

Barbados

The Situation of Children

in the Worst Forms of Child Labour

in a tourism economy:

A Rapid Assessment

by
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December 2002

ILO Subregional Office for the Caribbean
Port of Spain, Trinidad

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Preface

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

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

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

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

to combat this scourge and to take measures for its prevention and for the rehabilitation and social reintegration of current child workers.

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

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Thanks to the Government of Barbados for agreeing to have the Rapid Assessment as part of the ILO's global review. Barbados has the distinction of being one of the few Caribbean countries that has ratified ILO Convention No. 182 to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

Special thanks also to the Minister of Labour, Permanent Secretary, the staff of the Ministry of Labour and the staff of the Department of Labour. The Ministry provided an institutional base for the project, helped to organize meetings and also provided valuable information. The study also received valuable support from other Ministries, Departments, organizations and communities.

A major debt is owed to the children who shared their lives and aspirations through interviews and focus group discussions. This considerably enriched the quality of the study and without their support, this rapid assessment could not have been completed.

Thanks to the various stakeholders who made themselves available for interviews, participated in workshops and shared information. Their insight into the lives of working children helped to make them more visible. Their concerns and recommendations have been integrated into the text.

Special thanks to members of the review team for reading the draft and sharing their views at the Review Session held on September 11, 2002. Feedback from this session significantly enhanced the quality of the report.

The project was divinely blessed with a very capable and committed team of researchers. Their creativity, enthusiasm and efficiency enabled us to obtain a large quantity of information in a short time frame. A huge debt is therefore owed to Denise Tannis, Ann Hamilton Cutting, Ronald Greenidge and Danielle Toppin.

The hope is that this report will encourage greater awareness of the issues and motivate groups for action.

Leith L Dunn Ph.D.
Research Coordinator

Terms of Reference for the Study

The specific terms of reference were to:

- Review secondary literature dealing with the social situation of children and their families, incidences of child labour and educational attainment of Barbados.
- Analyse relevant policy documents and the existing legal framework, while incorporating social-economic data on the key locations in the analysis.
- Consult with the relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as facilitate their interaction for the purpose of the research.
- Organize focus group meetings, undertake targeted observations and conduct semi-structured interviews in selected key locations.
- Collect new qualitative and quantitative data in selected areas and other areas identified in the study for the group discussions with children involved in targeted forms of child labour.
- Compile and analyze the data and include a) assessments provided by key informants; b) information by and about families or guardians of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour; c) the analysis of existing primary databases; d) other case studies and e) interviews with representatives of institutions dealing with children involved in or at risk of engaging in the worst forms of child labour.
- Recruit and train local researchers and other interview partners as well as identify key informants.
- Coordinate work-plan elements and design an interview guide (questionnaire) for focus group discussions and data collection.
- Oversee data collection, data entry/transcript of interviews and the organization of consultative meetings etc.
- Supply stationery, photocopies and other administrative services as necessary; cover all expenses in connection with the recruitment, transport and training of research assistants.
- Present findings at an ILO workshop.
- Prepare and submit draft report by August 12, 2002.
- Finalize and submit report by September 15, 2002 that includes: a) database in electronic format; b) a detailed description of findings and the research methodology used; and c) recommendations for policy development and improvements in the research methodology.

Structure of the Report

A preamble to the report provides an overview of tourism to establish its economic importance globally, as well as to the Caribbean region. Sex tourism, prostitution and the involvement of children are then discussed in the context of available research. This provides the background to the ILO's decision to examine the worst forms of child labour in tourist and non-tourist economies in the Caribbean which was discussed at a regional meeting in October 2002 in Trinidad and Tobago. A short summary on tourism in Barbados helps to create a context for the research and establishes its importance in terms of revenue, foreign exchange and employment.

The **Executive Summary** provides an overview of the context, research objectives, methods, the main findings, conclusions and recommendations. It is designed as a stand alone document to facilitate wider circulation of the report.

Part 1 establishes the international, legal and institutional framework related to child labour. It examines ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182, as well as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Definitions of the main concepts are provided to clarify activities that could be classified as child labour and the worst forms of child labour (WFCL). The ILO/IPEC programme is also explained.

Part 2 presents a socio-economic overview of Barbados and examines the implications for child labour.

Part 3 provides an overview of the research methodology, data collection process as well as the scope and limitations of the study.

Part 4 presents the findings on child labour and the worst forms of child labour.

Part 5 presents the Conclusions and Recommendations.

References and an Appendix are provided at the end of the report.

Preamble

Tourism and Child Labour

This Rapid Assessment on child labour and the worst forms of child labour is one of three studies being conducted by the ILO/IPEC Caribbean Programme in the tourist-dominated economies of the Bahamas, Barbados and Tobago. The aim is to compare findings from these studies with those in non-tourism Caribbean economies, to explore emerging patterns and to determine appropriate interventions.

This section of the report examines the tourism industry globally and regionally and the niche market referred to as sex tourism. This describes prostitution related to the industry, some of which may involve children. Relevant studies on this phenomenon in the Caribbean are reviewed to build awareness of this emerging body of research and the issues it explores. These studies provide a framework for the current study on a tourism-dependent country.

Tourism is a multi-billion dollar industry globally and is very important to Caribbean countries. The region is often perceived as a tropical paradise, to which visitors from all over the world come to enjoy the sun, sea, lush tropical scenery and well as the rich and diverse culture of the Caribbean people. Dunn and Dunn (2002) note that according to the World Tourism Organization, by the year 2000, the industry accounted for 10.5 per cent of all international consumer expenditures, 11.8 per cent of capital investments and 6.8 per cent of all government spending. It provided direct and indirect employment to an estimated 231 million people worldwide and contributed an estimated US\$800 billion in personal and corporate taxes in 1998. The authors further note that:

‘... the wider Caribbean is regarded as one of the most tourism dependent regions of the world, accounting for one in four jobs and close to a quarter of the gross domestic product (GDP). The hospitality industry is the region’s largest earner of legitimate hard currency, from the estimated 12 million stop over visitors and 9 million cruise ship passengers a year. The Caribbean is also the most popular cruise destination globally, with more than 42 per cent in liners sailing the region.’ (Dunn & Dunn 2002, p.3-4).

Jamaican hotelier and former President of the Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association, James Samuels, also confirms that: ‘within the Caribbean, tourism is our biggest earner, accounting for a third of total output and a quarter of all jobs. Over 45 per cent of export earnings and more than 75 per cent of foreign investments regionally were derived from tourism in the year 2000 and visitors to the Caribbean spent an estimated US\$17.773 billion.’¹ According to Samuels, tourism has the capacity to be heavily integrated into the total economy, through the transportation sector with taxis, tours operators, car rental companies, through the agricultural sector, as well as

¹ Samuels, J. (2002), ‘Integrating People and Tourism: Prospects and Challenges’ in Dunn H.S, and Dunn, L. L., ‘People and Tourism: Issues and Attitudes in the Jamaican Hospitality Industry’, Arawak Publications, Kingston.

through accommodation, entertainment, and craft. The industry therefore offers nationals the opportunity to participate in their country's economic and social development.

How does this essential industry relate to child labour and the worst forms of child labour? The reality is that there is 'another side of paradise.' Sex tourism is part of the global and regional tourism industry. Tourism provides opportunities for the exposure and involvement of children in this sub-sector, as tourists visit local communities and interact freely with residents. While accepting that most tourists come as legitimate visitors seeking relaxation during their holidays, it is also recognized that others come explicitly seeking sexual satisfaction and the fulfillment of erotic fantasies with locals.

Research on sex tourism includes a focus on children below 18 years. This has been an area of concern for international agencies such as the ILO, UNICEF and UNIFEM. Guyanese sociologist and gender specialist Kamala Kempadoo in her edited volume, 'Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex work in the Caribbean' notes that "across the region, sex tourism or tourism-oriented prostitution has become an increasingly important topic of research and discussion due to the growing reliance of national governments on income generated by tourism and tourism-related activities." This publication brings together findings of a regional research project covering several Caribbean countries that help to fill the information gap.

What were the underlying motivations of these relationships and what are their origins?

Noted Barbadian historian Professor Hilary Beckles traces this back to slavery and the pre-emancipation period of 1650-1834. Beckles (1989) argues that "slavery in some ways corrupted the sexual values of the inhabitants" (1989:141).² Black prostitution during slavery he notes, was an occupation which was more common at Bridgetown than in any other city of the British West Indies (1980:30).³

Press (1978) provided one of the earlier studies in Barbados and spoke of men as 'hustlers' – "men who received material compensation for the social and sexual services they render to women." He described the situation of young black men combing the beaches around tourist resorts, offering companionship to visiting white female tourists for sightseeing, to participate in water sports activity, or to enjoy the night entertainment spots. Sex was invariably involved and the woman was expected to provide some monetary or other benefits to the young man. A trip abroad was sometimes in the offering.⁴

Kempadoo (1999) also confirms that sex work related to the tourism industry is the centrality of radicalized fantasies and desires among clients and the autonomy of the individual sex worker. She noted that sex tours arranged by travel agency or tour operators that deliberately promote sex as part of the vacation package, had not surfaced in the Caribbean landscape. Instead, beaches, bars, casinos and nightclubs within the tourist hotels, function as locations where tourists

² Beckles, H, (1989) 'Natural Rebel: A Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados, London, Zed Books.

³ See Kempadoo, 1999, pp 5-10 – 'Prostitution Slavery and Emancipation.'

⁴ See Kempadoo 1999, pp. 13-14.

individually meet sex workers. However, one of the three ILO Rapid Assessments, provided evidence of these alternative tourism packages aimed at linking Europeans with locals for sex. It involved an intricate network of relationships to meet supply and demand: sexual services required by visitors and money and travel by locals.

Why has this industry mushroomed?

Mullings (1999) writing on ‘Globalization, Tourism and the International Sex Trade’ points to several factors: expansion of this industry as a result of changes in technology since the Second World War; development of jet aircraft; increasing leisure time and disposable income; the expansion of mass-produced tourism services since the 1950s; the deregulation of airline routes in the 1980s and 1990s and the increasing use of the Internet. She further notes that with the growth of the Internet, sex tourism is just one part of a highly segmented and flexible industry providing services such as sex shops, massage parlors, escort services, cybersex, phone sex, exotic dancing and products such as pornography and sex aids.⁵ Each of these presents opportunities for the involvement of children under 18 years.

‘Sun, Sex and Gold’ also provides data on issues relevant to the worst forms of child labour. These include: the trafficking and migration of sex workers from Third World countries to red-light districts in Western European countries since the 1980s, STDs and AIDS, and child prostitution. Included is research conducted in the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Colombia and Guyana, which describes the conditions of coercion, violence, and abuse of young women and men under the age of 18 years.⁶ For example, Chapter 7 presents findings of a study on child prostitution in Cartagena, Colombia, which is marketed as a Caribbean destination. The study by Laura Mayorga and Pilar Velasquez, is entitled ‘Bleak Pasts, Bleak Futures: Life Paths of Thirteen Young Prostitutes in Cartagena, Colombia. (See Kempadoo 1999, pp. 157-182).

A study entitled ‘Tourist-Oriented Prostitution in Barbados: The Case of the Beach Boy and the White Female Tourist’ by Joan L Phillips is also included. This ethnographic study of male tourism-oriented prostitution, explores issues of gender identification and negotiation between white female tourists and black, often dreadlocked, beach boys. It mirrored some of the findings of the Rapid Assessment conducted in Barbados in July 2002.

‘Children in sex tourism’ is the focus of Chapter 13 in the article by Kempadoo and Ranya Ghuma. Trends in international policies and law on sex tourism are examined against the background of the long-standing relationship between sex, prostitution and tourism. They note the absence of any specific UN conventions to address sex tourism, although a resolution was adopted concerning ‘*the sexual exploitation of children and child labour*’ at an ILO Tripartite meeting on the *Effects of New Technologies on Employment and Working Conditions in the Hotel, Catering and Tourism Sector* held in Geneva May 12-16, 1997. Efforts by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) are also mentioned, including the adoption of a ‘*Declaration on the*

⁵ See Mullings in Kempadoo 1999, pp. 55-80.- Globalization, Tourism and the International Sex Trade.

⁶ Silvestre et al 1994; . O’Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1996, Fundacion Renacer 1997, Dannels 1998.

Prevention of Organized Sex Tourism, developed at a consultation held in Saint-Vincent –Italy. (WTO News 1995). Kempadoo and Ghuma argue that the sex tourism debate has been one-sided as it focuses on a ‘child victim’ and the perpetrator of the exploitation is a ‘child abuser,’ effectively ignoring situations of sex tourism and prostitution practices between adults. They suggest that the practice of fingering individual paedophiles as the problem, shifts responsibility for sex tourism from tourism industry officials. They further argue on the need for consensus as there are contradictory positions: some arguing for the suppression and abolition of sex tourism and others that support prostitutes' rights as workers who need protection whether they work within or outside the tourism industry.⁷

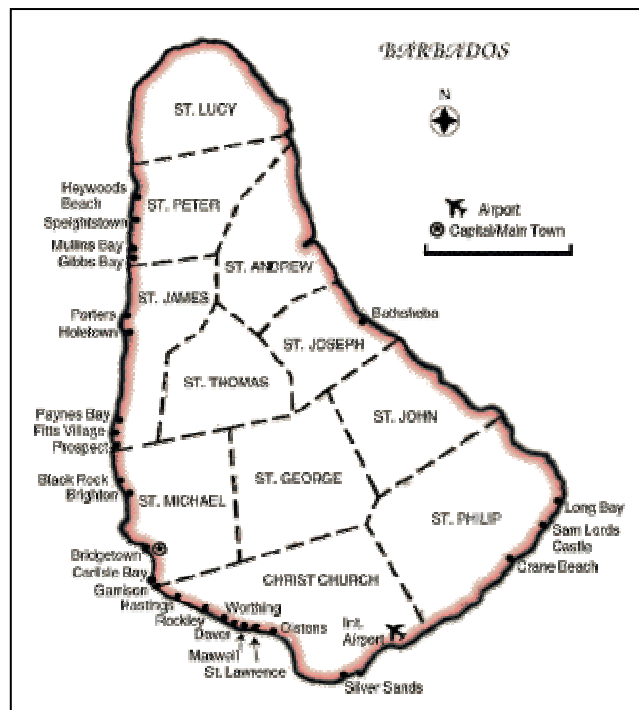
What other studies link children with sex tourism in the Caribbean?

The ILO's Rapid Assessment on Children in Prostitution in Jamaica conducted in 2000 and published in March 2002, identified girls and boys involved in heterosexual and homosexual relationships with both locals and foreigners. Some children used the “Spring Break’ Easter holiday in March to interact with North American college students vacationing in the Caribbean. Spring Break activities often include hedonistic beach parties, where alcohol and drugs are used freely, sometimes leading to the destruction of property. As a result, some hotels and guest houses do not accommodate ‘Spring Breakers.’ Some children and young people used these opportunities to earn quick foreign exchange (p.13). The study also reported the use of children in pornographic productions (photographs, videos and live sex shows). There was evidence of girls aged 13-18 years involved in sexual activities for money and boys aged 14-18 years who engaged in homosexual prostitution linked to the tourism industry.⁸ These studies confirm that children's involvement in sex tourism is not uncommon but part of a growing global trend that has co-existed with the phenomenal growth of the industry.

⁷ Kempadoo, 1999 ‘For the Children’ pp. 291-308.

⁸ Dunn 2002: p. 16.

Welcome to Barbados!



Barbados is the most easterly island in the Caribbean chain of islands, stretching from Florida on the North American mainland to the Guianas on the northern mainland of South America. It stands in splendid isolation at Latitude 13° North and Longitude 59° 37W. With 23 kilometres (14 miles) at its widest point and 34 kilometers (21 miles) long, it is a mere 416 square kilometres (166 square miles).

Most of the island is made up of soft marine deposits of coral limestone. This limestone cover gives way in the north-eastern part of the island to a terrain of clays and sandstones comprising

the Scotland marine sedimentary formation. This area runs through the parishes of St. Joseph, St. John and St. Andrew and embraces about one-sixth of the island.

Barbados has been described as flat and low lying, but in fact, it rises from west to east in a series of gentle terraces to its highest point of about 1100ft at Mount Hillaby in St. Andrew. The terrain dips in St. George to form the St. George Valley, separating the main limestone terraces from a lower limestone ridge in the Christ Church area.

The climate is stable and the temperature rarely falls below 23°C or rises above 30°C. There is a definite "wet season" from July to November and a "dry season" with minimum rainfall recorded in February and March.

(Source: Government of Barbados website)

Executive Summary

The Caribbean is the perfect picture of paradise! Tropical vegetation, lovely beaches, perpetual sunshine! No wonder relatively little research has been conducted on child labour in the region! Ask most people in the region about 'child labour' and there is a blank stare and the common response 'No way! 'Not here!'

Barbadians were no exception. For many, the term conjures up images of thousands of poor, emaciated children working in sweat shops in distant lands. A far cry from 'paradise'! Studies however show that tourism and poverty are often linked to child labour, so the challenge was to discover whether child labour exists in Barbados. Child labour has been a major focus of the International Labour Organization's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC). Support for this and other studies in the region is aimed at collecting baseline data to guide relevant policies and programmes.

Research Objectives, Methodology and Process

The general objectives of the Rapid Assessment (RA) were to collect primary and secondary data on the social situation of children and their families to determine if there is child labour in the key locations identified and if so, to determine the magnitude, characteristics, causes and consequences.

The ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology was used to collect data during a one-week period in July 2002. This quick, simple, inexpensive method facilitates data collection using qualitative methods. The process involved a review of secondary literature, focus group discussions, interviews, semi-structured interviews and observations. Results were triangulated from the various sources to improve the validity of the findings. A convenience or snowball sampling method was used to select key informants and places to be observed. These persons provided access to children, institutions, communities and individuals.

The team faced several challenges. Finding relevant literature was the first challenge as there is the perception that the problem is non-existent in Barbados and as a result there were no previous studies on child labour. A few reports however pointed to the need for this research. One was *The Barbados National Report on Child Rights*. Rock (2001) in an independent but related study on child abuse in Barbados, also concluded that 'investigations into all types of child maltreatment are sorely lacking in the Caribbean.' She recommended that 'social agencies collect data on child abuse and neglect in a format that can be used in research and that qualitative as well as quantitative studies be conducted with methodologically strong designs.'⁹

The second challenge was gaining access to school children during the summer vacation and distinguishing between those legally eligible to work, those working for the holidays and those

⁹ In Barrow 2001, p 322.

who worked during the school year. Creativity of the Barbadian team and support from key informants solved these problems and children were interviewed. The third challenge was creating a composite picture of this invisible problem, from disparate data sources in a very short time-frame.

The definition of child labour was also a challenge. The United Nations defines a child as a person under 18 years but Barbados makes a distinction between a 'child' and a 'young person.' A child is a person who has not attained the age of 16 years, while a young person means an individual who has attained the age of 16 years but has not attained the age of 18 years. To prevent child labour, the minimum age for employment and compulsory education, is 16 years. For the age of consent, the Sexual Offences Act makes it an absolute offence to have sexual intercourse with a person under the age of 14 years.

The ILO uses the term child labour to describe children under 15 years of age who are economically active, except those under five years and those aged 12-15 years who spend less than 14 hours a week on their jobs. It also includes children engaged in the worst forms of child labour such as slavery, prostitution and pornography, illicit activities and hazardous work.

Persons Consulted

One hundred and twenty six (126) persons were consulted, through 63 interviews and semistructured interviews, 11 focus groups in 13 locations across four parishes. Of these 126 persons, 62 (49%) were children and young people. Other persons consulted included vendors, construction workers, representatives from health, education, child care services, probation, the police, guidance counsellors, trade unionists, labour officers, gender specialists, ministers of religion, and tourism officials. Responses were coded to quantify the most common forms of work activity reported. Content analysis of interviews and focus group discussions provided important qualitative data.

Locations Studied

Consistent with the decision of local stakeholders who met with the ILO/IPEC officer early in 2002, thirteen locations were studied in four parishes: Bridgetown, (St Michael), Oistins (Christ Church) and Bathsheba (St Joseph) and St Philip.

The Research Team

A five-person research team of four Barbadian researchers and the ILO research consultant conducted the study, following an orientation and training workshop on the Rapid Assessment Methodology. A debriefing workshop was held at the end of the week to synthesize, analyze and triangulate data, identify the main findings and propose recommendations.

Limitations

Although the Rapid Assessment is a quick and inexpensive method of collecting data, the limited time span, the small sample size, and the use of a non-random sampling method means that findings and results cannot be generalized for the whole country. They can, however, provide an overview of child labour issues and identify areas for further research and action. The study did not cover all communities and sectors, and the collection of data during the summer vacation and the 'low' tourist season meant that the study was unable to capture the wide range of opportunities that may present themselves to children, within and outside of the tourism industry. The study also did not capture the situation of children with disabilities and minority groups.

The Review Process

On September 11, 2002, an 11-person, multi-sectoral team selected by the Ministry of Labour, met to review the Draft Report with the ILO/IPEC Programme Officer and members of the research team. The ILO's Technical team in Costa Rica and the ILO/IPEC Officer in Trinidad and Tobago also provided feedback on the Draft Report, which guided the revision of the draft report and prepared it for presentation at the ILO's Caribbean Sub-regional Tripartite Meeting on Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour. This was later held in Trinidad and Tobago from October 23-26 2002.

Main Findings

1. International and Legal Framework

The analysis of secondary sources revealed that:

- a. Barbados has a strong legal and international framework to justify this focus on child labour. In 2000, it ratified ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 and ILO Recommendation No. 190 that protect against child labour and the worst forms of child labour as well as 39 ILO Conventions up to June 2002. Together these provide significant protection for the rights of workers, women and children.
- b. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) have also been ratified. Article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child covers a child's right to protection from economic exploitation and hazardous work that interferes with his/her education and Article 34 protects children from sexual exploitation. CEDAW promotes gender equality and seeks to protect women and girls from sexual exploitation
- c. A strong legal framework supports most of these international commitments but there is no specific law that defines activities classified as the worst forms of child labour.
- d. Social Partners and social workers strongly condemn child labour and have consistently stated that the problem does not exist in Barbados, although no previous research was conducted to confirm its non-existence. This suggests that there could be a gap between perception and reality.

2. Socio-economic Context

- a. Barbados has a strong economy and many positive development indicators which contribute to its classification as a middle-income country, ranking #30 on the Human Development Index in 2000.
- b. Tourism is the country's main source of foreign exchange (70%), is a significant employer of labour and is on a growth path. It provides economic stability at a time when most other economic sectors have been experiencing a decline. The strong economy reduces the level of poverty and the risk of child labour as a national problem.
- c. Barbados's policy framework and systems are well developed with policies in the areas of education, health, welfare and social services. Education is free and compulsory for children 3-16 years. Health care is also free and there are good institutional mechanisms for child care and protection which reduce the likelihood of a child labour problem.
- d. Poverty is strongly linked to child labour and poverty levels are low. An estimated 13.9% of the total population earns less than B\$5,503 (US\$2,751). These 35,000 persons are spread across 7,000 households according to a 1998 IDB study as there are approximately five persons per poor household. Gender affects poverty, as there is a dominance of single female-headed households among poor families, and these families are usually larger than in non-poor households. Heads of poor households also tend to have lower education, lower income and more of them are unemployed. While overcrowding affects only 5% of the total population, 17.6% of poor households experience overcrowding.
- e. Children from poorer families are therefore *more likely* to become involved in or exposed to child labour. Most of the children interviewed in the Rapid Assessment who were involved in work-related activities were from poor backgrounds and lived with only their mother.
- f. Widespread public access to telecommunications and cable services exposes children to both positive and negative values and morals on the Internet and cable. Some of these promote lifestyles that many Barbadians would consider 'anti-social.' The Rapid Assessment suggests that this exposure could lead children to become engaged in activities related to the worst forms of child labour such as Internet pornography. Further research is needed to determine if Barbadian children are exposed to or involved in pedophile rings through the Internet or whether exposure to these media, influences their attitudes and behaviour.

Good Governance

- a. Overall, Barbados has a strong system of governance and a long democratic tradition. Social Partnership between government, private sector and trade unions is also well-developed and these contribute to economic stability and good labour relations. Social Partners are also strongly committed to eliminating child labour.
- b. Labour Inspection Officers attached to the Labour Department monitor the formal sector which helps to reduce the likelihood of child labour.
- c. A high level of public awareness about laws governing the minimum age of work, but there was also a common perception that there was no child labour in Barbados.

- d. Many institutional mechanisms have been established to support law enforcement, reduce crime, manage juvenile delinquency and promote security. Drug prevention and awareness programmes also help to reduce the likelihood of child labour.
- e. Culture, family traditions and the support of the extended family also play a role in reducing the likelihood of child labour.

In conclusion, the strong institutional and legal framework, the positive social and economic indicators and systems of good governance provide considerable protection against child labour and the worst forms of child labour.

Analysis of Primary Data

Children's Activities

Despite its ratification of ILO Conventions, the CRC and CEDAW, laws, institutional mechanisms and positive indicators, the Rapid Assessment identified children involved in a wide range of activities that were suggestive of child labour and the worst forms of child labour.

Child Labour Activities

From the consultations with 126 persons, there were 104 reports of children engaged in economic activities (82%). Of these, 50 (48%) were engaged in general work and 54 (52%) were in activities suggestive of the worst forms of child labour in both tourist and non-tourist sectors. Results of these reports were compared with findings from direct consultations with 62 children. A similar percentage reported that they were engaged in economic activities. For example, of the 62 children, 28 (45.2%) said they worked.

Children's economic activities reflected gender stereotypes. Boys were involved in construction, electrical repairs/installation, fruit selling, horse grooming and assisting at supermarkets. Girls were working as hair-braiders, child care assistants and shop assistants. Of the 47 activities reported under general work, services accounted for 23 (49%), vending 10 (21.2%) trades 7 (14.9%) and assisting in family businesses, 7 (14.9%). Services were therefore the most common form of work. Most children attended school and those engaged in economic activities worked on a part-time basis after school or on weekends. In general these did not appear to interfere with

school attendance. Working conditions described by some children however raised the possibility of child labour because of exploitation through long hours of work, low wages, and erratic payments. Seven (7) reports were received about groups of Rastafarian children who did not attend school regularly because they assisted their parents in earning a living. One report suggested the need to conduct similar investigations in the Indian community.

Worst Forms of Child Labour

Activities suggestive of the worst forms of child labour are discussed below.

1. “Slavery” and “Bondage”

This writer argues that incest should be classified as a form of ‘modern day slavery or bondage’ because the child (usually a girl), is sexually and economically exploited, is usually forced to ‘suffer in silence’ because she and other family members face economic instability if the abuser withdraws his support. There were several reports of sexual exploitation of children through incestuous relationships and this is a major form of child abuse.

Rock (2001) defines sexual abuse as ‘sexual exploitation of a child through violent and non-violent molestation.’¹⁰ The problem of child sexual abuse has grown according to the Child Care Board (CCB) which is tasked with the care and protection of children. Twenty-five per cent of 1,113 cases of child abuse reported to the Board in 1998-1999, were child sexual abuse cases.

Rock’s (2001) comprehensive analysis of Child Abuse in Barbados and the measures being adopted to address it from a child rights perspective, should be considered as part of any follow-up research.

Further research on the cases reported to the CCB could help to clarify the economic aspect of incest and provide more insight into the magnitude of child labour in Barbados.

One key informant, a sociologist, reported that there were ‘numerous cases of incest, but these were hidden in society.’ He also expressed fears that serious cases of child sexual exploitation were also kept hidden in the Barbadian society.

*Social workers attending the Review Session regarded child sexual abuse as a social problem but not as a child labour problem. Continued compartmentalization of issues however raises the possibility of not grasping the magnitude of its existence thereby delaying interventions for its elimination. **This is an area that needs considerably more research and discussion.***

2. Prostitution and Pornography

¹⁰ Rock, L. ‘Child Abuse in Barbados’ in Barrow (2001) pp.305-329

A total of 54 of the 104 reports were generally associated with the worst forms of child labour. Of these 54 reports, 45 involved locals (83%) and 9 (17%) were related to tourism. For activities with locals, prostitution and pornography accounted for 23 (51%), illicit activities 12 (27%), hazardous work 6 (13%) and 'slavery/bondage' 4 (9%). The majority of reports of children's involvement in prostitution and pornography involved schoolgirls, under 14 years, in relationships with older men for 'gain,' and some were as young as 11-12 years. There were also a few reports of boys being sexually exploited by homosexual males for 'gain.' In one report, a boy who was poor and lived with his mother and younger siblings, allowed himself to be sexually exploited to support them, unknown to his mother. There were also several reports of rape, incest, and other forms of sexual abuse.

Most children attended school regularly, but the findings indicated that School Attendance Officers were not always successful in eliminating truancy. Public awareness of labour laws and the vigilance of some communities however helped to reduce incidents of child labour.

These findings point to the need for further research to determine if these activities represent isolated cases in some poor urban communities or are more generalized.

3. Illicit Activities

Children's involvement in drug-related activities was also reported: boys working as 'lookouts' for drug peddlers and traffickers; young males under 16 years selling drugs 'on the block' to support their family; and boys aged 13-14 years selling drugs at school. There were also reports of boys staying away from school to gamble.

4. Hazardous Activities

Six of the 56 economic activities reported (11%), were considered hazardous. Reports included: a 12-year-old boy who had been grooming horses and cleaning stalls part-time for a year, who reported falling off a horse but not seeking medical attention; children who stayed away from school to do welding work; another welder's assistant (an 11-year-old boy) who had a part-time job and was below the age for light work; and a 13 year-old boy who assisted in mixing concrete for housing construction.

Working long hours for family members, either at home or in a commercial business, also emerged as potentially hazardous activities for children, which was difficult to monitor. Reports included a 16 year-old boy who had been working since age 13 years as an assistant to his uncle who is an electrician. The boy reported that he worked 8-9 hours daily (more than 40 hours a week), which was in excess of the 14 hours weekly allowed for light work. While difficult, research is needed to determine whether family businesses' interfere with children's education, leisure time or general development.

Characteristics of Working Children Socio-economic and cultural background

Race-Consistent with the demographic profile of Barbados, the majority of children were of African descent.

Age: Over 60 per cent of the boys and girls engaged in economic activity were between 15-17 years, but many reported that they had been working for several years.

Gender: Gender had a strong influence on work-related activities of males and females. Males worked mainly in the 'public' domain, except in situations of the worst forms of child labour, while girls tended to be in more 'private spaces.'

Education: Most children were in secondary school and attended school regularly. The majority of those who worked did so in the evenings and weekends, combining school with part-time work.

Family Background: More children lived with their mother in single parent families than in a household with mother and father present. Several children came from poor families, with parents who were employed in low-income occupations. Some children reported verbal and physical abuse as part of their living situation.

Community Setting: Most of the poor children were from low-income communities in Bridgetown, St Michael, which is identified in the IDB poverty survey as having the highest incidence of poverty. This appeared to confirm a correlation between child labour and poverty.

Earnings: Information on earnings was limited but from the data available, income varied in relation to work activity and ranged from B\$5 a day selling plastic bottles to \$100 day reported by a girl who had worked on weekends as a bus conductor when she was 14 years, and B\$500 from sex-related activities reported for girls 14-15 years.

Working Conditions: Long hours, irregular payments, low remuneration, boredom, good as well as bad treatment from adults, were among the factors that characterized working conditions of some children. Details of the 'working conditions' of children involved in the worst forms of child labour such as sexually exploited children and those involved in the drug trade were not available. Most children involved in regular work activity said that they enjoyed working and felt a sense of satisfaction from being paid.

Aspirations: Children had a variety of aspirations, clear career goals, depicting a range of interests and occupations. Aspirations for some related to them having a better quality of family and emotional life, and improved economic status. Some wanted improved communication, respect and quality time with adults.

Causes

Among the main causes for children to be working and involved in the worst forms of child labour were: poverty and children wanting to contribute to their family's income; poor morals and values; inadequate public awareness of children's rights, poor parenting; the absence of parents or

caregivers; and family crises including incest and domestic violence. Problems drove some children on to the streets, (wandering) but motivated others to be more self-reliant. Many children said they worked to earn to be able to spend money on things that they wanted, which included maintaining fashionable trends. Unequal gender relations between men and women meant that many women, who may not have completed their education, were in low-paying jobs, and were now single mothers with the sole responsibility of caring for their children.

Consequences

Children's involvement in work which interferes with the education, development and moral standards, erodes national development goals and undermines the country's achievements. Sexual exploitation of children poses a risk to their health, could also increase the cost of health delivery and increase morbidity and mortality rates thereby reducing the overall health status of the country. STI's/HIV/AIDS pose a particularly high risk.

A review of literature on child abuse indicates that incest and other forms of sexual abuse can damage self-esteem and self confidence; create other psychological problems, lead to children becoming sexually promiscuous at an early age, and cause pregnancy. Incest increases the risk of genetic disorders and disabilities. Teenage pregnancy also perpetuates the cycle of female poverty, child abuse, family exclusion and incomplete education.

Incomplete education also increases the risk of involvement in illicit activities for survival. Illicit activities corrupt children's morals, increase juvenile delinquency, as well as the risk of criminal conviction and incarceration. Child's rights are also violated when they assume major responsibility for their care and welfare at an early age. Childhood is also sacrificed and children's career aspirations and dreams may remain unfulfilled. Finally, the tourism industry can also be adversely affected if the country becomes known for sex tourism. This could adversely affect the country's trade and investment potential.

Conclusions

Despite a strong economy, and demonstrated commitment to international conventions, laws, institutional mechanisms to protect the rights of children, women and workers and the perception that child labour is non-existent in Barbados, the Rapid Assessment found children involved in a variety of activities that were suggestive of child labour and the worst forms of child labour. Most cases were found in low-income communities in Bridgetown, but this could be coincidental as more attention was focused on this area. The analysis however suggests a strong correlation between child labour, the worst forms of child labour and poverty. Values and morals appeared to influence decisions on the kinds of work activity involved.

Most work occurred in the informal economy as girls and boys used opportunities available to earn income-usually on a part-time basis. Children involved in the worst forms of child labour appeared to attend school less regularly than children doing regular work activities. Relatively few children appeared to work in tourism-related activities, but those who did reflected relationships described in the studies on sex tourism. Follow-up research during the tourist high

season (December to March/April) and special events such as Crop Over could provide more comprehensive details on tourism-related work.

The Barbados Review Team recommended that further research was needed to determine if the cases emerging were isolated, or represented a more generalized problem of child labour in the country. They also had serious concerns that some social problems had been categorized in the draft report as child labour issues.

Recommendations

- Organize follow-up research to determine if the activities of working children identified in the Rapid Assessment are isolated cases or reflect a common problem of child labour and the worst forms of child labour. More in-depth studies are needed on the tourism sector.
- Strengthen the legal and policy framework to better define child labour, the worst forms of child labour and hazardous work.
- Improve monitoring and coordination as well as surveillance of children at risk.
- Organize public education and training programmes to build awareness.
- Organize support programmes for children in high risk areas and families in the form of counselling, building self esteem, and financial support to parents.
- Organize parenting education programmes.
- Improve collaboration and networking to eliminate the worst forms of child labour across the Caribbean region.

Recommendations to improve the RA Methodology

- Organize an orientation workshop with social partners and civil society groups to introduce the scope and limitations of the Rapid Assessment methodology, increase awareness of ILO Conventions No.138 and No. 182, clarify the definition of child labour and the worst forms of child labour and mobilize stakeholders to collect data.
- Encourage partner institutions to collect and analyze secondary data to build a centralized local database.
- Review use of the term 'child labour' during the data collection phase as this creates a communication barrier
- Use and train local researchers, as they are a valuable source of knowledge. Select researchers who are gender-sensitive, with good interpersonal communication and research skills and who have the ability to develop rapport with children easily. An added advantage is having good community and institutional contacts.
- Simplify data collection instruments used and increase the timeframe for the research.
- Maintain strong stakeholder involvement in the process.
- Review expectations of the ability of the Rapid Assessment to provide meaningful quantitative data as it is primarily a qualitative research method.

1. International, Legal and Institutional Framework

1.1 International Framework

Four main international Conventions establish a framework to eliminate child labour and the worst forms of child labour. These include:

- ILO Convention No. 138 (1973) that establishes a minimum age for work;
- ILO Convention No. 182 (1999) which seeks to eliminate the worst forms of child labour.
- The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which contains provisions to eliminate child labour and to provide protection against sexual exploitation.
- The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), which protects the rights of the girl child from sexual exploitation which is one of the worst forms of child labour.

1.2 Definitions

The ILO does not consider all work done by children to be child labour. Child labour is work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential, their dignity and that is harmful to their physical and mental development. ILO Convention No. 138 sets out minimum ages for admission to employment or work. (See Table 1).

Table 1: Minimum ages according to ILO Convention No. 138

General minimum age	Light Work	Hazardous Work
In general		
Not less than compulsory school age, and in any case not less than 15 years	13 years	18 years (16 years under certain strict conditions)
Where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed		
Not less than 14 years for an initial period	12 years	18 years (16 years under certain strict conditions)

This report focuses on children 5- 11 years who are economically active, those aged 12-14 years who work more than 14 hours a week on their jobs and children who are engaged in activities that are hazardous to the child's safety, health and moral development or otherwise characterized as the worst forms of child labour. In Barbados, the minimum age for employment is 16 years, which also coincides with the age of compulsory education. As such, it is not expected that children under 16 years would be working unless they are engaged in light work approved by national laws or regulations, or are involved in a formal apprenticeship or vocational training programme.

ILO Convention No. 182 (Article 3) defines the worst forms of child labour as:

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

ILO Convention No. 182 requires tripartite consultations to define and list what is considered 'hazardous work.'

ILO Recommendation No. 190 provides that the following should be considered in determining hazardous work:

- Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- Work with dangerous machinery, equipment or tools;
- Work that involves manual handling or transport of heavy goods;
- Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
- Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

Implications of Ratification

Countries that ratify ILO Convention No. 182 are required to 'take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.' The Convention and the accompanying ILO Recommendation No. 190 include measures such as the following:

- a) Prevention and rehabilitation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour and monitoring their progress.
- b) Development of action programmes for the prevention, removal, rehabilitation and social integration of children through measures to address educational, physical and psychological needs of children.
- c) Giving attention to vulnerable groups such as younger children, the girl child, children in hidden situations and children with special vulnerabilities or needs.
- d) Ensure access to free basic education, and wherever possible and appropriate, vocational training for all children removed from the worst forms of child labour.
- e) Compiling and updating detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour to determine priorities for national action to abolish child labour and the worst forms of child labour.

- f) Cooperating with and assisting other states.

1.3 The ILO/IPEC Programme

The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC) includes:

- A ratification campaign for Convention No. 182
- Research, awareness and mobilization
- Technical assistance
- Action for equitable and sustained development.
- The Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC)

Against this background, the ILO through IPEC/SIMPOC, has been undertaking thirty-eight Rapid Assessments of the worst forms of child labour in twenty countries and one border area. These investigations are being made through application of the Rapid Assessment Methodology prepared by the ILO and UNICEF. The overall objectives of the programme are to:

- produce and make publicly available, quantitative and qualitative information related to the worst forms of child labour in the selected investigations;
- describe the magnitude, character, causes and consequences and
- validate and further develop the body of methodologies-especially the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology on child labour for investigating the worst forms of child labour.

Rapid assessments are uniquely suited to meet these objectives. Balancing statistical precision with qualitative analysis, rapid assessments provide policymakers with insights into the magnitude, character, causes and the consequences of the worst forms of child labour quickly and cheaply. These insights can then be used to determine strategic objectives for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in each country or region, to design and target policy packages and to implement, monitor and evaluate those programmes.

1.4 Conventions Ratified by Barbados

Barbados has ratified the following relevant conventions:

- ILO Convention No. 138 concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment was ratified on January 4, 2000.
- ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour on October 23, 2000.
- The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified in October 1993.
- The UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has also been ratified.

1.5 Legal Measures to Protect Against Child Labour

The Government of Barbados, trade unions and the private sector strongly oppose child labour. Protocol 4 of the Barbados Social Partners for 2001-2004 includes a section on child labour

which notes that ‘The Social Partners undertake to implement such measures as will ensure that there is no importation of any item for use or sale in Barbados where there is reasonable ground for belief that child labour has formed any part of the process of manufacture or production.’ The Government also signed the Stockholm Agenda in 2000 which deals with the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In addition, the Government completed a Country Survey on Child Labour Information for the Trade and Development Act (GP) Provisions, which outlines several legal provisions to guard against child labour. In responding to several of the questions, the Government noted that there is no child labour in Barbados.

The Government of Barbados’ implementation report on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1995 indicated several legal measures to promote children’s rights, which also protect against child labour and the worst forms of child labour. Details of this report were reviewed in the UNICEF publication entitled ‘From Ratification to Implementation: Reporting on the Rights of the Child’ published in 2000. It includes several legal provisions that reduce the likelihood of child labour.

Compulsory Education

- a) Legislation to promote education, leisure and cultural activities including the revision of the 1983 Education Act in 1992 democratized education and regularized the management and operation of all secondary schools and made teachers in all government schools public sector employees.
- b) Section 43 of that Act ensures compulsory education up to 16 years. It makes schools or Government Attendance Officers attached to the Ministry of Education, responsible for ensuring that children attend school, mandates parents to ensure that their children receive full-time education suitable to their age and provides penalties for either breaching these provisions or assaulting Attendance Officers.
- c) Legislation guarantees free education in government institutions up to the tertiary level.
- d) The Government’s philosophy of education is based on the premise that every child should have educational opportunities that allow him or her to make the most of his or her abilities, and to contribute to the social and economic growth of the country.
- e) The education system provides early childhood education from ages 3-5 years, primary education from 5-11 years, secondary education from 11-16+ years and for young adults, the opportunity for technical, vocational and university education.
- f) The Government modified the Occupational Training Act (1979) (Chap.42) with the Technical and Vocational Education and Training Council Act (1993) to train persons for gainful employment.
- g) A National Training Board was established to provide training opportunities for children and young persons through apprenticeships and occupational training.
- h) A National Guidance and Counseling Programme was introduced in 22 public secondary schools by placing a guidance counsellor in each school.
- i) Guidelines for the use of corporal punishment in schools were developed, as part of the disciplinary procedure. (See UNICEF 2000).

Protection from Economic Exploitation

Protection of children from economic exploitation is included in the Employment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1977, at Section 14 (1) and (2). This Act prohibits the employment of a child or young person of compulsory school age (16 years) in any undertaking whatever and is consistent with Article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child to prevent child labour. The Act relates to the impact that child labour would have on a child's education, health and morals and regulates the hours and conditions of employment. The act states that no persons shall employ a child or young person of compulsory school age in any undertaking whatever during school hours, which are between 8:30 am and 3:30pm. The Act also prohibits night work for a child or young person during the hours of 6:00pm to 7:00 am.

Protection from Drug Abuse

Protection of children from drug abuse is provided by the Drug Abuse (Prevention and Control) Act, 1990 –14. This law seeks to make schools drug-free. Section 21 makes it an offense for a person to have a 'controlled drug' in their possession. This includes any narcotic drug, psychotropic substance or other specially listed substance. Section 22 makes it an offense to knowingly and intentionally employ, hire, use, persuade, induce or coerce a child to commit any offense provided under the Drug Abuse (Prevention and Control Act). The legislation is aimed at persons who may use, employ or hire children in the drug trade. The Act also makes it an offense to receive a controlled drug from a child. Penalties include fines and imprisonment. The UNICEF report indicated that children were being used as 'lookouts' for drug traffickers, noted that statistics on this were not available but the matter was being investigated. The Ministry of Education also has a policy for schools on alcohol, tobacco, narcotics and other controlled drugs. The policy also includes guidelines for principals who may suspect that students or school property are carrying drugs or are involved in controlled drugs.

Police officers provide public education in schools, youth clubs, and establish community outposts in problem areas to liaise with youth groups and delinquent youth to encourage them into recreational activities.

Protection from Sexual Exploitation

Four (4) laws cover protection of children from sexual exploitation:

- a) The Offenses Against the Person Act. Chapter 141 Part 1V;
- b) The Sexual Offenses Act 1992-3;
- c) The Protection of Children's Act, Chapter 146A
- d) The Punishment of Incest Act 148

The Offenses Against the Person Act. Chapter 141 Part 1V states that *"Any person who unlawfully and carnally knows any child under the age of 13 years shall be guilty of a felony and being convicted thereof shall be liable to imprisonment for life."*

The Sexual Offenses Act 1992-3 makes it an absolute offense to have sexual intercourse with a person under the age of 14 years. This includes children of the family by birth, adoption, as well as foster children, or wards. The penalty may range from 10 years to life imprisonment. Section 17 of the Act addresses prostitution and makes it an offense for the owner, occupier or other person having control of premises to induce or knowingly permit a minor under the age of 16 years to be on the premises for the purposes of prostitution.

The Protection of Children Act (Chap. 146A) provides protection against pornography one of the worst forms of child labour. Section 3 of the Act makes it an offense for a person to:

- Take or permit to be taken any indecent photograph of a child.
- Distribute or show an indecent photograph of a child.
- Have in his (or her) possession indecent photographs of a child whether or not for the purpose of distribution or to be shown to others.
- Publish or cause to be published any advertisement likely to be understood as conveying that the advertiser distributes or shows indecent photographs of children or intends to do so.

The Punishment of Incest Act (Chap.148) strictly prohibits sexual intercourse between family members and children. It is an offense for parents to have sexual intercourse with children or grandchildren. The Act also makes it an offense for children to knowingly have sexual intercourse with a parent, grandparent, brother or sister.

The national report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child however noted that there have been problems with prosecution which have included: secrecy, refusal to give evidence, accepting money for compensation thereby thwarting the criminal justice process; girl children keeping the secret until they become pregnant or are old enough to realize that the activity is wrong and confiding in someone; parents failing to press charges or give evidence against the perpetrator; reluctance of some mothers to pursue the matter because of their personal relationship with the perpetrator making it difficult for the police to prosecute. The report further noted the public education initiatives on sexual abuse organized by the Child Care Board as well as counseling services to victims of sexual abuse available through the Board, the Ministry of Health or the Ministry of Education.

The Sub-regional Common Assessment of Barbados and the OECS (January 2000) in examining children at risk, reports that ‘few children in Barbados live in absolute poverty’ and that child labour was not a problem as there were several preventive mechanisms in place. (p.52-53). Among those mentioned were:

- a) Support from grandparents and the extended family when parental care is unavailable.
- b) Institutional care for children at risk. These included: a) the Government Industrial School which caters for boys aged 9-18 years who are either in need of care and protection or who have committed a criminal offense and are too young to be imprisoned and b) Summervale, which provides short-stay accommodation for delinquent and problem girls aged 12-18 years.
- c) Children’s homes that accommodate younger children who have been neglected, abandoned or abused.

- d) The Edna Nicholls Centre, a rehabilitation programme which assists students in secondary school who have been suspended or expelled.
- e) The Compulsory Education Act, which was previously mentioned.

While indicating that ‘there is no evidence of street children or child prostitution’, the report points to an obvious need for:

- a) Research and accurate reporting on the situation of children at risk especially in terms of child abuse and drug use among juveniles;
- b) Stricter enforcement of legal provisions to protect children;
- c) Special arrangement and facilities for juvenile offenders;
- d) Education and training in counselling; and
- e) An increased level of community awareness to prevent further deterioration of the situation. (p. 52).

Legal Gap

The main gaps identified from the legal review are the absence of specific laws or regulations that specifically define the ‘worst forms of child labour’ or ‘hazardous work’.

1.6 Institutional Measures to Protect Against Child Labour

Barbados has a well-developed network of institutions for health, education, social services, justice, and many social partners. In 1998, the Government established a National Committee for Monitoring the Rights of the Child. The Child Care Board and the Labour Department are responsible for monitoring child labour.

- **The Child Care Board** has a mandate to ensure the care and protection of children. This involves investigating cases of child abuse or child labour, providing counselling services, residential placement and foster care.
- **The Labour Department** administers the Employment (Miscellaneous Provision) Act and Labour Officers are trained to enforce labour legislation.
- The Labour Department and the Child Care Board would conduct investigations and inspections if a problem of child labour was reported.

Institutional Gaps

- Despite the strong policy and legal framework, monitoring strategies appeared to be inadequate. Establishment of a centralized database of reports across related sectors such as education, health, social services, probation, the police and justice system could provide better surveillance.

- Lack of a public education programme to create awareness of ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 also limit the monitoring capacity of institutions as well as the public.

2. Economic and Social Overview of Barbados

2.1 Economic Indicators

Barbados is ranked as a high human development country by the UNDP, placed at #30 on the Human Development Index in 2000. It also has the second highest per capita income in the English speaking Caribbean, which was US\$8,050 in 2000 and US\$9,682 in 2002. Tourism is its main industry, but the economy is diversified and includes agriculture, light manufacturing and services. These sectors are important for employment and foreign exchange earnings.

The Barbados Economic and Social Report 2000 noted the country's achievement of a record eight consecutive years of real GDP growth of 3.6 per cent, but pointed to declines in some sectors.

Expanding sectors were:

- Tourism and real value added in the tourism sector grew by an estimated 7.7 percent due to increased long-stay visitor arrivals and increased carrying capacity of cruise ships.
- Construction was buoyant in 2000 expanding 4.0 percent because of the tourism sector.
- Livestock also expanded for the second consecutive year.

Declining sectors were:

- Sugar and exports as well as revenue declined although there was expansion in the sector and improvements in sugar production. Deteriorating exchange rates of the Euro against the US dollar led to a decline in the preferential price for sugar and had a negative impact on sugar revenues.
- Vegetables experienced weak performance during 2000.
- Cotton experienced declines due to low profitability, low prices and labour shortages.
- Cut flowers for export experienced a continued decline in production.
- Fish landing experienced a marginal decline but the sector overall had satisfactory performance.
- Industry experienced a 1.6 per cent decline in output in 2000 compared to 0.7 per cent growth in 1999.
- Manufacturing output declined marginally, because of intense regional and international competition. This was due to additional liberalization of the local market in accordance with CARICOM and WTO obligations. There were reduced investments in manufacturing and services and a decline in the number of new business applications.
- Industry employment declined in the number of persons securing employment in the sector compared to 1999.

The main impact of these economic indicators is the potential for increased unemployment in the declining sectors which could impact negatively on child labour.

While inflation remained low at 2.5 per cent, the economy continued to be affected by globalization, the removal of trade preferences and the '911' economic shock which adversely affected tourism and related sectors.

Tourism

As previously noted, tourism is the country's most important economic and employment sector. It has been well established since colonial times, when the country was a popular destination for wealthy British nationals prior to World War II. According to the Green Paper on the Sustainable Development of Tourism in Barbados (2001), large scale tourism developed during the 1950s and early 1960s and has been of importance ever since.

Tourism contributed over 70 per cent of foreign exchange to the Central Bank and B\$464.5 million (11.2%) to GDP. In 2002, it contributed US\$711 million or 16 per cent to GDP in 1999. In 2000, it provided direct employment for an estimated 13,500-14,100 persons. Tourism revenue is largely derived from visitor expenditure and this had grown in the last decade from US\$493.5 million (B\$987 million) in 1990 to US\$0.7 billion (B\$1.3 billion) at the end of 1999.

The Barbados Economic and Social Report 2000, notes that 1.1 million persons arrived in that year. Of these, 545,000 were overnight visitors and 495,000 were cruise passengers. This represented a 13.8 per cent increase over 1999.

The main markets are the United Kingdom (41.4%), followed by the United States (20.8%), Canada (10.9%) and other CARICOM countries (11.9%). Germany accounted for 1.5%, other European countries 4.9%, Trinidad and Tobago 4.3% and 'Other countries' was 4.4%.

Barbados is committed to ethical, sustainable tourism. The Green Paper on Tourism points to the industry as a tool for social and cultural development, and a catalyst for environmental conservation. The Paper also makes reference to promoting 'responsible tourism,' to avoid 'skewing job creation to antisocial type employment activities' among other factors. This indicates a deliberate policy option that would AVOID the promotion of sex tourism or activities involving the sexual exploitation of children, which would be part of the worst forms of child labour. (See Green Paper pp.16-17).

Labour Force

According to the Barbados Economic and Social Report 2000:

- The labour force comprised 138,400 persons and of this total, 71,900 (52%) were males and 66,500 (48%) were females.
- The labour participation rate was 68.4 per cent which was the highest rate on record. Of the employed labour force, 66,650 were males and 58,900 were females.
- Unemployment averaged 9.3 percent in 2000.

The impact of having fewer women active in the labour force increases the risk of child labour if the majority of these women are young single heads of households. This is because young women tend to be poorer and experience higher levels of unemployment.

2.2 Social Indicators

According to the Barbados Economic and Social Report 2000:

- The resident population in December 2000 was 267,900, of which males accounted for 128,800 (48.1%) and females 139,100 (51.9%).
- The birth rate was 14.2 per thousand in 2000, a decline on 16 per thousand in 1990.
- Population growth rate was low, (0.2 per cent) which was the same as the previous year. The rate of natural increase declined to 5.0 per thousand from 5.5 per thousand in 1999.
- The death rate rose negligibly to 9.1 per thousand.
- The Infant Mortality Rate was 7.8 per thousand in 1998, representing a decline from 15.5 per thousand in 1990.
- The Under 5 Mortality Rate was 0.4 per thousand, which was a decline on 12 per thousand in 1990.
- The population under 15 years was 57,906 in 2000, which was approximately 21.5%.
- The population over 60 years was 42,094 in 2000, or approximately 15.7% of the total.

The UN Human Development Report (HDR) 2000 also notes that:

- Almost half of the population (48.9%) lives in urban areas (1998).
- The Total Fertility Rate was 1.5 between 1995-2000 and this was low.
- The Contraceptive Prevalence Rate was high, at 55 between 1990 and 1999.

- Life expectancy was 76.4 years. For females it was 78.8 years and for males it was 73.8 years in 1998.
- There were 113 medical doctors per 100,000 population between 1992-1995.
- There were 323 nurses per 100,000 population between 1992-1995.

Analysis of this data also shows many positive indicators that reflect well-being, and generally reduce the likelihood of child labour in Barbados. Among these are: the declining birth rate, low population growth, declining infant and under-five mortality and the high level of expenditure on health which safeguards the health and well-being of the population.

Health

Barbados has very good health services which are virtually free. A range of programmes helps to maintain a healthy population, and reduce the risk of child labour. Among the positive health indicators are:

- High expenditure on health. In the fiscal year 2000/2001 this was B\$280 million, representing the 14 per cent of total government expenditure.
- A comprehensive health care system with programmes for health promotion, primary, secondary, tertiary and emergency care, mental health, geriatric care, and assessment and rehabilitations services for children and adolescents with developmental disabilities as well as pharmaceutical services.
- The Queen Elizabeth Hospital. This is a 547-bed facility in Bridgetown which houses 90 per cent of the country's health services.
 - Decentralized and specialised care. This is available through four (4) district hospitals for geriatric care, a main geriatric institution, a psychiatric hospital and a half-way house, 2 rehabilitation institutions for physically and mentally challenged persons, an AIDS hostel and a development centre for disabled children and adolescents. There are eight (8) polyclinics and four satellite stations, which provide preventive and curative services and also limited rehabilitative services.

- A vibrant private sector. This also provides medical services, nursing home care, pharmaceutical services and complementary and alternative medicine.
- Comprehensive primary health care services. These offer maternal and child health services, family planning services (with assistance from the Barbados Family Planning Association), child health campaigns, adolescent health programmes, nutrition, HIV/AIDS; control of communicable diseases and health promotion among other services.
- Adolescent Health programmes. These help adolescents to cope with social, economic, psychological, nutritional, health and interpersonal problems and to develop a positive self-image.
- The Barbados Drug Service has a Special Benefit Service (SBS) that provides free medication through participating pharmacies to persons over 65 years, children under sixteen years and persons suffering from hypertension, cancer, asthma and epilepsy.
- The HIV/AIDS programme focuses on public education to slow the spread of the disease, counseling services and accommodation at the Elroy Phillips Centre for persons with AIDS who are homeless.

The country's HIV/AIDS status is of special importance to this study on child labour because of the risks associated with the sexual exploitation of children and the impact of the pandemic on the family. Available data show that the cumulative number of reported cases of AIDS since the first reported case in 1984 to June 2000 was 1,242. The total number of deaths was 1,025 and the number of persons who tested positive for HIV was 2,525. The BSER 2000 report also notes that 71 per cent of HIV/AIDS cases were reported in the age group 25 to 49 years –an adult's most productive years. HIV Prevalence was 49.4 per cent per 100,000 in 1996. Children under 18 years may be orphaned, experience a lower quality of life or may have to work to supplement family income when parents are ill and unable to work.

Education

Some of the major education indicators are presented below:

- Government expenditure on education was 15.6 per cent of the budget in 2000/2001 and was equivalent to B\$333.6 million.
- Consistent with free and compulsory education, there are approximately 80 pre-primary schools, 84 public primary schools, 23 public secondary schools and four public tertiary institutions (1997/98)
- Special education is provided in two special schools and 4 units attached to primary schools.
- School enrolment rates are high and in 2000 primary enrolment was 29,799 including 15,094 males (50.6%) and 14,705 females (49.3%). Primary age group enrolment ratio (as a percentage of the relevant age group) was 97.4 in 1997 according to the Human Development Report 2000.
- Secondary enrolment was 20,751, including 10,467 males (50.4%) and 10,284 females (49.6%). The secondary age group enrolment ratio as a percentage of the relevant age group was 85.7 in 1997 according to the HDR 2000.

- Tertiary enrolment was 7,800 in 1997/98.
- Completion of primary schooling was 4,351 of which 50.7% were males and 49.3% were females.
- Teacher pupil ratios are very good. In primary schools the ratio was 1:9 and at the secondary level it was 1:17 in 1997/98.

The attainment of universal coverage in primary and secondary education and the legal provisions mentioned earlier, establish a very positive environment for children. The picture is however incomplete as attendance records would identify the number of children at risk because of frequent absences or lateness. The research team unsuccessfully tried to access attendance reports for the communities of interest. This would have identified children at risk.

Crime ¹¹

While crime is a growing problem in Barbados, it is relatively low in comparison to other Caribbean countries. Crime statistics provide vital clues in detecting child labour, especially data on the activities of juveniles, as some may be related to 'economic activities'. Data from the 1999 Annual Report of the Probation Department and the BESR 2000, show that:

- a) The level of crime rose by 7.0 per cent from 10,199 offenses in 1999 to 10,908 offenses in 2000.
- b) Juvenile crimes increased from 99 cases in 1999 to 114 cases in 2000.
- c) Drug offenses were the main contributor to this rise increasing from 12 to 19 cases.
- d) Wandering offences accounted for most juvenile offences and there was concern about the growing number of girls who were found in circumstances that were considered hazardous to their health and well-being.
- e) Sexual offenses declined by 31 cases to 140 cases in 2000. Declines in indecent assaults and sexual intercourse with minors contributed mainly to this decrease. (see pp.11-12)

The use of Community Policing strategies reduces the risk of child labour because of the capacity for improved monitoring of children at risk.

Poverty

As previously noted, an estimated 13.9 per cent of the population live in poverty. This means higher risks for children who live in an estimated 7,000 households. The IDB study was used as the main source of developing a poverty profile to identify children at risk.

Geographical Distribution of Poor Households

¹¹ Source: Barbados Economic and Social Report 2000.

- St Michael accounted for 38% of the total poor
- Christchurch and St Phillip accounted for 25%
- St John, St Joseph, St Andrew, St Phillip and St. Lucy accounted for 20%

Socio-demographic Characteristics of Poor Households

- 7,000 households are poor (8.8 per cent of total households).
- 35,000 persons are estimated to be poor as these households have an average of five persons as compared to 2.4 persons for non-poor households.
- Lower per capita income (B\$5,503/US\$2,751) compared to the national average of US\$8,050.
- More extended families and fewer nuclear type families
- 59% of poor households are female headed compared to 42% in non poor families.
- Female-headed households have higher rates of poverty (11.5%) compared to 6.5% in non-poor households and have more children.
- Poor households tend to have younger children under 5 years and between 5-14 years.
- Heads of poor households were younger and women under 44 years headed approximately 48.4% of poor households.
- Educational attainment levels of heads of poor households were lower than in non-poor households. 54% of heads of poor households had a primary or elementary education and 40% had secondary education.
- Greater likelihood of overcrowding, averaging three (3) or more per bedroom. Overcrowding affects 17.6% of poor households vs 3.3 % of non-poor.
- Poor households had less access to water in the home (74%) than the national average (84%).

Economic Characteristics of Poor Households

- A higher unemployment rate - 2.5 times more than in non-poor households
- Higher unemployment rates for young poor females.
- Higher dependency ratio - 2 compared to 1.1 in non-poor households
- Greater dependence on the 'secondary labour force' (women, youth and older persons working).

Gender Dimensions of Poverty

The Department of Women's Affairs noted the following characteristics: lower wages for women, the reluctance to hire women of childbearing age and those over forty (40) years; women's tendency to have a larger number of household dependents because they are often looking after their own offspring as well as siblings and parents. Higher unemployment among women was linked to them having limited access to capital to facilitate credit for their own businesses and homes. Other characteristics of poor households were:

- Single-parent, female-headed households with children of different fathers and weekly income under B\$200-300 (US\$100-150).
- The main breadwinner is out of work for considerable periods and survival depends on odd jobs, welfare grants, contributions from relatives and friends and in some cases 'socially undesirable activity'.
- More families with mentally and physically challenged persons and non-contributory pensioners.

Risk Assessment of Child Labour

Barbados' strong economy provides considerable protection against child labour but declining sectors could result in job cuts and increase the risk of child labour.

Poverty impacted negatively on health, contributed to poor shelter and overcrowding, and increased the risk of child abuse, drug use, violence, transactional sex and HIV/AIDS. (See: Patricia Codrington, 'Poverty and Family Health,' Department of Women's Affairs, 2002).

These risks are mitigated by several social welfare programmes under the auspices of the Ministries of Education, Health, Community Development and Social Transformation, the Welfare Department and the National Insurance Scheme. A reported 2.4 % of the population relies on public assistance. This is another database to identify children at risk of child labour.

While there is a correlation between poverty and child labour, it is also important to note that poor morals and values contribute to 'antisocial' behaviour across social sectors. Follow-up research on child labour and the worst forms of child labour should therefore include children of all classes.

The review of the economic and social status raises a number of questions for research:

- What are the main characteristics, causes and consequences of child labour?
- Are children engaged in any activities within the tourism sector?
- How many children may be involved?
- Which action is needed to protect working children?

The research objectives in Part 3 address these questions.

3. Research Objectives, Methodology and Data Collection

3.1 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study were to:

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

3.2 Research Methods

Consistent with the definitions of child labour and the worst forms of child labour described in ILO Conventions 138 and 182, primary and secondary data were collected using the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology. A convenience sample was used to collect data.

The research involved:

- a) **A Literature Review:** Published and unpublished reports were examined as well as official documents, national statistics, relevant laws and policy documents. The aim was to conduct a 'risk assessment' of child labour, and determine the level of legal and institutional protection. A list of references is provided at the end of the report.
- b) **Primary data collection** through observations, interviews, focus group discussions and consultations with a range of stakeholders. Details are provided below:

Observations: These were conducted in thirteen locations across the three areas targeted and two others:

- a. Bridgetown: Construction sites, supermarket, streets, St Lawrence Gap
- b. Oistins: The Polyclinic, a supermarket and the Fish Market;
- c. Bathsheba: the coastline, agricultural areas, hotels and attractions.
- d. Others: Pinelands/St Michael and Ruby Tenantry in St. Phillip which is a poor community in a former plantation area.

Interviews with key informants: A total of 63 interviews and semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants.

Focus group discussions: A total of eleven (11) focus groups were held. Seven of these were with children and young people, two were held with groups of adults (labour officers) and (fishermen), while the other two were the orientation and debriefing workshops, which also served as focus groups. These discussions were held in Oistins, St Michael, Bathsheba (with fishermen) and Bridgetown (labour officers).

Consultations were also held with a range of institutions, whose work impinged on the study. These included officials in government, non-governmental organizations and international agencies.

3.3 Locations Studied

Stakeholders attending an ILO/IPEC meeting early in 2002 selected the three primary locations which were: Bridgetown, Oistins and Bathsheba. Given the short timeframe, the team relied on key informants to select locations, establishments and communities for study.

3.4 Research Process

The research process involved preparatory work, training the research team, data collection, data analysis, preparation of a draft and final report with input provided by a team of reviewers.

Preparatory work involved an initial meeting between stakeholders and the ILO/IPEC Officer early in 2002. Then followed the design of the study, the preparation of research instruments, recruitment and training of the research team and planning the field research. The process also involved establishing rapport with the Ministry of Labour and key resource agencies such as the Child Care Board and the collection and review of secondary data from a range of sources. Letters of introduction were kindly prepared by the Ministry of Labour at our request but in most cases, were not needed.

An Orientation Workshop was held with the research team which helped to identify specific locations for study, key informants as well as institutions to be consulted and important documents to be procured. Important data on child labour was also gleaned during this workshop. The teams were assigned to work in designated areas. Follow-up training sessions were held after the first day of field work to review issues and problems.

A Debriefing Workshop was held at the end of the week with the research team, the Executive Director of the Child Care Board, as well as three or four Labour officers. Data were presented, analysed, triangulated to validate findings, the methodology assessed and recommendations made for the draft report.

In general, the field work went very well, due largely to the cooperation and expertise of the research team, the support of the various agencies and the openness of children who shared their

experiences. Unfortunately, no stakeholder workshop was held as occurred in the other two tourism countries studied, which would have facilitated more dialogue on the issue.

3.5 Research Team

The five-person research team included four Barbadian researchers and the ILO research consultant. All had or were completing postgraduate degree qualifications in social policy, gender analysis, development or human resources.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaires: Three short questionnaires were designed for use with: a) children; b) institutions, individuals and parents, and c) the police and a focus group guide was prepared for use with the children. Researchers were able to collect some questionnaires but experience in the field, showed that it was easier to use them as a guide rather than completing a form for each interview. Consistent with the RA methodology, a simple instrument with guided questions would have sufficed if less detail is required.

Orientation Manual: This manual was prepared and used with the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Manual to train the researchers on the RA methodology on child labour, which added value to their already considerable research experience.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis involved coding responses from the main information sources to identify the most common forms of work activity and trends reported. Frequency counts were calculated and reported using simple percentages. Content analysis of interviews, focus groups and observation reports, provided rich qualitative data on activities. Triangulation of the data from different sources helped to improve the validity of the findings.

3.8 Review of the Draft Report

On September 11, 2002, an 11-person, team appointed by the Ministry of Labour, met to review the Draft Report with the ILO/IPEC Programme Officer and the research team. The ILO's Technical team in Costa Rica and the ILO/IPEC Officer in Trinidad and Tobago also reviewed and provided feedback on the Draft Report. Feedback was used to revise the draft report for presentation at the ILO's regional meeting on child labour which was held in Trinidad and Tobago from October 23-26 2002.

3.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study

As previously noted, the Rapid Assessment Methodology is a quick and inexpensive method of collecting data which can provide an overview of the problem. It provides a basis for more in-depth research that could be provided by a baseline study.

Budgetary and time constraints meant that the scope of the study was limited to a few parishes, communities and situations recommended by Barbadian stakeholders who met with the ILO/IPEC Officer early in 2002. While reports from stakeholders and key informants indicated that there were children involved in the worst forms of child labour, the short time frame for data collection which was one week, placed constraints on the team's ability to identify and develop rapport with children in very hard to reach locations outside of the public view. A longer period would have been needed to develop trust and follow-up leads to interview more children involved in prostitution and pornography, or the sale and distribution of illegal drugs for example. While there is a database of children involved in incestuous activities, special permission would have been needed to gain access and interview them.

Use of a convenience sampling method meant that minority groups such as children with disabilities were not consulted. As key informants referred the team primarily to low-income communities because of the association of child labour and poverty, this generally excluded children in middle and upper class communities who may have been involved in child labour activities but for a non-economic motive. The use of a non-probability sampling method means that the findings cannot be generalized as they may not be representative of the entire population.

Timing of the study during summer also created limitations. It limited the range of tourism-related activities that were examined. Observations during cultural events such as the 'Crop Over Festival' in August or the high tourist season from mid December to March, would have provided a wider range of activities for research and analysis. Observation of a wider range of tourism sites, such as cruise ship arrivals, as well as exploring the wide ambit of adult entertainment may also have provided valuable information on child labour.

Children were on school vacation and gaining access to groups of them was a challenge which the team solved by identifying activities that involved children and consulting them through interviews and focus group discussions. Children working in legitimate holiday jobs were distinguished from children who worked during the school term. Distinctions were also made between children involved in household chores, family businesses, vocational and apprenticeship training programmes, and those involved in work classified as child labour. Both children were consulted and other key informants provided valuable data on child labour and the worst forms of child labour.

The data collection methods enabled considerable qualitative data to be collected but placed constraints on the level of quantitative data available for analysis. As a result there are data gaps for some variables (e.g. income earned, conditions of work). Despite these limitations, the RA methodology did prove effective in providing both qualitative and quantitative data on Barbados. However, *the level of detail required to fulfill the objectives of the study, far exceeded the 30 pages originally requested for this Rapid Assessment.*

4. Research Findings

4.1 Definitions

Most Barbadians were unable to relate to the concepts of child labour and the worst forms of child labour as defined by the ILO. The perception of child labour in Barbados was alien to most persons, and the terms created barriers that had to be overcome through dialogue. Once the concept was understood, information and experiences were more forthcoming.

4.2 Scope and Characteristics of Locations Studied

The characteristics of the three main locations reflected facilities for both locals and tourists.

Bridgetown/St Michael:

The parish of St Michael has a population of 91,025, (May 2000) representing 34 percent of the total population of Barbados. Most of the residents live in Bridgetown, the country's capital, which is the country's commercial, business and financial capital as well as the headquarters for most government departments. Bridgetown is also a popular location for many regional and international agencies. The city has a popular cruise ship pier and shopping complex for visitors, as well as several hotels, guest houses, restaurants, craft centres and cultural sites. Its commercial districts serve local as well as international customers. Restoration of the commercial district has resulted in several aesthetic buildings which create an atmosphere of affluence, and chic elegance with waterside cafes and shops to attract its international clientele and influential citizens. The city continues to experience a building boom that has lasted several years. Pockets of poor, densely populated and low-income communities are also part of the Bridgetown landscape.

Pinelands/St Michael: One of these low-income communities is Pinelands, which is one of the earliest low-income housing schemes constructed by the Government. Densely populated with multi-story concrete buildings close together, the community experiences many of the social and economic problems associated with poor inner city communities: high unemployment, crime, and poverty. The Pinelands Creative Workshop is a community programme that organises several creative activities and skill training programmes for young people, but the facilities are reportedly used primarily by people outside the community.

People were also consulted in the communities of Bank Hall, Carrington Village on the outskirts of Bridgetown, and Westbury New Road and the Ivy which are in Bridgetown.

Christchurch

Christchurch is located in the south coast of Barbados and has a population of 52,922, which is less than twenty per cent of the total population of Barbados.

Oistins: This is a small fishing village in the Oistins Bay in Christchurch that is the site of the annual Oistins Fish Festival. Over the years Oistins has become a popular recreational spot, selling both fresh and cooked seafood. Several small restaurants and business have sprung up, designed to meet the needs of the clientele that frequent the area, mainly on weekends. The community is well served by physical infrastructure, utilities and social services. There are beaches, which also provide recreation for locals as well as visitors. *In addition to Oistins, persons were also consulted in Kingsland, which is on the ABC Highway and Browne's Beach.*

St Lawrence Gap: This area is located in the centre of the major hub of the South Coast tourism. The landscape is dotted with several major hotels, bars, restaurants and nightclubs. The area comes alive at night and is a popular entertainment spot for both locals and visitors.

Bathsheba/St Joseph

St Joseph is on the North-east of Barbados and has a population of 7,244 persons, representing 2.7 % of the country's total population. Accessible from Bridgetown via steep winding hills, Bathsheba is a tranquil town, very sparsely populated that depends primarily on agriculture, tourism and fishing. In contrast to the typical flat topography of Barbados, St Joseph is at a higher elevation and Bathsheba faces the Atlantic Ocean with rough seas rather than the tranquil beaches found in Bridgetown. The style of tourism is uniquely different from that found in the capital. For example, tourist accommodation is mainly in small home style guest houses rather than large hotels. This 'isolated' rural community, has an air of calm tranquility and exudes an old-style charm rather than luxury. It is reported to be a favourite spot for white European visitors who want to get away from it all as well as nature lovers who frequent locations such as the Andromeda Botanical Gardens close by. A study of tourism and child labour in this community

would require a longer period to understand what activities take place, how it functions and what makes it ‘tick.’

St Phillip

St Phillip is located in the South East of Barbados and has a population of 24,566, representing nine per cent of the total population. Ruby Tenantry is a community in this parish that consists of low-income residents. Observations showed several pockets of poverty - poor housing being a dominant feature. *Consultations were also held in Six Cross Roads, another area of St Phillip near to the Sunbury House Museum, which is popular site for visitors.*

Table 2: Locations and Consultations

Parishes/	Locations Visited	Consultations
Bridgetown	Bay Street, Nelson Street, Chapman Lane, New Orleans Pinelands, Westbury New Road; Carrington Village; Browne’s Beach; Parkinson School; The Ivy; Institutions	Interviews, semi-structured interviews; observations, focus groups
Oistins	Police Station, Polyclinic; Vendors, Beach, Fish Market, Supermarkets, Police Station, construction sites.	Observations, interviews; semi-structured interviews
Bathsheba	Community, Hotels, Beach	Focus group and observations
St Phillip	Ruby Tenantry; Cross; homes, vending areas; business places	Observations, interviews

4.3 Persons Consulted

A total of 126 persons was consulted and these included 62 children and young people between the ages of 5 and under 18 years, representing 49% of the sample. The other persons consulted included various other stakeholders including a few parents. Stakeholders included the staff of child care and protection, health and family planning agencies, pastors & priests, probation officers, labour officers, guidance counselors, bartenders, vendors, police officers, environmental rangers, fish vendors, supermarket owners, a sociologist, education officers, community workers, tourism officials, government statisticians, trade unionists, a representative of the private sector (Barbados Employers’ Federation), government officials and an international agency staff officer. Details of those consulted are included in the appendix.

Table 3: Summary of Persons Consulted

Targets	Working	Non-Working	Adults	Total
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	children	children		
Children:	28	34	0	62
Adults	0	0	64	64
Totals	28	34	64	126

These 126 persons were consulted through 63 interviews and semi-structured interviews, 11 focus groups (7 of which were with children) and observations in 13 locations across four parishes. Of the 62 children consulted, 28 (45%) said that they were working. From these 126 persons, the RA received 104 reports of children engaged in economic activities. Fifty (48%) of these related to work in the informal sector, while 54 (52%) were considered the WFCL.

4.4 Magnitude and Characteristics of Working Children

The RA was unable to determine the magnitude of child labour in Barbados, but provides information on the **28 working children consulted** and the **104 cases reported** of children working in various economic activities. It also provides a framework for further research to determine the magnitude of child labour.

4.4.1 Report on Working Children Consulted

Table 3 provides an overview of working children consulted.

Table 4: Profile of Working Children Consulted

Location	Male/age	Female/age	Activity	Sector	Income	Hours/day
Oistins		16 years	Supermarket checkout	Services	n.a	
Oistins	14 years		Supermarket checkout	Services	n.a.	
Oistins	15		Supermarket checkout	Services	n.a.	
Oistins	16		Supermarket checkout	Services	n.a.	
Oistins	9		Selling fruit	Vending	n.a.	
Oistins	6		Selling fruit	Vending	n.a.	
Ruby Tenantry		15	Domestic Worker	Services	10-15 per day	8-flexible
Ruby T	15		Electrical repairs	Trades	n.a.	Flexible
B/town	15		Auto body repairs	Trades	100-125pw	10
B/town	14		Ackee/nut seller	Vending	n.a.	
B/town		15	Braiding	Services	n.a.	
St. George	15		Electrical repairs	Trades	150-200	8
Pinelands	16		Electrical	Trades		8

			repairs			
	16		Construction	Trades	n.a.	
		15	Braiding& babysitting	Services	\$100pw	6-8
		15	Babysitting	Services	n.a	6-8
		16	Shop Assistant (family)	Services	\$12.50p w	8
		16	Fast Food Outlet	Services	n.a	n.a
Pinelands		15	Boutique (family)	Services	30pw	
Carrington Village		14	Boutique (family)	Services	160pw	8
		16	Boutique	Services	30pw	
		15	Child minding	Services	10pw	8
		14	Child minding	Services	20pw	8
		14	Child minding	Services	n.a	
Ivy	12		Grooming horses	Services	40-60pw	n.a
	13		Construction	Trades	20pw	n.a
	11		Welding	Trades	n.a	
	15		Odd jobs	Services	n.a	

Data in Table 3 show that both boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 17 years were involved in a range of economic activities. The services sector provided more opportunities for employment than trades and vending: 65% were employed in services, 25% worked in trades and the remaining 11% were vendors. In 'services,' most boys worked at supermarkets, while most girls did 'child minding', domestic work, braiding or assisted in family businesses. Only boys were employed in trades.

Gender influenced occupation and income earned such that boys were generally more likely to earn more than girls. For example, boys in auto body repairs were paid \$100-125, one boy who groomed horses was paid \$40-60 and boys in construction were paid \$20. Girls' weekly income for child minding and related services was between \$10-20 or \$30 if they worked in a boutique. The exception was a girl who worked in a family business from age nine years and earned \$160 per week.

Working conditions were characterized by long working hours and reports suggest that children in some activities worked more than eight (8) hours daily. The nature of the work for their age was also a concern in some cases. For example, although they are legally allowed to do 'light work' after age 12 years, a 12 year old boy had started grooming horses at age 11 years. He fell from a horse but did not receive treatment suggesting this was hazardous work. Girls working in the home and in family businesses appeared to be high risk for hazardous work because of the long working hours.

The following profiles of working children provide a brief insight into their lives and aspirations:

'Sandra'

Sandra was 16 years old and said she had been working for five years. Other persons reported that she had been observed working since she was 7 years old. She travels to Oistins, collects plastic 'pet' bottles which she sells. In addition she helps an old lady to do housework. Sandra appeared healthy and has four siblings. She worked to get money for herself earned between \$5-15 per day and said that she does not give her mother money. Her attendance at school was very poor, averaging 5 days per month. Her aspirations were to become a nurse and have a good job.

'Mario,' 'Michael,' 'Damien' and 'Donovan'

These four working boys were 11, 12, 13 and 15 years respectively and were very serious about work especially the three younger ones. One worked with horses, another helps to mix concrete for houses, the third helps out in a welding workshop and the fourth does odd jobs. They all reported that their parents are strict about them attending school. Their aspirations were to own: cars, big houses, good jobs, and vacation jobs. Three had career goals: one wanted to become a Bank Manager, one a Technician and the other an Engineer. The money they earned was spent on snacks. The boys spoke about young girls in their neighbourhood who went out with older males and they assumed that they were involved in prostitution. They felt that 'children should be treated as good as adults.'

4.4.2 Stakeholders' Reports of Children Working

Table 4 presents a summary of the 104 reports received from stakeholders.

Table 5: Stakeholders' Reports of Working Children

Children's Activities	Economic	Local Cases reported	Tourism-related cases reported	Total	Percent
Working Children: Services-23 Vending-10 Trades-7 Family-7		47	3	50	48%
WFCL: (45)		45	9	54	52%
-Modern 'slavery' /incest		4	0		
-Prostitution/Pornography		23	6		
-Illicit Activities		12	3		
-Hazardous activities		6	0		
Total		92	12	104	100%

Table 4 shows that of the 104 cases reported, 50 (48%) were in services (23), vending (10) trades (7) and family-related businesses (7). Forty seven (47) of these fifty activities (94%) related to local operations. Fifty four (54) of the 104 activities (52%) could be classified as the worst forms of child labour. Most of these activities (45) or 83% were related to local operations and nine (17%) related to tourism.

Table 6: Children’s Economic Activities

<i>Children's Economic Activities</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Vending: (10)</i> Selling fruits in season: e.g. ackees	Fr. 6yrs.	X	X	5
Newspapers: Part-time	11 years	X		2
Craft	n.a	X		1
Plastic bottles	13	X	X	2
<i>Family Businesses: (7)</i>				
Shop Assistants in Family Boutiques	From 9		X	2
Assisting mother with frying fish business	n.a	n.a	n.a	1
Cleaning fish/flying fish			x	1
Fruit vending, Market stall	Min 6yrs	x	X	3
<i>Services: (23)</i> Domestic workers (Part-time)	10, 14		X	2
Hair braiding, Nails	14		X	5
Baby sitting, child care (Part-time)	13		X	4
Catering, Fast Foods (P/T or holiday jobs)			X	3

Supermarket assistants: packing bread, shelves, checkout counter;	13-15	x	X	6
Auto Parts Shop Assistant- (P/t after school)		x		1
Boutique Store Assistant (P/T, Holidays)			X	2
<i>Trades: (7)</i>				
Welding (part-time)		x		1
Electrical Assistant (Part-time)	13	x		1
Furniture-sanding coffins	n.a	x		1
Construction- (part time or holiday jobs)	13	x		4
<i>Total</i>		21	26	47

Overall only 12 of the 104 activities reported (11.5%), related to tourism, suggesting that relatively few children may be working in the sector informally. This may be a reflection of the higher levels of education, the vigilance of School Attendance Officers, a proactive Community Policing programme, a well-developed private sector tourism industry, effective monitoring of beaches by Environmental Rangers and monitoring of tourism businesses by the Labour Department and unions. More collaborative research is needed with tourism industry personnel, to strengthen the tourism policy framework. This will help to ensure that institutional and policy mechanisms are in place to eliminate children's involvement in the sex tourism industry. Follow-up research should be conducted during the high season and special events during the year which attract overseas visitors. Table 5 provides a more detailed breakdown of the 47 working activities reported.

Table 7: Worst Forms of Child Labour Activities Reported

Activity	Age	Frequency
'Slavery'/ Incest (4)	n.a	4 reports. Concern that incest is widespread but hidden.
Prostitution/Pornography: (23) Examples: - 15year old girl pimping sex for school fees;	Minimum age was 14 years	23 reports from consultations

- 14 year old –sex for sneakers; - 3,000 pregnant teens are under 15 years; - Several reports of older men and younger girls in sexual relationships; - Several reports of girls offering sex for money to acquire material things.		
Illicit activities- Drugs: (12) Examples: -Drug peddling (Marijuana) in schools, on streets. - Drug ‘look outs’ to warn when police coming; - Scouting out communities to identify new markets for drugs, housebreaking.	Young ‘under age’ boys, + 13 year olds	12 reports from consultations
Hazardous activities: (6) Examples: Children under 16 years: -Girl employed in a garment factory fulltime. - Girl employed in a catering business and worked until midnight though work is illegal after 6pm). - Boy employed in a garage as a Mechanic- long evening hours and tired in mornings - Boy employed as assistant to electrician, works part time after school sometimes until midnight (long hours) but attends school regularly. - Boy works part time as a horse groom but work is potentially hazardous-fell off horse - Girl works p/t as Domestic worker - Truancy of children under 16 not in school	15 year old 15 years 16years 13 years Started at age 11 now 12yrs Started at 10 years	6 cases reported. Concerns about truancy and children dropping out of school to work mentioned several times.
Sub-total		45

The data presented in Table 5 confirmed and expanded the range of activities reported by the working children consulted. Vending, for example, also included newspapers, craft and plastic bottles. Trades also included sanding coffins, and services also included working in an auto-parts shop.

4.4.3 Reports of Children Involved in the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Activities associated with the worst forms of child labour are presented in this section of the report. As previously noted, these include ‘slavery,’ prostitution or pornography, illicit activities and hazardous activities.

i. Incest:

The New Pocket Oxford Dictionary (2001) describes a slave as ‘a person who is the legal property of another and is forced to obey them’ and ‘slavery’ as ‘the state of being a slave.’

This writer argues that incest should be considered a form of child ‘slavery’ because the child (usually a girl) is considered the legal ‘property’ of the perpetrator and is forced to obey because she is economically dependent on the abuser who is usually a male relative.¹² Historically, children are regarded as the ‘property’ of their parents rather than individuals with their own rights and are therefore subjected to their will. In addition, compliance with the will of the abuser involves physical violence. The state of ‘slavery’ also includes family members who are silenced by fear and economic dependence on the abuser. Reports indicate that mothers often feel powerless to intervene and avoid reporting the abuser to the Police, because of fear and financial dependence on him. However, incest is a violation of the rights of the child as outlined in the CRC and is prohibited under the Punishment of Incest Act and other laws of Barbados.

ii. Prostitution/Pornography

Boys and girls participating in a focus group at one school reported that:

- *‘lots of girls stay away from school and when they return they have lots of cash.’*
- *‘older men in cars park at school and try to pick up girls.’*
- *a 15 year-old boy with 5 younger brothers engages in oral sex with males to support his family but he does not tell his mother the source of his income*
- *an 18 year old girl was involved in a relationship with a 70 year old man and a 15 year-old girl was involved with a 50 year old man;*
- *Three boys known to them were sexually exploited by men.*
- *A well-known insurance executive regularly picks up boys from a school and it was rumoured that it was to have sex with them in exchange for money;*
- *‘Stamina Daddy’ is a well-known male who frequents schools in a ‘flashy car’ and it was rumoured that he is HIV positive, so the girls were scared of him.*

iii. Illicit Activities

There were a number of reports from both children and adults of children selling drugs in school (boys and girls). For example, in one focus group with children it was reported that *‘boys sell drugs to support their family.’* In another it was reported that *‘13-14 year old boys and girls were selling drugs in school to other kids.... The police were called in and one boy was taken to Dodds.’ ‘Children hide from teachers and smoke behind the pavilion.’*

In addition to peddling marijuana in schools and on the streets, there were also reports of children working as drug ‘look outs’ in their community, to give warning when the police are coming. Other reports made reference to children who worked to ‘scout’ out communities to identify new markets for drugs and for housebreaking.

iv. Hazardous Activities

¹² A definition of slavery is contained in the UN Slavery Convention of 1926. The definition was expanded in the Supplementary Convention (1956) on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. The Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery of the United Nations studies slavery in all its aspects.

The situation of the 15 year-old girl who was employed in a garment factory fulltime was hazardous because she was below the minimum age for factory employment, which is 16 years. The girl who was employed in a catering business and who worked until midnight, also violated the law because night work is illegal for children and women after 6pm.

The boy who was employed as a Garage Mechanic was working long hours in the evenings and was tired in mornings which affected his school work. This was also the situation with the boy who worked as an electrician's assistant after school. Sometimes he worked until midnight which would have made him tired the next day. Although he attends school regularly his performance would be affected. Finally the case of the boy who worked grooming horses was hazardous because he not only fell off horse, but was reportedly not taken to the doctor for an examination.

The education of the girl who works part-time as a Domestic Worker is compromised because of her irregular attendance at school. Finally, the education of children who regularly miss school will be compromised and truancy for whatever reason is considered a hazardous activity.

4.5 Tourism and Child Labour

As noted in the early part of this report, children in some countries are involved in the tourism industry. The RA made a distinction between legitimate employment in the formal tourism sector obtained by high school graduates, and underage children (including dropouts) who engaged in work within the informal tourism sector. This section summarizes **twelve (12) reports** of tourism-linked activities that involved children under 16 years.

The 12 tourism-related activities reported included:

- Hustling: Four (4) reports of beach boys, (school drop-outs under 16 years) who frequent the beaches, hustle and peddle goods to tourists.
- Prostitution: Four (4) reports of boys who offer sex to tourists.
- Drug peddling: Three (3) reports of young boys peddling drugs to tourists.
- Sports: Reports of some under-age boys involved in jet skiing, water sports, 'liming' (enjoying themselves) on the beach and some of these were 'dreadlocks.'
- Villa Maintenance/housekeeping – One (1) report that there are children whose parents provide maintenance services for villas as domestic helpers and gardeners, who take their child or children along to assist and some children under 16 years have their own 'contracts' and do similar work on their own. In some cases, these 'contracts' may have been set up by a parent.

These activities show that apart from selling craft, all others were directly or indirectly related to prostitution and drug peddling. Some stakeholders were of the view that water sports and 'liming' were used to lead up to sex-related activities with tourists. The motivation for their involvement was economic and many reports reflected the situations described in the studies on sex tourism cited at the beginning of this RA report. However, these cases cannot be used to indicate the magnitude of child labour within the tourism sector. They merely provide an overview of the range of activities reported, which underscores the need for further research. This is important to enable the country to achieve the goals outlined in the 2001 Green Paper on Tourism.

While the Rapid Assessment was unable to determine the magnitude of these activities, one police officer indicated that it could be *‘from Dover to Black Rock’* and children use the beaches to make contacts. Those mentioned included Miami Beach, Browne’s Beach, Accra Beach and Hastings Beach and Oistins. Stakeholders also reported that:

- *‘Many school age boys frequent the beach areas (mainly Accra) selling drugs and acting as sex workers.’*
- *‘Many boys remain in sexual relationships, (with tourists) and occasionally go to Europe to visit.’*
- *‘Under-age girls and boys are offering sex on Browne’s Beach.’*

Reports also suggested that:

- Police are more vigilant and have stamped out illegal vending of under-age children at **Miami Beach**.
- Officers found 14-15 year old boys selling marijuana on beaches in **Oistins and Brown’s Beach in Bridgetown** but eliminated these activities by increased police presence.

4.6 Stakeholders’ Concerns

Stakeholders also identified four activities that caused concern that could be related to child labour but were not included in the total number of activities reported. These were:

- Three (3) (a Juvenile Liaison Officer, Probation Department Officer and Police Officer) who independently raised concerns about the increase in ***Wandering Offenses*** among ‘under-age’ girls, who were at risk of sexual abuse.
- Two (2) stakeholders in Oistins and Pinelands who reported that there are a few ***street children***, but these were isolated cases.
- One (1) stakeholder, who suggested the need to investigate whether ‘under-age’ girls were employed in two adult entertainment clubs as exotic dancers.
- One (1) stakeholder, who suggested the need to explore children’s involvement in family businesses within the ***Indian community***.
- Seven (7) stakeholders, who made similar suggestions in relation to the ***Rastafarian (dreadlocked) community***. These reports included:
 - Two boys wearing dreadlocks who were seen begging;
 - Two boys wearing dreadlocks who were not attending school regularly;
 - One boy wearing dreadlocks ‘wandering’ late at nights, suspected to be involved in homosexual prostitution.
 - One 14 year old boy, from a family of devout Rastafarians, who did not encourage formal education. He only has a primary education. His family reportedly squats on land on the outskirts of St Michael and the boy sells ackees and roasted nuts.
 - One report of a young boy who accompanied his father selling from 7:30pm-2:00am on week nights during school term, selling roasted corn, nuts, and fruit. The boy reportedly attended school regularly but was tired in mornings and did not go on to secondary school.
 - Several children mentioned the minibus culture. In one focus group, the girls spoke about the *‘Minibus Culture’* where male conductors and drivers had relationships

with young girls between first and fifth form and give money to girls. They knew of girls who had become pregnant for minibus workers. One of the girls said a conductor would give her \$10 on a regular basis and that this started when she was in 1st form. She however refused to take it after 3rd form. One possible reason was their view that 'some of these men are HIV positive.'

A comparison of reports from working children consulted and from key informants shows that contrary to the perception that child labour does not exist in Barbados, there are children below the age of 18 years who are working. Reports from both groups confirmed that most of them work in services, but also in vending, trades, and family businesses. There was also evidence of activities suggestive of the worst forms of child labour.

4.7 Characteristics of Working Children

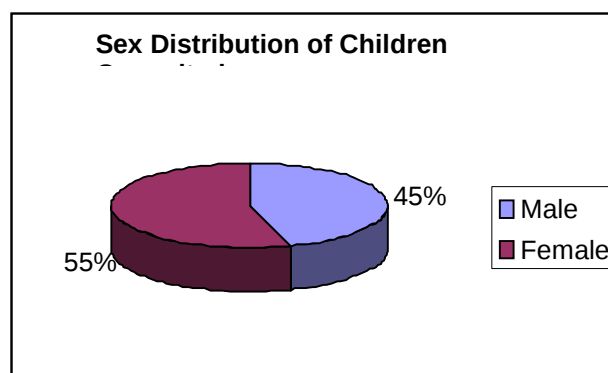
Race

Consistent with the racial profile of Barbados the majority of children consulted were of African descent. However, because of the non-random sampling method used, none of the racial minority groups in the country were included

Sex

As Figure 1 shows there were slightly more girls than boys among the 62 children consulted. Within the group of working children however, there were 15 males (54%) and 13 females (46%). Boys were therefore more likely to be working than girls.

Figure 1: Sex Distribution of Children Consulted



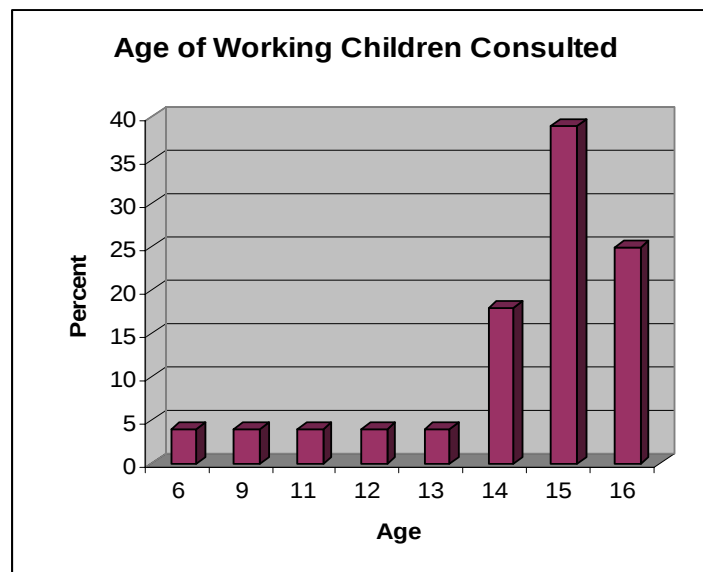
Gender and Work

In most cases, gender determined the kind of work activity. Young males tended to be involved in activities on the street and in the ‘public’ domain, while most girls did activities within the home, a family business or other ‘private sphere.’ There were more reports of girls in prostitution and in situations of sexual exploitation than boys.

Age

The majority of working children consulted (82%) were over 14 years, while 18% were between 9 and 13 years. For those 14 years and over, 18% were 14 years, 39% were 15 years and 25% were 16 years. This suggests that most of the children working are likely to be at least 15 years-one year below the age of compulsory education.

Figure 2: Age of Working Children Consulted



Education

Most of the 28 children consulted were in secondary school, attended regularly and worked part-time in the evenings and on weekends. However, some children had dropped out of school and were working before completing their education.

Children most likely not to attend school regularly, or attend school late, were those involved in the worst forms of child labour and girls. For example, the 15 year old girl who worked part-time ‘flexible hours’ as a domestic worker for the last five years said she had attended school ‘3 days a week...(and) 5 days in the last month of school.’ Her aspiration ‘to be a nurse and get a good job’

could obviously be jeopardized by her reported record of attendance. A few girls reported staying home occasionally for child minding activities.

The Guidance Counsellor in one school reported that only two (2) out of 952 children on roll had dropped out of school to work. This indicates that the strong culture of education, policies of free compulsory education, and use of School Attendance Officers are generally effective in ensuring regular attendance. The exceptions tended to be children from poor families in some inner city areas of Bridgetown, children with behaviour problems and some Rastafarian children. Reports also suggest the need to examine school attendance patterns in some low-income communities in future research.

Family and Living Conditions

The families of most of the 28 working children consulted were poor and their parents were in low-paying, elementary occupations. In some households both parents were unemployed or under-employed. Approximately half of the children lived in single female-headed households, which are high-risk for poverty. Average family size was 4-5 persons except in Ruby Tenantry where one household had 10 persons. Some children reported verbal and physical abuse as part of their living situation.

The majority of cases were found in poor communities in Bridgetown, which was identified in the IDB poverty survey as having the highest incidence of poverty. These findings confirmed a correlation between child labour and poverty.

Children's Attitudes to Work

Most children involved in regular economic activities said that they enjoyed working and felt a sense of satisfaction from being paid. Exceptions were children working in family businesses who felt bored and frustrated and those who disliked the long wait for payment. Teenage girls who had worked in boutiques during vacations reported both good and bad treatment from adults.

Aspirations

Children had a variety of aspirations. Most articulated very clear career goals, depicting a range of interests and occupations: vocational, professional, and special interests such as 'racing car driver.' A few showed a strong entrepreneurial spirit, wanting to own their own business. Others desired more family stability (e.g. 'I wish my parents were together'), psychological well-being ('I want a peaceful happy life,' 'I want peace on earth,' 'People should have respect for each other,' 'I want people to know the Lord'). Others wanted material things (e.g. basic necessities, land, house, car, money, clothes, toys, family parties). A few wanted to help their parents financially and these tended to be boys in poor families- some living with single mothers and others with both parents. A 15-year-old girl who had dropped out of school at Grade 3 said she wanted to be an accountant, wished 'to be able to layback, do nothing and have someone cater to her needs.' One boy who worked, wished they would find a cure for AIDS.

Rights

Of concern is the fact that few children consulted were aware of their rights and those who did, had a very vague notion of what those rights were. For example, one child in the Westbury New Road thought that ‘children did not have enough rights and that they should have the right to express themselves and to decide what they want to be.’ Limited awareness creates an environment conducive to the exploitation of children.

Working Conditions

Long hours, irregular payments, low remuneration, boredom, and bad treatment from adults, were among the factors that characterized working conditions of some children. The RA was unable to get detailed information on the working conditions of children involved in activities associated with the worst forms of child labour such as prostitution, pornography or the drug trade.

4.8 Traditional and Current Attitudes to Children Working

Regular household chores cited by the children have not been included in the analysis as these are considered the norm in Barbadian culture as indeed in many Caribbean countries. The Rapid Assessment however provided some insight into the traditional attitudes and experiences of working children in Barbados.

Reflecting on traditions, one man described his earlier years as a teacher in a rural community, noting that it was not uncommon to find school attendance dropping during the sugar harvest. Children also helped to tend sheep and to harvest and sell produce from their family’s vegetable plot on Sundays. This gentleman also recalled seeing children collecting wood, which they sold at night all over Bridgetown. However, many parents (even those who were poor) did not want their children to work, because this suggested an inability to adequately provide for their family.

In another reflection, a 26 year-old woman recalled working as a bus conductor on Saturdays and Sundays from the age of 14 years (12 years ago). She and her six siblings did this for several years while attending school and living with their aunt and the aunt’s boyfriend who were also bus conductors. She earned B\$100 but reported that the driver sometimes deducted money, if he felt that she had not collected enough for the day. She noted however, that this part-time work did not interfere with her school work.

Current attitudes of some parents suggest that they see children’s involvement in economic activity as the norm and a positive practice. Some link pocket money to the completion of chores. There is also the expectation that children should help in any family business and the data suggest that children’s work, is important in micro and small enterprises.

4.9 Causes

The RA did not identify tourism as a major contributor to child labour although it provided opportunities in the informal sector that were exploited by individuals. Instead, the local economy provided more opportunities for work. Several possible causes emerged from the analysis to explain why children worked or were involved in the worst forms of child labour. Among these were: poverty, dissatisfaction with the school system, poor values (wants vs. needs); inadequate awareness of children's rights, poor parenting, absence of parents or caregivers and family break-ups. Domestic violence and incest drove some of them to the streets and created tensions at home. However, some children were clearly self-motivated and wanted to earn their own money so they could control how it was spent and to buy things for themselves. Fewer said it was to contribute to their family's income, which suggests that in some poor families, the parent or parents were unable to provide enough resources to meet the needs or wants of their children. Some of these issues are examined below, but are not ranked in order of priority, as more in-depth research would be required to make this meaningful.

Public Perceptions and Attitudes

- Traditional perceptions of children as the property of their parents, rather than as persons with individual rights, could create tolerance of abuse and exploitation.
- Widespread public perception that there is no child labour in Barbados, without actual research to determine whether or not it exists, could also help to perpetuate the worst forms of child labour.
- Lack of knowledge/awareness of and respect for children's rights creates a social climate in which children's rights could be abused.

Inadequate Legal and Institutional Mechanisms

- Absence of specific legislation that defines child labour and the worst forms of child labour and public awareness, facilitates subjective interpretation and possible exploitation.
- Absence of a formal surveillance system or the formal collection of statistics across central agencies such as health, education, probation, the police and childcare, can allow genuine cases to fall through the cracks. A compartmentalized approach to childcare and protection may limit risk assessment and the effectiveness of interventions.
- Limited capacity to monitor labour practices in the informal sector, family businesses as well as in micro and small businesses may also be a cause/factor.

Economic Issues

- Poverty and the need for economic survival are likely to be push factors for some poor families as some children were working because they said they wanted to and needed to help their family.
- Single, female-headed households, which tend to be poorer, are at greater risk because these women have lower education and skills, higher levels of unemployment and tend to be concentrated in low-income or seasonal jobs.

- Economic power to have access to and control over their own pocket money was a motivation for some children, who wanted more independence. Interest in work may also have been linked to the clear career goals that many children articulated.
- The spread of drug trafficking, a drug culture, sex tourism, the Internet and international pedophile rings, creates illegal economic activities as options for children and adults to earn a living. Income from some of these activities is much higher than earnings in traditional jobs.
- The need to support a drug habit was also cited as the reason for one boy's involvement in the worst forms of child labour.

Education Issues

- Children who drop out of school for whatever reason appear more likely to be at risk of child labour and the worst forms of child labour than their peers who complete their education to age 16 years.
- Children's dissatisfaction and inability to cope with the school system also emerged as a possible factor for 'dropping-out' and starting to work.
- Some informants also mentioned 'Weak law enforcement', although there was also evidence that School Attendance Officers are vigilant.

Social Values

- Adults and some children perceived peer pressure as one of the main reasons why some children dropped out of school and became engaged in child labour and the worst forms of child labour.
- Acceptance and adoption of the lifestyle and values associated with illicit activities also appeared to lure some children into the worst forms of child labour.
- Gender socialization and the roles ascribed to men and women, encourage inequality between the sexes and can create a cycle of dependency and sexual exploitation between older men and young girls. Some young girls appeared to have accepted a value system that justified their use of sex as a means of financial support from older men.
- Value systems and lifestyles, perpetuated through the media (cable and the Internet), could also have helped to create values that justified the use of sex to acquire brand name shoes, clothing and accessories or other things children wanted.
- Strong homophobic attitudes could increase the risk of sexual exploitation of boys and girls, as there are strong social taboos.
- Acceptance of drug use (marijuana) in some poor communities and social groups, could also increase the risk of children's involvement in illicit activities as traffickers/sellers or as 'lookouts.'
- Cultural norms may also influence perceptions of the problem of child labour and appropriate interventions.
- Religious beliefs and attitudes to education may also contribute to child labour.

- Community norms related to tolerance or rejection of truancy from school, can also impact on child labour and the results suggest that community residents can play an important role in reducing or tolerating truancy and child labour.

Family and Parenting Issues

- Poor parenting skills, were also cited as causes of child labour and the worst forms of child labour. There were reports of parents encouraging and supporting their children's involvement in some of the worst forms of child labour.
- Family conflicts, domestic violence, family breakups, and parent's unemployment also emerged as 'push factors.'

4.10 Consequences

The consequences of activities suggestive of child labour and the worst forms of child labour impact at the personal, family, community and national level and some of these are discussed below.

- Poverty is likely to increase among school dropouts & children who attend school irregularly or are too tired and distracted by work to concentrate.
- Children whose economic activities interfere with their education are likely to end up with low-skill-low-wage jobs.
- Career goals and aspirations articulated by the children are likely to remain dreams because of incomplete education and training.
- High levels of poverty could pose a threat to the long-term social and economic development of Barbados as well as to trade relations.

'Bondage', Prostitution and Pornography

- Incest and sexual exploitation can undermine a child's self-confidence, self esteem, ability to trust others and their whole self-development.
- Incest and sexual abuse at an early age increase the likelihood of promiscuity and children becoming sexually exploited through prostitution.
- Prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation increase the risk of teenage pregnancy, Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS. These illnesses reduce life expectancy, quality of life and increase health costs.
- Prostitution and pornography corrupt children's moral values.
- Violence often associated with sexual exploitation of children can be life threatening.
- An interesting new angle was reported in the sexual relationships between young girls and older men. HIV positive men over 60 years were using Viagra to reactivate their sex

life and some were reportedly spreading the disease by engaging in transactional sex with young men and women. Another angle reported was of younger women relieving older retired men of their money and pensions.

Illicit Activities

Children's involvement in illicit activities such as drug trafficking and other forms of crime, pose a threat to their security, safety and well-being. It also increases juvenile delinquency, incarceration and can be life-threatening.

Hazardous Activities

- Some activities such as newspaper selling are not in themselves hazardous but could be if the working conditions expose children to risks in traffic for example.
- Long working hours in domestic chores, family businesses or economic activities that require children to work until late at night and which interfere with their education, are also considered hazardous and could impede their educational and social development.
- The few reported cases of 'street children' and 'wandering,' exposes children (especially girls) to physical and sexual abuse.
- Economic activities that expose very young children to physical risks that are incompatible with their age could also be hazardous and cause physical danger. (e.g. work in auto-mechanics or welding).

Together these factors can undermine the country's development status.

5. 0 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The Rapid Assessment reported the experience of 28 working children and the 54 reports of children involved in the worst forms of child labour. The findings point to the need for further research to determine the magnitude of the activities reported.

Despite the strong legal and international mechanisms to protect the rights of children, there are still gaps in the legislation which need to be filled. One is the absence of a law that specifically defines child labour, the worst forms of child labour and hazardous work, which leaves children open to exploitation.

Inadequate training for staff of key monitoring agencies on ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182, limits their capacity to monitor the problem in a comprehensive way.

Inadequate inter-agency collaboration and coordination reduces the country's capacity to monitor this problem. There is need for a comprehensive surveillance and monitoring system that collects

statistical data across important social service agencies, to better understand the scope, magnitude and characteristics of the problem.

The informal sector offers the largest opportunities for children to work and most of them were employed in a variety of services. This suggests that protective mechanisms are quite effective in the formal sector, where labour laws are known and respected and effectively monitored by the social partners. However, policies and strategies need to be reviewed and strengthened to increase monitoring of the informal sector, which creates openings for the economic and sexual exploitation of children.

Inadequate public awareness about children's rights and ILO child labour conventions that have been ratified, weaken the capacity of ordinary citizens to identify, monitor and eliminate child labour and the worst forms of child labour. Children's lack of awareness about their rights and about child labour provisions, also limits their capacity to protect themselves from exploitation.

Barbados' strong economy and extensive institutional mechanisms for education, health and social services, reduce the risk of child labour, but some children 'fall through the cracks.'

Consistency between the reports from key informants, observations and data from poverty studies established a link between poverty, child labour and the worst forms of child labour. The highest incidents of child labour-related activities were in poor communities in Bridgetown and working children were more likely to belong to poor, large families, headed by a single mother, who was in either a low-skilled, low-income job or was unemployed. These factors led to the conclusion that children in poor households appear to be at higher risk of child labour and the worst forms of child labour than their counterparts in non-poor households, hence the need for special measures to support and protect children and families at risk.

Though few, children's economic activities in the informal tourism sector mirrored those described in the literature review, with reports of male school dropouts who became 'beach boys,' offering services to visitors as vendors, water sport personnel or sexual partners. There was one report involving travel to Europe as suggested in the literature. Reports of children's employment in villa maintenance (housekeeping and gardening) by helping parents or as independent contractors, needs further investigation in collaboration with the tourism sector.

Work exposed children to economic and sexual exploitation. Push factors included need, values, peer pressure, school dropouts, and limited awareness and respect for the rights of women and children. The main consequences were risks to health, education, poverty and national development. **Education therefore emerged as the most important preventive strategy.**

5.2 General Recommendations

The following recommendations have emerged from consultations with stakeholders, including children and members of the Review Team, and could be considered as part of a National Plan of Action on Child Labour.

5.2.1. Research

Organize follow-up research, possibly in collaboration with The University of the West Indies, SIMPOC, the Statistics Department, Department of Youth Affairs, social sector agencies and international organizations, to determine the magnitude of child labour and the worst forms of child labour. Priority areas could include: tourism, the adult entertainment industry, fishing, construction, micro and small businesses and the informal sector.

5.2.2 Legal and Policy Reform

- Develop specific legislation to define activities associated with child labour, the worst forms of child labour and hazardous work, in order to strengthen what is otherwise a very comprehensive legislative framework.
- Review and strengthen polices to prevent child labour and rehabilitate working children.
- Improve law enforcement by reviewing impediments to reporting and action on cases of child sexual abuse.
- Promote gender and social equity in employment to eliminate discrimination against women, and promote women's economic independence. This would raise the income of poor single female-headed households which are at higher risk of child labour.

5.2.3 Monitoring and Coordination

- Establish a formal surveillance system to collect relevant statistics from health, education, child care, the police, probation department etc.
- Review the comments of the Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child in responding to the Barbados report under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child on Special Protection Measures that relate to different types and amounts of work that are acceptable for children of different ages which was unclear. Adopt appropriate measures as needed.
- Collaborate with trade unions and the Barbados Employers' Federation to improve monitoring of child labour in the work environment.

5.2.4 Public Education and Training

- Organize information, education and communication programmes (workshops, seminars and discussions, media sensitization) to share the findings of the Rapid Assessment with stakeholder groups. Include churches & other civil society groups, social partners, police officers, probation office attendance officers, school guidance counselors, principals, social service and welfare agencies, Magistrates and Lawyers, the Labour Department, the Ministry of Social Mobilization responsible for Poverty Alleviation and the Ministry of Tourism.

- Organize sensitization programmes to build public awareness on ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 and the worst forms of child labour as well as strengthen public education on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and CEDAW.
- Organize training workshops for justice administrators, to ensure stricter enforcement of legal provisions to protect children.

5.2.5 Programmes For Children

- *Organize special meetings with working children and young people at risk to share the Rapid Assessment findings and get their input on priority areas for follow-up research and action.*
- Improve welfare and Family Planning education programmes.
- Expand special programmes for working children to enable them to complete their education and develop occupational skills.
- Organize peer counselling and mentoring programmes in schools as a preventive measure to encourage children to complete their education.
- Organize programmes to build self-esteem of young girls so they will identify themselves as persons in their own right rather than define themselves through association with a male.
- Design special programmes for young males who work to support family income and for girls who are more exposed to work within the domestic sphere and prostitution.
- Develop programmes for special-risk groups of working children such as the very young, the girl child, children in hidden work situations and children with disabilities.

5.2.6 Programmes for Parents

- Expand parenting education programmes to improve communication between parents and children and to create awareness of the causes and consequences of child labour.
- Provide employment support for poor parents through existing poverty reduction programmes.

5.2.7 Collaboration and Networking

- Collaborate with other Caribbean countries and international agencies to share information, resources and strategies to eliminate child labour.

5.3 Conclusions and Recommendations on the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology

5.3.1 Preparation

Organize an Orientation Workshop with social partners and civil society groups shortly after an official agreement is made to conduct a Rapid Assessment to clarify the objectives, methods, scope and limitations of the process, as well as expectations regarding their involvement in follow-up action. The workshop would help to:

- Clarify the difference between a Rapid Assessment using non-random sampling methods, a national survey using random sampling methods, a long term ethnographic study that can determine patterns of behaviour over time (e.g. drug trafficking, prostitution rings), or a baseline study of a particular sector (e.g. fishing, tourism or the informal sector).
- Share findings of Rapid Assessments on child labour from other countries as models.
- Define concepts and terms, such as ‘a child’, ‘child labour’, ‘work’ ‘light work’, the worst forms of child labour,’ ‘hazardous work’ and ‘children’s chores,’ to make ‘child labour’ more ‘visible.’
- Increase awareness of ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182.
- Facilitate discussions on child rights, the CRC, CEDAW, cultural attitudes to children, as well as the rights of girl children.
- Encourage organizations to share information across various sectors to get a holistic view of the scale and dimensions of the problem, even if some information is sensitive.
- Mobilize support for and participation in the data collection process and encourage ownership of the results.
- Identify key informants who can then facilitate contact with working children and persons knowledgeable about child labour.
- Identify locations to be studied as well as the most appropriate times to have access to the children.

5.3.2 Data Collection

Time is also a factor for the RA and the Barbados study was one of three Rapid Assessments conducted within a very short time frame. Budgetary constraints facilitated only one-week for the main field research.

The ILO/UNICEF Manual describes the RA methodology as being primarily ‘qualitative and descriptive,’ but also involves some quantitative methods. Experience in the field confirms that the RA is a valuable tool for studying child labour and the WFCL. Qualitative methods emerged as being more effective in identifying the worst forms of child labour, which are hidden, isolated and sometimes dangerous. Researchers should use interviews, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observations rather than a questionnaire to collect data on the worst forms of child labour.

The ILO/UNICEF Manual indicates that ‘short questionnaires may be used in various setting’ to obtain information or cross check information through interviews. The range of issues to be covered is however more consistent with a *baseline study than a rapid assessment*. Experience in the field demonstrated that questionnaires created a communication barrier in several situations.

The experience of trying to use questionnaires as the main data collection instrument was somewhat effective but both children and adults were more willing to share information

informally than to have their views recorded on a questionnaire. Where possible, the questionnaires were used, but in some instances they were used as data collection guide for interviews and focus group discussions, which facilitated information flow. The limitation of using this approach was that there were some data gaps. Nevertheless, the process proved effective in providing valuable qualitative data. Notes were prepared immediately after each interview or focus group and frequent debriefing sessions were held with the team.

5.3.3 Data Analysis

The RA affords flexibility and creativity in collecting data but coding and analyzing qualitative data to extract meaningful quantitative data using a non-random sampling method was challenging.

5.3.4 Local Partners

Rapid Assessments to be conducted in a very short space of time should require local partner institutions to assume primary responsibility for the collection and analysis of secondary data. This is particularly important when the Research Consultant is a non-national and non-resident. Government personnel are more likely to share information with each other and be able to source the 'right' information in a short timeframe. This approach reduces the time required to build trust and confidence with personnel, as some government agencies may be reluctant to share information and may require prior permission to do so.

5.3.5 Research Team

- Success of the RA is very dependent on the quality and composition of the research team.
- Training the research team in the RA methodology should include discussions on the ILO Conventions, CRC, CEDAW as well as psychological preparation for some of the challenging situations they may encounter. Security and communication issues also need to be discussed and members are encouraged to work in teams where possible, when working in potentially dangerous areas or late at night.
- The Research Assistant plays an important role in collecting secondary data, and facilitating links with key institutions.
- Training local researchers to use the RA methodology makes them a valuable source of knowledge for future studies, and their participation in the process usually motivates them and makes them committed to eliminate child labour.
- Lessons from the RA helped to identify characteristics, skills, abilities and aptitudes most effective for conducting this type of research. Individuals with prior research experience added value to the process. Self-confidence, good interpersonal and communication skills, social and cultural awareness and ability to quickly build rapport with children and other key informants are vital skills required. *Gender sensitivity is also an important asset as the researcher can more consistently examine the differential experiences, positions and views of males and females.* There is added value in using researchers who are familiar with the target communities being studied.

5.3.6 Research Process

- The absence of a stakeholders meeting in Barbados, did have an adverse effect on the research process.
- Organizing an orientation and debriefing workshop with researchers at the beginning and end of the data collection period proved very effective.
- Establishing a review team, and organizing a review workshop to provide feedback on the draft report, also emerged as an effective strategy to clarify and validate results and refine the report. This participatory process helped to mobilize and strengthen stakeholder involvement in the process, increase ownership of the findings and commitment to action.
- Where possible, members of the review team should be part of the orientation workshop which would expose them to the scope and limitations of the RA methodology and ILO Conventions.
- Input of the ILO's Technical team though challenging was also valuable as it helped to identify data gaps, facilitated consistency across the various RA studies, sharpened the data analysis process and the evaluation of the Rapid Assessment methodology.

5.3.7 Time Frame and Length of Report

- The timeframe for conducting a RA must be reviewed. The Barbados report was one of three RA's in tourism-related economies. Three draft reports were completed in the time frame recommended for one (i.e. three–four months).
- Organizing fieldwork, stakeholders' meetings and review meetings to fit the schedules of national stakeholders, required careful negotiation and coordination.
- The analysis and writing of the draft and final reports were quite challenging as the process requires close attention to detail, filling data gaps from secondary sources and researchers.
- Writing requires considerable sensitivity to present the information accurately, responsibly, constructively and professionally in a manner that does not sensationalize the issues.
- Consideration must also be given to validate the efforts of institutions, and encourage them to review and support their work to encourage a more targeted response to the needs of children.
- Writing in a respectful, sensitive and constructive manner, is important, to enable stakeholders to 'hear' the difficult situations described and respond constructively.
- The level of detail required to present the issues to stakeholders requires a longer paper than the 30 pages recommended for this component of the Rapid Assessment for tourism.

5.3.8 Report Format

- The full report is developed to provide policy makers and planners with the detailed analysis needed to guide them in the development of an action programme. Other stakeholders may read it out of interest.
- The Executive Summary has been prepared for use as a stand-alone document, cognizant of the reality that the Caribbean is an oral society, and few people will read a long report. Its length will also make duplication and distribution cost effective.

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Appendix 1
SUMMARY OF PERSONS CONSULTED

Locations/Agencies/Key Informants	No. Interviewed	Data collection Method
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Bridgetown Vendors Agencies – PAREDOS B'dos Family Planning Assoc. Church Priest Others Christ Church Construction Workers Total	 5 2 1 1 5 2 16	Interviews “ “ “ “ Semi Structured Interviews and Observations
Bridgetown Chief Probation Officer Gov't Industrial School Teacher, Guidance Counsellor St. Philip Mother of working child Girl – 16 yrs Young man – 16 yrs Bartenders Vendors Police Officers Total	 1 2 1 1 1 2 4 1 13	Interview Observation in Ruby Tenantry (former plantation poor area) Interview Questionnaire Interviews “ “
Oistins Senior Health Officer Police Police NCC Ranger Fish Vendor Males Teenage Girls Supermarket Young boys Polyclinic – Health Nurse Fish market Supermarket St. Michael Browne's Beach MOH- AIDS Information Centre Total	 1 1 2 1 1 7 4 1 2 1 - - 5 1 27	Interview “ Semi-structured Interview “ “ Focus group Focus Group Semi-structured Interview Interview “ Observation “ Focus Group Interview
Min. Education – Mr. Morris Pinelands		

Mr. Grant	1	Interview
Lisa		
Child – 15 yrs	1	“
	1	“
	1	“
St. Michael –		
Carrington Village – Females	5	Focus Group
Westbury New Road – (10males –10 f)	20	“
Parkinson School – (Pinelands) (5 m- 5 f)	10	“
Ivy – males - 11-15 yrs	4	“
B’dos Evangelical Assoc. Mr. Simmons	1	Interview
Sub Total	45	
Bridgetown		
-Hon Rawle Eastmond, Minister of Labour	1	Interviews
-Ms Joan Crawford, Child Care Board	1	
-Ms Patricia Codrington, Acting Director, Dept. of Women’s Affairs	1	
-Ms Merna Jordan Department of Statistics	1	
-Meeting with Lt. Col. Neville Edwards, Permanent Secretary, Deputy PS and Labour team	7	Focus group
-Mr Edwin Cobham, Labour Officer	1	Interviews
-Inspector Erwin Boyce, Research Officer, Barbados Constabulary	1	
-Mr. Richard Carter, Director of Youth Affairs, MOE	1	
-Ms Doreen Deane, Barbados Workers Union	1	
-Mr Harry Husbands, Barbados Employers Federation	1	
-Sgt Brathwaite, Tourism Crime Prevention Unit	1	
-Mr G Stuart Layne, PS Tourism	1	
-Ms Gabrielle Springer, Deputy PS, Tourism	1	
--Ms Beckles, UNICEF	1	
-Dr Ikel Tafari	1	
Total	21	
Bathsheba		
Observations of the community (fishing, farming, tourism)		Observations
Focus group with fishermen	4	Focus group
Total	126	