

**ILO-IPEC**

# **CHILD LABOUR ON TOBACCO PLANTATIONS IN JEMBER DISTRICT**



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# Foreword

The vast majority of the world's child labourers are working in farms and plantations. A large number of children are involved in all types of agricultural undertakings ranging from small and medium sized family farms, to large farms, plantations and agro-industrial complexes. The ILO estimates that over 132 million girls and boys aged 5-14 years old are engaged in activities like planting and harvesting crops, spraying pesticides, and tending livestock on rural farms and plantations.

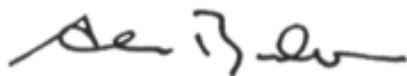
The position in the agricultural sector in Indonesia is no different from many other developing countries. It is estimated that over 1.5 million children aged between 10-17 years are working in this sector in Indonesia. Work in agriculture may involve exposure to many hazards including extreme temperatures, pesticides and organic dust. It also often requires working long hours as well as the use of heavy and dangerous machinery and tools that violate Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) standards. The poor quality and availability of schools, coupled with the general low regard for education in rural communities, contributes to a steady supply of child labourers in agriculture.

In its efforts to tackle the problems of child labour, Indonesia has ratified both the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) in 2000 and 1999. By ratifying Convention 182, Indonesia made a commitment to "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency". Pursuant to this, the Government of Indonesia has developed a *National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour* which is embodied in a Presidential Decree no. 59 year 2002. The Plan identified the worst forms of child labour in Indonesia as including child labour in plantations.

Although there is an increasing volume of information on child labour in Indonesia, there are still many gaps in the knowledge and understanding of the various forms and conditions where children work. The availability of data is crucial in order to ensure a good understanding of the problem and the particular needs of the targeted populations. For this reason, ILO-IPEC has commissioned research on various aspects of child labour in Indonesia. The research adds to the current knowledge base about child labour in Indonesia and reflects the findings and views of the authors or organization commissioned.

The present publication relates to child labour in tobacco plantations in Jember District (East Java), and was prepared by *Yayasan Prakarsa Swadaya Masyarakat (YPSM)/Foundation for Initiatives to Grass Root Self Reliance*. YPSM was established in Jember in 1988 and has actively worked to promote child protection in the District, including several programmes to tackle child labour. The research for the publication was made possible through the generous support of the ECLT (Eliminate Child Labor in Tobacco) Foundation.

I hope this research will make a meaningful contribution to building the knowledge base on child labour in agriculture and in the long run to the elimination of such exploitation in Indonesia.



**Alan Boulton**  
Director  
ILO Jakarta Office



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## List of Terminologies and Abbreviations

<i>Air curing</i>	drying process of burley tobacco by airing them in a warehouse
<i>APTI</i>	Asosiasi Petani Tembakau Indonesia (Indonesian Association for Tobacco Farmers)
<i>belandang</i>	traders who receive or collect tobaccos from farmers to be subsequently sold to companies
<i>blabat</i>	roof made of dried sugarcane leafs for tobacco drying warehouse made of bamboos
<i>CBS</i>	The Central Bureau of Statistics
<i>FGD</i>	Focus Group Discussion, is a process of collecting information concerning a very specific issue through a group discussion
<i>gudang atag</i>	tobacco drying warehouse with grass or sugarcane leaf roof
<i>gudang seng</i>	it is a local term used for processing warehouse for dried tobacco. It is a permanent building with brick walls and iron sheet roof.
<i>memberber</i>	unfurling process of tobacco leafs
<i>MI</i>	<i>Madrasah Ibtidaiyah</i> , an Elementary School under the management of the Ministry of Religious Affairs
<i>MA</i>	<i>Madrasah Aliyah</i> , High School under the management of the Ministry of Religious Affairs
<i>MTS</i>	<i>Madrasah Tsnowiyah</i> , Secondary School under the management of the Ministry of Religious Affairs
<i>ngasak</i>	looking for paddy leftovers in other person's rice fields or for tobacco leftovers during harvest season
<i>ngerajang</i>	cutting tobacco leafs into small pieces
<i>ngerempos</i>	opening tobacco bundles
<i>NO</i>	Na Oogst, is a type of tobacco
<i>NOTA</i>	Na Oogst Tanam Awal (Na Oogst Early Planting)
<i>NOTBN</i>	Na Oogst Tembakau Bawah Naungan (Na Oogst Planted under the Net)
<i>nyoreh</i>	removing midribs
<i>nyujen</i>	placing tobaccos in right orders using needles ( <i>sujen</i> ) and threads or rope for a drying process in a shed/ <i>gudang atag</i>
<i>onderneming</i>	Dutch plantation business, a term used before the nationalization of companies
<i>PTPN</i>	Perseroan Terbatas Perkebunan Nusantara (Nusantara Plantation Ltd.)
<i>SD</i>	Elementary School, under the management of the Ministry of National Education
<i>SMK</i>	Vocational High School, under the management of the Ministry of National Education
<i>SMP</i>	Secondary School, under the management of the Ministry of National Education

<i>SMU</i>	High School, under the management of the Ministry of National Education
<i>TBN</i>	<i>Tembakau Bawah Naungan</i> , a term used for tobacco planted under a net to avoid pests.
<i>warengan</i>	tobacco plantation
<i>waring</i>	nets used to protect tobacco plants in plantations. It is a quality development technology for tobacco production. It is used to reduce sunshine which may result in tobacco thickening so that they won't be attacked by pests
<i>VO</i>	Voor Oogst, a type of tobacco
<i>YPSM</i>	Yayasan Prakarsa Swadaya Masyarakat (the Foundation for Initiative Grassroot Self Reliance)



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## 1.1. Background

The presence of working children in tobacco industries in Jember district started since the Dutch colonial era (Tjandraningsih and Anarita, 2002, page 31) in early 19 century. Since then, it has become a special phenomenon that they work for these industries due to Jember's potential as a tobacco producing region. Some children work to help their parents and some work as freelance/non permanent labors who deal directly with small and big, private and state companies. Many works in nearly all tobacco plantation/farms and processing sites in Jember do not require certain skills and these provide a wide opportunity for children to work in these industries. Planting tobaccos has become part of local inhabitants' life in Jember villages and therefore, recruitment of family members, including children, to achieve certain target is inevitable.

Researches on working children in tobacco industries conducted by for instance YPSM (1988), PAS Akatiga Bandung (1994 and 2002), and Mahbubah (2003) revealed that child labour issue and its causing factors is a "constant" problem. It is certainly ironical because Jember tobacco is one of main products for Indonesian export, which produces profits for the state and entrepreneurs. Export value of tobacco in 2004 is US \$ 39,289.667.35 or 71.25%<sup>1</sup> of all sectors in Jember and ideally labors should enjoy huge profit from the export through better wages, allowances, health cares, occupational safety and social security. Tobacco industries have actually created enormous vacancies for local communities in Jember. In addition, these industries also have positive impacts toward formal and informal economic activities such as banking, transportation of tobacco products, production of fertilizers and pesticides, and greater job opportunities (e.g., *blabat* makers for warehouse roofs, street hawkers around tobacco warehouses, etc.).<sup>2</sup>

In reality, however, labours are still marginalized and powerless, a condition that force them to send their children to work to help contribute to the family income. Nevertheless, this research would also see any possible transition. Various factors and current development are theoretically assumed to result in a change for working children in tobacco plantation. These factors among others are better education program by the government and government regulations prohibiting child labors. In addition to education program and regulations, there are also other factors which may help reduce working children in Jember tobacco industries i.e., reduced number of lands and tobacco entrepreneurs, and empowerment and socialization of child labour prevention by NGOs. This research will see these factors so as to find out their impacts toward working children at present.

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1 Jember district in figure in 2004

2 Nawiyanto, 2001

## 1.2. Research Objectives

This research is aimed at observing the condition of working children engaged in tobacco industries in Jember district for the following objectives:

- a. Describing the condition of working children and their families in several types of tobacco plantations.
- b. Identifying actions to resolve this problem.
- c. Identifying tendencies and analyzing factors which may help reducing working children in tobacco plantations.

## 1.3. Methodology

Data and information in this research are primary and secondary ones. Primary data is obtained directly from respondents by distributing questionnaires to 100 working children and 100 parents in 4 locations, each of which involves 25 child respondents and 25 parents. Qualitative primary information is obtained in two ways: firstly, through in-depth interviews with key informants using interview guideline and structured questions and secondly, through focus group discussions (FGDs).

Respondents who answered questionnaires (samples) were selected through *snowballing* method, prioritizing children who were working in tobacco industries during the research period. In-depth interviews were done for those who could provide information and who are competent in their respective field. They are working children, their parents, local NGOs/mass organizations, local community, regional government, entrepreneurs, and other parties related with working children and tobacco industries. Seven FGDs were performed: one group of working children, two groups of adult labours, two groups of parents/adults and two groups of teachers.

Secondary data were obtained from the local Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in Jember district, Local Manpower and Transmigration Office, Local Education Office, Local Social Office, YPSM's program documentation, previous researches, and articles prepared by observers of tobacco industries in Jember, and other related data. So as to obtain a clear picture on child respondents' homes and workplaces, a direct observation was conducted in research areas and other locations where tobacco industries are situated in Jember district.

## 1.4. Research Team

Research team consists of one key researcher, one assistant researcher and 13 enumerators. Before conducting interviews, enumerators were given training concerning child labour issue and how to use research instruments. Briefing concerning tobacco plantations and locations was also given for their information. Technical constraints found in these locations were always discussed together by the team so as to find their solutions.

## 1.5. Research Areas

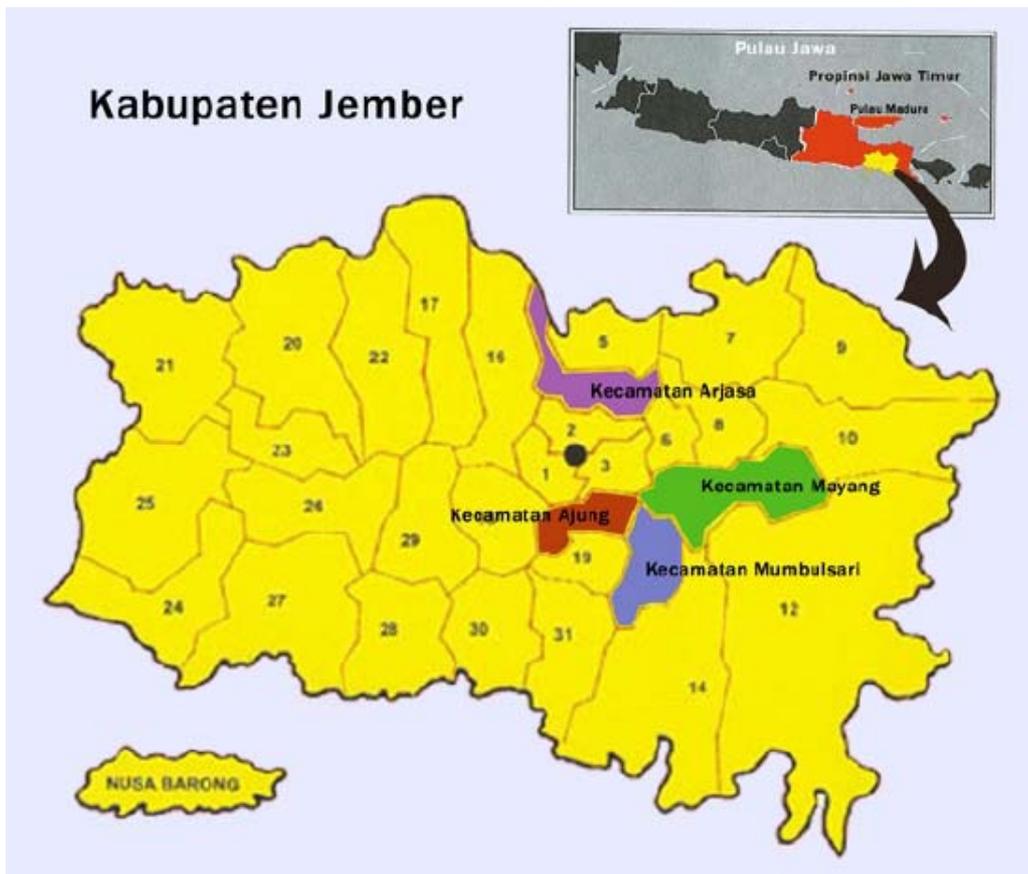
This field research was performed in June 2006 i.e., during tobacco planting season in four tobacco producing sub-districts. They are Ajung (particularly in Ajung village), Arjasa (Kamal village), Mumbulsari (Lengkong village) and Mayang sub-districts (particularly in Tegalrejo and Mayang villages). All these locations are situated in Jember district, East Java and plant and process different tobaccos.



**Table 1**  
**Research areas**

Village	Sub District	Type of Tobacco planted
Ajung	Ajung	NO TBN
Lengkong	Mumbulsari	NO TBN
Kamal	Arjasa	VO rajang
Mayang dan Tegalwaru	Mayang	VO kesturi

**Map 1 Jember District and research locations**



## 1.6. Research Constraints

Constraints found during data collection process are:

- ♦ Respondents were not at home during interviews that enumerators had to visit their homes more than once.
- ♦ Some tobacco entrepreneurs consider this research as supervision that they were afraid to provide information and asked their labours to refuse enumerators' visits and interviews. To solve this problem, enumerators were instructed to give constructive explanation to respondents.
- ♦ False age. Child respondents falsified their ages to work in companies. In this case, enumerators had to track their ages through other information (e.g., starting date of employment, work period, drop out date, fellow friends) and confirm their ages with those who know them in these areas.

## 1.7. Reporting Systematic

This report is prepared with following systematic:

- ♦ Chapter I introduction, containing background, research objectives, methodology used, research team, research sites, research constraints, and reporting systematic.
- ♦ Chapter II explaining about general condition of Jember district and tobacco industries, locations, labours and contributions of tobacco products for local revenue in Jember.
- ♦ Chapter III describes about working children in Jember tobacco industries, including their age when starting work; work conditions, tasks, work relations, work hours, and wages. In addition, this Chapter also describes socio-economic background of working children's families through questionnaire to dig information on parents' livelihoods, educational backgrounds and home conditions. It also provides information concerning stance toward working children, based on children's own viewpoints, and those of their parents and various parties. This chapter also describes their occupational risks and information on trends of working children in tobacco industry in Jember District.
- ♦ Bab IV presents conclusions and recommendations



# Jember and Its Tobacco Industries

Geographically, Jember district is situated in East Java province (see map 1 in page 12.) with a total area of 3,293.34 km<sup>2</sup>. Jember borders on Probolinggo district in the north, Indian Ocean in the south, Lumajang district in the west, and Banyuwangi district in the east. Jember has 3 urban sub-districts with 22 *Kelurahan*; and 28 rural sub-districts with 225 villages.

Topographically, some parts of South Jember consist of relatively fertilized low lands for food crops, while its north has hills and mountains relatively suitable for strong plants and plantations. Main food crops in Jember district are paddy, corn, soybean, peanuts, cassava, sweet potato and vegetables, and its plantation commodities are tobacco, coffee, rubber, cocoa and green soybean (*edamame*). Food crops provide a higher contribution for regional revenue than that of plantation. Data in 2000 indicates that food crops contribute Rp. 1.48 trillion, compared to plantation's Rp 478 billion.

Jember is divided into following areas:

**Table 2**  
**Land use in Jember District**

Forest	121,039.61 ha
Residential areas	31,877 ha
Paddy field	86,568.18 ha
Dry field	43,522.84 ha
Plantation	34,590.46 ha
Ponds ( <i>tambak</i> )	368.66 ha
Swamp	35.62 ha
Bushes/meadow	289.26 ha
Arid land	1.469,26 ha
Others	9,583.26 ha

Demographically, Jember is a District/Municipality with the highest number of population after Surabaya City and Malang District in East Java province. Total number of population by end 2004 is 2,136,999 consisting 1,040,207 males, and 1,096,792 females. This number is an increase of 0.27 percent compared to the result of population census conducted in 2003 i.e., 2,123,968 persons. With a gender ratio of 94: 84 percents, female population in Jember is slighter greater than male population.

## 2.1 History of Tobacco Industry in Jember

Between 1850 and 1860, European entrepreneurs built four tobacco plantations in Jember District. George Birnie was one of those who actively developed tobacco industries in this area that these industries developed rapidly. Since tobacco was a very profitable commodity, many new plantations were built in this within a relatively short period and this resulted in a greater requirement for manpower. Rare human resources were covered with periodic deployment of manpower from Madura island (see map 1 on page 12) and this resulted in a rapid increase in population and within 25 years, and total number of villages in plantation areas increased by three times. Currently, many labourers in tobacco plantations, particularly in rural areas, are of Madura tribe. Their arrival was due to poor economy and enormous unemployment in their homeland.

In 1940s, political condition in Indonesia was alarming and therefore, economic activities were battered. The proclamation of Indonesian independence in 1945 could not recover social life in the country. Tobacco industries in Jember, as the Dutch economic assets, were also affected by this turmoil that they had to cease their operations until 1949 i.e., when the Dutch handed over its sovereignty. The Dutch then resumed their operations from 1950 to 1958. After that, these Dutch *onderneming* (plantation companies) were nationalized into the State Owned Plantation Company. After several changes in management, currently these plantations are managed by PT Perkebunan Nusantara (PTPN X), a state own plantation.

## 2.2. General description about tobacco industries, locations, workers and its contribution to the regional revenue in Jember

Economy in Jember is dominated by agricultural sector which consists of food crops, plantation, fishery, animal husbandry sub-sectors etc., making up 59.4% of the total business (Population Census in 2000). Socio-economic survey conducted in 2004 indicated that 52% of its 10 years old population and above work in agricultural sector.

Particularly for the 4 sub-districts selected as research areas, the businesses in agricultural sector absorb 60% of total population in this age group who work.

**Table 3.**  
**Population aged 15 years old and above who work in researched sub districts, Population Census 2000**

District	Agriculture					Industry	Trade	Services	Transportation	Others	Total
	Food crops	Plantation	Fishery	Husbandry	Others						
1.Mayang	10.977	1.720	30	523	1.415	1.520	4.126	1.397	565	2.841	25.114
2.Mumbulsari	10.752	5.112	34	217	2.904	650	2.869	1.986	362	2.080	26.966
3.Ajung	12.786	2.905	25	169	2.716	1.928	4.233	8.165	995	1.589	35.511
4.Arjasa	9.824	481	480	151	1.523	637	1.630	2.428	583	1.784	19.521
<b>Total in 4 sub district</b>	<b>44,339</b>	<b>10,218</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>1,060</b>	<b>8,558</b>	<b>4,735</b>	<b>12,858</b>	<b>13,976</b>	<b>2,505</b>	<b>8,294</b>	<b>107,112</b>

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Jember district

Among main commodities in plantation sector in Jember, covering rubber, coffee, cocoa, tobacco and *Edamame*, tobacco is the biggest contributor for Jember's export. As shown in the following table, 53.02% of export value comes from Na Oogst tobacco and 14.94% from Voor Oogst tobacco.

**Table 4**  
**Export value of tobacco compared to other commodities, year 2004**

Commodity	Export Value (in US\$)	Percentage
1. Rubber	6.285.443,43	11,40
2. Coffee	2.235.050,18	4,05
3. Cacao	3.474.372,93	6,30
4. Tobacco		
- <b>Na.Oogst</b>	<b>29.235.464,39</b>	<b>53,02</b>
- <b>Voor.Oogst</b>	<b>8.237.709,88</b>	<b>14,94</b>
5. Bobin	1.816.493,08	3,29
6. Edamame (green vegetable soybean)	3.249.602,00	5,89
7. Mukimame beans	296.325,00	0,54
8. River Stone	114.783,34	
9. Frozen eggplant	19.100,00	
10. Furniture	12.030,00	
11. Okaa Okura	119.214,00	
12. Garden Tile	46.753,33	
13. Statue	222,60	
<b>Total</b>	<b>55.142.564,16</b>	<b>99,43</b>

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik Jember district

The official website of the District Government of Jember informed that tobacco from the district is exported to Paraguay, Honduras, Belgia, Portugal, Tunisia, Nicaragua, Republic of Dominica, USA, Sri Lanka, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, Puerto Rico, Malaysia, the Philippines, France, Spain, Russia, Norway, Senegal, Britain, South Africa, Marocco and Sweden.

### 2.3. Types of tobaccos and their processes

Several types of tobaccos cultivated in Jember have different processes. The process of NO TBN for cigar wrappers, starts from cultivation of seedlings, raising seedlings, maintenance and harvest in plantations under nets (*waring*), which require an extensive land area. Tobacco leafs are then dried in a bamboo warehouse (*atag*) situated near the plantation. After being dried, leafs are selected in a zinc warehouse (*seng*) usually situated far from the plantation. These tobacco processes require special treatments such as sprinkle irrigation and placing ropes for plants to stand properly on *waring*, and fogging in the *atag* warehouse. Processes for NO TA tobacco are similar with these but the difference is only on its cultivation period i.e., NO TBN starts in June but NO TA starts in May.

These complicated processes require many labours to work in three different locations (plantation, *gudang atag* and *gudang seng*) and expensive production cost. Only big companies chose to run this business, they are one state owned company, namely PT Perkebunan Nusantara (PTPN) X, and two private companies, namely PT Taru Tama Nusantara (TTN), and PT Tempurejo.

Traditional NO tobacco is cultivated in a plantation without any *waring* or special treatment that this type of tobacco is usually planted by local community in small land areas. In its process, this type of tobacco is also processed in *gudang atag*, usually owned by community, and then sold to *gudang seng* owned by big companies or large scale traders/entrepreneurs or exporters. In this selling process, the role of brokers is very significant. They buy tobaccos

through middlemen (*belandang*) who initially bought tobaccos from local community. Before selling tobaccos to companies, they usually keep tobaccos in their stores first so as to get a better price.



**Gudang atag**



**Gudang seng**

VO *kesturi* tobacco is used for clove flavored cigarettes. Many people and small-scale entrepreneurs plant this type of tobacco because it can be planted and managed in a small scale. After being harvested, tobaccos are dried under the sun and sold to cigarette factories directly or through traders (*belandang*). Other type of VO tobacco is *rajang* tobacco usually planted by community. After being harvested, this type of tobacco is partly dried, then cut into small pieces, fully dried and sold. There are several types of *rajang* tobaccos, one is Philip Morris tobacco.

Burley tobacco is used for non-clove cigarettes and it is planted in a partnership with cigarette factories. People only plant this type of tobacco based on company's orders and its sales are only for these ordering companies. Its processes in plantation are similar with those of other *kesturi* tobaccos. The difference is on its harvest period where labours pick not only burley tobacco leafs but also its stalks. Harvested tobaccos are then taken into drying warehouse where tobacco stalks were hung till dried by air without any fogging process. After being dried, leafs are separated from their stalks and sent to ordering companies.

## 2.4. Tobacco plantation areas

According to data obtained from the Local Forestry and Plantation Office in Jember in 2006, tobaccos are planted in 24 of 31 sub-districts in Jember district. Total land area for tobacco plants in Jember for NO TBN type is 1,378.5 ha; NO TA is 2,198.8 ha; and traditional NO is 1,158.0 ha. For VO tobaccos consisting *kesturi*, *rajang*, and *burley* is 5,406.8 ha. Following table shows in details tobacco plants in several sub-districts in Jember:

**Table 5.**  
**Areas for tobacco growing in each sub district and types of tobacco planted**

Sub District	NaOogst			VoorOogst			Total
	TBN	NOTa	Trad	Kesturi	Rajang	Burley	
1. Ajung	706,0	18,5	7,0	11,5	3,0	6,0	752,0
2. Sumberasari	52,0	-	127,0	18,0	-	4,0	201,0
3. Jelbuk	-	-	-	8,0	991,0	-	999,0
4. Arjasa	-	-	26,0	69,0	454,0	11,0	560,0
5. Kalisat	-	-	-	617,5	-	39,0	656,5
6. Sukowono	-	-	-	440,0	37,0	55,0	532,0
7. Ledok ombo	15,0	-	-	434,0	-	62,0	511,0
8. Sumberjambe	-	-	-	357,5	-	39,0	396,5
9. Pakusari	-	-	377,0	443,0	-	22,5	842,5
10. Mayang	-	-	-	63,0	-	21,0	84,0
11. Silo	-	-	-	454,5	-	75,0	529,5
12. Tempurejo	90,0	130,0	-	28,0	224,0	62,0	534,0
13. Mumbulsari	180,0	-	-	84,0	-	26,3	290,8
14. Ambulu	-	1.178,8	5,0	218,0	-	75,5	1.477,3
15. Wuluhan	-	632,0	105,0	166,0	-	139,5	1.042,5
16. Balung	25,0	12,5	52,0	-	-	22,0	111,5
17. Jenggawah	-	30,0	36,0	5,0	-	-	71,0
18. Rambipuji	130,0	78,0	336,0	-	-	53,0	597,0
19. Bangsalsari	10,0	7,0	-	-	-	-	17,0
20. Panti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21. Sukorambi	-	-	-	-	30,0	10,0	40,0
22. Tanggul	35,0	-	-	-	-	-	35,0
23. Semboro	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. Sumberbaru	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25. Kencong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26. Gumukmas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27. Puger	112,0	112,0	87,0	16,0	25,0	51,0	403,0
28. Jombang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29. Kaliwates	11,0	-	-	-	-	-	11,0
30. Patrang	12,0	-	-	36,0	-	-	48,0
31. Umbulsari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1.378,5	2.198,8	1.158,0	3.469,0	1.794,0	773,8	10.742,1

Source: Local Office for Forestry and Plantation of Jember district, 25 September 2006

Official figure above is lower than the fact on site, said Hartana (former key researcher in the Indonesian Association for Business Researches, and is currently a consultant in many tobacco companies in Jember). It is probably due to inaccurate calculation for an extensive area and magnitude. However, only the Local Forestry and Plantation Office make a recapitulation of tobacco areas, that this figure is used as a formal data.

It is difficult to provide more precise quantitative data to see whether areas of tobacco planting are reduced as such official data is not available. However data on harvesting areas and tobacco production from 2001 to 2004 indicated a trend of reduced areas as depicted below:

**Table 6  
Tobacco Production  
Jember District Year 2001 – 2004**

Items	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>Areas of harvesting (ha)</b>				
Na Oogst	11,807	7,686	3,117.90	3,551.50
Voor Oogst	6,931	8,067	3,196.69	2,115.60
Voor Oogst Rajang	-	-	-	414.60
Voor Oogst White Burley	-	-	374.48	547.60
<b>Production (ton)</b>				
Na Oogst	130,127	83,826	3,743.73	5,294.44
Voor Oogst	53,104	56,671	2,557.43	1,675.98
Voor Oogst Rajang	-	-	-	290.01
Voor Oogst White Burley	-	-	559.07	876.16

Source: Jember District Website

Decreased production, according to some interviewed key informants is due to failed harvest and low quality of the produced tobacco caused by bad weather and this had led to decrease in market demand. Export volume of tobacco from Jember District is fluctuate from year to year and tends to decrease as in the below table.

**Tabel 7  
Table 7. Export Volume of tobacco NO**

Year	Volume (ton)
2001	17,038.908
2002	9,645.168
2003	16,181.682
2004	7,489.395
2005	8,882.879

The number of exporters who manage NO tobacco also decreases due to tough competition in marketing their tobaccos among local exporters and with other exporters in the global market. At present, only 32 tobacco entrepreneurs and exporters manage NO and/or VO tobaccos in Jember.

Further too avoid higher risks of planting tobaccos due to expensive production cost, and fluctuate selling price,<sup>3</sup> in the past five years, many companies decided not to do themselves the tobaccos planting in the farms and tobacco processing in gudang *atag*, but only collecting dried tobaccos from farmers through *belandang* (*intermediate traders*) and brokers. Therefore, farmers are currently more in charge in tobaccos planting and processes in gudang *atag*, and there is also a partnership between companies and farmers. In this partnership, companies establish a cooperative with farmers as its members. Farmers can use their memberships to apply for bank loans for their capitals and during harvest season, farmers can choose whether or not to sell their products to the cooperative. Product quality is determined by cooperative management after being consulted to the company, and its price is determined by cooperative management based on an evaluation on tobacco quality. Here, farmers do not have bargaining power.<sup>4</sup> From 32 companies, only PTPN, PT TTN, and PT Tempurejo have their own plantation areas. While the rest of 29 buy tobaccos from farmers' lands.

3 Result of an interview with Abdus Setiawan, the Secretary General of Association for Tobacco Farmers and chairman of the Association for Rajang Tobacco Farmers.

4 Result of an interview with Ponimin, a manager of partnership cooperative at PT Kemuningsari

Although decreased export values can not be always associated to reduced tobacco areas because with the advanced technology reduced areas can still yield in high production of tobacco, key informants confirm that there is a reduce in areas of tobacco farms in Jember and reduced areas will always mean reduced number of workers.

# Working Children in Jember Tobacco Industries

The government does not provide any official data concerning the number of labours working in Jember tobacco industries. And therefore, it is not possible to calculate precisely the enormous number of tobacco labours in Jember. Even the Local Manpower Office does not have clear information regarding this issue.<sup>5</sup> The unavailability of data concerning labours working in tobacco processing plants makes it difficult to estimate the number of less than 18 years old working children.

Most informants admitted the presence of working children in tobacco industry, except for entrepreneurs and foremen, particularly those from big companies. Secretary General of Association of Indonesian Tobacco Farmers<sup>6</sup> informs that working children can be found in community tobacco farms and he never found them in big companies while a unionist<sup>7</sup> informs that working children are at present still rampant. Entrepreneur and foremen from big companies claims that their workers use IDs indicating they are above 17 years old or married, although they are under 18.

Although the presence of working children is admitted, yet none of those joining the in-depth interview, could confirm the estimated number of children working in tobacco industry. Interviewed officials of several government agencies (the Local Manpower Office, the Local Education Office and the Local Social Office) admitted the presence of working children but only in a small number. Even the Local Manpower Office (Disnaker) which monitors companies admitted they did not find any working children, this is because they inspect big companies only. These government officials' information is against information given by adult labors and parents who said there are working children involved in tobacco industry. According to the latter, the reasons behind such deployment of children are families' poor economy, dropped out children and people's tradition in sending their children to work, particularly girls. Their urgent economic needs often place village officials in a situation where they cannot refuse to issue a statement declaring that the children have reached the legal age to work.

The extent of working children is also apparent from information given by children concerning number of working children in their surrounding areas. 50% said one to ten children work in their workplaces. This information is given by children who work in 1 to 5 ha of plantations. In addition 32% said 11 to 20 children and 10% said more than 41 children working in a zinc warehouse (*gudang seng*).

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5 Result of an interview with the Head of Data Division at the Local Manpower Office in Jember district.

6 Mr. Abdus Setiawan

7 Mr. Coster Sinaga from SPSI, Jember Chapter

**Table 8.**  
**Number of children in workplace of the interviewed children**

<b>Number of working children</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. 1-10	48	50%
b. 11 – 20	32	33%
c. 21 – 30	6	6%
d. 31 – 40	0	0%
e. 41 – 50	2	2%
f. above 50	8	8%

Based on an interview with the local people and field observation, the number of children involved in every process of tobacco industries may be described in the following table concerning calendar of tobacco industry activities.

In a 5 ha land; tobaccos are planted in turn everyday in prepared lots. Therefore, tobaccos are of different ages, and this affects their harvest times. In the process, labour involved can work in turn between one area to another or between one workplace to another. Number of children involved is calculated based on observation on working sites but can not be 100% accurate as it also depends on the foremen in each location who control the processes and availability of manpower at certain period of time.

**Table 9**  
**Calendar Of Tobacco Industry Activities In Jember And Estimated Number Of Labour Involved**

Type of tobacco	Activities	Duration	Month	Total labour		Children		
				M	F	M	F	
<b>NO TBN</b> (per 5 ha)	<b>On farms</b>							
	Preparation of land and installation of nets ( <i>waring</i> )	12 days	June – August	20	-	2	-	
	Planting	3 days		30	50	5	5	
	Caring <sup>1</sup>	50 days		25	25	2	2	
	Harvest	7 days		30	50	5	5	
	<b>At gudang atag (bamboo warehouse)</b>							
	Skewing ( <i>nyujen</i> ) and drying	23 days	September	3	140	-	7	
<b>At gudang seng (zinc warehouse)</b>								
Unfurling, selecting leaves and packing	3 months	End of September to early December	5	600	-	20		
<b>NO TA</b>	Activities and recruitment of manpower are similar with those of NO TBN, the difference is only on its planting season, which is earlier i.e., sometime in May							
<b>Traditional NO</b> (per ½ ha)	<b>On farms</b>							
	Preparation of land	2 months	July – September	1	1	1	-	
	Planting		1	2	1	2		
	Caring		1	1	-	-		
	Harvest		1	2	1	2		
<b>At gudang atag (bamboo warehouse)</b>								
	Skewing and drying	23 days	September	1	2	-	2	
This is not based on each ½ ha, but compilation of tobaccos from other farmers	<b>At gudang seng (zinc warehouse)</b>							
	Unfurling, selecting leaves and packing	3 months	October – December	0,5	48	-	2	
<b>VO</b> (per ½ ha)	<b>On farms, for <i>kesturi</i>, <i>rajang</i> and <i>burley</i> tobaccos</b>							
	Preparation of land	2 months	For one month between May and August	1	1	1	-	
	Planting			1	2	1	2	
	Caring			1	1	-	-	
	Harvest			1	2	1	2	
	Drying in a field under the sun (only for <b>kesturi</b> )	1 day		1	2	-	1	
	During harvest season, leaves are picked together with their stalks, and then dried in tact (only for <b>burley</b> )	14 days		1	2	-	1	
	<b>At warehouses, for <i>kesturi</i> and <i>burley</i> tobaccos</b>							
	Unfurling, selecting leaves and packing	2 months	July – August	1	2	-	-	
Dried under the sun until leaves are wilted, but not fully dried, and then cut into small pieces and then fully dried (only for <i>rajang</i> tobacco)	14 days	In August, September and October	2	1	-	-		

8 Activities of caring in plantation includes: fertilizing, watering, removing caterpillars, providing pesticides, and removing weeds around tobaccos. Skewing stage at bamboo warehouse (*gudang atag*)

### 3.1. Profile of children working in tobacco industry

In order to have a clearer picture about the condition of children working in tobacco industry in Jember and their families, this research specifically interviewed 100 children below 18 years old and 100 parents using questionnaires. Result of these interviews indicates that only 14% of the children are below 15 years old<sup>9</sup> and the youngest is 9 year old. In addition, 86% of them is between 15 to 17 years old with equal gender i.e., boys (51%) and girls (49%). This equal number of respondents between girls and boys does not reflect the entire manpower working in tobacco industry because in overall, 80% laborer in tobacco industry is women. 28.5% of girl respondents or 14 girls are married. Married at young age is a tradition preserved in many villages in Jember district. For most population in the area, marrying off their children at young age is aimed at helping their families by transferring economic responsibility from their parents to their husbands. In many cases, however, this tradition results in many children working at early age due to economic reasons.

**Table 10**  
**Age of working children respondents**

Age of children	Sex		Total	percentage
	Female	Male		
9	1	1	2	2%
10		1	1	1%
11		1	1	1%
12		1	1	1%
13	4	3	7	7%
14		2	2	2%
15	5	7	12	12%
16	12	11	23	23%
17	27	24	51	51%
	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Most respondents (77%) still have both parents but 23% only have single parents. Most of them live with both their parents (73%), 17% only with their mothers or fathers and 10% with other persons who are usually their relatives. All of these children were born on the researched villages where they are now currently residing.

#### 3.1.1. Starting Age of Employment

56% child labours started to work when they were below 15 years old, which is actually the minimum age for admission to employment in Indonesia. This indicates that many children work at early age.

<sup>9</sup> The minimum age for admission to employment in Indonesia is 15 year old.

**Table 11**  
**Starting age of employment**

Age when start work	Sex		Total	Percentage
	Female	Male		
7	-	1	1	1%
8	1	-	1	1%
10	2	2	4	4%
11		2	2	2%
12	6	6	12	12%
13	17	5	22	22%
14	8	6	14	14%
15	8	14	22	22%
16	7	12	19	19%
17	-	3	3	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

In villages where tobacco industry is people's business, children usually start work at younger age (below 13 years old) to help their parents. It is the case in Kamal village. But in other villages where many tobacco industries are managed by companies, it is seldom to find under 13 years old working children, like the case in Ajung and Lengkong, which are industrial areas managed by the state and private sector (PTPN and PT TTN).

### 3.1.2. Education of working children

From 100 interviewed respondents, only 4% working children attend schools, 1% never attends school and 95% have left their schools. Some questions in the questionnaire to see whether working interfere the children schooling are corollary not relevant for many of child respondents.

**Table 12**  
**Highest education level achieved by working children who are not in school**

Education level	Sex		Total	Percentage
	Female	Male		
Grade 1		3	3	3%
Grade 2		2	2	2%
Grade 3	2	3	5	5%
Grade 4	6	4	10	11%
Grade 5	4	7	11	12%
Grade 6	24	25	49	52%
Grade 7	2	1	3	3%
Grade 8	1	1	2	2%
Grade 9	5	3	8	8%
Grade 10	0	0	0	0%
Grade 11	1		1	1%
Grade 12		1	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100%</b>

From 95 dropped out children, most of them (85%) only attended elementary school (grade 1 to grade 6 or SD and MI), and some managed to complete this level. Only 13% attended secondary school (grade 7 to 9 or SMP), completed and not completed, and only 2% attended high school (grade 10 to 12 or SMA) level. Such low number of children who continue their studies to SMP indicates their vulnerability to leave schools after completing SD. Interviews with teachers in researched areas confirm this as they see many children left schools after 5<sup>th</sup> year of SD. It is partly due poor facilities and infrastructure in SMP and its distant location from their homes. Tobacco industries are generally located near children’s homes. This is a supporting factor which potentially attracts children to work in this sector.

Since many of their labors are those who failed to complete their education in SD, SMP and SMA, it is apparent that tobacco industries do not consider educational backgrounds in recruiting their labors. This, in return, results in poor appreciation of village community to education because they could still work as labors or employees in tobacco plantations without having to complete their education.

Economic problem is the main reason given by 74% children for not continuing their education. Another reason given is because they are willing to work (32%), which is also because of their families’ poverty. Outcome of an FGD with teachers indicates that school fees have actually been adjusted with parents’ financial condition, but many parents could not afford to pay other expenses such as their children’s uniforms, shoes, transportation fees, pocket money, etc. Children use these reasons for not attending schools.

**Table 13**  
**Reasons for not continuing education (multiple answers, N=95)**

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Failed in exams	5	5%
b. Failed in exams to enter higher level of education		
c. Do not like school	17	18%
d. Want to start working	30	32%
e. Parents asked them to work	6	6%
f. Will be married	4	4%
g. Can’t afford to continue education	70	74%
h. The school is far away	6	6%
i. Not permitted by parents to continue education	2	2%

However, according to some parents, as expressed in the FGD, relationship between attending school and working for children is generally not a direct consequence, which forces them to leave schools for works, but it is simply because their families cannot afford to fulfill school requirement, that they become jobless and eventually have to work.

The intention of dropped out children to continue their study is very low. In this case, two reasons were given i.e., school is not attractive but work is attractive for children because of its financial benefits and they have left schools for a long time and therefore, they are reluctant to return to school.

**Table 14**  
**Willingness to resume education (n=95)**

Willing or not	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	24	25%
b. No	70	74%
No answer	1	1%
	<b>95</b>	<b>100%</b>

Those who are still attending schools (4%) come from Kamal village, and they work when they are not studying e.g., on Sundays, after school and during holidays. A school boy said his involvement in tobacco industry disturbs his study because he arrives late at school, cannot do his homework because of tired, and cannot concentrate in study. However, he never misses his school in the past six months.

### 3.1.3. Tasks performed by children in tobacco industry

Children are involved in nearly all types of works in tobacco industry, except for loading and unloading tobacco leaves, which have been skewed on bamboo shelves called *gudang atag*, as this is always performed by adult male labours. Types of works usually performed by children are watering (45%), planting tobaccos (27%) and preparing lands (17%).

**Table 15**  
**Types of works performed by children in tobacco industry (multiple answers)**

Tasks in tobacco industry	Total	Percentage
<b>On Farms</b>		
a. Preparing lands	17	17%
b. Planting tobaccos	27	27%
c. Watering	45	45%
d. Fertilizing	8	8%
e. Clearing of weeds	10	10%
f. Spraying pesticides	7	7%
g. Removing caterpillars	10	10%
h. Planting	8	8%
i. Drying tobaccos	7	7%
j. Clearing/cleaning of weeds	15	15%
<b>In bamboo warehouse (<i>gudang atag</i>)</b>		
k. Skewing	12	12%
l. Carrying leafs	6	6%
m. Tying dried tobacco leafs	2	2%
<b>In zinc warehouse (<i>gudang seng</i>)</b>		
n. Transporting leafs in zinc warehouse	3	3%
o. Spreading	8	8%
p. Removing midrib	1	1%
q. Selecting	1	1%
r. Packing	2	2%
<b>Others</b>		
s. Cutting (no specific place, usually at home terrace)	3	3%



**Children working in darkness inside gudang atag**

### 3.1.4. Working relations

Most of the interviewed child labour (72%) work for tobacco industries belonging to companies or local entrepreneurs with some 100 workers in plantations, *gudang atag* or *gudang seng*. A few of them work to help their parents (8%) and a few others work for other persons (20 %) i.e., neighbors.

**Table 16**  
**Working relations**

Work relations	Respondents	Percentage
a.Helping parents	8	8%
b.Employed by neighbors/others	20	20%
c.Employed by companies or local entrepreneurs	72	72%
	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Those who admit working for their parents are found in Kamal village, because in this location, tobaccos are planted by farmers/people and the most dominant type of tobacco planted there is VO tobacco **rajang** type. The average area width of a farmer's land is not more than ¼ ha and therefore, their manpower is family members (father – mother – children). Those who work for other persons are found in Mayang and Tegalwaru villages in Mayang sub district. In this case, they don't work for big companies but local entrepreneurs, and most tobaccos managed are of VO tobacco **kesturi** type. All respondents in Ajung and Lengkong villages work for companies. In these two villages, agricultural lands are rented out every year to big tobacco companies (PTPN and PT TTN) to plant tobaccos and therefore, most local inhabitants are labours in tobacco industry. Some previous researches indicates that labourers in tobacco industry at the current time are the children of the labourers in the past, meaning that the status of labor was inherited from their parents. This also occurred in earlier generations (Mahbubah, 2003).

From 92 children who claim working for other persons and companies (and not helping their parents), 61% of them said they were invited to work by other persons such as *mbok* (companies' entrusted permanent labour) or foremen, 25% said they offered themselves to work and 14% were invited by family members who have worked in these companies. When working for other persons, and not companies, recruitment is performed through personal invitation by business owners or former labours without any condition. When working for companies, recruitment is usually stricter. Companies usually set the minimum age limit for their labours, although it is only for formality because labours

can manipulate their ages in obtaining KTP (Identity card) and companies do not really bother about it. Companies have foremen or *mbok* who usually look for manpower and these persons have the power to determine and make decisions over a job application. They have the power to recruit and terminate labours, and therefore, competing labours usually “bribe” them by giving away food staples. But from 92 respondents who work for other than helping their parents, 81% claimed they did not give anything to work in tobacco industry. It is partly because some 50% respondents come from Kamal and Mayang where not many big companies using foremen/*mbok*’s services in recruiting labours, because children usually work for close neighbours or local entrepreneurs.

**Table 17**  
**Recruitment process (of those working for other persons; n=92)**

<b>Initial process of recruitment of child labour</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Offering themselves as labours	23	25%
b. Invited by relatives	13	14%
c. Invited by those other than relatives (foremen, <i>mbok</i> , neighbours etc )	56	61%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100%</b>

As for the status of employment, those who work for other persons and companies are all non permanent labors. They can be casual workers who are paid on daily basis, be hired to work on certain works to be finished in a certain number of days, and be performing the traditional system of reciprocal exchange (“*Gotong Royong*”). This generally results in missing work contract because many companies assume this contract is only for permanent employees. It is a dilemma for working children, because based on law, they are not allowed to enter into a contract but without it, there is no work protection. However, apart from legal provisions, not many labours question about this contract, particularly about the nature of employment status and its consequences. According to APTI’s secretary general<sup>10</sup>, labours’ dependence on employment in tobacco industry is a reason why not many labours make any claims, including uncertainty in employment status. Only in certain cases, some labour groups complained about their wages.

### 3.1.5. Working hours

According to the Declaration concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment and ILO Convention no. 139 concerning the same, which have been ratified by Law no. 20 of 1999, the minimum age for employment in Indonesia is 15 years old. Meaning 15 years old children can legally work so long their work does not harm their health, mentality and moral. Labour law no. 13 of 2003 further sets out that under 18 years old children are not allowed to perform the worst forms of work for children based on ILO Convention no. 182 which has been ratified by the Indonesian government through Law no. 1 of 2000. And 13 and 14 years old children may perform light works for less than four hours.

Result of interviews with child respondents indicates that 13 – 14 years old children work longer than total work hours set out by labour law. Data on children’s work hours shows that the older the children, the longer they work in tobacco industries. Although the minimum age for admission to employment is 15 years old, yet most of 15 to 17 years old children work for 7 to 9 hours per day, as that of adult labour.

10 Secretary General of APTI is Abdus Setiawan

**Table 18**  
**Working hours according to age**

	< 12 years	13-14 years	15 – 17 years
Less than 4 hours	2	3	10
4-6 hours	3	2	21
7-9 hours		4	48
More than 9 hours			7

In terms of their work days per week, 30 children work between one to four days per week, 39 % work for five to six days and 31% work seven days per week. It is apparent that many child labours work nearly everyday or as many days as adult labors'.

**Table 19**  
**Work days per week according to age**

Age	work days		
	1-4days	5-6days	7days
s/d 13 years	4	1	
13-14 years	7	2	
15-17 years	19	36	31

Although most children (82%) work as long as adult labour, they admit to have some free time to play with their friends such as watching television.

**Table 20**  
**Free time**

Having free time?	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	82	82%
b. No	18	18%
	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Tobacco plant is seasonal that workers in tobacco plantation do no work throughout the year. Most child respondents work less than three months per year. A few work inconsecutively for six months i.e., during processing period. For instance, planting tobaccos for three weeks, resting for a few weeks then harvesting and skewing for another three weeks, resting again for a while then recalled to work again in *gudang seng*. Child labours are often involved in only certain processes in tobacco industry, e.g., working for one month in plantation only or three months in *gudang seng* only.

### 3.1.6. Wages

94.5% of those working for other persons or companies said they received money as their wages. One respondent does not receive his wage because he lives together with his Koran teacher, who provides him with food and drinks, and therefore, he works to help him and the rest work based on reciprocal exchange.

Generally, children receive their wage in person (94%), and only 6 % respondents whose wages are received by other persons, in this case, their parents/guardians.

**Table 21**  
**Who receive the wages (n=87)**

Who receive the wages	Respondent	Percentage
a. Myself	82	94%
b. My Parents/Guardian	5	6%
	<b>87</b>	<b>100%</b>

49% respondents receive their wages every week, 31% respondents everyday, and no one is paid monthly. It is because they are freelance/casual labours. Wages are usually paid on Saturday and this applies to big companies or exporters. While those who work for small-scale entrepreneurs/local farmers are usually paid everyday or upon completion of works.

**Table 22**  
**Payment mode**

Payment mode	Respondent	Percentage
a. Daily	28	32%
b. Weekly	40	46%
c. every 10 days	15	17%
e. When the work completed	4	4.5%
	<b>87</b>	<b>100%</b>

In addition to money, 81.6% respondents said they do not receive anything else from the companies or tobacco entrepreneurs, but 18.3% said they receive meals (they work for local farmers, and not companies), cigarettes (given everyday by foremen to adult male and boy labours at plantation), and bonus in the form of money or goods usually given during religious festive.

**Table 23**  
**Benefits**

Receiving benefits	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	16	18.3 %
b. No	71	81.6%
	<b>87</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 24**  
**Types of benefits**

Types of benefits	Respondents	Percentage
a. Meal or meal allowance	6	38%
b. Bonus (money or goods)	10	62%
	<b>16</b>	<b>100%</b>

Basically there is no discrepancy in wage system between adult workers and child labours. Payments for children, however, are varied. Daily wage is ranged between Rp. 4.000<sup>11</sup> to Rp. 17.500; weekly wage is ranged between Rp. 30.000 to Rp. 110.000; and ten-day wage is ranged between Rp. 40.000 to Rp. 150.000. These variations are due to their different work hours per day and work days per week.

11 1 US\$ is equal to Rp 9,085

## 3.2. Socio-Economic Background of Working Children's Family

Children's involvement in tobacco industry is due to various factors e.g., socio-economic condition of their family. In order to have a clearer picture, this research interviewed 100 parents/guardians i.e., 75% male respondents and 25% female respondents. Result of these questionnaire-based interviews indicates that 68% families have one to three children and 32% others have more children.

**Table 25**  
**Number of children in the families**

Number of children	Respondents	Percentage
a. 1	11	11%
b. 2	30	30%
c. 3	27	27%
d. 4	12	12%
e. 5	1	1%
f. 6	15	15%
g. More than 6	4	4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.2.1. Parents' Livelihoods

Types of works their parents do in general are similar with those usually performed by village community e.g., working as agricultural labours, farmers, breeders and traders. But most of them work as agricultural/tobacco labours. And most male parents (fathers and guardians) or 44% are agricultural/tobacco labours, and only 7% work as farmers. It is a common picture in rural areas because many villagers do not have their own land, and only a few have leased lands.

**Table 26**  
**Fathers'/male Guardians' Occupation**

Fathers' Occupation	Total	Percentage
a. Farming own/leased lands	7	7 %
b. Agricultural/tobacco labours	44	44 %
c. Breeders	5	5 %
d. Traders	4	4 %
e. Pedicab pullers	6	6 %
f. Motor taxi riders	2	2 %
g. Construction workers	2	2 %
h. Working as Indonesian labours (TKI) abroad	0	0
i. Unemployed	9	9 %
j. Performing house works	0	0
k. Others e.g., grass hunters, wood coolies, traders, land diggers, bird hunters	12	12 %
l. No answer	9	9 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

There is a horizontal mobility in recruiting manpower due to change in planting season between paddy and tobacco in many areas in Jember district. During paddy season (October through February), village community work as agricultural labours, and during tobacco season (March through September), they work as labours in tobacco plantation. This horizontal *mobility* also occurs in tobacco industry i.e., between plantation, *gudang atag* and *gudang seng*. However, male labours are generally recruited during processing period in plantation, after that many of them become jobless and make use of their time finding grass for their livestock.

Similar to their fathers' occupation, most of child labours' mothers work as agricultural/tobacco labours (41%) and house wives (21%)

**Table 27**  
**Mother's /female guardian's occupation**

Occupation	Respondents	Percentage
a. Farmingown/leased lands	9	9 %
b. Agricultural/tobacco labors	41	41 %
c. Breeders	2	2 %
d. Traders	3	3 %
e. Working as Indonesian labors (TKI) abroad	4	4 %
f. Unemployed	12	12 %
g. Performing house works	21	21 %
h. No answer	8	8 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Parents' side jobs are generally similar to their main jobs. Only 48% fathers and 25% mothers have side jobs.

**Table 28**  
**Sideline jobs of respondents' father/guardian (multiple answers n=48)**

Sideline jobs	Respondents	Percentage
a. Farming own/leased lands	5	10,4%
b. Agricultural/tobacco labors	10	20,8%
c. Breeders	14	29,1%
d. Traders	4	16,6%
e. Pedicab pullers	1	2%
f. Construction workers	1	2%
Others: working in paddy field; looking for bamboo, etc	15	62,5%

**Table 29**  
**Sideline jobs of respondents' mother/guardian (multiple answers n=25)**

Sideline jobs	Respondents	Percentage
a. Farming own/leased lands	9	36%
b. agricultural/tobacco labors	10	40%
c. Breeders	5	20%
d. Traders	1	4%
Others : collecting leftover of rice from the other person's paddy field that just has been harvested by the owners	10	40%

68% fathers earn less than Rp 300,000<sup>12</sup> and a greater percentage of mothers (73.9%) earn less than Rp 300,000. This is consistent with monthly income earned by a tobacco labor if he/she works for the whole month, which is Rp. 360.000,- It is seldom to find both parents work regularly (to earn regular income) in a family. In tobacco industry, effective work period is only 6 months with rotating manpower.

**Table 30**  
**Father's /male guardian's income (n=91)**

Income	Respondents	Percentage
a. Less than Rp 300,000/month	62	68%
b. Rp 300,001-Rp 500,000	26	28.5%
c. Rp 500,001-Rp 750,000	1	1%
d. Above 750,000	2	2.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 31**  
**Mother's /female guardian's income (n=92)**

Income	Respondents	Percentage
a. Less than Rp 300,000/month	68	73.9%
b. Rp 300,001-Rp 500,000	22	23.9%
c. Rp 500,001-Rp 750,000	2	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>100%</b>

In terms of family expenses, 50% respondents have the lowest expense of less than/up to Rp 10,000 per day, and 2% respondents have the highest expense of Rp 20,001 to Rp 25,000 per day. About total number of children in a family, 27 respondents said they have three children, meaning including father and mother, there are 5 family members. And if the minimum expense of a family member is Rp. 4.000 per day, then the family needs at least Rp. 20.000 per day.<sup>13</sup> And when the father's income is Rp. 300.000/month for instance; it means the family cannot cover their living cost and therefore, the mother must work to cover such shortage. As a result, the family eventually deploys family members to work, including their children. But if the family has six children (refer to table 25) this condition is even more difficult.

**Table 32**  
**Daily expenses of families**

Daily expenses (Rp)	Respondents	Percentage
< 10.000 to 10.000	50	50%
10.001 to 15.000	35	35%
15.001 to 20.000	13	13%
20.001 to 25.000	2	2%
	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Outcome of an FGD with parents concerning the management of family's economy indicates that labours' income is used to cover their daily needs, and income from their farm/livestock is used to cover non-daily needs such as repairing their homes, paying outstanding school fees, debts, social gatherings, etc. For areas with many female labours such as Ajung village, they rely on mothers or girls' wages to survive.

12 US\$ 1 is equivalent with Rp 9,085

13 Outcome of FGD with several parents concerning financial management in family

**Table 33**  
**Monthly income from fathers'/male guardians' sideline jobs**

<b>Income</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Less than Rp 300,000/month	44	91,6%
b. Rp 300,001-Rp 500,000	2	4,1%
c. Rp 500,001-Rp 750,000	1	2%
d. Above Rp 750,000	1	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 34**  
**Monthly income from mothers'/female guardians' sideline jobs**

<b>Income</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Less than Rp 300,000/month	20	80%
b. Rp 300,001-Rp 500,000	5	20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100%</b>

Prolonged structural and cultural poverties within rural community, particularly tobacco labours, require them to do “many ways” to survive. Low income, despite deployment of all family members, is covered by getting other benefits, e.g., *ngasak* (collecting paddy leftovers in other persons’ rice fields), collecting fire woods to cook, and vegetables around their homes etc. Other ways to survive performed by poor rural communities are by marrying off their girls at early ages so as to reduce parents’ economic burden. But in reality, this early marriage phenomenon creates more burden and problem in the family. These young families will have to fulfill their economic needs by finding jobs in any way and that they eventually work in tobacco industries. In recruitment process, some companies consider a married person as equal with 17 years old person, meaning labours must be 17 years old or married, although they are actually not 17 years old yet.

Since the families’ expense is higher than their income, children have to quit schooling and then work and this results in un-fulfillment of children’s rights such as rights for proper nutrition, health service and education etc.

### **3.2.2. Parents’ Educational Background**

Educational background of both parents is usually elementary school (SD or MI) or lower. Even some 25% fathers and 32% mothers never attended formal education. This low background, particularly mothers’, certainly influences their children’s education.

**Table 35**  
**Fathers or male guardian education level**

Education level	Respondent	Percentage
a. SD/MI (elementary) grade 1	8	8 %
b. SD/MI (elementary) grade 2	3	3 %
c. SD/MI (elementary) grade 3	9	9 %
d. SD/MI (elementary) grade 4	11	11%
e. SD/MI (elementary) grade 5	14	14%
f. SD/MI (elementary) grade 6	23	23%
g. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 1	0	0
h. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 2	3	3%
i. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 3	4	4 %
j. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 1	0	0
k. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 2	0	0
l. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 3	0	0
m. No schooling	25	25 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 36**  
**Mothers or male guardian education level**

Education level	Respondent	Percentage
a. SD/MI (elementary) grade 1	12	12%
b. SD/MI (elementary) grade 2	10	10 %
c. SD/MI (elementary) grade 3	10	10 %
d. SD/MI (elementary) grade 4	10	10 %
e. SD/MI (elementary) grade 5	6	6 %
f. SD/MI (elementary) grade 6	17	17 %
g. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 1	0	0
h. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 2	0	0
i. MTs/SMP (junior secondary) grade 3	3	3%
j. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 1	0	0
k. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 2	0	0
l. MA/SMK/SMU (senior secondary) grade 3	0	0
m. No schooling	32	32%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.2.3. Housing Condition

100% of child labours' parents/guardian have their own homes and most of them have cemented (plastered) floors but 27% haven't. And 35% families have bamboo (non-permanent) walls. Most of them (89%) don't have their own toilet facilities, and only 11% have such facilities. For home illumination, 28% respondents use kerosene lamps, while 51% use joint electricity. Based on our observation at respondents' homes with joint electricity, one home can only use 50 watt of electricity or less. Such poor illumination unable their children to study properly. 91% respondents use well as their clean water resources.

**Tabel 37**  
**Floor of the houses**

<b>Floor</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Soil	27	27%
b. wood	1	1%
c. plastered	64	64%
d. tile	5	5%
e. ceramic	3	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 38**  
**Home Walls**

<b>Home Walls</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Full concrete walls (made of bricks)	45	45%
b. Half concrete, half bamboo/wooden walls	20	20%
c. Full bamboo/wooden walls	35	35%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 39**  
**Illumination**

<b>Home Illumination</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Kerosene lamps	28	28%
b. Own electricity	21	21%
c. Joint electricity	51	51%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Tabel 40**  
**Clean Water Source**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Well	91	91%
b. State Water Company	1	1%
c. Springs	8	8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Tabel 41**  
**Ownership of facilities for bathing, washing and latrine**

<b>Ownership</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. Own facilities	11	11%
b. Public	10	10%
c. River	79	79%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.3. Occupational risks faced by working children

Previous researches identify work conditions that are potential to do harm for workers in tobacco industries i.e., during planting and processing stages (Mahbubah, 2003; Tjandraningsih and Anarita, 2002). These conditions are summarized into following table.

**Table 42**  
**Work conditions which potentially increase occupational risks in Tobacco Industry**

Location and work process	Work conditions
In plantation ( <i>warengan</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Extreme weather; sun ray and rain</li> <li>- Heavy works: carrying water containers to water plants</li> <li>- No protective tools such as hand gloves when leveling land surface</li> <li>- Using toxic chemicals</li> <li>- Long working hours</li> </ul>
In <i>gudang atag</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monotonous work: only sit, stand and walk</li> <li>- Exposed to tobacco dusts and aroma</li> <li>- Stuffy and hot room</li> <li>- Working with poor lighting</li> <li>- Using sharp objects (<i>suken</i>)</li> </ul>
In <i>gudang seng</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monotonous work: only sit, stand and walk</li> <li>- Exposed to tobacco dusts and aroma</li> <li>- Stuffy and hot room</li> <li>- No protective tools that their fingers and palms may be cut during unfurling leaves and removing bones of the leaves</li> <li>- Unhygienic condition because no toilet (and also in other workplaces).</li> </ul>

All adult and child labours complained about strong aroma and dusts of tobacco leaves, but only for the first one week, after that they are used to it. A research on the effect of nicotine in tobacco leaves against those who inhale it, was once conducted in 1999<sup>14</sup>. This research, however, was not resumed because its medical observation was very complicated i.e., continuous examination of labours' lungs. Since no incidence of illness suffered by tobacco labours who have been working for a long period (more than 20 years) is found, many parties consider works in tobacco industries is not dangerous works. One thing for sure is that all labours often suffer from low blood pressure and headache.<sup>15</sup>

54% of 100 child respondents interviewed said they have experienced occupational related accidents and sickness, and 47% parents are aware of such accident.

**Table 43**  
**Ever or never experienced occupational related accidents and sickness according to children**

Ever experienced?	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	54	54%
b. No	46	46%
	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

14 An activity performed during a child labour program organized by YPSM in collaboration with PKPM Atmajaya.

15 Report on YPSM activities in a PKPM Atmajaya and AusAid supported program on occupational health for child labour in 1999.

**Table 44**  
**Children ever or never experienced occupational related accidents and sickness according to parents**

Ever experienced?	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	47	47%
b. No	53	53%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

54 children said they have experienced occupational accidents/illnesses, 52% of them mention that they had headache, 26% pricked their fingers when using *sujen* (a needle) to arrange tobacco leaves and 24% had sore waists.

**Table 45.**  
**Accidents and illnesses experienced according to children (multiple answers; n= 54)**

Accidents/illnesses	Respondents	Percentage
a. pricked fingers	14	26%
b. wounded leg	9	17%
c. typhoid	7	13%
d. sore waist	13	24%
e. headache	28	52%
f. cough	7	13%
g. falling	2	4%
h. <i>kutu air</i> (germs contained in the water causing itching among the toes)	2	4%
i. sting or bite by pest	1	2%
j. burn skin because of the sun ray	2	4%

From 47 parents who are aware of their children's accidents or illnesses said many children had headache (53%), sore waist (26%) and cough (26%)

**Table 46**  
**Accidents and illnesses experienced by children according to parents (multiple answers; n=47)**

Accidents/illnesses	Respondents	Percentage
a. pricked fingers/arms when skewing tobacco leaves	6	13%
b. wounded leg	5	11%
c. typhoid	8	17%
d. sore waist	12	26%
e. headache	25	53%
f. cough	12	26%
g. falling	4	9%
h. <i>kutu air</i> (germs contained in the water causing itching among toes)	2	4%
i. sting or bite by pest	1	2%
j. burn skin because of the sun ray	2	4%
k. stomach ache	5	11%
l. eye diseases	1	2%
m. breathing difficulties	2	4%
n. fever	1	2%
o. fainted	2	4%

For children, serious accidents/illnesses are headache and sore waist. It is similar with those expressed by parents i.e., the most serious problems are headache and leg injuries. Nearly all children who ever experienced accidents and illnesses (83%) said they have to pay their medical costs for these occupational accidents and illnesses and 17% said it was covered by the companies.

In addition to physical risks, children complained about ill treatment and sexual harassment experienced by them. 27 child respondents said they had been ill-treated and most (78%) of them was scold, only 4% were physically beaten. Ill treatment is basically committed by those at the workplace such as parents (26%), friends (15%), foremen (30%), deputy foremen and mbok (30%). Regarding frequency of ill treatment they received, out of 27 children, (37%) said very seldom, (22%) seldom, (26%) often, (15%) very often.

**Table 47**  
**Ill treatment experienced by children (multiple answers; n=27)**

<b>ill treatment</b>	<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
a. being humiliated	5	19%
b. being scolded	21	78%
c. being beaten	1	4%

From all respondents, 10% admitted to have been sexually harassed through whistling, touching on their sensitive parts etc. 72% children said never, and 18% others did not answer this question.

Ill treatment and sexual harassment are sensitive issues which are difficult to reveal to strangers like enumerators during this research, and therefore, there is a possibility that respondents did not answer honestly because they were afraid or ashamed.

All children (100%) and parents (55%) are aware of occupational risks encountered by children in performing their works in tobacco industries. From 100 children, 34% mentioned that burned skin is one of the risk of the work. And 43% children said they have obtained information on how to avoid occupational risks, while the rest of 57% have not received such information. From these 43 children, 35% received such information from parents, 28% from fellow workers, 21% from neighbours/other persons, and 16% from company staff.

Although both children and their parents are aware of occupational risks in tobacco industries, yet they still perform such work because they are used to it. Besides, they have “acquiescent” mentality to this condition because they need job and tobacco industry is the hope of many rural families in Jember. Even in many cases, some under age job seekers tried to bribe so that their applications can be accepted and some working labours tried to maintain their positions by allowing ill treatment or sexual harassment.

Despite of the awareness on occupational risks in tobacco industry, parents and children yet use minimum protective means. The most common protective means is said by 67% child respondents i.e., using sandals and 47% said hats. Workers themselves provide all these protective means. To prevent tobacco plants from being damaged, many companies particularly those managing NOTBN, forbid their labours using *capil* (wide hat) to protect labours from sun ray as *capil* may cut tobacco leaves. Maskers used are only clothes to cover nose, and not the appropriate common maskers, therefore, labours can still smell tobacco aroma although these clothes can sufficiently protect them from dried tobacco dusts.

**Table 48**  
**Protective equipments used by children**

Equipments	Respondents	Percentage
a. Gloves	15	15%
b. Hat	47	47%
c. Wide hat	12	12%
d. Sandal	67	67%
e. Long sleeved t-shirt	13	13%
f. Masker	23	23%
g. Cloth, cover for "berber"	3	3%

According to a plantation personnel, the company provided protective means such as maskers to warehouse labours but they refused to use them. In addition, he is of the opinion that other protective means, which can be facilitated by labours, should be provided by the labours concerned. No serious accident or illness is found so far and this supports the opinion that it is not necessary for the company to provide protective means. Risks complained by labours are ones commonly found among village community (although they are not working for tobacco industry or company).

### 3.4. Children, Parents and Various Parties' Stances toward Working Children

Most child respondents (82%) said they do not wish to leave their jobs. When asked how they could leave their jobs, most of them answered they don't know (47%), some answered families' economy must be improved (27%), cheaper school fees (10%), and some refused to answer because they refused to leave their jobs (16%).

When parents asked "What is the benefit of child labour?"; 77% answered to help family's economy, while a few others (15%) said it is a learning process for children to work in the future.

**Table 49**  
**Benefits of children working according to parents**

Benefits	Respondents	Percentage
a. Helping parents economically	77	77%
b. Learning to be on their own	15	15%
c. Better than doing nothing	8	8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

These answers are in line with parents' answers when asked about negative impact of child labour. Only 26 parents said there is a negative impact of child labour, but the rest of 74% said no negative impact.

**Table 50**  
**Is there any negative impact of working for children**

Negative impacts	Respondents	Percentage
a. Yes	26	26%
b. No	74	74%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

26 respondents who admitted a negative impact of child labour, said the children may get occupational risks/illnesses.

Although nearly all parents are not aware about regulation concerning child labour and only one parent knows it from a friend, yet more than half respondents (58%) are of the opinion that the proper age for admission to employment is 15 years old. Some others (24%) said it would be ideal for children to work when they are above 17 years old. However, it is hardly materialized because many working children are under 18 years old.

**Table 51**  
**Parents' knowledge on prohibition on child labour**

Peraturan larangan child labour	Jumlah	Percentage
a. Ya	1	1%
b. Tidak	99	99%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 52**  
**Parents' perception on minimum age for children to work**

Minimum age according to parents	Respondents	Percentage
a. Under 10 years	1	1%
b. 10 years	1	1%
c. 11 years	0	0%
d. 12 years	4	4%
e. 13 years	9	9%
f. 14 years	5	5%
g. 15 years	38	38%
h. 16 years	10	10%
i. 17 years	8	8%
j. Above 17 years	24	24%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Many parents (43 respondents) are of the opinion that economy is a reason why children have to work, and to stop children from working, it is necessary to think how to fulfill family's economy. In addition, 64 respondents said children can stop working if there is subsidy for their schools/accommodations. It is in line with parents' opinion which says children usually leave schools first before working. Two respondents said a solution to this problem is by marrying their children, and one respondent said the government's motivation is required to solve this problem.

**Table 53**  
**What should be done to stop children from working**

What should be done	respondents
Improvement of the family income	43
Free education	64
Marry their children	2
Motivation from the government	1

According to some entrepreneurs, including foremen in companies, child labors in tobacco industries are a tradition and a requirement to cover economic needs. Although age limit warning has been given, yet some child labour falsified their ages to work, and their families asked them to work. Under 15 years old children should not work because they are not strong enough to work in tobacco industries. Interviewed labor union are also of the opinion that ideally there should not be any child labour, because the regulations set out so and therefore, it is necessary to supervise and find solution on how to eliminate child labour.

Similar opinion is also given by village officials. Although families' economy requires children to work, yet parents' strict monitoring in preventing their children from leaving schools could help solve child labour problem. So, it actually depends on their parents. Since many parents (both fathers and mothers) work everyday, they have less monitoring toward their children. Children should at least complete their elementary education (SD) first, and should not work yet.

Some officials from local government agencies (from education office, manpower office and office for social affairs) asserted that current culture requires children to work. Although many companies are observed repeatedly, yet they are still dealing with under age labours who make every effort to work. The minimum age for admission to employment should be 17 years old and therefore it is not ideal for children below that age limit to work. However, when the children have to work, they could attend non-school education or vocational courses to meet their education needs.

Interviewed adult labors, parents, and religious leaders are of the opinion that it is normal for children to work, particularly when they have to do so for their families' economy. In addition to understanding this condition, working is a learning process to be independent, particularly after the children leave their schools. Tobacco industry is people's livelihood, and if there were vacancies, children will take the jobs because it is difficult to find other jobs. So, it is no problem for children to work, and if education is required, they could attend an open school or vocational courses.

While academics and researchers gave their theoretical opinion that child labour is a consequence of cultural and structural poverty and it is proven with the presence of child labours in tobacco industries since long ago. When this cultural and structural poverty is resolved, child labour problem could be resolved as well. It will be difficult to eliminate child labour without resolving poverty problem.

### 3.5. Future Trends of Children Involvement in Tobacco Industry in Jember

It is difficult to get quantitative data to see the trends in number of working children in tobacco industry in Jember. The research interviews parents on their opinion on the trend of working children and they gave ambivalent answers as 37% said the number is decreasing but 21% said increasing and 37% others said no change.

**Table 54**  
**Change in number of working children in the village according to parents**

Change in number of children working	Respondents	Percentage
a. No changes from time to time	37	37%
b. The number increases	21	21%
c. The number decreases	37	37%
Do not know	5	5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

However in depth interviews with key informants at village and sub district<sup>16</sup> level who live in the areas for years inform that the number of children engaged in work now decreases compared to about 10 years ago. Similar answers provided by informants representing company (state company of PTP Nusantara X), and Indonesian Association of Tobacco Farmers. YPSM, a local NGO who had implemented some activities for working children in tobacco industry since year 1989, observes that in general number of working children nowadays is not as many as in the past. These opinions are based on their observation from time to time on situation in the field (farms and processing warehouses). Factors contributing to this trend according to informants are among others the better education programs implemented by district government such as 9 years basic education program, increased awareness of parents on the importance of education; and BOS (School Operational Cost) scheme for elementary and junior secondary schools that has abolished or reduced monthly fees which previously paid by parents. The BOS scheme has been implemented by the government since year 2005. The informants also inform that companies now set minimum age to work in *gudang atag and gudang seng*. Normatively, companies do not accept under 18 years old children. Some informants also mention about the Social Responsibility Program that to some extent has impacted on reducing number of working children. However, a key informant from trade union said that the number of working children in tobacco industry is now on the rise as many laborers are now living in difficult economic situation.

This research looked more deeply at some factors that have been referred by key informants as contributing to the reduced of number of working children.

### **3.5.1. Social Responsibility Program (SRP)**

SRP program has been implemented in Jember since 2003. According to a key informants<sup>17</sup>, this program was initiated by British American Tobacco and now is used by buyers to determine whether they are going to buy the tobacco from certain companies or not. One of the aspects that the buyers will evaluate is concerning the children issue and the implementation of this SRP has further pushed companies not to recruit children under working age. While buyers will apply this SRP to every exporter companies, however this, according to General Secretary of APTI, is only efficient in formal sectors, less in small companies except those in partnership with big companies, and difficult to apply in community tobacco farming which cultivate 80 to 90% tobacco for local needs. Similar opinion given by the representative from SPSI that such program is difficult to apply to smaller companies.

Following the implementation of the SRP, according to a key informant represented PTP Nusantara X, number of children working in companies has been decreased significantly and this is confirmed by Hartana that this SRP is more efficient than the regulation. Companies are more afraid that buyers will not buy their tobacco. Even some companies, according to Hartana lay off some of the children to comply with this program.

### **3.5.2. Non government programs to address working children in tobacco plantation**

Except YPSM, there is no NGOs address the issue of working children in tobacco industry in Jember. YPSM has been conducting programs for working children in tobacco industry since year 1989 which included activities to raise awareness of children, parents, company officials and government officials on children's rights; support for children to stay in school, information on health and safety at work, and safe sex for teenagers. In terms of coverage of areas, YPSM programs are limited to some villages only and the programs are direct services so that the impact is at the local level. The facts that to date only YPSM which has attention to the issue of children working in tobacco industry indicates that

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16 Key informants include village apparatus, village/sub district level mass organizations, sub district office for education in the research areas.

17 Hartana, who works as a consultant in various tobacco companies

the programs so far has not yet been able to mobilize attention of the local stakeholders to the problems. YPSM programs was supported by Terre Des Homes Germany (1989 – 1991); ILO-IPEC (1993 – 1996); Ausaid (through Center for Societal and Development Studies, University of Atmajaya (1998); Unicef (1999 – 2001); Ford Foundation through Centre for Health Communication (Puskomkes, 2001) and Terre des Hommes Netherlands (2003 – 2004).

### 3.5.3. Legislations regulating working child ren

Indonesia has ratified ILO conventions concerning child labor (no. 139 and 182). Minimum age according to the national law is 15 years old and employing children in worst form of child labor is prohibited. The prohibition of employing children in WFCL is reiterated in Manpower Act no. 13 year 2003.

Interviews with personnel of District Office of Manpower and Transmigration<sup>18</sup> indicate that a regular socialization of the above regulations have been conducted to companies (formal sector) in Jember, including tobacco companies. In tobacco companies there are two types of work relations. The first is permanent labor, which according to the office, none is under 17 years old. Children that have not yet reached this age may be involved as non permanent workers but usually they are already married. Further the office informs this research that with regard to the regulations, companies have applied the minimum age, which is 17 years old<sup>19</sup>, to work in tobacco processing warehouse.

According to the office, they also have conducted inspection but only to companies considered as formal sector (big companies). According to head of inspection unit, their mandate does not include inspection to non formal tobacco activities (community tobacco industry or unregistered small entrepreneurs) as this activity falls under the mandate of office of agriculture. Thus so far there are no activities to addresses working children issue in non formal tobacco activities.

### 3.5.4. Education Program

Progress in education was always mentioned by key informants that have strongly contributed to the reduce of working children in tobacco industry. This is no wonder as nationally, Indonesia has made a good progress in education, especially the increase of school participation at elementary level. In line with national education development, Jember has also achieved some progress in its education situation. According to Office of local education<sup>20</sup>, participation rate increase from year to year and in year 2003, participation rate at elementary level is 93% for male and 97% for female, for junior secondary 82.62% male and 82.61% female. The participation rate drops significantly for senior secondary level which is only 43.7% for male and 45.9% for female. Report on Indonesian Human Development Index 2004 also indicates an improvement in education situation. In 1999 mean year of schooling of Jember population is only 4,4 years (female 3.9 years and male 5.1 years) and this figure improves to 5,5 years in 2002. It means in average, Jember population in 2002 did not complete their elementary school. Compared to other District in East Java, Jember is considered having low rank in education situation (mean year of schooling at provincial level is 5.9 in 1999 and 6.5 in 2002). Such low educational level is partly due to low budget for education allocated by local government. Result of budgeting analysis for education conducted by YPSM in ‘the Advocacy for Education Policy’ program in August 2006 concerning Jember Regional Budget (APBD) for 2003-2006, indicates that the budget for education is only 2% of the total APBD whereas the National Educational Law sets a minimum budget for education of at least 20% of the total budget.

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18 Head of the office, head of inspection and head of industrial relation unit.

19 In different occasion, the office personnel mentions that the minimum age is 18 years old in accordance to the national law. Confusion on minimum age is because the Manpower Act defines children as those under 18 years old and the Act does not refer to the declaration on minimum age for the admission to work, which was set at 15 years old.

20 Interview with Mr. Jumari, head of preschool and elementary school unit.

The increase in participation rate at elementary and junior secondary is confirmed by key informants at village and sub district level<sup>21</sup> although they could not provide quantitative data to proof the increase. Further this is confirmed by various key informants in village's level who witness progress in education.

In addition to programs to advance the existing formal education<sup>22</sup>, Jember District Office for Education also implements education services to reach children outside the formal education system through retrieval programs to send the drop out children back to schools; equivalence educations (package A, B and C)<sup>23</sup> and alternative formal education such as open junior secondary schools, one roof schools to fill the gap on junior secondary facilities. Since 2005, a national program of BOS (Biaya Operasional Sekolah or School Operational Cost) also have widen access for students from poor families to access education at elementary and junior secondary level by providing fund for school operational to all elementary and junior secondary in Indonesia and prohibit school to collect education fee from student's parents. Approaches to companies not to recruit children have been also done such as in Mumbulsari Sub District where such request was directed to companies in occasion of meetings with board of leaders in sub district level. The increase in participation rate means that school age children are now more and more in school instead in works.

However, key informants admitted that family economic situation and relatively low awareness of parents on the importance of education are still a problem to advance education in Jember, especially in rural areas. Other problems in the limited number of teachers and school text book.

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21 At sub district level, interviews were conducted with personnel of sub district office for education in Mayang, Ajung and Mumbulsari Sub districts.

22 Among others, to mention some, finance assistances to students from poor families; renovation of school buildings; development of curriculum and teaching methods, etc.

23 Package A is non formal education equivalent to elementary school; package B equivalent to junior secondary and package C equivalent to senior secondary.

# Conclusion and Recommendations

## 4.1. Conclusions

- a. The research reveals that majority of the children found working in tobacco industry in Jember are 15 to 17 years old (86%), an age above minimum age according to national legislation in Indonesia. The fact that only 14% of interviewed working children are under 15 years old (this represents current situation) and 56% started working when they were under 15 years old (this represents situation in the past) reflect to some extent that there is an increase of age of working children. This is supported by a research done in 2002<sup>24</sup> which found that only 14% of respondents of working children aged above 14 years old and the rest is under 15 years old. The research in 2002 also found out that 14% children started working when they were 7 to 11 years old while the current research indicates only 8% started working in this age bracket and 44% started working when they were already reaching minimum age for working. Such changes might be a result of better education programs.
- b. The research also records qualitative information from key informants that the number of children working in tobacco industry has decreased compared to several years ago, however no quantitative evidence could be presented here to support this conclusion. A closer look at some programs that potentially (SRP, education program, national regulation concerning children, NGOs programs) could contribute to the reduction in working children indeed showed indications that these programs, together with another factor such as a reduction in tobacco farm areas due to decreased market demand, have to some extent helped in reducing working children. However, the phenomenon of working children in tobacco industry in Jember will not soon disappear.
- c. While big companies more and more comply with regulations concerning child labor as they are subject of labor inspections and a program such as SRP, such inspection and program do not apply to tobacco industry managed by local people or small companies/entrepreneurs. The fact that many companies now leave the planting activities and some of the processing activity to individual farmers/small entrepreneurs, this will widen chances for children to be involved in tobacco industry. The research found out that in tobacco areas where tobacco planting and processing is managed by companies, younger children was not found while in areas where tobacco is more as community activities, younger children are involved.
- d. While the labor related authority has applied the labor regulation, including those concerning children, through their inspection, this activity only apply to formal sectors and therefore only big companies are subject of such inspection, and small companies and community managed tobacco industry are beyond their inspection. This actually does not only happen in tobacco sector but also to other sector due to inspector's interpretation that working children in informal sector is not under their mandate to inspect. Secondly, limited number of labor inspectors, only 4 (four) in Jember District, has hampered the labor inspectors to also cover informal sector.
- e. Education programs so far is proven effective in increasing school participation rate, however poverty of children's families will be the most challenging hindrance in further education improvement. Government programs have tried to reduce the education cost by abolishing school fees, however parents still have to bear other costs such as transportation, pocket allowance, uniforms and book which are more expensive than the monthly school fee.

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24 Tjandraningsih and Anarita, 2002

- f. Information gathered on family socio economic background indicates that the interviewed working children come from poor families. While the minimum wage in Jember District is only Rp 577,000, this amount of money should be earned by both father and mother in more than 70% of the interviewed families. Therefore parents admitted that their working children provide significant contribution to their families' income. 41% interviewed parents admitted that their children contribute 1 to 25% of the family's income, 16% said between 26 to 50%, 16% others said above 50% and only 27% said none because their children use up their money for their own interests.

## 4.2. Recommendations

Legal approach alone clearly will not be effective to address the problem of working children in tobacco plantation in Jember especially because poverty and tradition play important factors in pushing the children to work. Poverty alleviation programs and improvement of tobacco workers welfare will be long term programs that need to be implemented to overcome the problem of working children in tobacco industry. In addition to these main programs, the below programs and activities need to be pursued in an attempt to tackle the problem.

1. While formal tobacco industry has found its way in reducing number of children through inspection by labor inspector and SRP programs, informal tobacco industry (small entrepreneurs, individual tobacco farming) still absorbs many children and will continue involve children due to various reasons have been discussed above. As mentioned above, labor related legal approach will not be effective to address issue in this sector as many children work to contribute to their family economy. There is a need for stakeholders in Jember to come to a common understanding on how to tackle the problem in relation with the inefficiency of legal approach. Awareness raising activity to parents on the importance of education and on the impact of working to children will be important to conduct in this context to encourage parents to send the children to school making use the opportunity of free monthly fee offered by the government. Such awareness activity is necessary as most parents (74%) do not see any negative impact of working children and low appreciation of education has been also pointed as one of the challenges faced in improving education.
2. Education office will need to pay more attention to their programs in tobacco producing areas in Jember District as works opportunities in tobacco farms and processing constitute a pull factor for children to engage in the work. Awareness raising training for teachers on child labor issue and on how teachers could help prevent children from fully engage in the work is one of activity that could be implemented in these areas.
3. As majority of the interviewed working children do not intend to resume their education, non formal education is an alternative for these children to resume their education while still have to work. Programming of such non formal education that so far have been implemented in these areas need to be further strengthened. To attract more children to join, quality of the programs should also be improved.
4. The fact that majority of children (85%) do not continue their education to junior secondary may be rooted in the expensive transportation cost to send children to junior secondary as facilities of junior secondary is less in quantity compared to elementary schools and junior secondary schools are usually located away from children residence areas. For example in Mumbulsari Sub District, there are 33 elementary schools, but only 5 junior secondary schools, including those under the management of ministry of Religious Affairs (Madrasah Tsanawiyah). Open Junior Secondary or One roof school (elementary and junior secondary in one premise) will provide more access for children in tobacco industry to junior secondary especially in remote rural areas.
5. Majority (86%) of the interviewed working children aged above the minimum age (15 years). Based on legislative regulation applicable in Indonesia, not all under 18 years old working children are categorized as child labor. Those aged 15 to 17 years will be categorized as child labor and subject of the elimination efforts if these children performed hazardous works that may jeopardize their physical, psychological and moral wellbeing. In a sector which is not hazardous, these young people can be categorized as young workers who are legally allowed to work.

In Indonesia, to determine whether a job is hazardous for children below 18 years or not, government has issued a ministerial decree no. 235/MEN/2003 which lists types of job that jeopardize the health, safety or morals of children. The decree categorizes hazardous jobs into the following:

- a. Jobs that endanger the health and safety of children which includes jobs that require the child to work with machines, engines, installations and other equipment including manufacturing, assembling, installing, operating, maintaining, and repairing jobs.
- b. Jobs that require the child to work in a hazardous working environment where physical hazards are present/inherent, jobs in which chemicals hazards are present/inherent and job in which biological hazards are present/inherent.
- c. Jobs of hazardous nature/character and jobs with certain hazards inherent in them.
- d. Jobs that harm the moral of the child.

The works in tobacco industry in Jember to some extent contain potential risks for these children, especially children involve in all process of tobacco production. As depicted in table 42 above, these working conditions together with minimum self protection equipments (table 48) could be potentially hazardous for the children involved in the works although information on occupational related accidents and illness indicate only common accidents and illnesses and none of them are really threatening for the children. Working hours is another aspect of working condition should be paid attention. This research found out that majority of children employed by other persons (i.e. local entrepreneur and company) than their parents<sup>25</sup> and received wages from their employers. The fact that these children are employed by someone else other than the parents means that certain requirement apply to children work such as a responsibility for children to complete certain works in certain hours and these tend to deprive children from their children's rights as children was treated as adult. This research found out that 48% of the children working between 7 – 9 hours and 7% work more than 9 hours a day and 31% children working 7 days a week which seems a bit excessive for children.

Due to economic situation and education situation (current education program is 9 years basic education only which focus on education access for school age children in elementary/7 – 12 years old and in junior secondary/ 13 – 15 years old), it can be predicted that in the future many children in age group of 15 to 17 will be still involved in the tobacco industry in Jember. Therefore it is important to ensure that the works in tobacco industry in which children are involved are safer for these young workers through safety and health improvement programs. Such programs may include:

- ♦ Providing information to small companies/tobacco entrepreneurs on existing regulations concerning minimum age, working hours for children and non hazardous types of works children can engaged in.
- ♦ Awareness raising on occupational risks and providing practical guidance to small companies, tobacco entrepreneurs, parents and children on minimizing risks using self protection equipments

6. Last but not least, there is a need of establishing a structure that can intensively deal with the issue of child labor in Jember District. Such structure can be district level committee endorsed by the local government so that such above mentioned recommendation could be further discussed and realized in action programs. To start with YPSM will use this research advocate various stakeholders to mobilize their support for actions.

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25 To date children in agriculture sector in general and in tobacco plantation/farms received limited attention from various stakeholders. Partly this is due to the perception that children work in agriculture including tobacco plantation/farms was merely assisting their parents in their part times and this way the works that children performed will not put the children rights at risk.

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