence among pregnant women was estimated between 2% and 3% (Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health, 2000).

In the table above which relates to the period 1983 to 2000 there were 9070 confirmed cases of HIV/AIDS, the rate being 72.7 per 100,000 population. A total 2475 persons died from AIDS during the period. In the year 2001 alone there were 916 confirmed cases of HIV/AIDS. Of that total in 29 of the cases the victims were under the age of 20 years and of these 8 were aged 15 to 19 years. Females outnumbered males 15 to 12 while in 2 cases the sex was not given. However, in the age group 15 to 19 there was just 1 male with the other 7 being females.

The Ministry has undertaken a number of programmes to prevent and control the spread of HIV/AIDS. These include primary prevention programmes, such as peer education/counselling programmes, which were conducted in secondary schools, as well as programmes for other high-risk groups, such as commercial sex workers, and MSM. Mass communication methods are employed to influence attitudes and changes in lifestyles. The Medical Research Foundation commenced Phase II of Vaccine Trials in April 2001, with the aim of developing a safe vaccine; access to antiretroviral drugs for individuals living with HIV/AIDS has improved and a National Strategic Plan 2002-2007 has been formalised.

With the government's concern about the growing number of Pediatric HIV+ cases, a number of strategies has also been devised to manage pregnant women, so as to prevent transmission of HIV/AIDS to babies, and HIV positive mothers are advised against breast-feeding. The introduction of drug therapy is another method used to reduce transmission levels from mothers to babies.

Dengue Fever

In Trinidad and Tobago, dengue fever has been endemic for about the last thirty years. A National Vertical Programme through the Insect Vector Control Division is carried out by the Ministry of Health, some of the aims of which are to apply insecticides to infested areas, seek community participation, conduct health promotion campaigns and research. Please see table below which illustrates the prevalence of the disease for the years 1997 to 2001.

TABLE 16
PREVALENCE OF DENGUE FEVER 1997-2001

YEAR	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Dengue	2081	2984	1159	2066	2417
DHF	117	108	113	53	85
Suspected deaths	14	19	12	13	19

Source: Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health.

DHF – Dengue Haemorrhagic Fever

Tuberculosis

The number of tuberculosis cases has been decreasing steadily over the years, although there was a noticeable increase in the incidence of TB during the mid- 1990's. The Ministry of Health has observed with some concern that there has been an increase in the number of persons diagnosed with HIV/AIDS/TB co-infection, and an increase in the number of pediatric TB cases. The table below gives an indication of the prevalence of the disease.

TABLE 17
PREVALENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS 1997-2001

YEAR	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
TB cases	208	183	137	173	144

Source: Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health

Immunization

The coverage of vaccine-preventable diseases has been monitored through the Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI). The three-in-one vaccine, DPT (Diphtheria, Pertussia, Tetanus) and MMR (Measles, Mumps and Rubella), together with those for Polio and Yellow Fever are given to children of primary school age. Two campaigns against measles were held during the period 1990-2000 for the population less than 7 years of age, the first of which had 90% coverage, and the second had 96% coverage. For the under five population, the percentage of cases of measles fell from 3.7% in 1990 to 0% in 1997.

TABLE 18
IMMUNIZATION 1999-2000

YEAR	DPT	Polio	MMR	Yellow Fever
1999	90.5	90.5	88.5	88.5
2000	90.1	90.1	89.7	87.5

Source: EPI, Ministry of Health, Statistical Unit, Ministry of Health.

Child Mortality

The most recent data available for infant mortality are for the year 1997, and this rate of 17.1 per 1000 live births shows an increase in the IMR from 1990, which was 12.7. An Infant Mortality Surveillance Form, which will verify mortality data, and collect information on gender, birth weight, cause of death and antenatal clinic attendance on the part of mothers, has been introduced in a number of institutions since 2000.

TABLE 19
MORTALITY, BIRTH AND FERTILITY RATES –1995-1997

YEAR	1995	1996	1997
Infant mortality rate	17.1	16.2	17.1
Maternal mortality rate	67.5	38.9	70.4
Crude birth rate	15.3	14.2	14.5
General fertility rate	56.3	52.0	52.2

Source: Population and Vital Statistics Report, 1997.

TABLE 20
EXPENDITURE IN HEALTH 1990-1993

YEAR	1990	1991	1992	1993
General Administration	20, 782, 014	25, 016, 992	26, 075, 280	15, 419, 773
Hospital and Laboratories	279, 006, 612	304, 550, 658	337, 335, 695	330, 985, 942
County/District Services	26, 977, 931	30, 925, 960	31, 435, 148	34, 726, 184
Supplies and services	92, 834, 056	101, 532, 221	91, 152, 745	88, 104, 238
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	497, 315, 877	524, 777, 504	544, 646, 567	588, 953, 521
% GDP	2.5	2.7	2.9	2.6

Source: Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure and National Income Report, Central Statistical Office 1993.

2.5 The Economy

Economic analyses of the period 1970 to 1995 reveal contrasting performances for the twin island republic of Trinidad and Tobago. From 1974-1982, there was very rapid economic growth during the “high rent phase of its natural resource-rich petroleum-led economy” (Pantin, 1989:267), where the oil windfalls resulted in significant improvements in living standards, via increases in incomes, job expansions in the public sector, and sizeable investments in infrastructure (World Bank, 1995). By 1982, there was a sharp contraction, as the economy moved into the post-boom phase, which could be characterised as a period of economic decline and depression. From the period 1982 to 1993, GDP per capita dipped from US \$6,600. to US \$3,700., while unemployment levels climbed to 20% from 10% (World Bank, 1995). Poverty levels during this time increased from 3% of households in 1981 to 21% by 1994-5. Approximately half of this 21% was classified as extremely poor, as these individuals were unable to purchase a minimum basket of goods. The inability to distribute wealth, in spite of good economic indicators such as GDP, has been a major challenge of successive governments.

Out of a total of 500,000 individuals in the 0-19 age group, poor children comprised 200,000. The World Bank 1996 survey also indicated that 25% of households were female-headed. The incidence of poverty also tended to be higher in these households because of the lower levels of labour participation, and lower wages found among this group. Studies have also shown that it is largely among these female households that children are named as a source of economic support (Powell 1986; Massiah 1989).

During the period 1994-2000, the Trinidad and Tobago economy experienced steady economic growth, with GDP at factor cost increasing from 2.9% in 1996 to 5.1% in 1999. The inflation rate, which was 5.3% in 1995, fell to 3.3% in 1996, and rose moderately to 3.6% in 2000. Similarly, the unemployment rate stood at 17.2% in 1995, and fell continuously from 16.3% in 1996 to 12.3% in 2000. This healthy status was based on the favourable performance, mainly of the petro-chemical industry, the growing construction, manufacturing and tourism industries. A new liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant completed production at maximum capacity at 5752.7 tonnes, and a new methanol plant produced an additional 825,000 tonnes, which made Trinidad the world’s largest exporter of methanol.

Crude production that was in decline since 1978 fell again by 4.6% in 2000. Despite this fact, there was an unexpected increase in government revenues in 2000, as the average price of oil rose to US\$30.29 per barrel, which was 57.4% above the 1999 average, and 89.3% higher than the price projected in the annual budget. This gave government an additional \$2.4 billion in revenue for that fiscal year, of which \$1.5 billion was used, due to increased spending (Central Bank, 2000;2). See table below which shows selected economic indicators for the years 1995-2000.

TABLE 21
KEY ECONOMIC INDICATORS 1995-2000

Economic Indicators	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
GDP at current prices (\$Mn)	31,697.0	34,587.0	36,442.0	38,459.0	42,587.0	50,231.0
Changes in real GDP at factor cost	3.2	2.9	3.0	4.0	5.1	4.0
Inflation rate	5.3	3.3	3.7	5.6	3.4	3.6
Poverty rate	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Unemployment Rates (%)	17.2	16.3	15.0	14.2	13.1	12.3
% Pop. Economically active	60.3	60.0	60.3	61.2	60.8	61.3
Exchange rate TT/US	5.89	5.99	6.25	6.28	6.27	6.27
Total government expenditure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Annual Economic Survey, Central Bank, 1999, 2000; Central Statistical Office.

TABLE 22
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1997-2001
AT MARKET PRICES (CURRENT PRICES)
(Millions of Dollars)

Industry	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Petroleum Industry	9,130.9	7,027.5	8,369.9	12,833.3	13,746.5
Non-petroleum industry	27,245.0	32,025.2	34,615.6	37,841.5	41,873.9
Manufacturing	2,820.2	3,453.8	3,745.1	4,131.9	4,154.1
Services	23,647.4	27,788.0	30,040.2	32,871.4	36,914.5
Gross Domestic Product	36,626.2	39,796.0	43,254.5	50,871.5	55,815.1
Net Factor Payments	-2,506.9	-2,167.2	-2,517.4	-3,839.6	-4,912.8
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT	34,119.3	37,628.9	40,737.1	47,031.9	50,902.3

Source: Central Statistical Office.

TABLE 23
GROWTH IN GDP BY SECTOR 1996-2000
(At constant [1985] factor cost)

Sector	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Petroleum	1.8	-2.0	5.4	8.1	0.8
Petro-chemicals	12.3	4.6	23.2	17.5	3.7
Other petrol.(oil etc.)	0.3	-3.1	2.3	6.1	0.1
Non-petroleum	3.3	4.5	3.6	4.2	5.0
Agriculture	2.9	2.7	-15.2	-2.0	2.4
Manufacturing	-0.4	3.5	4.1	3.3	3.5
Electricity and water	3.9	5.1	5.3	-0.6	0.4
Construction	7.6	15.0	13.9	7.9	8.0
Transport, storage & communications	6.5	4.7	4.3	10.5	7.3
Distribution	9.8	17.7	13.6	12.2	9.2
Finance, insurance & real estate	1.2	0.8	2.5	2.2	2.5
Government	0.5	-0.3	3.2	-0.7	4.0
Other services	1.1	2.0	3.3	1.8	3.4

Source: Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago, 2000.

Though the country has one of the highest GDP per capita in the region, the 1992 data from the Survey of Living Conditions showed that 35.8% of households were living below the poverty line. By 1996, with unemployment levels at 16.3%, households below the poverty line remained fairly consistent at 35.9% (Ministry of Social Development 1996).

Several poverty eradication and social development programmes were introduced, the aims of which were to improve the welfare of families by empowering them, and in so doing, the conditions of children would improve. In addition to the Public Assistance and Old Age Pension programmes, a community-based micro credit programme was also introduced as a means of addressing the poverty issue. Other programmes such as the School Nutrition Programme was expanded at both the primary and secondary levels.

According to one report, there were nominal increases in allocations to ministries which treat with children from 1990 to 2000 (Ministry of Social Development 2000). Table 24 refers:

TABLE 24
ALLOCATIONS TO MINISTRIES FOR YEARS 1990, 1995, AND 2000

ITEM	1990	%	1995	%	2000	%
National Budget	\$6,800. M		\$10,044.9 M		\$16,292.2M	
Min. of Social + Comm. Dev.	\$286.1M	4.21	\$435.0M	4.33	\$935.3M	5.7
Min. of Education	\$727.1M	10.7	\$984.7M	9.8	\$1,741.8M	10.7
Min. of Health	\$477.1M	7.01	\$589.0M	5.86	\$1,056.4M	6.5

Source: Draft Estimates of Expenditure, 1992, 1997 & 2001. Ministry of Finance, Planning & Development; Ministry of Community Development, 2000.

2.6 Political Background

Trinidad and Tobago's parliamentary democracy is patterned after the Westminster system. Having attained Republican status in 1972, the country's Head of State is a President, who is elected for a five-year term by an Electoral College, which consists of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The country's Head of Government, however, is the Prime Minister.

The leader of the majority party in the House of Representatives is usually appointed Prime Minister. Parliament consists of the Senate (31 seats), in which members are appointed by the President for a maximum term of five years) and the House of Representatives (36 seats), where members are elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms.

3.0 The Rapid Assessment

3.1 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

- Produce quantitative and particularly qualitative data related to child labour in targeted occupations;
- Assess the nature and extent of child labour in the aforementioned sectors, including pull and push factors related to the occupations;
- Characterize the working conditions and related hazards (inclusive of income earned);
- Characterize the child labourers (by age, sex, schooling, and racial background);
- Identify the socio-economic, cultural and family background of child labourers;
- Examine the root causes of the occupation, including historical trends, cultural mechanisms and social dynamics relating to the problems of child labourers;
- Examine the impact and consequences of the occupations on child labourers;
- Identify the perceptions and experiences of child labourers;
- Identify and critically assess Government, NGO and International agency interventions aimed at preventing and rehabilitating child labourers;
- Assist in improving methods to research, reach and eliminate the problems of child labourers.

3.2 Methodology

The research on the worst forms of child labour targeted four occupational areas, namely scavenging, agriculture, prostitution and pornography and domestic work. For each of these areas, it was desirable to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. While the major focus of the study was the collection of qualitative data, some quantitative data were collected in each of the four occupational categories. A standard questionnaire was used to collect the quantitative information. Qualitative data were collected by means of focus group discussions with the child workers themselves in the first instance, and where possible, their parents formed a second focus group. Information was also collected from key informants.

The questionnaire used to collect information from the child workers contained 78 questions and sought descriptive data on interviewees, current and former households, educational levels, economic activity and consequences of this economic activity.

A total of 93 child workers were interviewed of which 42 worked in scavenging. Of the total number interviewed 24 were 18 years old and over, 12 of whom worked in scavenging while 8 were victims of commercial sexual exploitation.

Gender	Scavenging	Agriculture	Domestic	Prostitute
Male	40	18	-	-
Female	2	4	17	12
Total	42	22	17	12

A team of six, inclusive of the main researcher, conducted the research. The main researcher is an experienced survey statistician and demographer. Other members of the team included two sociologists, a psychiatric social worker working with substance abuse persons and persons with HIV/AIDS, a socio-economic researcher with vast experience in this area, and an experienced field interviewer/ supervisor. The last mentioned member of the team worked with a national agency and has been involved in number of household and agricultural surveys and censuses. The team had a combined experience of over 100 years in research. Four members of the team worked on a previous RAS on substance abuse for the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Programme (NADAPP), Ministry of Social and Community Development.

4.0 Results of the Survey

4.1 Scavenging

Introduction

Historically, areas where garbage was dumped, often called a “la basse”, were areas of survival for a few very destitute persons. These persons rummaged through the refuse seeking out things that could be of use to them including food, clothing and materials with which to build a shelter. The materials dumped were usually set on fire, by the authorities, which made working there a hazardous proposition. However with greater attention being paid to the environment, better and more environmentally friendly ways of disposing of refuse were developed. This led to the development of landfill sites in strategic places such as Beetham Highway in Port of Spain, Guanapo which borders Arima, and Forres Park in central Trinidad. These sites were developed to serve much wider areas than the local “la basse.” This approach led to the refuse not being destroyed by burning but being buried with soil.

In addition to the method of disposal, the development of several businesses dealing in scrap material offered to many persons an opportunity to retrieve material not necessarily only for their own personal consumption but also to generate income. This cash was used to support their livelihood. This led to an influx of a number of persons mainly adults, most of whom lived in close proximity to these sites, going to them and taking out whatever materials they found to be useful. In time the children of these adults also saw it as a means of getting something out of the refuse that was dumped by garbage trucks or trucks with materials from the various businesses nearby. These businesses include food stores, department stores, construction companies and manufacturing enterprises. Among the material salvaged for sale were bottles for recycling, old aluminium pots and pans or any objects made of aluminium such as windows and doorframes, copper wire from electrical motors and other similar materials. In addition, labourers acquired materials for their own use such as building material and food, which had passed the expiration date for use, or deemed as unfit for consumption.

Survey Areas

For scavenging, the original area selected was the Beetham Estate Landfill site that serves the urban and suburban areas of Port of Spain. This site is situated on the outskirts of the capital city of Port of Spain. The area is bounded on the North by the Beetham Highway, on the South by mangrove of the Caroni Swamp, to the West by the Gulf of Paria and mangrove and to the East by swamp lands. On the northern side of the Beetham Highway is the Beetham Estate Housing Project. This housing estate is a low income housing area, characterized by high incidence of poverty, unemployment and crime. North of the housing estate is Laventille an area which is not too dissimilar from the Beetham Estate.

The population of the Beetham housing estate at the time of the 1990 Population Census was 3,217 of which 1,590 were male and 1,627 female with an average household size of 3.8 persons. Social amenities are lacking in the area although there is a Servol Life Centre run by the Catholic Church. This Centre offers a wide range of life skills for under privileged children. There is also a school, All in One School, started and run by an individual from the

estate on a voluntary basis. Persons working in the landfill come mainly from the nearby housing estate and surrounding areas.

The second site selected was the Guanapo Landfill site. This site borders the village of Maturita, a squatting area on the outskirts of the Borough of Arima, the main administrative area in the east of the island. This landfill site, quite unlike that of the Beetham estate is located well away from the housing areas, is surrounded by forest and is located about 2 kilometers from the Eastern Main Road, which is a main artery that links Port of Spain to towns and villages in the East of the island.

The population of Maturita in 1990 was 1739 of which 844 were male and 895 female. There are a number of large housing estates in this area such as Malabar, and Santa Rosa Heights both of which are populated with middle- income households. However the persons engaged in activities in this landfill site come mainly from Maturita and Arima.

The third landfill site selected was the Forres Park landfill site, which is situated east of the Solomon Hochoy Highway at the Claxton Bay exit. This highway is the main artery that links Port of Spain to places in the south, such as San Fernando, the second largest town in the country. The site itself is about 2 kilometers off the highway from the Claxton Bay exit. The landfill is surrounded by forested hills and abandoned cane lands.

There are many villages nearby such as Tortuga and Spring Village all of which are populated by low-income families. The level of poverty and rate of unemployment in these areas are relatively high. Agriculture is the main employment sector. All of the workers at this site come from these surrounding villages.

At all three sites the physical working conditions are similar. The stench from rotting garbage is overwhelming particularly when it rains. When its dry it becomes very dusty and workers generally have to cover their noses and mouths while working. In addition corbeaus (carrions) also infest the sites looking for rotting meat. It is not unusual to see men and birds mingling together since they are all there for the same reason.

The three landfill sites are managed by the Solid Waste Management Company. The Beetham Estate site is the largest and is the main site for the disposal of waste. It is divided into four sectors namely:

1. Business Sector- this is allocated to a few businesses such as the Carib Glassworks. Here glass bottles and scrap metal are collected and sold for recycling;
2. Solid waste sector - here garbage is dumped, compacted and covered with dirt. Most of the scavenging takes place in this sector.
3. Burial site - here food condemned by the Food and Drugs Department as being unfit for human consumption is dumped. No scavenging takes place here.
4. Liquid waste sector - this is an area of approximately thirty acres where liquid waste is dumped.

At the other two sites only solid waste is dumped. However the dumped material often contains food condemned as being unfit for human consumption. There is only one other landfill site in Trinidad, and this is located in the south-western tip of the island, and is managed by the Point Fortin Borough Council.

Key Informants and Focus Groups

There were four key informants, three from the Beetham Estate and one from Forres Park who provided valuable information on activities at these landfill sites. At the Beetham Estate one of the key informants was a woman who was living there for the past 20 years. She was the mother of seven (7) children, the youngest of whom was 19 years and worked in the dump. She also took care of 5 boys aged 13 to 17 years who also worked at the dump. Her husband who worked as a security guard at the dump was another key informant. The third key informant was the Principal of the All in One School. At the Forres Park landfill site the key informant was a worker from the “dump” who had two sons working there as well. He himself was a cane cutter with Caroni (1976) Ltd., the main cane producer in the country. His two sons attend school on mornings and work in the dump in the afternoons. One other child worker also lives with him.

Focus group discussions were held with seven (7) working children from the Beetham Landfill and six (6) working children from the Forres Park Landfill. Based on discussions held with key informants, the focus groups and the children themselves, it is estimated that about 40 children work at the Beetham land fill, while a further 10 work at Guanapo in Arima and about 20 at Forres Park. It is doubtful that the number of children engaged in scavenging at all sites in the country exceeds 100.

Survey Findings

Age and Gender

A total of forty-two (42) child workers in scavenging were interviewed of which 40 (95.2%) were male and two female. Their ages range from 13 to 20 years, 12 being 18 and over. The median age is 16 years. There is however a distinct difference in the age distribution between those from the Forres Park Landfill, and the other sites. Of the 12 children 15 years or younger 10 come from the Forres Park landfill.

There were 30 children under the age of 18 years, 29 males and one female. Their average age is 15.5 years with a median age of 15.2 years while among those 18 years and over the average age is 18.4 and the median age 18 years.

Education

In terms of their level of education, 4 of the children are still attending school. Three are attending secondary school while one is at a vocational school. Of the remainder, 30 have just a primary level education with 27 reaching standard 4 or higher. Six children had attended secondary school with three reaching forms 1 to 2 and two reaching forms 3 to 4. The last of the six had reached form five.

The educational attainment of those under 18 years is slightly better than their older counterparts. Just over two thirds, 21 out of 30, had a primary education with almost all, 20, attaining standard four or higher. All of the remainder except one were exposed to a secondary education with three still attending secondary school and one attending a vocational school. Among those 18 years old and over three quarters had a primary education up to standard four or higher while the remainder was exposed to a secondary education

Overall half had left school by age 12 years with a further 15 leaving between ages 14 and 15 years. This pattern is also seen among those under 18 years of age with 57% leaving school (primary) by age 12 years, most at ages 11 or 12 years. It should be noted here that the latter ages are the age at which children enter the secondary school system if they have been successful in the common entrance examination. It should also be pointed out many of the children interviewed were either not successful in the examination and of those who were successful the parents were unable to send them to school.

The vast majority can read (38) and write (37) although many of these did indicate they can only do so “not too good”. This is not surprising since most had just obtained a primary education. However almost all, 37, would like to spend more time in school.

Family Situation

While 12 (28.6%) are living with mother, father and another sibling and a further 3 with one or both parents, 10 (23.8%) are living with a non – relative and 3 (7.1%) are living alone. The remaining 14 (33.3%) are living with another relative. The average household size in which they live is 4.6 persons. A greater proportion (26.7%) of those under 18 years is living with a non-relative than those 18 years and over (16.7%) On the other hand a greater proportion of those 18 years and over (41.7%) live with parent(s) and sibling(s) as compared with those under 18 years (23.3%). This apparent anomaly stems from the loss of parent(s) through death or from leaving the household.

Among those under 18 years of age, 6 or 20%, had lost one or both parents by age 11 years, while in a further 30% of the cases one or both parents had left the household by the time the child had reached 14 years.

Sheldon is a seventeen year old boy born in St. Joseph, the third of nine (9) children. He lived with both parents until the age of five when his parents separated. He has never attended school and came to the Beetham with his mother and six of the nine children. He can neither read nor write. He started working at the dump when he was around eight years old and has virtually done nothing else. He now lives alone in a wooden shack with no running water, toilet facilities or electricity. He averages about \$600 a week and spends about 12 hours in the dump. He spends his money on food and clothes. He dreams about getting a job and would like to “learn to draw plans for houses.” He ended the interview by saying “you see that truck coming there it have bananas so let me go and get my breakfast.”

The loss of one or both parents, whatever the circumstances might be, has also been a contributing factor for leaving school at such an early age. Further the data seem to suggest that the loss of the mother is of greater significance to the well being of the child. For the group as a whole in 8 of the 11 cases it was the mother who had died and in 4 of these 8 cases the child had left school by age 12 years. In the 15 cases where the parent had left the home in

9 cases it was the father. Here in 2 out of the 9 cases and 4 out of the 9 cases the child had left school by ages 10 and 12 years respectively.

Among those under 18 years in 4 out of the 6 cases it was the mother who had died and in every instance the child had left school by age 12 years. In the 2 cases where the mother had left home the children's education ended at age 10 years. Only in 2 of the five cases where the father had left the home did the children's education end at age 12 years, suggesting a greater effort on the part of the mothers to ensure that her children were educated.

In almost every case the parents/guardian know that the children are working in the dump, but just have to accept it, since they bring home whatever little money they earn to help out the family. Nicholas says he gives his mother some of his earnings to help build a house in the new area where they have moved. The house in which she previously lived had broken down. He himself lives with a non-relative, while his younger brother lives on the site.

The focus group meetings at both Beetham and Forres Park indicate homes of sheer poverty, hence the need for doing this type of work. In Forres Park, for example some of the children are attending school but work in the dump after school hours. From observation it was also noted that on one weekend a young child about age 10 years and his brother aged about 14 years were 'hustling' in the Dump. They are not there every day but come occasionally, particularly on weekends, to see what they can get. Some of the boys

Michael (16 years old) is the eldest of five children born to his parents in Beetham. He lives with his mother and the children as his father left home a few years ago. His mother has cancer and since his father left he had to leave school in Form 2 to 'go and work because of the poverty my family has.' They live in a two-room wooden shack with galvanize roof, no pipe borne water but they do have a latrine. He has been working at the dump for about two years and although he did some leather craft as an apprentice he said that he did not make enough money to support his family. He would prefer to do welding but if he leaves the dump he fears that "my family cannot survive unless he works. On average, he earns about \$1000 a month at the dump but he also "push barrow in the market" on Saturday and Sunday to supplement his income. He likes his job because "he has no boss."

indicated that they do this type of work to get food. It is quite normal to visit the dump during the school vacation and on weekends.

A key informant from Forres Park indicated that he is employed with Caroni (Ltd.) to cut cane but his wages are not enough to support his family. He is therefore forced to work in the

dump to supplement his income in order to feed his family and send the children to school. Two of his children attend school but also work in the dump after school hours.

Working Conditions

The median age at which they started working in this type of job is about 13.5 years; seven of the forty-two had started by age 10 years, two starting as early as 6 years of age. While at the Forres Park landfill site all the children started working between the ages of 10 to 14 years, 17 out of the 24 working at the Beetham site started at 14 years of age or older. There appears to be a greater amount of transience among workers at the Beetham Estate Landfill. Among those under 18 years of age the median age at which they started to work was 12.5 years with an average age of 12.7 years. Those 18 years old and over had a median starting age of 13.4 years and an average of 13.3 years.

Eight of the 24 children working at the Beetham landfill site have been working there less than one year as compared with just 2 out of 13 at the Forres Park site. The remaining 3 who are working less than one year, work at the Guanapo site. Of the remaining children, twenty are working at this type of job three years or more with 6 working 7 years or more at it. A comparison with those under 18 years show that one third of them has been working at this job less than one year but one half working has been there between one to four years. The remainder have been working there 5 years and more. The pattern is almost identical among those 18 years old and over. Current age appears to have little to do with when these children start doing this type of job.

In terms of working time they normally work 8 hours or more each day, with 14 working 12 hours and only 16 working less than 8 hours. It is quite normal for them to work at least a 5-day week. Only 9 work less than 5 days while 16 work 7 days each week. Almost all (83%) work all year round. The younger children seem to work longer at their jobs averaging 9 hours per day compared to an average of less than 8 hours for the older children. They also work more days per week, with two thirds working 6 to 7 days as compared to less than half for the older children. However a greater proportion of the older children work all the year.

The vast majority were either doing nothing (15) or going to school (11) before they started doing this job. A further 5 were learning a trade before they got involved in this type of work. Among the children less than 18 years approximately the same proportion was either doing nothing, attending school or working. Among the older children one third was doing nothing while the remainder was working.

It is worth noting that overall 24(57%) of the 42 interviewed have no regrets doing this type of work. Many of them actually had a parent or close relative doing this type of work in the past. They also view it as a way of earning an income as well as providing an avenue for helping their families, mainly their mother and younger siblings.

Among the younger children a significantly higher proportion, 21(70%) out of 30, reported no regrets doing this type of job, the majority of these seeing it as a means of earning an income. However, 27 out of the 30, or 90%, prefer not working in this particular type of job. This inconsistency can be as a result of the need to earn an income and the inability to get another job, due to low educational levels and no occupational training. Similarly the fact that friends (16) or relatives (8), who themselves were already engaged in this type of occupation, had

actually introduced them to the job, is perhaps an additional reason why these children are caught up in this type of activity. It is not surprising therefore, that even though 8 out of the 30 younger children expressed no particular reason why they were engaged in this particular type of occupation, the largest proportion of the remainder cited the presence of friends and/or being engaged in the activity was sufficient reason for them to be so engaged. However, none of these younger children would like a younger sibling to do this type of work which is consistent with their job preference. The reality of the available options though, has forced a rationalisation of the situation and as a result these children have opted to work in this particular occupation.

Wages

In terms of income earned it would appear that many are satisfied with the income they derive from their sales or any other work they do in the dump. In addition to collecting items, some of the younger boys work for other persons in the dump by carrying out bags filled with bottles or other material to the site of purchase. While 6 did not report any income, of the remaining 36, 15 were earning incomes above one thousand dollars per month. Five were actually earning between two and three thousand dollars per month. The lower income earners were working fewer hours and fewer days.

Among those under 18 years 7 were earning less than \$250 per month. However this number includes those who are going to school. The median income for this group is approximately \$685 per month as compared with the older children whose median income is about \$1000 per month. However 3 of the younger ones reported earning between \$1000 and \$2500 per month. (\$1.00 US is approximately equal to \$6.00 TT.)

From casual discussions with workers it appears that many persons working at these sites prefer working for themselves than working for people. The major complaint was the difficulty in getting paid when they worked for someone else. In one case, a male, whom the researcher knew to be a mason, said he preferred to do this type of job rather than work as a mason because of the difficulty he encountered in the past with clients. In any case he earns over \$2,500 per month and there is no hassle to get his money from the person to whom he sells whatever he is able to salvage.

While 12(40%) of the 30 younger children keep all of their earnings 15(50%) share it with their household. Half of them reported spending their earnings on food and clothing.

Relationship

These child workers appear to get along very well with each other. Two of them were new workers and could not give an assessment of their relationships at the time of the interview. While 37 of the remaining 40 get along well with other children, some have difficulty getting along well with the adults. Those who were not getting along well with adults all come from the Beetham Landfill. This is supported by evidence gleaned from the focus group discussions.

There is a certain amount of caring and protectiveness prevailing at the Forres Park site when the relationships between children and adults are considered. Among the children there is an attitude of sharing and caring for each other, so that on occasions some of them sell items for

the group, and the money obtained is equally divided among them. This is perhaps due in part to the fact that there are three sets of brothers working in this site, as well as the father and his sons.

Accidents and Health

The risk of accidents varies from site to site. Because the Beetham site is located on a highway there is a greater risk of getting injured crossing the highway to get to the dump. During the course of the survey 2 adult workers got killed while crossing the highway to get to work. It is not surprising therefore that 2 of the respondents did in fact get hurt by one of the dump trucks, while 17 said they did see other child workers get crushed by trucks. This can happen when they try to get first pick at the spoils before the trucks enter the dumpsite. The workers would hop on to the open trucks and rummage through it before they enter the site. Child labourers can also get hurt when the trucks empty their materials as the drivers may not be aware that they are behind the trucks rummaging through the garbage that had already been dumped. This can result in the worker either being buried alive or getting crushed. During the course of the exercise one worker, an adult, got killed in such a manner. The child labourers at Forres Park face another type of danger. They related that the drivers deliberately try to shake them off the trucks while they are proceeding to the landfill site. However this is not a frequent happening.

In so far as occupational health hazards, the actual location and its contents will, under normal circumstances, cause almost anyone to become ill. However, only 11 (26%) report being ill, and mainly from fever or dizziness. Nonetheless, 17 did say that they knew of other children getting ill, and again mainly from fever. At Forres Park they did indicate that there was a prevalence of dengue fever at some point in time, during which time many workers contracted the illness. A similar pattern of reporting was obtained from the younger children.

There was no sign that any of these workers suffered or were suffering from any major illnesses. However a few did look somewhat malnourished. While most eat whatever is provided at home, many did indicate that they get things to eat from the garbage that is being dumped. Many times these items are frozen and come from the large supermarkets. The interviewer was unable to determine if these items were sprayed with any type of chemicals before being sent to the dump.

The children may not be aware that the health hazards they are exposed to include:

- Poisoning due to the handling of lead and copper
- Ingestion of contaminated food
- Inhalation of dust and smoke which could lead to damage to the respiratory system
- Inhalation of toxic fumes
- Infection of open wounds
- Psychological damage

Aspirations

The vast majority, 37 out of the 42, would like to spend more time in school. However only 3 of them had made any specific attempts to get into any learning institution. One is left to assume that given the opportunity they will all return to some type of learning institution. However 8 did indicate they want to learn a trade when they got older while a further 8 want

to be auto mechanics, 6 want to be welders and 4 want to work in construction.

David was born in Arima. His father died when he was 6 months old, and his mother migrated to the United States. He is now 17 years old and has been working in the Arima “dump” for the past 3 years. His greatest wish is ‘that my mother could come back home, because I miss her very badly. Although she sends me clothes and money, I would really like to give her a big hug and a kiss’.

At both the Beetham Estate and Forres Park sites most of the children expressed a desire to attend the Servol Life Centre. However, there is a long waiting list for the Beetham Centre, while those at Forres Park cannot afford the cost required to attend.

Their wishes to a great extent reflect their living conditions. Highest on the list of wishes is “a nice house” and a “good job”.

Nicholas is 15 years old and has been working at the Forres Park “dump” since he was ten years old. His mother left home when he was seven years old because his father was violent. He left for the same reason because his ‘father will beat them with any thing he could get, wood, iron, anything. Once he threw an engine at me’. His greatest wish is ‘to go to heaven and meet his grandfather and never come back and for my mother, brothers and sister to come and meet us’.

4.2 The Incidence of Other Worst Forms of Child Labour

4.2.1 Agriculture

The use of child labour in agriculture has become part of the culture of farmers, particularly in more rural areas. This practice stemmed from the fact that in many instances subsistence farming was the norm. Secondly, it was expected that the sons would follow in the father’s footsteps and would one day inherit the farm. The experience gained on the family farm sharpened their skills and made them employable.

However, with increased educational opportunities now available, many parents have opted to send their children to school instead of keeping them to work on the farm, because in their view, they wanted their children to do better than they had done. The practice of using children on the farm to assist in the work has therefore gradually diminished in recent years, although in the more rural areas it still persists. In addition many of those who have failed to get into the secondary school system, together with the inability of their parents to meet the cost associated with attending secondary school, have little choice but to work on the farm until such time that they can do better.

In seeking to obtain information on child workers in agriculture, the original area chosen was Carlsen Field. This is an agricultural community in which the residents engage in poultry farming, cattle and pig rearing and a little vegetable gardening. The area is part of a former military base occupied by American Troops during World War II. It was developed for agriculture and distributed to farmers during the period of rapid economic growth, popularly known as the 'oil boom', with the expectations that it would generate employment and at the same time reduce the high food import bill. Generally the size of the holdings range from five to twenty acres.

The area is located just outside and to the south of the Borough of Chaguanas, in central Trinidad and about one kilometre East of the Solomon Hochoy Highway. This highway is the major artery that links Port of Spain with the southern parts of the island. There is a total of about one hundred and seventeen farms. On all of these farms housing conditions were of an acceptable standard with the basic amenities of electricity being available. The buildings were constructed of concrete walls and floor with galvanize roof. The area is surrounded by a number of small villages, but less than 20% of the working population is engaged in agriculture. In 1990 the population of Carlsen Field was 2,181 of which 1,072 were males and 1,109 females. All of these farms were visited during the course of the survey but only eleven eligible respondents were found.

Because of the low response rate at Carlsen Field two areas in the South of the country, namely La Savanne in Moruga, and Union Village in Rio Claro were visited. At La Savanne, mixed vegetable farming is the major agricultural activity. Fifty farms were visited but only one eligible respondent was found. In Union Village where vegetable farming is also carried out, a visit to thirty farms also yielded just one respondent. The housing conditions here were quite different those at Carlsen Field. The buildings were constructed of wood but had a galvanize roof. However, the basic amenities of pip borne water and electricity were lacking.

Discussions with field officers of the Central Statistical Office who visit all farmers in the country on a quarterly basis identified two possible areas namely Blanchisseuse Road in the North and Penal Rock Road in the South where there might be child workers in agriculture. On the Blanchisseuse Road, in the north, christophene farming is a major activity and some child workers were employed there. On the Penal Rock Road at Snail Trace and Santo Trace there were also some child workers, but they were mainly family workers. At Penal Rock Road the housing conditions of the respondents were similar to those found at Union Village, old wooden structures with no supply of water or electricity. In addition there is no public transport available within a distance of 4 to 5 kilometers. It was not possible to see the housing conditions of those children interviewed at Blanchisseuse Road.

It was not possible to hold any focus group meeting with parents or children at Carlsen Field. However, it was only possible to have discussions with some of the parents. They explained that some children helped their parents on the farm after school hours and on weekends. However the greater emphasis was on the children's education, since many of these children were not generally interested in agriculture. At Blanchisseuse Road, where a commercial farm is located a group discussion was held with three (3) workers. Their ages ranged from 21 to 27 years. Discussions were also held with Mr. Ramjit, the owner and operator of the christophene farm.

While it was not possible to get an estimate, either from key informants or workers themselves, of the number of children working in agriculture, the labour force survey carried out by the CSO on a quarterly basis estimates that in 1999 there were 3935 children aged 15 to 17 years working in agriculture. Of these 1627 were working as unpaid family workers while 2308 were working for a non-family member in a private enterprise.

A total of 22 child workers, engaged in agriculture, were interviewed of which 20 were less than 18 years of age and of these 4 were females. Half of them work for non-family member, 7 on a family farm while 4 work on both types of farms. Their ages range from 12 years to 17 years, with 10 being aged 17 years.

Five (25%) of the 20 under the age of 18 years are currently attending secondary school, of which two (2) are in form 5 or higher. Of those who are not attending school, 9 (56%) have attained a primary level education of standard 4 and higher while 4 (25%) were exposed to a secondary education. Nine of the 16 left school between the ages 12 and 13 years.

Because many of them work on a family farm, it is not surprising that 16 of the 20 live with their mother, father and another sibling. They all have good relationships with those with whom they live. In 2 cases the father had died and a similar number indicated that the mother had died. Only in 2 cases did the father leave home while in one case it was the mother who did so.

In all cases the economic situation at home contributed to the need for these children to work. This is particularly true for those children interviewed at Penal Rock Road, a rural community which, as was previously noted, lacks the basic amenities of electricity and water. Here the families engage in subsistence vegetable farming and the children all left school between 12 to 13 years of age and started helping in the garden. At Carlsen Field, some of the children are still attending school, while at Blanchisseuse, none of the children are attending school and they all work for someone outside of the family. It is not surprising that the data show that half of them started working on the farm by age 13 years, one starting as early as age 7 years. Fifteen percent (15%) of the child workers have been working less than 3 months. However, the majority have worked for 1 year and more with 6 (30%) working at this job for five years and more. On average these children work about six hours a day, five days a week at least in all cases, with half of them working 7 days each week. With the exception of one of them, they work all year round. Those working for a non-family member work 44 hours per week on average, while those working on a family farm work 23 hours per week on average.

Only 3 indicated that they were doing nothing before they started doing this job. The others were all in school, and as indicated earlier, some of them are still in school.

As with children engaged in scavenging most of them have no regrets in doing this type of job. Many of them “grew up in it” and therefore it is not unusual for them to be engaged in it. Those who work for others are doing so because they could not get anything else to do.

Of the 12 that work for a non-family member 6 earn less than \$1,000 per month with half of these earning less than \$250 per month. Only 6 earn between \$1,000 and \$2,000 per month, and these all work on the christophene farm at Blanchisseuse.

In every instance the work carried out by these child workers does not necessitate the use of chemical or equipment except for a cutlass or a hoe. They are therefore at little risk of injury.

All who are not currently attending school said that they would like to spend more time in school. Four (4) wanted to learn a trade when they got older, while five (5) wanted to have a profession and as those children engaged in scavenging, they also long for a “nice house” and a “good job”.

4.2.2. Domestic Workers

Introduction

Historically, particularly in the rural areas of Trinidad, girls learnt to do the household chores at an early age. The practice had the dual purpose of providing assistance to the mothers as well as preparing them for married life. In addition, lack of educational opportunities beyond the primary level found many of them having to remain at home, since priority was given to educating the boys who had to earn a living and take care of a family. Household size often influenced these decisions. The larger the household the greater was the probability that one or more of the girls would be kept from school to help around the house, while the boys and the other girls went to school. In time, for many of the girls these skills became a way of earning an income to help at home or to help themselves.

With the advent of increased opportunities for education beyond the primary level and vocational training in many areas, this practice has considerably declined. Today therefore it is not surprising that very few young children are engaged in home duties as a way of keeping occupied. This then is the background against which these interviews were carried out.

The absence of information on domestic child workers precluded a geographical focus for interviews. However, background research led to two persons involved with the National Union of Domestic Employees (NUDE), namely Ms. Ida La Blanc and Ms. Clotil Walcott. While they could not cite any specific cases involving the union, they knew that there were children involved in this type of activity. Ms. Le Blanc pointed out that in the area where she lived, there were young girls who worked for others but were called “babysitters” despite the fact that they were doing much more than baby sitting.

The researchers visited several non-governmental organisations that worked with children but these organisations were also unable to shed any more light on the situation. They also queried adult domestic workers on their knowledge of young girls working as domestic

workers. However, they were not willing to discuss these matters for fear of losing their jobs. It was therefore left to the officers on the project to ask friends, relatives and field staff from other government organisations to be on the look out for such activities.

Survey Findings

There were very few key informants who could identify child workers. Informants from organisations that work with children were unable to identify households or geographic areas where these activities took place. Even NUDE, which is directly involved with domestic employees, was unable to be of much help.

The researcher identified one key informant who lives at Freeport and who had assisted a number of girls to obtain such employment. Another field worker identified an area where this activity was carried out in a number of households but not for payment in cash. As a result of the above and the wide distance between the residences of the girls it was not possible to arrange a focus group meeting for this group of workers

Based on the quarterly labour force survey carried out by the CSO it is estimated that in 1999, only 266 girls aged 15 to 17 years were engaged as domestic workers in private homes. This is a clear indication that the practice is not widespread as was originally thought.

A total of 17 girls were interviewed and their ages ranged from 13 to 18 years, 6 of them being 17 years of age and 2 aged 18 years. Six work for a private household, 8 worked at home while 3 work at both places.

Only two of them are attending school and both are in form 5. The remaining 15 have low levels of education, the majority (11) attaining only a primary level education, with 4 of them not going beyond Standard 3. Of those who had attended secondary school, 2 had attained Form 5, while the other 2 did not go beyond Form 2. Four had attended school only up to age 10 years while 6 left after the age of 15 years. All had the ability to read and write.

Previously six (6) of these girls lived with parents alone while eleven (11) lived with parents and brothers/sisters. At the time of the interview 2 were living by non-relatives and 3 by their grandparents. In the case of the 2 living by non-relatives, they are sleep-in domestic workers. The others are still living with parents and brothers/sisters (8) or parents alone (4). The majority of these girls had 5 or fewer brothers and sisters. Six however, had 6 brothers and sisters while 2 had 10 siblings. At the time of the interview, 10 lived in households of average size of 3.5 persons.

In two cases the mother or father had died, while in 4 cases the father had left the home. Both of these circumstances may have influenced the decision to seek employment as domestic workers. To a great extent poverty is the driving force for the reason to work. Eight gave the “need for the money” or to “help feed the family” (6) as the reasons for working.

Sandra's father receives public assistance for himself and some of the children. He is suffering from a foot disease. He plants and sells some small crops from which he earns about \$100 per month. His wife and other children help him in the garden while Sandra does the housework.

The key informant identified fathers not supporting the home as the major reason why most of the girls interviewed had to work. According to this informant, the departure of the natural fathers forced these girls into the 'labour market', since the girls now had to live with their mothers alone and in some instances a stepfather. In other cases the father does not have a steady job and the little he works for was sometimes spent on things other than the households.

Julie had to stop going to school because her mother who receives public assistance could not afford to send her, which was a great disappointment to Julie. The poor condition of the house is very noticeable and the water supply is a ravine that runs in front of the house.

The housing conditions under which many of these girls live are substandard. While the data indicate the material of the outer walls of the dwellings as well as the floors are made of wood this does not tell the whole story. Twelve have no access to pipe borne water and have pit latrines for toilet facilities. At Kernaham for example, where the girls were kept from school to do household chores while other members of the family worked on the farm the dwellings were basically shacks with no supply of pipe borne water or electricity. Water for everyday use comes either from irrigation canals or from what is collected in barrels when rain falls. This area is the site of a failed agricultural project.

Crystal is 14 years old and is the third of the seven children her mother has had. They were born to different fathers. The youngest child is the only child of her stepfather. He does not support any of them except the last child. As a result she has to work to support herself. Neither she nor any of the younger ones are currently at school.

Almost half (47%) were working as domestics between 1 and 2 years, with 1 working 7 or more years in this job. The others were working either about 3 to 4 years (3) in the job or 5 to 6 years (3). It is not surprising then to see that 12 (70%) had already been doing this type of work by the time they were aged 12 years. One girl reported starting work as early as 10 years of age.

Generally these girls work all year round with almost all working both during the week and on weekends (16). As a matter of fact 10 work 7 days each week and 2, six days a week. On

average they work about 7 hours each day. However 4 of them work as many as 12 hours each day while 2 work 10 hours per day. Those working at home tend to work for longer periods averaging 45 hours per week as compared with 36 hours per week for those working for a private household.

The girls, to a great extent, have no regrets doing this type of work. Many do it because they have no choice but as noted earlier many also see it as a way of earning an income to help themselves and their families.

While 8 of the girls get paid “in kind” because they work at home, the others get paid in cash, with 3 of them also getting paid “in kind.” However, the wages are very low with none earning more than \$750 per month. As a matter of fact 3 earn less than \$250 per month.

Almost all reported good relationships with those persons with whom they came into contact while carrying out their duties, including employers and other adults. Generally there were no other girls working with them. While none of the girls identified any risks at the place of work or the type of work being carried out, this does not rule out the possibility of physical or sexual abuse.

All of the girls would like to spend more time in school. In addition most want to develop a skill, which will help them earn a decent wage. Among the skills mentioned are hairdressing, dressmaking and nursing. However, none of the girls at Kernaham expressed any opinion of what they would like to do when they got older.

4.2.3 Children in Commercial Sexual Activity

Introduction

In recent times a number of developments have highlighted the need to understand and manage the incidence and prevalence of the sexual exploitation of children, both male and female. These include the increase in the number of “street children,” newspaper accounts of arrests on charges of incest, sexual abuse, rape and pornography. In addition there have been speculation and rumours about the sale of children, particularly when so many children go missing.

The large influx of American soldiers during World War II coincided with the rapid escalation of prostitution as an industry. Such sexual exploits were very visible in areas of the capital city, Port of Spain, such as Park Street, Charlotte Street, and Wrightson Road and on the Wharf in San Fernando. Many nightclubs catered for the “girls of the night” some of whom were immortalized by the calypsonian the Mighty Sparrow in his famous calypso “Jean and Dinah”. With the end of World War II these activities slowed down considerably. One can recall the closure of several nightclubs in the Port of Spain area during the late 1960’s. However, with the growth in the tourist industry and the oil boom of the late 1970s there seems to have been a resurgence in the trade.

On the other hand, poverty, the inability of many to cope with an educational system that does not cater for all types of students, and the break down in family life provide a spawning ground for many who see the industry as a means of earning money or “doing something to survive.”

It is against this backdrop that the survey was conducted, with the work being often met with suspicion, though not with hostility.

Woodbrook and Curepe were identified, in the unpublished study done by Lee and Felix on “Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Sale of Children,” (1997), as possible areas to visit. Woodbrook has been and to some extent still is, a middle income residential area now converted to a quasi-commercial area. However, over the years certain streets have been taken over by “the girls of the night”. Curepe junction, on the other hand, with its nightclubs and gambling dens is ready made for these activities and the “drag queens” or male prostitutes are well known to operate in this area.

Based on the study mentioned earlier and information derived from a key informant it was also decided to visit additional sites in the capital city. Thus, in addition to Murray Street, researchers visited Victoria Square, Abercromby Street between Park and Duke Streets, the tennis courts at the Princes Building Site, and the Old Traffic Branch station on South Quay. Nightclubs visited included Dad's Dan in Chase Village, Central Trinidad, and Limousine Hotel and Club in Tunapuna, two semi-urban districts approximately ten miles away from the capital. All the sites visited, with the exception of the clubs and hotel, were dimly lit areas, some of which were not for the faint hearted.

Survey Findings

Among the key informants with whom discussions were held was “Kim” a male prostitute of African descent, aged 36, and who has been in this line of work for the past 20 years. He has been tested as HIV positive since 1983. Four girls aged 13 to 16 years who were arrested by the police were also able to provide some information. They are currently in the Golden Grove Female Prison. Two police officers and a probation officer were also able to provide useful information. Another key informant was found at Dad's Dan, where she has been working for the past two years. She works in the bar at the Club as well as a prostitute at the same venue.

It was not possible to get at least three or four of the girls who were interviewed together in order to have a focus group meeting. Neither was it possible to meet any of their parents since the parents were not aware that their children were engaged in such activities, and in any case most of them did not live with their parents.

The age criterion also proved to be a stumbling block. For example, at one the nightclubs visited, all the girls working there, or coming to work there for the first time, were told if they were asked about their age, they were to say they were over eighteen years. This was also experienced on the streets where some of the girls gave ages above 18 years but appeared much younger than their reported ages.

The mobile and lucrative nature of the trade meant that it was necessary to go looking for these workers at the various venues identified and at various times of the night. However after the first set of interviews we did meet some of them again on the various occasions that we visited the areas.

It was not possible to meet the girls during the day as they were resting or tending to domestic chores. One girl did allow us to visit her during the day and on at least two occasions she

tried to get three other girls to meet at her place during the day for a focus group discussion. However the other girls never turned up.

Even though informants recommended community police officers as persons who could identify individuals or areas to visit and also assist with the survey, the researchers found them to be uncooperative.

An interview with a key informant 'Kim' who has 21 years experience in the field of male prostitution, revealed that there are approximately "40 little boys doin dis ting." These children are of school age, live on the streets and "some ah dem sleep in de Central Market." The key informant further stated that "some of dey parents doh want tuh have nothing tuh do wid dem, buh some ah dem modder and fadda want dem back home, but deze little boys don know de streets so dey eh goin back." He continued by saying "most of dem doh go tuh school and who goin goin tuh de nearby schools. Imagine big decent men does pick up deze boys." The informant was asked by the researcher to define 'decent'. Informant said "men dat yuh (pointing at researcher) would call decent, men in fancy cars and wid good jobs. Some of deze men have wife and children.

When asked about the prevalence and incidence of HIV/AIDS, the informant said "everybody have it. I does use condom, buh how much ah we does use it and too besides how often?" Just about this time a maxi taxi passed by and the informant hailed out the driver who is male saying "ah waitin." The researcher later learnt that the driver of this maxi taxi and the informant had a sexual relationship and the driver now pays the informant \$15 per day to "keep quiet." Informant described this payment as "meh pension." He also said "dis does happen wid de little boys too."

"All deze children (boys and girls) want is brands an dat is why dey go out wid deze men. It eh easy out here. An seein deze boys jus so, yuh would never believe it dey does look normal, normal." The researcher asked the informant why in his opinion it is so difficult to meet these children engaged in prostitution now. He attributed this to :

- frequent police surveillance and raids at the various sites*
- high crime rate – "most ah now work in clubs because dey afraid de streets"*
- the presence of pimps who would organize and control the activities of the boys, "in town whey ah talking bout it have four big men controlling deze boys and yuh cyah ask deze men nothing."*
- The difficulty in identifying male children engaged in prostitution. "Unless dey is drag queens."*
- Denial of this type of sexual activity among male street children, "because if yuh come up jus so an ask deze boys if dey bullin, because dey not gay, dey jus working dey would say no. Some ah dem go get tuh like it though and stay...like me."*

Trying to elicit information either from the girls interviewed or from key informants on the number children involved in prostitution proved to be a difficult task. However, based on discussions with some of the girls it is doubtful that the number female victims of commercial sex exploitation in the Woodbrook area exceeds 30. However, these numbers are increased from time to time by girls, aged 12 to 16 years, who run away from a nearby home for delinquent girls and who also find themselves as victims of commercial sexual exploitation. The male key informant estimates that there were about 40 male victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the Port of Spain area. These boys attend schools in Port of Spain and environs and are approximately 12 to 15 years of age. This information was corroborated by two teachers, one from a primary school and another from a secondary school.

A total of 12 girls were interviewed during the course of the survey. As was noted earlier it was not possible to have a focus group discussion with the girls, nor was it possible to meet with any of the parents. Four of the girls gave their age as 16 years with the age of the others ranging from 18(4) to 20 years (3). Again as was noted before it is difficult to know whether the ages given were correct since there is the general tendency to give an age of 18 or older.

It should be noted that even though only female victims were interviewed, as indicated by a key informant there are a number of male victims who are exploited after school hours. Although the locations where these boys could be found were identified, it was not possible to contact any of them after numerous visits.

Two of the girls were attending classes, and of the remaining 10, all were exposed to a secondary education with 6 reaching between Forms 3 and 4 and 3 obtaining a level of form 5 and higher. However, most of them had left school at age 14 years. It should be noted much has been said of the possibility that some girls from some Junior Secondary Schools being sexually exploited by adults.

Six of the girls reported having 5 brothers and sisters while 4 reported having 4 brothers and sisters. Two however were the only children of their parents. Of the 4 girls under 18 years 2 were living alone while the other 2 were living with a brother/sister. Of the others, 4 of them are living with their parents, 2 are living with another sibling and 2 with a partner.

Many parents are not aware that their children are engaged in prostitution. One of the girls also related that the partner with whom she is living is aware of her activities and understands and approves.

Meh boyfriend know is dis kind a work ah doing. He say is alright if dis is what ah want. He understanding.

Meh mudder know ah working in town but she eh know de type of work.

Four of them lost one or both parents at an early age, two at 3 years and 2 at 5 years, while in 8 cases the father had left home. In 6 cases, the father had left the home before the child was 1 year old. In one case, the child left home because of sexual abuse by her stepfather.

Of those under 18 years of age, in 2 cases the father had left home while in the other 2 cases it was the mother who had left. In 2 cases the father left before the child was one year old. The problem of incest, based on current newspaper reports, could an experience suffered by many girls who eventually become victims of commercial sex exploitation.

C. has been working as a prostitute for the past four years and is now twenty years old. Her mother left when she was thirteen years old because her father had another woman. Her greatest wish is 'for my mother to come back, and for my parents to be together again'.

While a description of the dwelling in which they lived appeared to be good, a visit to two of them painted different pictures. The average number of bedrooms in each dwelling is 2 ; 3 lived in 3 bedroom dwellings and 4 in dwellings with 2 bedrooms. In all cases the roof was of galvanize sheeting with 10 having concrete walls, and floors of concrete (7) or tiles (2). However the two that were visited were a bit dilapidated.

It is not surprising then that 10 have no television or telephone, even though 10 have running water and 6 have flush toilets. These facilities must be placed in the context of girls who, based on the incomes given, earn substantial wages.

Most of the girls (9), have been engaged in commercial sexual activity between 1 to 2 years, with 2 working between 3 to 4 years. There was only one newcomer. The average age given at which they started was 16 years. Two of the girls under 18 years became victims of commercial sex exploitation at age 14 years while the other 2 became involved at age 15 years.

All girls are engaged in this type of activity on an average of about 3 hours per day, 4 days per week. In addition, most of them (7) work all year around .and almost all work both on weekends and during the week.

These girls all indicated that they were well paid, with 11 of them reporting monthly earnings of \$3,000 and over. Indeed, 9 of them say that they earn \$4,000 or more per month.

"My usual fee is \$180. - \$200. fuh one hour (laugh) what one hour sometimes dey cyah even make half hour. So ah does jus take dey money."

All the girls report having good relationships with the other children and adults who were involved in the same activity. They also reported having good relationships with their customers.

The findings of the study emphasise the high physical and health risks of this type of economic activity. All of those interviewed reported knowing of other girls who have been affected with STD's or who were beaten, stabbed and even raped. However, most of them seemed not to have been affected as the girls whom they reported on. Only two reported that they had been robbed, had to run from the police or acquired any STD. They are all aware of the possibility of being infected by the HIV virus. As a result all emphasised the use of condoms each and every time they had sexual intercourse.

All the girls want to spend more time in school. Their career ambitions included being a nurse, a lawyer, an air hostess, and a dance teacher, the latter seeming to be the main occupations of focus.

Pat is a victim of sexual exploitation and has one child. Her greatest wish is 'to live in a big nice house and for my son to be a lawyer'.

5.0 Legal and Institutional Framework on Child Labour

5.1 Legal Framework

While Trinidad and Tobago recognizes the need for the effective abolition of child labour, at present the laws relevant to children participating in the labour market are not strictly enforced. The inconsistencies in the various laws relevant to the care and protection of children encourage manipulation and diverse interpretations on the part of those who wish to circumvent them.

The 144 Tripartite Committee set up to consider the ILO Conventions has recommended the ratification of Convention No. 138 – Minimum Age of Employment and Convention No. 182- Worst Forms of Child Labour (Ministry of Labour 2001). The Government has recently ratified ILO Convention No. 182. The country is therefore seeking consensus on the minimum age for employment, and is addressing the inconsistencies that exist in its domestic laws.

The Ministry of Labour, Manpower Development and Industrial Relations is the ministerial body charged with the responsibility for initiating action that would result in legislative changes in conformity with the provisions of Convention No. 182. In this regard, in April 2000, the legal advisor to the Minister of Labour sought the advice of the Solicitor General in an attempt to determine the extent to which the domestic laws of Trinidad and Tobago that relate to children comply with the requirements of Convention No. 182.

On the advice of the Human Rights Unit, Ministry of Labour, the Solicitor General provided a detailed assessment of the present domestic laws that pertained to each Article under the Convention, and agreed that several pieces of domestic legislation would have to be amended, since the majority of the laws do not comply with the Convention.

One domestic Act which has been amended is the Children's Act Chapter 46:01 in which a child was defined previously as "a person under the age of (14) fourteen years." The Children (Amendment) Bill, 1999 has re-defined a child as a person under the age of (18) eighteen years. Other pieces of legislation debated and passed in the Lower House of Parliament include:

The Children's Authority Bill 1999- the purpose of which is to establish a central independent authority under whose jurisdiction all matters pertaining to children will be dealt.

The Children Amendment Bill 1999 - this will officially recognize and give effect to the Children's Authority, as well as rationalize the age of the child.

The Miscellaneous Provisions (Children) Bill 1999 - this will ensure that the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are consistently adhered to.

The Adoption of Children Bill 1999 – which seeks to modernize present provisions, facilitate overseas adoptions, consider single males as adopters, as well as waive the probationary period for adoption.

The Children's Community Residences, Foster Homes and Nurseries Bill 1999- this will regulate the operations of all facilities that cater to child care. Licensing and the maintenance of minimum standards will be required if these facilities are to continue to operate (Ministry of Community Development, 2000).

Other domestic Acts that will have to be amended are the following:

- The **Children's Act**, which states that a child under the age of (12) twelve years cannot be employed; however, the domestic laws state that children between the ages of (12) twelve and (14) fourteen can be employed, except in industrial undertakings. The law further states that a child between the ages of (14) fourteen and (16) sixteen years can be employed in industrial undertakings, except at night.

Thus, our domestic laws allow the employment of children between the ages of (12) twelve and (16) sixteen years. This law will have to be changed. This would imply that the **Education Act** would also have to be amended, as the compulsory age for school is any age between six (6) and twelve (12) years. This would have to be increased from twelve (12) to sixteen (16) years.

- The **Defence Act Chapter 14:01**, does not contain any provision which prohibits the compulsory recruitment of children in armed conflict.
- The **Industrial Training Act Chapter 39:54**, in which it states in Section II (1) that it is lawful for a father, mother, parent, or any person having charge of a child, to bind that child to be an apprentice, will also have to be amended, as it may be interpreted as a form of bonded labour.
- In the **Sexual Offences Act No. 27**, while it states that it is an offence to have sexual intercourse with a minor under (16) sixteen years of age, the Act makes no provisions for individuals between the ages of (16) sixteen and (18) eighteen years.

The Solicitor General stated:

“There is no objection to the ratification by Trinidad and Tobago of this Convention [No. 182]. However, Trinidad and Tobago will have an obligation upon ratification of this Convention to take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency. The Convention will come into force for Trinidad and Tobago twelve months after the date on which its ratification has been registered. Trinidad and Tobago upon ratification of this Convention will therefore have twelve months thereafter to ensure that its domestic laws comply with the requirements of this Convention. As is evident from this Opinion, this process will involve the enactment of several pieces of domestic legislation.”

(Report of ILO 144 Tripartite Committee- Proposal to Ratify Convention No. 182).

Legislation against child labour around the world was adopted because of the vulnerability of children, the existence of discriminatory practices, the involvement of children in illegal activities and other kinds of hazardous tasks, and because of the felt need to protect this

powerless group (Bequele and Boyden 1988). Yet, the persistence and growth of the problem alerts one to the widening gap between law and practice which has given rise to a new reality. This glaring reality is symptomatic of the fact that legislation that was adopted, in various countries, including Trinidad and Tobago, failed to take into consideration the existence of a combination of socio-economic, political and legal factors which continue to be manifested in unprecedented forms of child labour. It is only through a proper analysis of these factors that some of the worst forms of child labour can be understood.

5.2 Institutions Relevant for Labour and Children

Government Institutions

There are a few government institutions that are involved with the issues of children and labour. Apart from the work that is being done by the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Development and Industrial Relations, which is responsible for ensuring that legislative changes conform with ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182, other ministries will be responsible for ensuring the implementation and enforcement of the provisions of the Convention.

The ILO 144 Tripartite Committee has recommended that the Ministry of Community Empowerment, Sport and Consumer Affairs be responsible for “designing and implementing programmes of action to eliminate as a priority the worst forms of child labour.” At present, this ministry is responsible for all matters as they relate to children. The objective of the National Family Services, which is a division of this ministry, is “to establish and implement preventive, remedial and developmental programmes and activities aimed at promoting socially healthy communities.” This division monitors homes for children, as well as conducts referrals of cases involving children in socio-economically disadvantaged situations. There are social welfare officers working within communities throughout the island.

The Family Services Division has implemented a UNICEF-funded programme which examines issues surrounding the protection of children.

Having ratified ILO Convention No. 182, the Ministries of Education, National Security, Health, Attorney General and Legal Affairs should all have responsibility to ensure that the provisions of the ILO Convention, No. 182 are implemented and enforced.

Trade Unions

There are no trade unions in Trinidad and Tobago that are directly involved with the issues of children and labour. Despite this fact, though, there was one trade union, the National Union of Domestic Employees (NUDE) which has been paying close attention to the increasing number of young persons who provide domestic labour to households. NUDE, which was established in 1982, has been lobbying for increased recognition of the value of women’s work, and for the introduction of measures which will ensure the inclusion of this value in the country’s national accounts. The union’s objectives include the protection of its members against unfair treatment by employers, as well as provision of representation in cases where members have grievances.

Two senior representatives of this trade union stated that while no cases of child domestics have come to them, they are aware of young persons working in this area. Cases were cited of

children working as “baby-sitters” for households. These children combined their baby-sitting responsibilities with other domestic chores, such as preparing meals, and doing basic cleaning and laundry for the general household.

Through NUDE, an interview was conducted with one baby-sitter, who resided in the Arima district. There were other child domestics who were known to be working in the area, but they were unwilling to come forward, as they feared victimization from their employer, and possible loss of their jobs. These child domestics were known to be working under circumstances similar to those of the one domestic who agreed to be interviewed.

Non-Governmental Organizations

There are a number of NGOs that provide services for children and young people. While the majority do not have programmes that target specifically children who work, they do, from time to time, come into contact with children who have been involved in some forms of child labour. Informal interviews were conducted with the heads or representatives of these organizations to obtain information on children involved in some of the worst forms of child labour, with whom they may have had contact. The work of these organizations will be discussed below.

SERVOL

The SERVOL programme, introduced in 1971, is a non-formal educational project catering to young people between the ages of 16 to 19 years, who are from depressed communities, and have not had a formal education. There are approximately forty (40) centres throughout the country, and plans are in place to establish another 10-15 centres. Training in marketable skills is provided, together with an adolescent/skills development programme that comprises motivational/attitudinal development, micro-entrepreneurial/-money management training, and loans for micro-entrepreneurs.

Care and Respect for Youth (CRY Foundation)

This organization has been in existence for nine (9) years, and has as its objective the provision of specialized training in vocational skills, for young boys and girls between the ages of 5-18 years who have been displaced. Vocational programmes include ceramics and food preservation, along with remedial reading and mathematics. The organization also attempts to instil moral values, and to build self-esteem. It operates out of two residential (2) centres, one situated in Laventille, Port of Spain, and the other in Claxton Bay, Forest Park. There are a total of thirty-seven (37) children, the majority of whom were referred through the Juvenile Court. At present, there are also four (4) or five (5) young babies who were abandoned.

Many of the children at CRY were either sexually, physically and/or emotionally abused. The organization’s head stated that some of the girls who were sexually abused adopted the attitude that if money can be made by allowing themselves to be sexually abused continually, then they would do so. These young women who became child prostitutes were not allowed to remain at the foundation.

Rainbow Rescue Project

The Rainbow Rescue Project came into being in 1997. It provides a home for boys under the age of twenty-one, who were either abandoned, runaways, at risk or referred by the Juvenile Court. Presently, there are thirteen (13) boys between the ages of 10 and 19 years. The main objective of the Project is to provide displaced youths with a shelter, to instil pride, self-respect, and to provide spiritual guidance.

In an informal interview with the researcher, the Chief Executive Officer of the home reported that garbage dump along the Beetham Highway in Port of Spain provided a means of earning an income for some of the boys, while they lived on the streets.

She also mentioned that the father of one of the boys had forced him into prostitution; this boy eventually ran away from home. Due to the sensitivity of the issue of prostitution, and to the fact that many of the boys were undergoing psychological therapy, the researcher held a discussion with the psychological therapist to find out how many of the boys were involved in prostitution, and what was the experience. The therapist admitted that all of the boys, when asked, stated that they were approached when they lived on the streets, but none admitted to ever having worked as a prostitute. The therapist believed that he was not yet at a stage in his sessions with the boys where they felt comfortable enough to confide this information.

Credo Foundation for Justice

In 1997, the Credo Foundation set up a drop-in centre for children who lived on the streets in Port of Spain. At present accommodation is provided for 18 boys, and plans are in place to set up a residential facility for girls. A main objective of the programme is to assist in the re-establishment of relationships with family members. Other services offered include remedial education, counselling, and job-placement programmes. Officers at the centre also intervene in cases where children are being exploited in the work environment.

5.3 What We Already Know/Have/Regarding Child Labour

Very little statistical data about child labour exist in the Caribbean region. The physical evidence, though, indicates that the number of working and street children is growing. In 1991, UNICEF funded a study on the situation analysis of children and women in Jamaica. The findings showed that there were between 200 and 1,200 street children in Kingston and St. Andrew. The Council of Voluntary Social Services (CVSS)⁴ also conducted a study in 1987 on street children in Spanish Town, Ocho Rios, Mandeville, May Pen and the Corporate Area of Kingston, which stated that there were over 500 street children in these parts of Jamaica.

For Trinidad and Tobago, the mounting physical and statistical evidence also indicates an increase in the phenomenon. Since 1990, the local printed media have been paying attention to this phenomenon, and a number of newspaper articles have resulted from these. UNICEF also conducted some situational analyses of children in Trinidad. One such study done in 1993, examined children in especially difficult circumstances, and it produced statistical data to support the view that child labour was on the increase. The study showed that there were

⁴ *The Street Children of Jamaica*, Council of Voluntary Social Services, 1987.

approximately 770 children, under the age of 14 years, who were found working in activities which ranged from street vending, furniture making, and mechanical and tyre repairs.

Lewis (1996) also conducted a study that examined the range of economic activities of a sample of 125 children (taken between 1991-92) in the informal service economy in Trinidad and Tobago. The semi-clandestine nature of the employment of children in the informal economy was highlighted, because of the growing concern by international bodies like the ILO over protection of the rights of children.

The study showed that while more boys (70%) than girls (30%) in the sample were involved in informal activity, girls started the activities at an earlier age, and worked under the supervision of a parent or guardian. This was noticeable, especially in the case of East Indian girls. Younger siblings, for whom they were directly responsible, accompanied some of the female child workers.

In Lewis's sample not only have more males, when compared to females, not received a formal education, but a larger percentage had either failed the Common Entrance examination, or left school at primary or secondary level. The data showed that in some cases where children were not performing well in school, they were taken out of school and sent to work, and the money which they earned from conducting the informal activity was used to assist other sibling who were still attending school. The number of African males, for all the child-worker categories that were devised, provided cause for concern. The male child workers have been forced to adopt measures that ensure their own survival, and that of the households from which they come (Lewis 1996).

5.4 Programmes/Initiatives to Help Children

5.4.1 Government Programmes

Adult Education Programme

The Adult Education Programme of the MoE - the AE programme, which has been in existence for over fifty (50) years, provides educational opportunities for persons 16 years and over, who did not benefit from traditional schooling. At present, there are forty-six (46) AE centres in the country, with a total enrolment figure of 9,961 (7756 female, and 2205 male). Another thirty-one (31) centres are to be established. Programmes offered range from remedial education in mathematics and English, to citizenship, environmental and family life education. Other disciplines, such as Biology, Spanish, Technical Drawing, History, dance, music, food preparation, welding and woodwork, are also offered.

Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centres

The Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs through its trade centres and youth development centres introduced a programme for young people 14-21 years. Those who were economically and educationally disadvantaged were able to obtain a marketable skill through the Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centres (YDACs). At the YDACs, individuals participated in a two-year residential programme, in vocational and leadership skills training. For every two-year period, an average of 1000 youths (250 girls and 750 boys) were admitted to the

programmes. The residential aspect of these programmes came to an end in 1997, and they now operate as day programmes.

Youth Training and Employment Partnership Programme

The Youth, Training, Partnership and Employment Programme (YTEPP), which commenced in 1988, is another government-sponsored programme which provides training in vocational and entrepreneurial skills, basic education, and attitudinal development for some 10,000 young people each year between the ages of 15-30 years. There exist some 40 centres throughout the island, and the training programmes usually last for nine months.

5.4.2 Non-Governmental Programmes

Choices

The Child Welfare League conducts the CHOICES programme, which targets pregnant teenagers, young teenage mothers and their infants. The programme is developmental in nature, and its main objective is to empower young women, improve the quality of their lives, and those of their children. Vocational and remedial educational subjects are offered, and while young mothers attend to these courses, childcare services are provided for the children.

In an interview with Ms. Baptiste of the Child Welfare League in Port of Spain, she mentioned that a preventative programme had commenced in schools, but more financial and technical support were needed from other ministries so that a nationwide programme could be conducted.

6.0 Conclusions

The results of the Rapid Assessment Survey suggest that the four worst forms of child labour studied, namely scavenging, agriculture, domestic work and prostitution and pornography do exist in Trinidad. The extent to which these exist, however, could not be determined by this study. Except for those engaged in scavenging the number of children interviewed was too small. In addition, a more comprehensive determination of what constitutes hazardous work in the local context is required. This will provide the framework for a more in-depth study. The findings, however, demonstrate the harsh and dangerous circumstances child labourers face daily. Dengue fever infections and accidental deaths have occurred in landfill sites, victims of commercial sex exploitation have been stabbed and infected with HIV/AIDS and other STDS; domestic workers face physical and sexual abuse. In spite of their adjustment to their circumstances all child workers yearn for more fruitful lives and dream of “nice houses and better jobs”.

Estimation of the number of child workers engaged in all the occupations other than in scavenging proved difficult. Unlike workers in scavenging who all tend to work in designated places, workers in the other three occupations tend to be scattered. In the case of scavenging the estimated number of children working at the three sites visited is about seventy (70). However, estimates from the quarterly labour force survey conducted by the CSO suggests that close to 4000 children work in agriculture while almost 300 work as domestics. Based on information obtained from some of the interviewees and a key informant, there are about 40 female victims of commercial sex exploitation in the Port of Spain area. These numbers are increased from time to time by females, 12 to 16 years of age, deemed out of control who abscond from a nearby home for children. In addition there are reportedly about 40 male victims, aged 12 to 15 years of age, who attend primary and secondary schools during the day.

In spite of the lack of quantitative data, the push factors that drive children into these activities are similar and could either be one or a combination of poverty, physical abuse, sexual abuse, delinquent fathers, single parent households, poor parenting practises, low level of education, and lack of social support systems for vulnerable groups. The pull factors include the potential incomes that can assist either the child labourers or their families and the opportunity to be “your own boss”. This desire to be one’s “own boss” indicates a loss of hope in the capacity of the system to rehabilitate child labourers and provide more positive options. This is particularly true of workers engaged in scavenging and victims of commercial sex exploitation. Among child workers engaged in agriculture and domestic work, the perceived need to assist at home takes precedence over the potential benefits of education.

There is a common thread that links child labourers in the desperate areas of the worst forms of child labour: low income households, death or loss of one or both parents, low level of educational attainment, limited outreach and diagnostic systems to anticipate and support vulnerable children, and the need for the system to be more responsive to the needs of vulnerable groups. More fine-tuned diagnosis at primary level and the development and marketing of specific rehabilitative programmes may assist those who are pushed into child labour as a result of academic failure, the absence of parental support and inadequate incomes.

All child labourers, except those engaged in prostitution, work long hours on a daily basis. Domestic child workers work the longest for the least amount of remuneration. Nevertheless, most of these workers, except for those victims of commercial sex exploitation, expressed no regrets in doing what they were doing. However, almost all would not want their younger siblings to be involved in the same type of occupation. The need to earn an income has been given as the main reason for having to work. Physical and health risks are greatest among child workers in scavenging and victims of commercial sex exploitation.

Most of these child workers have left school with only a primary education and would like to return to improve their education. While many aspire to have a good job or learn a trade some are very specific about the type of job they would like to do.

7.0 Recommendations

The recommendations put forward can be broken down into two broad groups namely immediate direct intervention and future activities or research.

I. Direct intervention:

a). Rehabilitation

- The state should underwrite the cost of the training and counselling of those children who have expressed a desire to continue their education/training in programmes conducted by SERVOL and YTEPP and other such organisations.

b) Prevention

- Greater involvement of community officers in assisting the communities such as the Beetham Estate, that is directly related to the landfill, to meet the challenges that they face.
- The introduction of Health and Family Life Education in all schools starting from kindergarten and including out of school children.
- Workshops on effective parenting for communities deemed as high risk for WFCL.
- Closer collaboration among the key ministries responsible for the welfare of children including the Ministries of Education, National Security, Health and Social Development to ensure enforcement of the laws governing children.

c) Advocacy

- Implementation of public awareness, sensitisation and education programmes to inform individuals and the general public about the concept of the worst forms of child labour.
- Facilitate outreach programmes to communities where children are deemed to be at greater risk of WFCL. These programmes need to take into consideration the cultural background and value system of the community.
- Workshops and/or programmes that will have as their objectives the sharing of information on work being conducted by various agencies and the introduction of collaborative efforts especially where funding is limited.
- Greater involvement of NGO's and CBO's in all of the above.

II. Future Activities and Research

- Continuous and consistent labour market analyses to ensure that school graduates meet the needs of a constantly changing job market.
- A re-examination and evaluation of the educational system to determine what programmes are in place to address the needs of children at risk, as well as the extent to which these programmes do have a tangible and positive impact on the lives of these children.
- An increase in the minimum compulsory age for school attendance from 12 years to 16 years;
- Development of laws that will make parents directly responsible for the actions of their children up to the compulsory age of education;
- Studies of other forms of child labour such as child porters and children in the drug trade.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RAPID ASSESSMENT SURVEY ON CHILD LABOUR IN TRINIDAD

(2002)

CONFIDENTIAL

ID Number

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General Information

1. **Name:** _____
2. **Gender:** Male 1 Female 2
3. **Age at last Birthday:** _____
4. **Place of Birth:** _____

5. **Ethnicity:**
(1) African Descent
(2) Indian Descent
(3) Mixed (African/East Indian)
(4) Other (*Specify*) _____
(5) Not Stated

Living Conditions, Family Situation, Socio-economic Status

Family Situation:

6. Where do you live? _____

7. How many persons including yourself live there? _____
8. With whom do you live?
 1. Mother/Father
 2. Mother alone
 3. Father alone
 4. Grandparents
 5. Parent(s) and Brother/Sister
 6. Brother/Sister
 7. Other Relative
 8. None Relative
 9. Alone (Go to Q.10)
 10. Common Law Partner

9. Tell me about your relationship with him/her/them?

1. Good, he/she/they are nice to me
2. Bad, he/she/they are mean to me
3. Neutral/OK

10. How many (a) brothers do you have? _____
(b) sisters to you have? _____
(c) total brothers and sisters _____

10(1). What is your birth position? (first, second etc.) _____

11. Have you always lived there?

1. If Yes (Go to Q.15)
2. No (*Continue*)

12. Why did you move? _____

13. With whom did you live before?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Mother/Father | 6. Brother/Sister |
| 2. Mother alone | 7. Other Relative |
| 3. Father alone | 8. None Relative |
| 4. Grandparents | 9. Alone (Go to Q. 15) |
| 5. Parent(s) and Brother/Sister | 10. Common Law Partner |

14. Tell me about your relationship with him/her/them?

1. Good, he/she/they were nice to me
2. Bad, he/she/they were mean to me
3. Neutral/OK

15. Did any of your parents die? 1 Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 17)

15(1) If yes which one? (1) Father
(2) Mother
(3) Both

16. How old were you when your parents died? _____

17. Did any of your parents leave? 1 Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 20)

17(1) If yes which one? (1) Father
(2) Mother
(3) Both

18. How old were you when your parent left? _____

19. Why did your parent leave? _____

20. Can your (a) Father read 1. Yes 2. No
(b) Mother read 1. Yes 2. No

21. Can your (a) Father write 1. Yes 2. No
(b) Mother write 1. Yes 2. No

22. How many bedrooms are there where you now live? _____

23. What is the material of the outer walls? _____

24. What is the material of the roof? _____

25. What is the material of the floor? _____

26. Do you have pipe-borne water? 1. Yes 2. No

27. What type of toilet facilities do you have? _____

28. Does the household any of the following?

(a) Radio	1. Yes	2. No
(b) Television	1. Yes	2. No
(c) Telephone	1. Yes	2. No

Education:

29. Are you currently attending school?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 31)

30. If yes, what class? _____

31. If no, have you ever been attended school?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 34)

32. If yes, until what class? _____

33. How old were you when you left school? _____

34. Can you read? 1. Yes 2. No

35. Can you write? 1. Yes 2. No

Working Situation

36. How old were you when you started doing this type of work? _____

37. How long have you been doing this type of work? _____

38. How did you start doing this type of work? _____

39. What do you do at work (what are your duties/responsibilities)?

**Interviewer: Please note the need to probe deeply into this question
to get a clear idea of the type of work the child is doing.**

40. Where do you do most of your work?

41. How many hours per day do you work?

42. How many days per week do you work?

43. Do you work on the weekdays, weekends, or both?

1. Weekdays 2. Weekends 3. Both

44. Do you work all year round, or only in some seasons?

1. All year round 2. Other (Specify) _____

45. What did you do before you started doing this type of work?

46. If they had another job, since what age have you been working? _____

Hazards:

It will be difficult to ascertain the full extent of these through interviews alone. Interviewers should make general observations about the health and fitness of the children as well as the working conditions.

47. Have you ever gotten ill/hurt at work?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 49)

48. If yes, what happened? _____

49. Have you ever seen other children get ill/hurt at work?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 51)

50. If yes, what happened? _____

51. Have you ever felt sick or tired while doing this type of work?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 53)

52. If yes, what happened? _____

53. Have you ever known other children to feel sick or tired while doing this type of work?

1. Yes 2. No

54. If yes, what happened? _____

55. Do you have any regrets doing this type of work?

1. Yes 2. No

56. Why do you feel this way? _____

Relationships:

57. Tell me about your relationship with the following people?

Are they good, bad or normal?

- (a) Other children working with you _____
 (b) Other adults working with you _____
 (c) Your employer _____
 (d) Your customers _____

58. Do other children that you work with have similar relationships with these people?

1. Yes 2. No

Punishment/Reward Issues:

59. What happens if you don't do your work?

60. What happens if you do your work poorly?

61. What happens if you do your work well?

Earnings:

62. How do you get paid?

1. Cash
2. In kind
3. Both ways

63. How much do you earn overall per month?

64. Do you have any other sources of income? 1. Yes 2. No

65. What do you do with the money that you earn?

1. Keep all
2. Give all to household
3. Keep some and give remaining to household
4. Keep some and give remaining to someone outside of the household
5. Other (Specify) _____

66. How do you spend your money?

1. Spend most on food
2. Spend most on clothing and footwear
3. Other (Specify) _____

Attitudes towards work and school:

67. Why do you work?

68. Why do you work in this particular job?

69. Would you prefer not to work in this job?

1. Yes 2. No (Go to Q. 71)

70. If Yes what would you like to do?

71. Would you like to spend more/any time at school? (See Q. 31)

- 1 Yes 2. No

72. If ever attended in school?

(a) What did you like most about school?

(b) What did you like least?

73. What do you want to do when you are older?

74. Would you want your younger sister or brother to do this type of work?

1. Yes 2. No

Well-being and Quality of Life:

75. What do you do when you are not working in this job?

76. What do you fear most? (Domestic Abuse Police? Street Gangs? Drugs? Etc.)

77. Do you use any of the following?

- | | | |
|----------------|--------|-------|
| (a) Cigarettes | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (b) Marijuana | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (c) Alcohol | 1. Yes | 2. No |
| (d) Cocaine | 1. Yes | 2. No |

78. What do you wish for?

APPENDIX II

Focus Group Guidelines - Parents/Guardians of Working Children

Characteristics of Participants (6 to 8)

No	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	<u>Employed</u>	Un-employed	Education
1.						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						

1. How many children do you have under 18 years old?
2. Is he/she or are they working?
3. What work are they doing?
4. Are they living at home with you?
5. Tell us about how and why they started that type of work?
6. Tell us about your own situation when they started doing that type of work i.e. were you employed? out of the country? separated?
7. If child/children is/are at home, does he/she or do they contribute or help out in anyway to the household
8. Does the child or do the children attend school?
9. Which school, primary or secondary?
10. How regularly do they attend school?
11. If you had a choice what would you wish for your child/children and yourself now and in the future?
12. How do you feel about being able to make this come true?

APPENDIX III

Focus Group Guidelines Working Children

Characteristics of Participants (6 to 8)

No	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	At Home	Not At Home	Relation to Household Head
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						

Push Factors

1. How long participants started doing type of work?
2. Why did you start or what made you do this type of work?
3. Are your parents /guardian aware of the type of work you are doing?
4. What do they have to say about it?
5. What kind of relationship do you have with your parents/guardian?
6. Are you in frequent contact with them?
7. What about school? Are you still attending school?
8. What do you think about schooling? Is it necessary to get along in what you are doing now or would like to do in the future?

Pull Factors

9. What is the best or most satisfying thing about this type work that you are doing?
10. What is the worst thing about this type of work that you are doing?
11. Given a choice, what would you like to be doing? (e.g. continue this type of work, a better job, be normal children, continue schooling)
12. What do you really expect to get from this type of work?
13. Do you earn enough income to do what you would like to do?
14. What bad and dangerous things do you face in your work activity?
15. What do you fear most in doing this type of work?
16. What kind of relationship do you have with your employer?

APPENDIX IV

TABLES

Table 1. Gender

Gender	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Male	29	11	16	2	-	-	-	-
Female	1	1	4	-	15	2	4	8
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 2. Age

Age	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
12	-		1		-			-
13	5		1		2			-
14	2		1		3			-
15	7		1		2			-
16	6		6		2		4	-
17	10		10		6			-
18		8	-		-	2		4
19		3	-	2	-			1
20		1	-		-			3
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 3. Size of Household

Size of Household	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
1 person	3	2	1		-		2	-
2 persons	6	-	1		-		2	-
3 persons	3	1	1		6			2
4 persons	3	1	1		3	1		2
5 persons	5	1	2		-			1
6 persons	5	3	4		1	1		-
7 persons	3	2	1		1			1
8 and over persons	2	2	8	2	4			2
Not Stated			1		-			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 4. With Whom Living

With Whom Living	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Mother/Father	2	-	-		4			-
Mother alone	1	-	-		-			-
Father alone	-	-	-		-			-
Grandparents	2	-	1		1	2		-
Parent/Brother/-Sister	7	5	16	2	8			4
Brother/Sister	4	2	1		-		2	2
Other Relative	5	1	1		-			-
None Relative	8	2	-		2			-
Alone	1	2	1		-		2	-
Common Law Partner			-		-			2
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 5. Which Parent Left Home

Which Parent left	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Father	5	4	2		3	1	2	6
Mother	2	1	1		-		2	1
Both	2	1	-		-			-
Not Applicable	21	6	19	2	12	1		1
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 6. Age of interviewee when parent left.

Age	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
0			-		-		2	4
1		1	-		-	1		
2		-	2		2			
3		1	-		-			
4		-	-		-			
5	1	-	-		-			
6	-	-	-		-			
7	5	1	-		-			2
8	1	-	-		1			
9	-	-	-		-		2	
10	-	1	-		-			
11	-	-	1		-			
12	1	1	-		-			
13	-	-	-		-			1
14	1	-	-		-			
15	-	1	-		-			
16	-	-	-		-			
17	-	-	-		-			
18	-	-	-		-			
Not Applicable	21	6	17	2	12	1		1
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 7. Class left School.

Class left School	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Infant Kindergarten	-	-	-		-			-
Std. 1 - 3	1	2	2		4			-
Std. 4+	20	7	9	2	5	2		-
Form 1 - 2	1	2	1		2		2	-
Form 3 - 4	1	1	2		-		2	4
Form 5+	1	-	1		2			3
Other	1	-	-		-			-
Not Stated	1	-	-		-			-
Not Applicable	4	-	5		2			1
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 8. Age Started Working

Age	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
6	2	-	-		-			
7	-	-	1		-			
8	1	1	-		-			
9	-	1	2		-			
10	2	-	1		1			
11	5	-	1		2			
12	4	1	3	2	6			
13	-	2	1		3			
14	5	-	3		1		2	
15	5	-	6		3	1	2	
16	3	3	1		-	1		3
17	3	2	1		-			4
18	-	2	-		-			1
19	-	-	-		-			
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 9. Length of time in job.

Length of time in job	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
< 3 months	8	2	3		-			1
3 < 6 months	2	1	-		1	1		-
6 < 12 months	-	-	-		-			-
1 – 2 years	6	3	6		8		4	5
3 – 4 years	9	2	5		2	1		2
5 – 6 years	2	1	5		3			-
7+ years	3	3	1	2	1			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 10. Number of hours work per day.

No. of hours worked	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
2	-	-	4		-			-
3	-	-	-		-		2	6
4	-	2	2		5		2	2
5	2	1	4		3			-
6	5	-	3		-	1		-
7	5	1	2		1			-
8	3	4	4	2	-			-
9	-	-	-		-	1		-
10	1	1	-		2			-
11	-	1	1		-			-
12	13	1	-		4			-
Not Stated	1	1	-		-			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 11. Number of days work per week.

No. of days worked	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
1	-	-	-		-			-
2	-	-	-		1	1		1
3	2	1	-		-		2	-
4	3	3	-		-			5
5	4	2	5		2	1	2	-
6	7	2	4	2	2			-
7	13	3	11		10			2
Not Stated	1	1	-		-			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 12. When Worked

When worked	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Weekday	1	3	5		-	1		1
Weekend	2	1	-		-			-
Both	26	7	15	2	15	1	4	7
Not Stated	1	1	-		-			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 13. Which Season Worked

Season worked	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
All year round	25	10	19	2	15	2	2	5
Seasonally	2	-	-		-		2	3
Occasionally	-	1	1		-			-
Just Started	2	-	-		-			-
Not Stated	1	1	-		-			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	7

Table 14. Previous Work

Previous Type of Work	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Nothing	11	4	3		6	2		2
At School	11	-	16	2	9		2	-
Garbage Truck	2	2	-		-			-
Paint/Construction	2	2	-		-			-
Learning a Trade	3	2	1		-			-
Chicken depot	-	1	-		-			-
Odd Jobs	1	1	-		-			6
Not Stated	-	-	-		-		2	-
Total	3-	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 15. Monthly Income.

Monthly Income	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
< \$250	7	-	2		2	1		-
\$250 < \$500	3	3	-		1	1		-
\$500 < \$750	4	1	2	2	4			-
\$750 < \$1000	2	1	2		-			-
\$1000 < \$2000	8	2	6		-			1
\$2000 < \$3000	2	3	-		-			-
\$3000 < \$4000	-	-	-		-			2
\$4000 & over	-	-	-		-		4	5
Not Stated	4	2	1		-			-
Not Applicable	-	-	7		8			-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 16. Regret doing this type of work by Would like sibling to do this type of work

Regrets	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Yes	-	8	-	2	-	4	-	4
No	-	21	2	16	2	9	-	--
Don't know	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	30	2	18	2	13	-	4

Table 17. Feared Most

Fear Most	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Security at dump	6	1	3	-	-			-
Injury to body	2	-	-	-	-			2
Bandits	4	1	2	1	4	2		1
Gangs	2	6	1		1			1
Nothing	11	2	5		5			1
Police	3	-	3	1	3			3
Other	2	2	6	-	2		4	-
Total	30	12	20	2	15	2	4	8

Table 18. Use Cigarette, Marijuana, Alcohol, or Cocaine

Use	Scavenging		Agriculture		Domestic		Sex Worker	
	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs	<18 Yrs	>=18 Yrs
Cigarette	10	9	6	1	-	-	2	5
Marijuana	10	8	-	-	-	-	2	-
Alcohol	9	5	1	-	-	-	2	2
Cocaine	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-

