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Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour:

*A synthesis report of selected rapid assessment
and national reports*



International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour
(IPEC)

Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour:

A synthesis report
of selected rapid assessment
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Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of girls and boys at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182, 1999), is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Paragraph 5 of Recommendation No. 190 accompanying ILO Convention No. 182 states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency”.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC,¹ has carried out 38 rapid assessments (RA) of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area, and produced 2 national reports on child domestic workers based on national statistics. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF.² The project was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; commercial sexual exploitation; and children working in the streets.

The purpose of the synthesis report is to analyse and present the findings from the 38 RAs and 2 national reports both across worst forms and countries. Despite the fact that the situation of children in a particular worst form of child labour and in a given location is often unique to the form and country or region investigated, some important common themes have emerged from this synthesis, such as community and parental attitudes towards children’s schooling and work, family trauma, family disintegration, large family size, economic shock, and economic/social/political dislocation and marginalization as often significant factors associated with participation in the worst forms of child labour.

I should like to express our gratitude to the researchers, partners and IPEC colleagues who have contributed to the realization of this paper. The opinions expressed in this publication do not imply endorsement by the ILO.

¹ IPEC/SIMPOC: International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour.

² ILO/UNICEF, *Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment — A Field Manual*, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc/simpoc/guides/index.htm>.

Valuable insight into the circumstances of children in worst forms of child labour around the world has been gained from the synthesis of the project findings and results will continue to deepen our understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. We hope that information contained in this report, as well as in the 40 individual project reports, will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Guy Thijs', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Guy Thijs
Director
International Programme on the Elimination
of Child Labour (IPEC)
International Labour Office
(ILO)

Geneva, 2005

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Acronyms

CDW	Child Domestic Workers
CSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation
GNP	Gross National Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
RA	Rapid Assessment
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TBP	Time Bound Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

List of Rapid Assessments and National Reports

Bolivia

ILO/IPEC. Dávalos, G. *Bolivia — Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 36. Geneva, 2002.

Brazil

ILO/IPEC. De Souza e Silva, J.; Urani, A. *Brazil — Situation of children in drug trafficking: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 20. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Haas, F.; Oliveira Muniz, J.; de Oliveira Lima, J. *Brazil — Child and adolescent domestic work in selected years from 1992 to 1999: A national report*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 40. Geneva, 2003.

Costa Rica

ILO/IPEC. Claramunt, M.C. *Costa Rica — Explotación sexual comercial de personas menores de edad: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 33. Geneva, 2002.

Ecuador

ILO/IPEC. Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. *Ecuador — Trabajo infantil en la floricultura: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 35. Geneva, 2002.

El Salvador

ILO/IPEC. Quezada de Vargas, J.; Vargas Aguilar, A. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 27. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Carranza, A.C.; Zelaya, L.; Iglesias, S. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil en los basureros: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 32. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. González de Innocenti, Z.; Innocenti, C. *El Salvador — La explotación sexual comercial infantil y adolescente: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 30. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Godoy, O. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil doméstico: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 29. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Godoy, O. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil en la pesca: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 31. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Quiteño, H.; Rivas, W. *El Salvador — Trabajo infantil urbano: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 28. Geneva, 2002.

Estonia

ILO/IPEC. Kalikova, N.; Kurbatova, A.; Talu, A. *Estonia — Children and adolescents involved in drug use and trafficking: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 37. Geneva, 2002.

Ethiopia

ILO/IPEC. Kifle, A. *Ethiopia — Child domestic workers in Addis Ababa: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 38. Geneva, 2002.

Guatemala

ILO/IPEC. García, F.; Duque, V. *Guatemala — Trabajo infantil en los basureros: Una evaluación rápida*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 34. Geneva, 2002.

Jamaica

ILO/IPEC. Dunn, L. *Jamaica — Situation of children in prostitution: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 8. Geneva, 2001.

Lebanon

ILO/IPEC. Consultation and Research Institute. *Lebanon — Child labour on tobacco plantations: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 17. Geneva, 2002.

Madagascar

ILO/IPEC. Ravaozanany, N.; Razafindrabe, L.; Rakotoniarivo, L. *Madagascar — Les enfants victimes de l'exploitation sexuelle à Antsiranana, Toliary et Antananarivo: Une évaluation rapide*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 25. Geneva, 2002.

Nepal

ILO/IPEC. Bal, K.; Subedi, G.; Gurung, Y.; Adhikari, K. *Nepal — Trafficking in girls with special reference to prostitution: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 2. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Bal, K.; Adhikari, K.; Subedi, G.; Yongendra B. *Nepal — Situation of child porters: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 6. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Bal, K.; Gurung, Y.; Ahikari, K.; Subed, G. *Nepal — Situation of child rag pickers: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 4. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Sharma, S.; Basnyat, B.; Ganesh G.C. *Nepal — Bonded labour among child workers of the kamaiya system: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 5. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Sharma, S.; Thakurathi, M.; Sapkota, K.; Devkota, B.; Rimal, B. *Nepal — Situation of domestic child labourers in Kathmandu: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 3. Geneva, 2001.

Philippines

ILO/IPEC. Cagoco-Guiam, R. *Philippines — Child soldiers in central and western Mindanao: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 21. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Lepiten, M. *Philippines — Children's involvement in the production, sale and trafficking of drugs in Cebu City: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 22. Geneva, 2002.

Romania

ILO/IPEC. Alexandrescu, G. *Romania — Working street children in Bucharest: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 19. Geneva, 2002.

South Africa

ILO/IPEC. Budlender, D.; Bosch, D. *South Africa — Child domestic workers: A national report*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 39. Geneva, 2002.

Sri Lanka

ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S.W. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 18. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Kannangara, N.; de Silva, H.; Parndigamage, N. *Sri Lanka — Child domestic labour: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 26. Geneva, 2003.

Tanzania

ILO/IPEC. Gonza, M.J.; Moshi, P. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture – Tea: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 11. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Kadonya, C.; Madihi, M.; Mtwana, S. *Tanzania — Child labour in the informal sector: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 14. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Kamala, E.; Lusinde, E.; Millinga, J.; Mwaitula, J. *Tanzania — Children in prostitution: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 12. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Makame, V.; Mariki, G.; Mwinulla, J. *Tanzania — Child labour in the horticulture sector in Arumeru District: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 10. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Masudi, A.; Ishumi, A.; Mbeo, F.; Sambo, W. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture – Tobacco: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 9. Geneva, 2001.

ILO/IPEC. Mwami, J.A.; Sanga, A.J.; Nyoni, J. *Tanzania — Child labour in mining: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 15. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Nchahaga, G.S. *Tanzania — Children working in commercial agriculture – Coffee: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 13. Geneva, 2002.

Thailand

ILO/IPEC. Phlainoi, N. *Thailand — Child domestic workers: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 23. Geneva, 2002.

ILO/IPEC. Sunthornkajit, V.; Kaiyanunta, T.; Varavarn, P.; Varatechakongka, S. *Thailand — Child labour in illicit drug activities: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 24. Geneva, 2002.

Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar Border Areas

ILO/IPEC. Wille, C. *Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar border areas — Trafficking in children into the worst forms of child labour: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 1. Geneva, 2001.

Turkey

ILO/IPEC. Aksit, B.; Karanci, N.; Gündüz-Hoşgör, A. *Turkey — Working street children in three metropolitan cities: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 7. Geneva, 2001.

Viet Nam

ILO/IPEC. Le Bach Duong. *Viet Nam — Children in prostitution in Hanoi, Hai Phong, Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 16. Geneva, 2002.

I. Introduction

In recent years, there has been increased global concern for children's rights and an expressed desire to eliminate child labour, particularly in its worst forms. In 1999, the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182)³ which calls for the immediate prohibition and elimination of child labour in its worst forms. An accompanying Recommendation (No. 190) was passed in the same year calling for more detailed information on the nature and extent of child labour, mainly the worst forms of child labour (WFCL).

In part as a result of the adoption of ILO Convention No. 182, the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has made significant contributions to the knowledge base on child labour, primarily through its assistance to the implementation in different countries of national household surveys, baseline surveys and rapid assessments, and production of a large number of reports, including good practice and evaluation reports. In the particular case of the WFCL, extensive research has been carried out using the Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology. RA is an innovative methodology that employs several research strategies simultaneously, aiming at a relatively rapid understanding of a specific problem or issue. It is usually used in local or regional contexts. RA research projects usually extend just six months from start to finish, although they can take longer in the case of harder-to-access forms of child labour. Thus, compared to other methodologies such as large-scale surveys, RA makes limited demands on time and financial resources. This method is generally described as being primarily qualitative because it emphasizes the research tools of observation and interviewing, without long-term participant engagement in anthropological fieldwork. Nevertheless, it frequently integrates quantitative data, and can also produce comparative results. The RA method offers great potential for uncovering valuable information on issues or populations about which existing knowledge is limited or nonexistent, and offers the opportunity of looking at possible causes of and pathways into child labour, the actual work that boys and girls do, their living and working conditions, and their own perceptions of their situations.

Between the years 2000 and 2004, IPEC/SIMPOC provided assistance to approximately 90 such RAs worldwide, 38 of which are part of a project to investigate the WFCL.⁴ These 38 RAs were meticulously carried out with the aim of meeting the following objectives: (i) to produce and make publicly available quantitative and qualitative information related to WFCL; (ii) to provide a clear description of the magnitude, character, causes, and consequences of WFCL; and (iii) to further develop and validate the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology on child labour, specifically the Rapid Assessment ILO/UNICEF draft manual.⁵ This report provides an analysis and synthesis of the 38 RA reports mainly on WFCL as well as the 2 national reports on child domestic work conducted — in the context of the same project — under the direction of ILO/IPEC. With resources and commitment in place to eradicate the WFCL, it is essential to establish a knowledge base regarding the WFCL, so that appropriate actions to combat them may be designed and implemented. The set of studies examined here represents the first unified attempt to study the WFCL, across different types of WFCL and across countries, using a common, systematic and transparent methodology. Though the results from each investigation are situation specific, they provide valuable insight into some of the WFCL.

³ According to ILO Convention No. 182, a child is any person younger than 18 years of age.

⁴ Funding for this project was provided by the United States Department of Labor.

⁵ ILO/UNICEF, *Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment — A Field Manual*. Geneva, 2000, a draft to be finalized following field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc/simpoc/guides/index.htm>.

Regarding the WFCL, it is useful to make a distinction between two categories: those that are worst forms of child labour as laid down in Article 3(a) to (c) of Convention No.182 (referred to as “unconditional worst forms of child labour” in the 2002 Global Report produced by the ILO⁶) on the one hand, and those to be determined at the national level in accordance with Articles 3(d) and 4 of Convention No.182 (and also covered by ILO Convention No.138 on Minimum Age⁷, Article 3) on the other. The WFCL under the former category are always considered WFCL under the terms of Convention No. 182 regardless of the working conditions, and no national process of determination is necessary. These forms include commercial sexual exploitation of children, children engaged in armed conflict, children involved in drug trafficking, child trafficking, and bonded labour. There are no corrections in conditions such as hours worked or safety measures that will ever make these forms acceptable; they are worst forms by their very existence and nature. By contrast, WFCL under the category of hazardous work need to be determined nationally after tripartite consultation. When determining whether a particular activity is "hazardous work" or not, consideration is given not only to the nature of the work but also the circumstances in which the work is being carried out in a particular setting at a particular time. Once determined to be hazardous work, it is considered WFCL and requires urgent action. The category of hazardous work includes exposure to hazardous materials or adverse conditions such as extreme heat, long working hours, or physical or emotional abuse. While the unconditional WFCL often relate to criminal acts, hazardous forms of work may be conducted in legitimate sectors. It might even be possible to alter conditions in a way to make hazardous forms of work into non-hazardous forms. While even such non-hazardous forms should not be allowed for children below the minimum working age, they are not WFCL covered under Convention No. 182. According to the language of Convention No.182, the two categories are expressed in the following terms:

Unconditional worst forms of child labour:

- “(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;...”

Hazardous work:

- “(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.”

The forms of child labour and research locations investigated for the RAs that form part of the aforementioned project to investigate the WFCL were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The following table presents these RAs by topic and location.⁸

⁶ ILO. A future without child labour – Global report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Geneva, 2002.

⁷ Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) – Adopted in 1973, this ILO Convention requires ratifying States to pursue a comprehensive national policy to eliminate child labour and to set minimum age levels for admission to employment, for light work, and for hazardous work. The general minimum age for admission to employment, as prescribed by Convention No. 138, should not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and should not be less than 15 years (developing countries may fix it initially at 14 years). For more details see <http://www.ilo.org/childlabour>.

⁸ The 38 RA reports are available online at <http://www.ilo.org/childlabour>. For complete references see Section: List of RAs and national reports at the beginning of this report.

Topic	Country/Border Area
Bonded child labour	Nepal
Child domestic work	El Salvador, Ethiopia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand
Children engaged in armed conflict	Philippines
Child trafficking	Mekong border area, Nepal
Children working in the streets	Romania, Turkey
Commercial agriculture	Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Lebanon, Tanzania (4)
Commercial sexual exploitation	Costa Rica, El Salvador, Jamaica, Madagascar, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Viet Nam
Drug trafficking	Brazil, Estonia, Philippines, Thailand
Fishing	El Salvador
Garbage dump scavenging	El Salvador, Guatemala
Mining	Tanzania
Portering	Nepal
Rag picking	Nepal
Urban informal sector	El Salvador, Tanzania

The RA methodology applied for these investigations is relatively quick, descriptively rich, and helps build knowledge through networking and awareness-raising. It is also designed to gather information on hidden forms of child labour that are not measured using other survey approaches. The RA methodology is extremely useful because of its adaptability. RA research can be quickly adjusted to take into account different circumstances of working boys and girls. The following instruments are typically applied as part of an RA investigation: a review of secondary sources; interviews with key informants; direct observation of children; focus group discussions; and standardized individual interviews with children, their parents and/or employers.⁹

Following this introduction, this report is divided into four parts. The second part of the report provides a synthesis of information within one specific form of the WFCL, whereas the third part provides an analysis of the forms of child labour investigated within each country. The fourth part lists and comments on some of the more salient emerging issues, and concluding remarks are presented in the fifth part. An important theme throughout this report is the fact that the circumstances surrounding one form of WFCL are often unique to that form and the specific region or country. For this reason, there is often just as much variation across different countries in a single form of WFCL as there is variation between different forms of WFCL. However, a synthesis of all the data does reveal some common underlying factors, such as family trauma, family disintegration, large family size, community and parental attitudes towards children's work and schooling, economic shock, and economic/social/political dislocation and marginalization as often significant factors associated with participation in the WFCL. The analysis also highlights the need to keep in mind that poverty alone may in some cases be neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for participation in the WFCL, particularly in the unconditional WFCL, and attention should be paid to the complexity of the underlying issues. Prevention and intervention policies or programmes will be far more successful if they take into consideration the critical factors leading children to participate in a specific form of the WFCL in that specific area or country.

The purpose of presenting this synthesis report is to improve the availability and quality of information on the WFCL as a way to raise awareness and provide a knowledge base from which others may work to eliminate child labour. By publicizing the conditions of boys and girls in the WFCL, communities that were formerly unaware of child labour as a problem may now start to see it as such and demand action to eliminate it. Likewise, governments may feel pressured to adhere to international conventions aimed at improving the situations of children and begin to create prevention or intervention policies. In addition, the information can help

⁹ For full details on the RA methodology please consult: ILO/UNICEF. *Manual on child labour rapid assessment methodology*. Geneva, 2005.

Governments, NGOs and international organizations decide where to invest their resources and where more data need to be gathered. The better the understanding of the nature and context of the WFCL, the better equipped the national and international communities will be to eradicate it.

Overview of Findings and Synthesis of the RAs

In this synthesis, we discuss the main findings from the 38 RAs reports and 2 national reports conducted as part of the project to investigate the WFCL. The goal is not to summarize each report individually, since the reports themselves provide a great deal of valuable information. Instead, our goal is to present all the results in various categories and discuss the similarities and differences, both across various countries for particular WFCL and across various forms of the WFCL within given countries (for those countries with multiple RAs). We then elaborate on key themes that emerged from the synthesis of these reports.

First, we discuss the findings from the reports by each type of WFCL: agriculture, fishing and mining; child domestic work and bonded child labour; commercial sexual exploitation and child trafficking; drug trafficking; and the urban informal sector. Secondly, we provide snapshots of the RAs undertaken in each of the 19 countries and one border area,¹⁰ and in the final section, we elaborate on some of the crosscutting themes that emerge from the body of RAs as a whole.

The assessments, particularly earlier ones, were undertaken as “experiments”. As a result, the data available for the different RAs are not fully standardized which presents a challenge in generating this synthesis and also leaves open the possibility that some valuable information was omitted from the investigations. As these RAs are an initial unified effort to apply a preliminary methodology on child labour RAs and to examine the WFCL across forms and countries, a certain amount of trial and error was undergone, and the experience gathered with the earlier RAs provided important lessons that informed the later ones, and all of them provided crucial insights for the revision of the child labour RA methodology. Still, this lack of early standardization has led to a tremendous richness of both style and information that has contributed greatly to the knowledge base on child labour as well as to further development and refinement of effective methodologies to study the WFCL.

¹⁰ The snapshots of El Salvador, Nepal and Tanzania are more detailed than those of the other countries due to the fact that these countries were the first three National Time Bound Programmes (TBPs) which commenced during the timeframe of the project. The RAs undertaken in these countries were central to the design of these TBPs.

II. RA Snapshots by Type of Worst Forms of Child Labour¹¹

Agriculture, Fishing, and Mining¹²

Bolivia (Sugar Cane)

Ecuador (Horticulture)

El Salvador (Sugar Cane, Fishing)

Lebanon (Tobacco)

Tanzania (Coffee, Horticulture, Mining, Tea, Tobacco)

Summary

Agriculture, including Fishing and Mining, is the single largest employment sector in most countries, and is therefore, unsurprisingly, also the sector where the majority of child labour worldwide is found. The ILO estimates that almost three-quarters of working children are in the agricultural sector. Though this work can be non-hazardous in some cases, it can become hazardous forms of work, such as when children work long hours, carry heavy loads, work with chemicals or dangerous instruments, or are subject to abuse (physical/sexual, mental, or emotional).

Children's work in the agricultural sector was one of the most widely studied forms of child labour in the ILO/IPEC project to investigate the worst forms of child labour using the RA methodology. Ten assessments were undertaken: two on the sugar cane industry (Bolivia, El Salvador); two on the horticultural industry (Ecuador, Tanzania); two on tobacco (Lebanon, Tanzania) and one each on tea (Tanzania), coffee (Tanzania), fishing (El Salvador) and mining (Tanzania). Researchers encountered a wide range of situations — from children in virtual bondage on plantations far from home to a complete absence of child labour in one community despite local conditions that mirrored those found in other locations where child labour in the agricultural sector was widespread. The predominant model of child labour in agriculture across all countries and regions is of children working alongside their parents in farms or plantations close to home. Yet, even within that model, wide variation exists — in the size and ownership of the farm (ranging from small family farms to large plantations), the socio-economic status of families, children's access to schooling, and the hazards that the working children face. Most of the situations of children working in agriculture investigated in these ten RAs fall into the category of WFCL. This suggests the possibility that interventions could be made to alter the conditions of work, thereby removing children from a worst form of child labour.

Research Methods

Researchers investigating the WFCL in agriculture and fishing were able to utilize a wide variety of tools as part of their RA methodology. Across countries, these researchers generally had fair access not only to key informants in the study areas, but also to working children, their parents, and, in most cases, employers and work environments. All studies involved key informant interviews, focus group discussions with working children, semi-structured questionnaires with large numbers of children and in some cases their parents (sample sizes

¹¹ Even though, IPEC/SIMPOC provided assistance to approximately 90 RAs worldwide between the years 2000 and 2004, this chapter discusses only the findings from the 38 RAs and 2 national reports which are part of a project to investigate the WFCL, by type of WFCL.

¹² The second revision of the 1993 International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) groups agriculture, forestry and fishing together. Mining is considered a separate category in ISIC. We classified mining with the agriculture and fishing for the purposes of this synthesis because there was only one mining RA, which is not enough for a "within-group" comparison, and because, like agriculture and fishing, it involves the harvesting of a primary commodity.

ranged from 100 to over 800, though all were non-representative), and direct observation of children in their work environment. Several researchers reported some trouble accessing plantations, as in Ecuador, or working children, as on Tanzanian tea plantations, because of growing public awareness of the illegality of child labour and the desire of both the family and the employer to deny its existence. However, flexibility and a variety of tools enabled all researchers to find ways around their access problems. For example, researchers in Ecuador interviewed working children at schools and researchers in Tanzania were able to discount employers' initial denials of the existence of child labour through direct observation of children working in the fields.

The Industry

The agricultural industries examined in the RAs varied not only by crop, but also by age, composition, relationship to the national economies and government, and rates of expansion or contraction. Tobacco farming in Lebanon, for example, is a centuries old industry, whereas the production of cut flowers in Ecuador and Tanzania is only decades, and in some study areas some years, old. Horticulture showed the fastest upwards growth with rates as high as 24 percent in some areas of Ecuador. Meanwhile, researchers in Bolivia also reported growth in the sugar cane industry over the past few years. The tobacco, coffee and tea industries in Lebanon and Tanzania, on the other hand, have been declining for some time — coffee in Tanzania since the mid-1990s, but tobacco since the late 1960s. It is worth noting that the study areas in the RA on fishing in El Salvador had been traditional agricultural communities until the land was devastated by Hurricane Mitch in 1998; many members of the community were forced to turn to fishing in order to survive, and the agriculture in that region never recovered. Across the RAs, most industries were composed, to at least some extent, of a mixture of small, medium and large farms with ownership and organization varying greatly within both countries and regions. In Lebanon, for example most farms are very small and must abide by government set ceilings on production; in El Salvador, 59 percent of producers are a part of cooperatives; 65 percent of cultivated land in the Ecuadorian flower growing regions is a part of large plantations, while large foreign companies dominate the cut flower sector in Tanzania. However, there was one similarity among all of the assessments — the agricultural industry was likely to be the primary source of employment in the study areas across all countries and crops.

Characteristics of the Children

The general characteristics of children working in agriculture and fishing varied only slightly by age and sex across the RAs. Ages of working children ranged from 5 to 17, but the vast majority of children interviewed in all studies were between 10 and 14 years old, with the next largest age group between 15 and 17 years old. Most of the children engaged in mining fell into the older age group. Few children under the age of 10 were found to be working in agriculture or fishing (none in Bolivia). Only in Lebanon, where tobacco farming is a family business, did researchers find a small number of working children under the age of 6. Boys were more highly represented in interviews in many of the RAs; for example, as many as 87 percent of interviewees were boys in the assessment of child labour in sugar cane plantations in El Salvador where working in the cane fields is widely considered to be “men’s work”. Yet, as elsewhere in this report, we are reminded to use caution in interpreting results from non-representative samples. Researchers working in Tanzanian tea plantations observed that although most of the children interviewed were boys, key informants, observation and mapping suggested that the majority of children working in the tea industry in the regions studied were actually girls.

Educational Attainment

School attendance of children working in the WFCL in agriculture, fishing and mining varied to the extremes across the RAs — from areas in Lebanon, Tanzania and El Salvador where all or almost all of working children were enrolled in school, to Tarija, Bolivia where

only 10 percent of children interviewed were. Of those children attending school in all countries, the vast majority was enrolled in primary school. Gender gaps were evident within enrolment rates — in El Salvador sugar cane plantation areas, 71 percent of working boys attend school compared to only 32 percent of working girls; yet, the opposite was true in Santa Cruz, Bolivia where only 45 percent of working boys were attending school, compared to 67 percent of working girls. For those attending school in all research areas, however, there was near universal agreement by teachers, school administrators and often the children themselves that children's work interferes with their education through fatigue and increased rates of absenteeism.

For those not enrolled in school, the high cost of schooling (including opportunity cost and the conflict between school hours and working hours) was cited across countries as a primary reason for not attending school. It is worth noting, however, that a significant number of the non-enrolled in Tanzania, El Salvador, and Bolivia were older children who did not have access to secondary schools due to a lack of either proximity or openings.

Living Context and Household/Family Conditions

The findings from the RAs on WFCL in agriculture do not support a strong single correlation between living context and children's participation in the WFCL in agriculture across countries and types of agricultural work. Although there appear to be clear general patterns of low educational attainment among parents and high rates of poverty across families with working children, the makeup and size of families as well as the specific socio-economic conditions of families with working children still vary widely both across RAs and within them by study area.

Although "poverty" was identified as the primary cause for children's participation in the WFCL in most RAs, its specific definition was elusive both across countries and across study areas within countries. All researchers encountered evidence of differences in poverty levels through either general observation or anecdote, but few were able to hone in on the key distinguishing factors within the living contexts of working children that might suggest a clear or direct link to the pathways to children's participation in the WFCL in agriculture. For example, in Tanzania, the economic well-being of families with working children in one area greatly exceeded the economic well-being of families of working children in another study area, but in both cases, the families were relatively poor compared to their neighbours with non-working children. In other RAs, the living context of working children was often not widely divergent from the living context of non-working children. However, in still other assessments, very specific reasons for the manifestation of income insecurity were the most relevant variables; for example, in many of the Tanzanian tea producing areas, the irregularity of the income, rather than the amount of income, was the primary cause for economic insecurity and made it necessary for children to work in order to meet occasional daily expenses. Analysis is therefore only meaningful on a specific area-by-area basis taking into account the characteristics of comparison groups of families with non-working children in each area.

Most of the children interviewed, across countries and types of agricultural work, live at home with both parents. The exception is children in mining, most of whom have left their homes to seek work in the mines. In the cases of children living in single parent families, that parent was more likely to be a mother; yet, even the incidence of this varied widely. For example, in the assessment of children working in the coffee sector in Tanzania, 39 percent of the working children interviewed in one study area came from female-headed families, whereas in another area only 6 percent of the children did. When not living with their parents, children were most likely to live with other family members, although 25 percent of boys in Santa Cruz, Bolivia reported living alone, as did 18 percent of boys and nearly 5 percent of girls in Tarija, Bolivia. In one study area in Tanzania, 30 percent of the children interviewed were living with their employers on tobacco plantations.

The findings on the impact of family size as a factor contributing to the likelihood of a child's participation in the WFCL in agriculture were equally inconclusive when compared across studies. In Lebanon and El Salvador, the family size for working children appeared to be greater than the national average; yet, researchers in Tanzania coffee regions, found that larger families (with 10 to 11 members) often had fewer children working on the coffee plantations than did smaller families. Researchers surmised that although large families have more mouths to feed, they also have a greater opportunity for division of labour enabling some family members to work on coffee plantations while others work on family enterprise farms or other jobs out of the home. This speculation was supported by the assessment on Tanzanian children working in tobacco where 57 percent of working children came from families smaller than the average national family size of five members. Although these RAs hint at family size as a potential contributing factor to a child's participation in the WFCL in agriculture, the relationship is unclear.

Activities and Conditions of Work

As noted earlier, the work environment of the children studied ranged from small, family plots, as in Lebanon, to medium scale farms as in Tanzania to large plantations as found in Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, and Tanzania. The largest plantation owners were the German and Dutch multi-national flower plantations in Tanzania, where no child labour was found.

The activities of children engaged in the WFCL in agriculture were similar across countries although the specifics varied by industry. In general, children were found to be involved in almost all aspects of the agricultural process from preparing the fields or beds, to planting, tending, fertilizing, harvesting, curing, and transporting. Across RAs, children's responsibilities increased with age; the more simple, less dangerous tasks such as planting and drying leaves were carried out by younger children while the more difficult and hazardous jobs such as harvesting, mixing and spraying chemicals, and transporting heavy loads were reserved for older children. A gender divide was also apparent in several cases; boys were more likely to participate in more physical tasks such as cutting the sugar cane, whereas girls were responsible for sorting.

Many of the hazards to which children are exposed are related directly to the work activities in which they are engaged — exposure to dangerous tools such as machetes and hazardous chemical fertilizers or pesticides was common. However, the most common complaint across all RAs was exposure, without protective clothing or gear, to extreme weather such as hot sun, torrential rains, and freezing water. Children working in the fishing industry complained most about "freezing hands and feet" but they also face other serious hazards related to the elements including the risk of drowning, serious ear pressure problems from diving, and shark attacks. Fatigue caused by long working hours and malnourishment (many children do not have access to food while they are working) is also quite common, and girls in Tanzania in particular are sometimes prone to sexual harassment.

The schedules of children working in the WFCL in agriculture varied widely depending on whether the work was seasonal or year round (children often work long hours over shorter periods of time when work is very seasonal), whether the children were in school (hours tended to be less when school was in session), and their ages (older children had greater responsibilities and often worked longer hours). In most areas, work was seasonal to at least some extent. Even in Lebanon where the families are engaged year round in tobacco enterprises, children are involved primarily during the spring and summer months. The most extreme schedules were found in the Salvadoran fishing industry where 78 percent of children worked over 10 hours per day and 20 percent worked up to 13 hours, and on Bolivian cane plantations and Tanzanian tobacco farms where children worked for an average of 12 hours a day. In Tanzania, there were even reports of children working 17-20 hours a day during the peak season — picking tobacco during the day and curing it at night.

Contracts were almost universally found to be oral and informal and were usually established between the employer and the children's parents. There was variation in whether the child or the parent received the payment, mostly related to whether the children's parents also worked for the same employer. In some cases, such as in Ecuador, and for younger children in El Salvador cane plantations, children did not even have contracts separate from their parents; the parents, with their children alongside helping, are paid based on their production. In other cases, such as in Tanzania and the Salvadoran fishing industry, children are paid directly — in cash in the former case, and mainly in fish in the latter (80 percent of children are paid at least in part in fish, 50 percent are paid entirely in fish). In Lebanon, where children work for family businesses, there are no contracts and children are not paid for their work.

Although not all of the RAs looked into the relationship between the child and the employer, preliminary evidence from a few of the studies suggests that this is an area for further research. Some reports suggested clear exploitation and physical, psychological, and occasionally sexual abuse of children by employers, such as in the Tanzanian coffee and tobacco industries where children complained frequently of breached contracts, and in the Salvadoran fishing industry where children frequently reported feeling physically and psychologically threatened.

Pathways and Attitudes

There were four primary motivations cited by children and their parents for a child's participation in the WFCL in agriculture, fishing and mining: (1) to contribute to family income; (2) to cover school expenses; (3) to learn a trade or family business; and (4) to establish independence. The need or desire of children to contribute to the income of the family was the most commonly cited motivation across all countries and study areas. As such, the majority of children's earnings went towards general family expenses. The need to enable children to pay for school expenses was almost as common in several of the RAs, but was most prominent in areas with high rates of school enrolment such as Ecuador and Tanzania. In both Lebanon and El Salvador's fishing and sugar industries, parents encouraged children to work in order to learn the trade or family business; in fact, such was the primary reason cited by 80 percent of children in the fishing industry in El Salvador. It is worth noting that the parents of children working on sugar cane plantations in El Salvador also reported that they preferred to have their children working because it kept them busy and out of trouble. Finally, some children in Ecuador and those children working in the coffee industry in Tanzania were drawn to work as a way to establish independence from their families and "prove" themselves.

Community attitudes clearly appear to play a role in the existence and extent of children's participation in the WFCL. Although the evidence is largely based on intuition or anecdote, the RA findings suggest a big divide between anti-child labour rhetoric and reality on the part of employers, community leaders and parents alike. In Tanzania, for example, recent public campaigns against child labour had informed communities to the extent that parents and employers alike denied its existence to researchers, but not to the extent that the issue had been addressed in practice (children working in the fields ran away from researchers and employers denied employing children). On Salvadoran sugar plantations, 66 percent of employers agreed that the work is too dangerous for children, but said that they cannot avoid parents bringing the children to work to learn the trade. In the communities surrounding the Dutch and German flower plantations, where child labour was completely absent, community attitudes were strongly against the dangers and inappropriateness of children's work in that industry. However, researchers did observe that many children in those communities worked in nearby mines and other agricultural industries.

Still, in some communities, work is not only considered to be a respectable activity because it is a way of learning a family trade or business, but also a source of pride and a means of ascension into adulthood for teenagers. For many of the Tanzanian boys who found themselves working in conditions of semi-bondage on tobacco plantations, leaving one's home

and village to venture out in the world to find work is considered to be a rite of passage. Communities take pride in these children and honour them when they return.

A few children reported that working was a positive experience for them because they liked being able to help their family or earn some money for themselves. In Tanzania, 65 percent of the children in one tobacco growing area reported that they “liked” their work and that it was “fun”; however, the vast majority found the work to be hard, tiring, or boring (as in Lebanon).

Recommendations

There was significant thematic overlap in researchers’ recommendations to reduce children’s participation in WFCL in agriculture and fishing across all RAs. Reports suggested the following areas for intervention: improve the working conditions of children in agriculture through, for example, the provision of protective gear, reduced hours, and emergency medical kits; improve and increase educational opportunities by ensuring access, the provision of vocational and technical training for adolescents, and general education reform; strengthen legal protection and enforcement, especially in the area of contracts and working conditions; mobilize communities and increase public awareness through information campaigns, NGOs, and the formation of local child labour committees; protect and support parents’ livelihoods by improving their access to credit, strengthening government regulation and enforcement of contracts, and the establishment of cooperatives; engage the employers through child labour education campaigns and the provision of incentives for reducing or eliminating child labour on their farms; and further research and follow-up building on the information gathered through the RAs.

Child Domestic Work and Bonded Child Labour

El Salvador (Child Domestic Work)

Ethiopia (Child Domestic Work)

Nepal (Child Domestic Work and Bonded Child Labour)

Sri Lanka (Child Domestic Work)

Thailand (Child Domestic Work)

With National Reports on Child Domestic Work from:

Brazil

South Africa

Summary

Six RAs were undertaken in five countries on the topic of Child Domestic Work — in El Salvador, Ethiopia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Thailand, and one in Nepal focusing specifically on bonded child labour found under the Kamaiya system.¹³ Data from national surveys conducted in Brazil and South Africa are also included in this synthesis. Child domestic work is possibly considered to be a form of hazardous work, meaning that the conditions under which children work in their positions of domestic help determine whether or not they are experiencing a WFCL. Indeed, researchers across countries confirmed that it is the conditions under which the children may be working that warrant attention and that there are a variety of circumstances of children working as domestic help that do not qualify as a worst form. Researchers in Thailand, for example, find that the situation of all 115 CDW included in their study is “not a priority for action” in the context of the WFCL. However, the high rate of bonded labour, which is an unconditional WFCL exists alongside child domestic work relative to other forms of child labour in some countries, is cause for particular concern and attention by researchers investigating child domestic work.

Research Methods

As is perhaps evident from the inclusion of two national reports based on national level household surveys for their data, the investigation of CDW lends itself well in many ways to the use of household surveys, even at the RA level. Researchers in Sri Lanka and Nepal were able to make particularly good use of this technique. In both countries, researchers combined the household surveys with other elements of an RA. Nepalese researchers in the bonded child labour study note:

“Despite some reservations as to whether household surveys and questionnaires were sufficient, these proved to be a major part of the overall research process... the household survey and child labour survey proved to be a powerful tool in generating reliable data in a short period of time, especially when combined with other RA tools.”

Researchers from the assessment on CDW in Nepal add:

“The use of the survey sample further minimized the problems of purposive sampling, as all domestic child labourers within a given area were targeted for interviews. Finally, the idea of

¹³ The Kamaiya system is an agriculturally based bonded labour system in Nepal. Bondage among Kamaiya children stems from debt incurred by their parents under already exploitative employment practices. Poor Kamaiya families either pledge children as collateral for loans, or children are sent to work in landowners’ houses to secure Kamaiya contracts or to secure the rights to sharecrop. Thus, children of the Kamaiya are faced with aspects of debt-bondage, bondage resulting from their parents’ employment, and bondage due to land leasing. The Kamaiya are obliged to provide underpaid and even unpaid farm labour for excessively long hours, under compulsion of the annual Kamaiya contract. The system can tie families into bondage for generations. Although legislation was passed in July 2000 banning the practice of debt-bondage, very little has changed in the five western Terai districts of Nepal.

conducting a household survey on domestic child labour proved relatively easy to promote amongst local community leaders, thus ensuring their cooperation and support.”

A variety of other tools and techniques were also used to access child workers and their employers by researchers across countries. In addition to the household survey, researchers in Sri Lanka also surveyed school children in five major urban districts thought to have a high incidence of child domestic work using a child-appropriate activity based questionnaire entitled “Who lives in my house?”. The survey was designed to determine the approximate extent of the prevalence of child labour in those areas. Researchers in Ethiopia and Thailand relied on community leaders, public health workers, and teachers to identify CDW, and monitored schools, market places, convenience stores, and other locations through which CDW might be likely to pass in order to identify subjects for interviews. All of the latter three assessments note that accessing the children and finding an appropriate time and place to interview them is highly problematic. Some researchers worry about the veracity of children’s responses during the interview process, particularly when employers were present or nearby.

Most assessments used focus groups and unstructured interviews with key informants as part of their research methodology. Few were able to engage in direct observation.

The Industry

The employment of children to perform domestic work is common around the globe and in many places, is woven into the cultural and societal fabric of the community. In Kathmandu, for example, one in five of all households employs children. Poor families often view child domestic work as a way to relieve the burden of another mouth to feed, and employers in most places genuinely feel that they are doing something good for the sake of the children. Children, often from very poor families, are retained by a household and receive food, shelter and sometimes education and/or monetary compensation in return for their services. Most children are employed in middle or upper class households in urban areas. Notably, many report that despite heavy workloads and frequent exposure to abuse, they feel they are better off than they would be at home.

Characteristics of the Children

The age and sex of children participating in domestic work vary widely across countries. Girls are overwhelmingly represented in domestic work in Brazil, El Salvador and Ethiopia, by 95 percent, 94 percent and 84 percent respectively, compared to Nepal and South Africa, where boys are more commonly found, though not by as great a margin; two thirds of respondents are boys in South Africa, and boys represent slightly over half of the children in domestic or bonded work in Nepal. In Sri Lanka, there is a more even split where 59 percent of respondents are girls. In most countries, children in domestic work are most likely to be between the ages of 10 and 14, and researchers everywhere find evidence that most children start domestic work at very young ages. In Ethiopia, for example, some children started as early as age 6. Even in Brazil, where the average age of children in domestic service is considerably higher, with 55 percent between 16 and 17 years old, a significant portion of children started work between the ages of 5 and 11.¹⁴ Researchers in Nepal note that many employers prefer to hire younger children because of their lower wages and easier manageability.

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment also varies across studies, although the data suggest a strong pattern of entry into domestic work corresponding with dropping out of school in almost all countries. Still, most children in South Africa are currently attending school, including all

¹⁴ Current data show that significantly fewer children are entering domestic work at early ages, potentially reflecting recent changes in child labour laws and increased awareness of children’s rights.

children between the ages of 6 and 12 and two thirds of 13 and 14 year olds. In Ethiopia, two thirds of children are enrolled in some formal education or literacy programme. In contrast, in Nepal and El Salvador, only one third of children are in school (although most in Nepal report attending school prior to their start of work), and among the bonded labourers in Nepal, only 5 percent are currently attending and 80 percent have never attended school at all. In Sri Lanka, only 59 percent of boys and 41 percent of girls have ever attended school. It is worth noting that whereas 33 percent of children in domestic work in Brazil are not attending school, neither are 21 percent of non-CDW nor 10 percent of non-working children.

Living Context and Household/Family Conditions

Children in domestic work typically come from poor or very poor families, often characterized by extreme economic or social trauma. Many CDW have a history of migration due to natural disasters or conflict, such as in Ethiopia where 72 percent of children have migrated from outside Addis Abba or in El Salvador where years of civil conflict and recent hurricanes devastated many agricultural areas. The poverty of others is typified by extreme destitution, family disintegration or the death of one or both parents. In Sri Lanka, for example, nearly 35 percent of CDW report that one of their parents is either dead or no longer living at home, and 93 percent of their parents live in homes owned by the agricultural estates on which they work. In Nepal, 73 percent of Kamaiya children in bonded labour come from landless families — a significantly higher percentage of landlessness than is represented in the population of Kamaiya families without working children. As we have seen elsewhere, the nuances of family economic and social circumstances provide important information relevant to the role of poverty in children's engagement in the WFCL, and domestic work in particular.

Activities and Conditions of Work

Children engaged in domestic work tend to have very long hours, carry heavy workloads and be at high risk for psychological, physical and sexual abuse from employers and their families. Children living in the homes of their employers are significantly more likely to experience conditions consistent with the WFCL. In urban areas, work activities consist mainly of cleaning, cooking and taking care of children, whereas in rural areas, children are likely to participate in farming activities such as tending to animals or fetching water. Children in South Africa report the mildest working conditions — two thirds worked less than 7 hours per week (only 3 percent reported working more than 43 hours per week) and none reported suffering from sexual harassment.¹⁵ In contrast, children in most other countries report working more than 12-14 hours per day (up to 16 hours per day in El Salvador) and suffering from frequent physical and verbal abuse. Many children (83 percent in Nepal and 80 percent in Ethiopia) report that they do not think that they are free to quit their jobs. Children living in their employers' homes are not likely to visit their families at home very often, even when they are technically permitted to do so on a regular basis. All report suffering from loneliness.

Compensation for children working in domestic service generally falls into one of three categories: (i) monetary compensation or compensation in kind; (ii) monetary compensation plus room and board; or (iii) room and board only. Schooling is occasionally included along with room and board. As most of the CDW included in the studies live with their employers, the latter two categories of compensation are most common and occur with more or less equal frequency across the population as a whole, but there are a few exceptions. In El Salvador, only 10 percent of CDW do not receive monetary compensation in addition to room and board. In Thailand, almost all children report receiving a monthly payment themselves, whereas in Sri Lanka, most children report that their salary is given to their parents. In contrast, between 41 percent and 50 percent of children in Ethiopia and Nepal, respectively, do not receive any monetary compensation for their work, and in South Africa, wages tend to be very small and

¹⁵ The data from South Africa come from the national household sample survey. This kind of survey is not the most appropriate instrument to fully capture very hidden and sensitive subjects, such as sexual harassment.

often in the form of payment in-kind. It is worth noting that in-kind compensation (generally in the form of food) is encountered more frequently among CDW than any other form of children's work investigated in this study. A significant number of children in Nepal, particularly in the Kamaiya system, report that their wages are included in those of their parents. Across countries, most of the children who are paid directly give their income to their parents, though some report using it for personal expenses.

Pathways and Attitudes

More than most other forms of children's work, children engaged in domestic work report that they entered domestic service in order to help improve the economic circumstances of their families. In the most extreme circumstances, such as in the Kamaiya system of bonded labour, children are part of an arrangement to pay off family debt. For others, domestic work represents an opportunity for better food, housing and schooling or a way to relieve their parents of the economic burden of supporting them. Still others are able to send the money they earn home to their families as a contribution to family income. Only in South Africa does a significant portion of children (mainly those from urban areas) report that they work as domestic workers in order to earn their own spending money.

Ironically, although the vast majority of children across assessments state that they would not recommend that other children engage in child domestic work, most also feel that they are better off working than before entering their jobs. Indeed, 100 percent of Nepalese children in the RA on bonded labour report that they lacked food at home.

It is worth noting that despite the adverse circumstances of children in domestic work and their families at home, there is little evidence of children being trafficked into child domestic work or bonded labour. Across all RAs, friends and family are the most likely to have encouraged children to enter domestic work and to have found the jobs for them.

Recommendations

Across countries, researchers recommend a combination of approaches to be carried out simultaneously that include awareness-raising about children's rights, better educational access, improving child labour laws and bolstering enforcement mechanisms, strengthening women's programmes, and providing alternative economic opportunities for children and their families.

Similar approaches, as well as additional programmes, have reduced the supply of CDW and improved the conditions of domestic work in Thailand according to researchers. In particular:

"...the success of family planning, widespread educational opportunities in rural regions, the development of the industrial and service sectors, and the increase of the minimum legal age for work have all contributed to a decline in the supply of domestic child labour in Bangkok. The middle and high classes in cities have a harder time employing child domestic workers than in the past, providing the children (and their families) with greater negotiating power with employers, and, as a result, better working and living conditions."

Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Child Trafficking

Costa Rica (CSE)
El Salvador (CSE)
Jamaica (CSE)
Madagascar (CSE)
Sri Lanka (CSE)
Tanzania (CSE)
Viet Nam (CSE)
Nepal (CSE/Child Trafficking)
Mekong (Child Trafficking)

Summary

Commercial sexual exploitation of children and child trafficking¹⁶ both fall into the category of unconditional WFCL. Despite its' rightful inclusion in the Convention's definition of the WFCL, child trafficking is not a form of labour per se. Yet, an analysis of the assessments suggest that it is much more easily examined as a process, or pathway, by which children often end up in a variety of circumstances of WFCL, such as in the Mekong Delta, and into situations of CSE in particular. In fact, in most of the RAs on CSE, the trafficking of children from rural to urban areas using tactics of coercion and deceit is a common pathway into such activities. Nevertheless, during fieldwork, researchers often experience difficulties distinguishing between the voluntary migration of children and trafficking in the recruitment process.

The two RAs that focuses on trafficking in children have interesting results. The Nepal RA demonstrates that of all the children, the ones most likely to be victimized by the process are girls being trafficked, through sale, coercion or deceit, into CSE.¹⁷ The study findings imply a significant relationship between child trafficking and CSE to be further examined. Commercial sexual exploitation, however, represents only one — though the most common one — among a range of activities that may result from trafficking including construction,

¹⁶ The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol), which today provides a clear and precise definition of trafficking, was adopted at the end of 2000, but did not come into force until 2003. Hence, at the time of the RAs on trafficking (second half of 2000 for the Mekong region, and end of 2000 and beginning of 2001 for Nepal), an accurate definition of trafficking had not yet been established. According to the Palermo Protocol:

"(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age."

¹⁷ This differs from circumstances such as researchers in the Thailand-Laos and Thailand-Myanmar border areas encountered frequently in which family members, friends or villagers assisted, without profit, in the voluntary migration of children looking for work. As noted by researchers in Nepal, however, it can be difficult to distinguish those trafficking or being trafficked for profit from those who are doing so voluntarily, particularly in regions where children may be looked at as family property and their sale is a more common and accepted practice.

fishing, working in factories and child domestic work. The Mekong RA demonstrates this range of activities through a ranking of the various activities in which children become involved through trafficking.

Across assessments, children engaged in CSE are more likely to be exploited during the recruitment process by peers, relatives or neighbours than by unknown traffickers or employers/exploiters in the commercial sex business. Additionally, many children report that they entered CSE voluntarily¹⁸ because the money they could earn would provide them the independence and the material goods that they coveted. A corresponding number reported that they planned to stay in CSE for the same reason.

Research Methods

Because of the hidden nature of most CSE and trafficking of children, researchers across countries have to rely on a variety of methods to access vulnerable and exploited populations. Many research teams rely heavily on local contacts to identify sexually exploited or trafficked children and the areas in which such children could be found. Those contacts range from NGO workers and government child welfare workers (in Nepal, Costa Rica, Jamaica and Tanzania) to hotel and restaurant owners and employees, tourist guides and cab drivers (in Sri Lanka and Tanzania), and other sexually exploited children. The local contacts method worked well in situations where the children were in CSE in the open (as on the street, in bars or restaurants). Where the exploitation is more hidden, however, researchers need to employ other techniques to access relevant target groups. In Nepal, researchers interviewed returnees — girls who had been trafficked into CSE and have been rehabilitated and are living in rehabilitation centres, reintegrated and living with their families, or re-established having married into new families. Meanwhile, in Tanzania and Viet Nam, researchers forged relationships with clients/exploiters and establishment owners, who helped them access brothels that would be otherwise inaccessible to outsiders. Regardless of the method employed, all teams were able to access nearly 100 child respondents for their studies, but few teams were able to interview the exploiters such as clients, brothel owners, or traffickers.

Researchers across countries found that structured questionnaires were often cumbersome to use with children, especially those who were accessed in the environments of CSE, and instead relied on semi-structured questionnaires or informal conversation to obtain information on the children's life histories and conditions of exploitation.

The Environment

Although not all assessments examine the environment conditions in detail, it appears that the CSE of children is growing in many countries and has become well integrated into other service businesses, particularly those related to tourism. CSE encompasses a broad range of activities and circumstances under which children are being exploited, including pornographic films, dancing, in brothels, out of bars or restaurants, in family homes, or on the street. In Jamaica and Sri Lanka, where the strongest link between CSE and tourism exists, longer-term relationships between foreign tourists and local children are also apparent. Typical clients/exploiters range from local government or private sector employees where CSE may be a part of a business deal, as in Viet Nam, to almost exclusively foreign tourists, as in Jamaica and Sri Lanka. Most assessments report cases of government, law enforcement, or the private sector enabling the practice of CSE and child trafficking by turning a blind eye, actively engaging in and supporting business with known exploiters, or by direct exploitation of their own (e.g. through the abuse and rape of children living in the streets).

¹⁸ The terms “voluntarily” must be interpreted in context, and the fact that children “choosing” to enter CSE have extremely limited options — if any — be taken into account.

Characteristics of the Children

Across countries and regions, children encountered under conditions of CSE are almost exclusively girls in their teen years, the majority of whom are between the ages of 15 and 17. The exception is Sri Lanka, where 65 percent of the children interviewed are teenage boys.¹⁹ Although all assessments encounter some evidence of exploited boys, the numbers outside of Sri Lanka are generally small or the evidence is anecdotal, suggesting the likelihood that the sexual exploitation of boys in most places is conducted more clandestinely. Children of both sexes are trafficked, but girls are far more likely than boys to be victimized through the trafficking process²⁰ and are also more likely to be trafficked into sexual exploitation than their male counterparts.

Educational Attainment

The lack of educational attainment of children respondents varies, but almost all children engaged in CSE in the studies are no longer attending school. Children respondents in El Salvador have the highest levels of educational attainment — 40 percent of children interviewed are currently attending school²¹ and 97 percent of all respondents are able to read and write. Most children in all countries have received some level of education, but dropped out towards the end or upon completion of primary school. Nevertheless, a significant number in several countries have completed some early secondary school — 81 percent in Northern Viet Nam and nearly 44 percent in Sri Lanka. Children across countries report similar reasons for leaving school; the most common reason being financial difficulties, either because their parents are no longer able to afford school costs or because the children need to contribute to family income, but also because they do not like school or were doing poorly.

Living Context and Household/Family Conditions

Although children engaged in CSE uniformly come from poor families whose primary earners work in jobs near the bottom of the occupational ladder, it is not clear that they come from the poorest of the poor; in fact, researchers in El Salvador and Nepal report that children are likely to come from low-medium social and economic classes, and researchers in Viet Nam observe that absolute poverty is not an explanatory factor. Since the assessments do not include analysis of control groups, it is difficult to assess how the incomes of families of children engaged in CSE compare to families in their communities with children who are not engaged in CSE. Although a clear majority of children across countries report that they entered CSE out of some economic necessity, the assessments do not adequately demonstrate that they come from more desperate financial circumstances than other poor families in their community, region, or country. Poverty, therefore, cannot be seen as a sufficient condition for a child's engagement in CSE. Similarly, although family size is widely considered to be an explanatory variable for economic difficulties around the globe and many children in CSE come from families larger than the national average, without more information on community averages, the assessments are unable to determine whether family size is an explanatory variable for children's engagement in CSE. Of note, however, is the high rate of broken families among children in CSE. In Costa Rica, for example, 52 percent of the girls report living with their mother only, and in Zanzibar, Tanzania, as many as 55 percent of children are living with their mother only. In Nepal, only half of children interviewed have both parents living.

¹⁹ The RA on CSE implemented in Sri Lanka focused particularly on “the beach boy” phenomenon.

²⁰ Researchers in the Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Thailand-Myanmar border areas find that the process of trafficking itself is not usually exploitative and that there are few cases that fit the classic notions of child smuggling or trading of children.

²¹ Compared, notably, to only 8 percent of children in Costa Rica who report that they are currently attending school.

The family environment appears to play a much larger explanatory role than income or family size alone. Many children across assessments report high rates of family trauma and violence, including rape and incest. In Southern Viet Nam, for example, one half of children report coming from families with trauma and in Costa Rica, a striking 48 percent have been victims of incest and 44 percent victims of other forms of physical abuse. In Nepal, more than 60 percent of respondents report being victims of some form of maltreatment at home. In El Salvador, only 28 percent of respondents report that their first sexual encounter was with a boyfriend or girlfriend, while 24 percent report that it was with a family member, and 32 percent note that it was forced or “because I thought I had to”.

Conditions of Children Engaged in Commercial Sexual Exploitation

The assessments identify a wide range of activities in which sexually exploited children are engaged and a corresponding wide range of conditions under which they are exploited. The activities identified include participation in pornographic movies or photo shoots,²² erotic dancing, and performance of sexual acts for clients/exploiters, either as part of a longer term relationship, such as with a “sugar daddy” in Jamaica,²³ or most commonly, on a one time basis. Within this latter category, the conditions range wildly from children living and working on the streets, out of bars or restaurants, out of their parents’ houses with their parents functioning as “pimps”, out of their own apartments or houses, or in brothels. Again, within this latter category of sexually exploited children in brothels, conditions range from children who are provided with adequate food, water, clothing and living quarters who are free to leave, to children being held as prisoners, forced to live under conditions that are described by the children as “hell”.²⁴

There are few surprises in the list of corresponding risks and hazards of engaging in CSE. By definition, children engaging in CSE are subject to physical, sexual and psychological abuse. Yet, this abuse not only occurs at the hands of their exploiters, but also often at the hands of the security forces who are supposed to be protecting them. For example, 84 percent of respondents from Tanzania report that they have been beaten, raped or tortured by the police or local community guards. Children engaged in CSE also run the risk of unwanted pregnancy,²⁵ are regularly exposed to and in danger of contracting STDs, including HIV/AIDS, are highly likely to be users of alcohol, illegal drugs or other dangerous substances, are forced to live in and be surrounded by extreme unsanitary and unhealthy conditions, and may be held prisoner or subject to some form of unreasonable confinement by their exploiter.

Like the circumstances under which children are exploited through CSE, the earnings of children vary widely across assessments and geographic areas. On the one hand, the assessments confirm many of the children’s instincts that, although earnings vary, the amount paid from engagement in CSE is often well above the national average and much greater than what they could earn in other forms of labour (worst forms, or otherwise). In Viet Nam, for example, children can earn up to approximately US\$1,150 per month if they are involved with an “upscale” establishment,²⁶ and in Sri Lanka, they can earn as much as US\$55 per sexual act, although the average take is around US\$10 per act. However, assessments also find conditions, such as in Tanzania, where girls are held and forced to engage in CSE until they have paid off their purchase price and any debt that they incurred while in the brothel.

²² Researchers in Tanzania and Jamaica find that girls are excited by increasing opportunities in pornography because of the perceived high earning potential that it offers.

²³ This is also encountered in Nepal with foreign sex tourists supporting Nepalese boys.

²⁴ In Tanzania, fully 50 percent of respondents report being held in some sort of bondage by the owners of the establishment where they perform their activities.

²⁵ For example, in Costa Rica, 50 percent of girls report experiencing a pregnancy or abortion and 32 percent of the girls interviewed in Tanzania were pregnant during the time of the investigation.

²⁶ Earnings are significantly higher in the urban areas (ranging from \$500 to \$1,100) and lower in rural areas — mostly ranging from \$200 to \$400, though in one area earning is little as \$70.

The phenomenon of children leaving rural areas to become engaged in CSE in urban or tourist areas is widespread across the assessments conducted in Nepal, Costa Rica, Tanzania, Viet Nam, Laos and Myanmar. However, for child victims of CSE more than any other WFCL, there appears to be tremendous overlap in patterns of migration, recruitment and trafficking and the lines between them can become quite blurred. Much of the movement documented in the assessments falls into the category of voluntary migration, either by whole families or by children individually, in response to economic circumstances. On the other hand, some children are clearly victims of trafficking, as in Nepal. Between these two extremes lies a large grey area, and as noted in the assessment on child trafficking undertaken in the Mekong Border areas, it can be very difficult for researchers to distinguish between voluntary migration and exploitation involving false promises or manipulation of the expectations of children or their families. Throughout Viet Nam, for example, 33 percent of children interviewed report being victims of some sort of deception or force, and researchers learned that recruiters commonly use false promises of legitimate jobs in the cities to lure children or gain permission from their families. Such tactics are also seen with varying degrees of frequency by researchers in Sri Lanka²⁷ and Tanzania.²⁸ Notably, girls in Sri Lanka are much more likely to be involuntarily engaged in CSE than boys — only 31 percent of girls report being voluntarily engaged, as compared to 74 percent of the boys. On the other hand, children who might be seen as being victims of trafficking are also likely to be engaged in voluntary migration to look for work.

Whether or not it involves deception, the recruitment of children into CSE is most likely to occur at the hands of trusted peers, relatives or neighbours across all assessments. In some areas investigated in Viet Nam, Tanzania and Jamaica, children's engagement in CSE is seen as an acceptable way for children to help contribute to family income, and thus the involvement of family or community members in the children's recruitment is common. In Jamaica, researchers find that CSE is often a generational business. Child trafficking, which not a single RA encountered in the form of physical abductions by strangers, appears quite commonly in the form of networks of neighbours and relatives who, in many cases, appear to genuinely believe that they were helping, rather than exploiting, the children and their families.

Children across assessments also report being lured to the promise of big money by peers who have become engaged in CSE. It is notable that significant numbers of children across most assessments (84 percent in Southern Viet Nam and 100 percent in Jamaica, for example) report that they have not been physically forced or deceived into engaging in CSE, but have voluntarily become engaged. In these, and other countries, including Tanzania, the high pay offered through engagement in CSE make it a more appealing option than other means of earning money for many of the girls interviewed. Many of the girls report that the money they earned enabled them to have the independence and material possessions (e.g. nice clothes) that they covet.

As noted in earlier, where children are not trafficked or deceived into CSE, financial considerations are the dominant motivation for children's voluntary engagement in CSE. Within this group, however, there is wide variation between those wanting to earn money to help families and those wanting to earn money to gain independence. Researchers in Viet Nam note that absolute poverty does not explain the phenomenon of children entering CSE; they note that children want to help their families out of economic difficulties and seek legitimate work and are tricked into prostitution or seek out CSE directly because of the money involved.

²⁷ Researchers find that 3 of 22 victims of CSE “outside their residential area” have been trafficked.

²⁸ Fifty five percent of girls interviewed who are engaged in CSE in Tanzania have migrated from rural to urban areas in search of better job prospects. Although the assessment does not measure quantitatively the role of deception in the girls' choices to migrate, anecdotal evidence suggests that many girls and their families have false expectations of job opportunities and are as likely to be recruited by peers, relatives, and neighbours as by unknown traffickers.

In El Salvador, only 12 percent are motivated in order to support their families while 66 percent of children report money as the primary motivation for engaging in CSE; 53 percent of those children use their earnings to pay for their housing and other basic expenses and 18 percent use it to study. In Jamaica, researchers learned that most children are motivated by the money which gives them the freedom to escape from the heavy responsibility of providing for their family and the ability to buy material goods such as nice clothes. It should be noted that in Nepal, nearly 49 percent of boys report that addiction or earning money for drugs is their primary motivation for engaging in CSE.

There is a strong correspondence between the attitudes of a community and the attitudes of children about participation in CSE. As noted earlier, CSE is often well integrated into the community, especially in tourist areas, to the extent that it has become a legitimate practise in the eyes of adults and children alike. In Jamaica, researchers cite the influence of Western materialism on legitimizing CSE as a justifiable form of “work” because of its high earning potential. Across assessments, although many girls consider CSE to be a temporary way to earn money to save for other jobs, school, or marriage, a significant number (for example, 20 percent in Viet Nam) plan to stay in CSE because the earnings are so good. In Viet Nam and Tanzania, some girls feel it is their “duty” to engage in CSE to help their families and, therefore, do not find it shameful. At the same time, a number of children across assessments feel hopeless and desire to leave CSE, but do not see any opportunities that would enable them to do so.

Recommendations

Researchers note that the complexity of factors that lead children into CSE make solutions difficult, but many suggest as a first step that laws prohibiting the CSE of children and enforcement of those laws need to be strengthened, and security forces need to improve their understanding of children as victims rather than criminals. Simultaneously, a combination of programmes providing alternative income generating opportunities, improving access to social services for children and their families, and awareness campaigns to discourage children from engaging in CSE would be important elements of any strategy to eliminate the problem of children in CSE.

Drug Trafficking

Brazil
Estonia
Philippines
Thailand

Summary

Drug trafficking is defined as an unconditional WFCL and appears to be a growing phenomenon in the four countries studied — Brazil, Estonia, the Philippines and Thailand. The swelling participation of children, at increasingly younger and younger ages, is an additionally worrisome trend. Although poverty is present in the families of children involved in drug trafficking across countries, the assessments suggest that drug use or addiction, pressure or encouragement from peers and family members, and the desire for income to buy luxury items, are far more powerful explanatory factors for children's participation in the drug trade. Children in the drug trade, though valued for the low cost and risk associated with their youth, are generally paid the same amounts as adults, and thus earn significantly more than they would be able to in other available occupations or activities. Improved focus on education, the provision of alternative leisure time activities, income generation schemes and reducing children's access to areas with prevalent drug use are all suggested as important elements of any plan to eliminate children's participation in the drug trade.

Research Methods

Given the sensitive, often dangerous and hidden nature of the drug trade, researchers across countries used a variety of techniques to access children and other informants related to the drug trade including semi-structured interviews with children and adults in the drug trade, focus groups and interviews with a variety of stakeholders, including community leaders, police, and government officials. Researchers from all four countries accessed child respondents through two distinct channels: communities in which drug trafficking is prevalent; and youth rehabilitation or detention centres for drug users or traffickers. Children were often hesitant or wary, and researchers in Thailand find that children in the community are particularly fearful and often did not show up to their scheduled appointments with the researchers. Children in the centres also seem reluctant to answer some of the questions, particularly those relating to the specifics of drug trafficking activities. Researchers in the Philippines note that they took special care during their investigation to provide selective information to different parties; for example, they did not share the study area locations or the names of field researchers with the police.

The Environment

Drug trafficking appears to be a new and growing phenomenon across all four countries; consequently, concern about children's involvement in drug use and trafficking is increasing. The principal drugs are different — Heroin in Estonia, Shabu in the Philippines, Methamphetamine in Thailand and Marijuana and Cocaine in Brazil — but many of the patterns are the same. Researchers in Estonia note that drug use has increased dramatically since independence more than a decade ago and often manifests itself in the non-Estonian population. In Brazil, children arrested for their participation in the drug trade represent 35 percent of all youth arrests, with a dramatic increase in past years. Thailand, which has successfully controlled opium poppy cultivation and almost completely eradicated cannabis, now finds itself facing a crisis with a new drug — Methamphetamine. In Cebu City, experts estimate that the port has been penetrated by drug cartels as a transshipment point since 1999. Drug trafficking in these countries is also often linked to other criminal enterprises including heists, kidnappings, arms dealing and CSE.

Characteristics of the Children

Most children across countries enter the drug trade between the ages of 14 and 16, at the age corresponding with their first exposure to drug use. However, there is increasing evidence in several of the countries that children in the drug trade are getting even younger and may be entering as early as 12 or 13. Boys are found much more frequently than girls to be engaged in drug trafficking. Researchers in several countries report that children are preferred over adults by the drug traders because of their obedience and greater invisibility, and because their status as minors impedes arrests or leads to quick release from detention. In Brazil, researchers note that the drug traders are seeking younger and younger children in attempts to further reduce costs, while in the Philippines, there is evidence that the use of very young children without their knowledge is increasing.

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment is low for children in the drug trade and dropout rates are high. For example, well over 90 percent of children in Thailand have dropped out of school, compared to 40 percent in Estonia and 66 percent in the Philippines. In Brazil, nearly 50 percent of the children currently engaged in drug trafficking dropped out before the age of 14. When this is compared with adult traffickers, none of whom dropped out of school before age 15 and 50 percent of whom waited until they were age 17 or older to leave school, it reconfirms the apparent trend of younger and younger children entering the trade. Researchers also surmise that this is a strong suggestion that engagement in the drug trade causes children to drop out of school, rather than the other way around.

Living Context and Household/Family Conditions

Across countries, child involved in drug trafficking tend to come from poor families, characterized by high rates of family disintegration, trauma or violence and low levels of education. The exception to this is Estonia, where drug users and traffickers come from families that range from very poor to wealthy. Notably, drugs appear to play a major role in the families of a good percentage of children in the drug trade. In the Philippines, for example, one third of the families have members who are also involved in the drug trade, and only 5 percent of children in Brazil report that nobody in their family uses drugs.

Conditions of Children Engaged in Drug Trafficking

Children involved in the drug trade are involved in a variety of activities relating to the sale of drugs including packaging (often done by girls), buying, selling, running, delivering, watching, providing security, or managing others exploited in the drug trade. The earnings received through all of these activities are significantly higher than the amounts that could be earned in other available occupations.

Pathways and Attitudes

There is a strong correlation between drug use and engagement in drug trafficking across all studies. Almost all children who are engaged in the drug trade also use drugs (although not necessarily the same type of drug that they sell), and drug addiction is clearly a primary pathway into the drug trade. In the Philippines, the primary economic motivation for children is to help support their families, but elsewhere, the desire to earn money in order to purchase luxury goods (or drugs themselves) is a more common driving factor. Thus, earnings, though universally greater than minimum wage or informal sector jobs, are often spent immediately. Although some children report hoping to save up in order to be able to exit the business, few have any saving habits. Researchers in Brazil note that child and adult involved in drug trafficking, drug users and their families all emphasize personal choice — related to fulfilling the adrenaline rush and, first and foremost, the craving to consume illegal substances — as the primary driving factor for children's participation in the drug trade. On the other hand,

community workers, civil servants and community members (adult and children) who do not use drugs, tend to explain children's attraction to the business as a lack of financial resources and/or frail family structure.

Across all countries, peers or family members are the strongest recruiting force for engagement in the drug trade.

Governments are increasing their commitments to tackle the problem of children in the drug trade, but researchers across countries point to the difficulties and inherent contradictions in the laws and policies currently available. In the Philippines, for example, although the Republic Act 7610 (1992) legally considers a child who is "used" or "coerced" by a drug dealer to be a victim and not a criminal, minors can still be charged with violating RA 6425, the Dangerous Drugs Act. Further complicating efforts is the common phenomenon of police and government officials themselves being involved in drug trafficking.

Recommendations

Preventative actions topped the list of recommendations to reduce and ultimately eliminate children's participation in drug trafficking. Investment in education, drug prevention programmes, income and employment generation schemes and legal reforms top the list of recommendations across assessments. Researchers also suggest that there needs to be a more coordinated effort to reduce children's access to areas with high levels of drug use and drug trafficking. The need to provide youth in high-risk areas with alternative leisure activities is also cited by all studies; though researchers in the Philippines note that sports programmes designed specifically for that purpose have not been effective on their own.

Urban Informal Sector

El Salvador (Urban Informal Sector, Garbage Dump Scavenging)

Guatemala (Garbage Dump Scavenging)

Nepal (Rag Picking, Portering)

Romania (Children Working in the Streets)

Tanzania (Urban Informal Sector)

Turkey (Children Working in the Streets)

Summary

Children's work in the informal sector may be considered a WFCL due to the hazardous faced by the children. Indeed the severity of conditions under which children work vary greatly across study areas and activities. Researchers across assessments note that children engaged in garbage picking are subject to conditions consistent with the WFCL. Yet, researchers in Diyarbakir, Turkey find that some children are only spending a few hours per day hawking goods, are attending school and universally report enjoying their work activities. However, the latter scenario tends to be the exception, rather than the rule across the RAs. Across all RAs (not just those on the informal sector), children working, and particularly those working and living on the streets, are extremely vulnerable to worse exploitation and may end up in more severe forms of the WFCL such as drug trafficking or CSE.

Research Methods

Children working in the informal sector tend to be relatively easy for researchers to access through the areas in which they commonly work or congregate. Assessment techniques included the use of structured questionnaires with large numbers of children (over 100), direct observation of the children in their work environments, interviews with key informants and focus group discussions. Some researchers were also able to access children's families for semi-structured interviews. As with other assessments, sampling was not random.

The Industry

The informal sector encompasses a wide range of economic activities and occupations, both legal and illegal. The activities tend to offer lower degrees of income and employment security than do jobs in the formal sector and tend to be concentrated in urban areas (although examples of informal sector work in rural areas certainly exist, as can be seen in the assessment on child porters in Nepal). In many developing countries, the informal sector is estimated to contribute a significant amount to the GNP — an estimated 32 percent in Tanzania, for example. With the exception of children who work as apprentices in garages or those who work in fish processing, for example, most informal work undertaken by children takes place on the streets — in parks, marketplaces, or garbage dumps. Within these contexts, two categories of children working in the informal sector emerge: those working and living on the streets, and those working on the streets but living at home or with relatives. There is no way to determine from the assessments what the breakdown is between children working on the streets and children working and living on the streets, but the latter category is likely to be significantly higher than represented in the respondent groups found in the assessments, largely due to their heightened risk of being involved in more hidden, illicit and dangerous forms of WFCL such as drug trafficking or CSE.

Characteristics of the Children

Children working in the informal sector may start at young ages, particularly if they are living at home, (as early as age 6 in El Salvador, for example) but most children encountered by researchers across assessments are between the ages of 10 and 13. Boys outnumber girls by

a large margin in most areas (9 to 1 in Tanzania, and approximately 7 to 1 in both Guatemala and Romania) and are much more likely to be living on the streets than their female counterparts. Researchers in several countries note that most informal sector work is considered inappropriate for girls, who are more likely to stay home to help with household chores. The average age of children living and working on the streets is higher than the average age of those just working on the streets.

Educational Attainment

Literacy rates range from 73 percent to 28 percent among children working in the informal sector, and school enrolment ranges from 68 percent of urban working children in El Salvador to only 6 percent of rag pickers in Nepal, with only between 20 and 30 percent of children attending school in most areas. The highest enrolment rates across countries are among the youngest children, with dropout rates across countries increasing with age and grade level. Children report a lack of money for school expenses and the need or desire to work as primary reasons for non-enrolment.

Living Context and Household/Family Conditions

Across assessments, children working in the informal sector tend to come either from poor, rural families or from urban families with parents or family members also working in the informal sector. Migration appears to play an important role in the lives of these children, many of whom either migrate from rural areas along with their families or come to urban areas on their own, drawn by the potential for employment and better living conditions. In Nepal, the boys working as short distance porters report that they left home to find jobs in the city, drawn by the lure of jobs and city life. In Tanzania, over 50 percent of respondents are from outside the capital district, and of those, 40 percent migrated with their families, 25 percent came to live with relatives, 15 percent came seeking employment, 14 percent for further training, and 6 percent ran away from home because of maltreatment. In fact, family disintegration and trauma are encountered only to a minor extent among children in the informal sector except in a few areas such as Romania, for example, where researchers encounter high rates of alcoholism among parents. Yet, even though the incidence of family trauma is low in relative terms compared to some other WFCL, it is still likely to be higher than represented in the normal population — for example, among child porters in Nepal, 11 percent of respondents report that their father is dead, and 5 percent report that their mother is dead. On the other hand, parental illiteracy and unemployment are found quite commonly. Ethnicity also seems to play a role in some areas — in Nepal, for example, researchers note that children working in the informal sector are likely to come from the most socially excluded ethnic groups, and in Romania, researchers note that members of the Roma ethnic group are disproportionately represented in the sample.

Activities and Conditions of Work

The occupations of children working in the informal sector include a wide range of activities, most of which fall under the categories of commerce, services, scavenging or productive work. Children working in commerce most often engage in the selling of food, papers, gum or clothes on the streets or in parks or marketplaces. Children working in services engage in activities such as windshield washing, shoe shining, running errands, or carrying heavy loads. Scavenging, then sorting and selling refuse material in garbage dumps or on the streets is the exclusive subject of RAs in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nepal, but is also found to be a common activity for children in other countries. Productive work, such as carried out in workshops, garages, shoe smiths, fish processors, or quarries, is found, or at least investigated, less frequently across countries, though it is a significant part of the work performed by child respondents in Tanzania, and to a lesser extent, El Salvador.

There is a wide range of activities undertaken by children in the informal sector and a correspondingly wide range of conditions under which they work, some of which are clearly

consistent with the WFCL. The risk of physical or psychological harm may be imposed solely by activity itself (e.g. carrying heavy loads or cooking food over a hot fire), by the location in which it takes place (e.g. dangerous intersections) or, in many cases, by both (e.g. scavenging for refuse materials in garbage dumps). Most children in the informal sector work almost every day, for more than 6 hours each day. As might be expected, working hours increase with age in most assessments. Almost all work in the informal sector is year-round, with the exception of long distance porters in Nepal, who tend to be younger, live at home, and work as porters only during the agricultural off-season. Aside from the dangerous working environment of children in the garbage dumps, where they were regularly exposed to hazardous chemicals, bacteria, and sharp and dangerous objects, almost all children in the informal sector are found to be working in dirty, unsanitary conditions, often using inappropriate tools. Researchers note that working on the street, and living on the street in particular, exposes children to even more dangerous forces and activities such as gangs, drug trafficking and CSE. Street children are also likely to be abused by customers and the police.

Most children working in the informal sector are paid in cash, with payments ranging from less than US\$1 up to US\$23 per day, with the vast majority of earnings at the low end of the pay scale. In addition, 14 percent of children in Tanzania are paid in-kind and 20 percent are not paid at all (presumably because they are working alongside family members). Most children contribute at least some percentage of their earnings to family income, and very few manage to save any of their earnings. Researchers in Nepal note that children engaged in rag picking (who make anywhere from less than US\$1 to US\$4 per day) usually live day to day and often do not even have enough money to feed themselves. Those children working in apprenticeships may be given a stipend, but nothing more. Contracts, if they exist, are rarely formal.

Pathways and Attitudes

The pathways into children's work in the informal sector are as varied as the activities in which children are engaged. Rural-urban migration, peer influence, and economic need all appear to be key explanatory factors — often occurring in tandem. Children or their families, attracted by the prospect of better jobs or glamorous city lifestyles, leave their rural homes and often end up in the informal sector when other opportunities do not work out. Among older children, peer pressure to come to the city and live on their own is also common. For almost all children, economic need plays some role; yet, there is variation in whether children's earnings are needed to support themselves or their parent's household. In San Salvador, for example, 63 percent of working children report that they like working on the streets and the money and lifestyle it gives them, as do a high percentage of short distance porters in Nepal (who tend to be in their mid to late teenage years).

Researchers in several countries note that poor government policies or engagement is a contributing factor to children's participation in the informal sector. In Tanzania, a lack of secondary schools pushes children prematurely into work and many ended up in the informal sector, whereas in Guatemala, parents report that although they would like to send their children to school, the expense was prohibitive. Weak or incomplete laws addressing children in the informal sector are also cited across assessments, and poor behaviour of police forces towards children living and working on the streets is also a contributing factor to the poor conditions under which many children exist.

Parental attitudes also play a key role in some countries. In Turkey, children's work in the informal sector alongside their friends is considered to be an "apprenticeship" for adulthood and is considered to be an important part of growing up. In the garbage dumps in El Salvador, most parents acknowledge the significant risks to their children, but still need their children to work alongside them in order to help their families meet their daily requirements.

Recommendations

Campaigns to promote schooling and increased availability of scholarships or direct assistance to enable children to attend school top the list of recommended actions to eliminate the WFCL in the informal sector. The provision of alternatives to formal education, such as vocational training or formalized apprenticeship programmes, is also suggested. Researchers in Nepal note that an improved urban waste management system would be an important step in reducing the number of rag picking opportunities available. And as with other forms of children's work, increased legal protections for children is noted as important, along with increased availability of training and income generating activities for parents.

III. RA Snapshots by Country²⁹

Bolivia

Agriculture – Sugar Cane

Background Information

Sugar cane is an important agricultural product from the Santa Cruz and Tarija regions of Bolivia, employing thousands of people during the harvest season from October to May, including many children. Researchers estimate that between 35 and 40 percent of cane workers migrate, often with their families, from other parts of the country to work in the cane fields during the harvest season.

Children working in the sugar cane industry are found in both Tarija and Santa Cruz. Both boys and girls work in sugar cane production, though researchers find that the activities performed by children vary across the regions studied. In Tarija, children primarily work alongside the women, piling and peeling the cane, although a small number are involved in the cutting of the cane. In Santa Cruz, adolescent boys are commonly found in the fields cutting the cane alongside the men, whereas girls, and women in general, are more likely to be found working at home or at other sugar-related jobs.

Characteristics of the Children

Children as young as 9 are found to be working in sugar cane production in the study, though the majority of children (50–60 percent) are between the ages of 9 and 13. Two thirds of the children encountered are boys. Most of the children live with their families, but 18 and 25 percent of boys in Tarija and Santa Cruz, respectively, live alone as do nearly 5 percent of girls in Tarija. Most of the children are found to be out of school — fully 90 percent of all children in Tarija, and 55 percent of boys and 33 percent of girls in Santa Cruz. Of all children, few have advanced beyond the fifth grade. Children cite economic pressures to work and poor school performance as the most common reasons for leaving school, but long travel distances and poor treatment by teachers are also common complaints linked to a child dropping out.

Children in both Tarija and Santa Cruz areas commonly work as many as 12 hours per day, not including travel time. Children do not have contracts and, except in the cases of children living on their own, pay is given directly to a child's parents. Children generally report having good interfamilial relationships and understanding their rights to education, recreation, dignity and respect, and, in the case of Santa Cruz in particular, to not have to work in sugar cane production.

Pathways

There appear to be several primary factors contributing to children's participation in sugar cane production. First, researchers note that there is a real scarcity of schools in sugar cane production areas, particularly for children who are above grade five. Second, a large percentage of parents (though it varies by department) approve their children working and in some cases, consider it to be an important part of their education and development, along with providing the family with additional needed income.

²⁹ Even though, IPEC/SIMPOC provided assistance to approximately 90 RAs worldwide between the years 2000 and 2004, this chapter discusses only the findings from the 38 RAs and 2 national reports which are part of a global project to investigate the WFCL, by country.

Brazil

Drug Trafficking with a National Report on Child Domestic Work

Background Information

Child domestic workers represent approximately 10% of the total of working children in the country. As opposed to other types of children's work in Brazil, CDW is more likely to be found in urban areas in the North and Centre-West regions of the country.

On the other hand, the study on children in drug trafficking was undertaken in Rio de Janeiro, where the data show an increase in drug abuse and trafficking by under-age persons in recent years.

Characteristics of the Children

Children working in non-domestic forms of occupations across Brazil are overwhelmingly male (73 percent). Similarly, those in drug trafficking are also predominantly male. Children engaged in domestic work, in contrast, are generally female, across all regions of the country (95 percent). Most working children in Brazil are between the ages of 12 and 15, as are children engaged in the drug trade. Child domestic workers, however, are generally older than the average — most are between the ages of 16 and 17. A decrease in the age of entry into drug trafficking over the past years is notable — the average age fell from between 15 and 16 years in the beginning of the 1990s to between 12 and 13 in the year 2000. Regarding the age of first starting to work, the majority of children engaged in non-domestic forms of work start between the ages of 5 and 11, whereas most CDW start work between the ages of 12 and 15.

Children in domestic work and drug trafficking tend to come from families with lower per capita income than non-working boys and girls. Children in both domestic work and drug trafficking also have much lower levels of educational attainment than other working and non-working children. According to data for the year 1999,³⁰ 33 percent of CDW do not attend school, compared to 21 percent of non-CDW and 10 percent of non-working children. Children engaged in drug trafficking report even lower educational attainment, far below the national average of 6.4 years — 84 percent of these children report receiving 5 years or less of schooling.

The great majority of the children in drug trafficking are black or *pardo* (all non-white and all non-black children including those of indigenous descent and mixed races). Black and *pardo* children are also more highly represented in domestic work across the country than in the other two groups of non-domestic workers and those who do not work.

The most common future goal reported by children in the drug trade is to buy a house and start a business outside of the *favela* (slum) community in which they live and work, thus reducing the risk to their families of their past associations. According to the children interviewed, the most probable way of leaving drug trafficking would be through the accumulation of a large amount of money. Yet, few children have any savings nor do they see much potential for saving in the future. Despite poor saving habits, extortions by the police are reported as the main obstacle for financial accumulation.

³⁰ National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) presented in Brazil, ILO/IPEC. Haas, F.; Oliveira Muniz, J.; de Oliveira Lima, J. *Brazil — Child and adolescent domestic work in selected years from 1992 to 1999: A national report*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 40. Geneva, 2003.

Pathways

As children grow older, they increase their relative participation in domestic work activities, and at the same time their school attendance decreases. Child domestic workers, especially female ones, are also relatively more common than other working children in families without the mother-figure. The report additionally identifies low income as one of the determinants of the insertion of children in domestic work.

On the other hand, children report that they entered drug trafficking in order to acquire prestige and power, because they were drawn to the adrenaline rush of the activities (many profess to enjoy shootouts with rival gangs and the police), and to earn money to purchase goods that they would otherwise be unable to afford. Their main friendships are with other traffickers, and their bond with the group is an important factor that keeps them in the business. Additionally, once rival groups or the police know of a child's associations with one particular drug operation, it becomes even more difficult for the child to leave the protection and social network of the drug trafficking trade. Ironically, the children's greatest fears are among the greatest risks associated with the drug trade — imprisonment, death, and betrayal by their peers.

Costa Rica

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Background Information

Commercial sexual exploitation in Costa Rica is seen as a well-developed, organized, and growing practise that is closely linked to both national and international organized crime networks, including drug trafficking networks. Links between CSE and the tourist industry are also evident and CSE appears to be most concentrated in tourist zones — both in coastal areas such as Limon and in the tourist districts within the capital, San Jose. Researchers find that the integration of CSE into local economies and crime networks has created a tolerance for the practise at the local level that hinders efforts to combat the problem at the ground level. Yet, although tourism remains the focus of much of the discussion regarding CSE, study respondents report that only 28 percent of their clients/exploiters are foreign tourists. And although CSE is viewed as part of organized crime, 67 percent of respondents report having no intermediary between them and their last client/exploiter.

Characteristics of the Children

Most children engaged in CSE come from poor families characterized by high rates of intra-familial violence and, in particular, an extremely high incidence of incest (48 percent). The majority of children interviewed are age 15 or older, though ages range from 11 to 17, and the vast majority are girls. Nearly 70 percent of the children interviewed entered CSE at age 15 or younger, though very few are below the age of 13. Only 8 percent of children interviewed are currently enrolled in formal education. Education levels are considerably higher in Limon (where 35 percent of girls have completed at least some secondary schooling) than in San Jose (where only 6 percent have). Notably, 50 percent of girls have experienced pregnancy or abortion and a third of all children have suffered from an STD. Alcohol and drug use appears to be rampant — only 13 percent of children report that they have never consumed alcohol, and 20 percent report having never consumed other drugs, whereas 27 and 29 percent respectively, report that they consume alcohol or drugs every day.

Pathways

Many children report that they fled their homes to escape abuse and/or poverty, consequently ending up in the streets where they are vulnerable to solicitation into CSE. Some girls report being trapped in prostitution or pornography by neighbourhood networks in exchange for only food, clothes or drugs, and others report that their partner, usually an older adult male, is forcing them to engage in CSE. The clients/exploiters are overwhelmingly adult males. Thirty-one percent report having been attacked by clients/exploiters and 35 percent report having been abused by the police. Although children engaged in CSE are most visible on the streets, both in San Jose and Limon, they are even more likely to be found in hotels, massage parlours, bars and private clubs. Researchers conclude that the children interviewed in the assessment constitute a group characterized by a history of human rights violations and poor access to social care. Their experiences of abuse and maltreatment, abandonment and physical and emotional deprivation can be understood as a route of vulnerability that leads them directly into the ever more organized networks of CSE.

Ecuador

Agriculture – Horticulture

Background Information

The cut flower industry in Ecuador is prevalent in the provinces of Pichincha and Cotopaxi. Engaging children in the production of cut flowers provides two benefits for the industry: precise, delicate work done by hand at little or no cost, and the training and education of future employees. The presence of children on flower plantations is thought to be massive, with estimates reaching nearly 80 percent of all adult workers on the plantations. Researchers found that nearly all of the primary school students interviewed in Cayambe (Pinchincha) and Cotopaxi — 98 percent and 89 percent, respectively — work outside the home, as do 89 percent of the secondary school students interviewed. Of those working children, close to 85 percent of primary school children and nearly 44 percent of secondary school children in Cayambe report working in horticulture, compared to almost 45 percent in Cotopaxi.

Characteristics of the Children

The study results reveal that more girls than boys work in horticulture (56 percent/44 percent) in Cayambe, compared to the opposite (45/55) in Cotopaxi. Researchers surmise that a lack of other work opportunities for girls in Cayambe and more alternative work options in Cotopaxi are the primary explanatory factors for this phenomenon. Of the working students, 29 percent report working 4 to 10 hours each week, and 21 percent report working between 16 and 20 hours per week, mainly after school and on weekends.

In many places, children's work in cut flower production is open and formal, but researchers also find lots of hidden, informal participation of children working as “helpers” alongside their parents or older siblings. In particular, researchers identify three categories of activities in which children are engaged: (i) the construction and repair of greenhouses, preparation of flower beds (with an income of US\$20 to US\$40 per month); (ii) irrigation, general labour, spraying, transport of flowers, etc. (US\$5 to US\$100 per month); (iii) assisting parents or siblings in horticulture duties (pay based on parent's production).

Pathways

Despite its relative infancy, the production chain in the cut flower industry is organized based on colonial feudal structures. As noted earlier, the participation of children provides not only labour for the plantations, but also important training for the work that they will undertake on the plantations as adults. As such, children's work is very much built into the structure of the communities themselves, and the presence of children working alongside their parents in the cut flower industry is quite common.

El Salvador

***Agriculture – Sugar Cane, Fishing
Child Domestic Work
Commercial Sexual Exploitation
Urban Informal Sector
Garbage Dump Scavenging***

Background Information

In the context of the project to investigate WFCL, and as part of the Time Bound Programme, six RAs were undertaken in El Salvador on the WFCL in agriculture (2), child domestic work, CSE, the urban informal sector, and garbage dumps. There are several general patterns that can be observed throughout these RAs in El Salvador relating to the pathways to and consequences of children's participation in the WFCL. These patterns include poor educational attainment; the impact of economic shocks caused by the prolonged armed conflict and recent natural disasters and the corresponding prevalence of migration; as well as cultural values that support children's work.

Characteristics of the Children

The general characteristics of children engaged in the WFCL in El Salvador vary mainly by sector, but in general children tend to come from families characterized by poor educational achievement and high rates of poverty. Children working in the agricultural sector, the urban informal sector and the garbage dumps tend to be younger (typically starting around age 7) than domestic workers or those engaged in CSE, where children are most likely to become engaged at older ages — between 9 and 11 in the case of domestic work and around age 16 in the case of CSE. Gender differences are striking throughout the assessments — far more boys than girls are engaged in agricultural work, garbage collection and the informal sector, whereas girls are equally more likely percentage-wise to be found working as domestic workers or be engaged in CSE. The ratio of boys to girls ranges from 87/13 in fishing and sugar cane farming, to 63/37 in the urban informal sector and 52/48 in the Santa Ana garbage dumps, to 35/65 in CSE and 9/91 in domestic work. Within all of the types of work, jobs and activities are apportioned depending on sex, with boys more likely to engage in the more physically demanding activities.

Levels of educational attainment are universally low across all assessments. The younger children, found in agriculture and the informal sector, are the most likely to be attending school (83 percent of 7 to 12 year olds working in the urban informal sector), but drop out rates increase dramatically across all sectors as children get older and finish primary school. A notable exception to this trend is found in the garbage dumps in San Salvador, where although the children are predominantly young (most between 8 and 12 years old), only 24 percent report attending school in the previous year. Age 12 is a common age for leaving school across all assessments, but particularly in the agricultural sector. Approximately 40 percent of boys and girls in CSE attend school. In the case of children in domestic work, only 31 percent report attending school, and the incidence is even lower in rural areas. Researchers in all assessments encounter evidence that work interferes with educational attainment, both due to conflicting hours, particularly in fishing and domestic work, and due to poor performance resulting from fatigue and irregular attendance. Across assessments, boys have a higher educational attainment than girls.

The living situation of the children differs primarily based on the type of work as well. Children working in garbage dumps and agriculture are the most likely to report living at home with both parents (70 and 60 percent, respectively), although 57 percent of children engaged in CSE also report living in the house of the parents or other relatives, 51 percent live with the mother and 52 percent declare living with the father. Only 36 percent of children working in

the urban informal sector report that they are living at home with both parents, whereas 70 percent of children working in the garbage dumps in San Salvador report that they are living with their mother only.

Migration in response to the civil war, natural disasters or economic pressures is common in El Salvador, and indeed, researchers find that many of the families with working children in the WFCL are recent migrants. Migration occurs both between rural areas as families seek agricultural work and from rural to urban areas. Migrant families are particularly common among children working in fishing, domestic work and the urban informal sector. Although children identified in the assessments appear to universally come from poor families, poverty cannot be considered a sufficient explanatory factor for engaging in the WFCL in a country where close to half of the population is considered poor.

Although the working conditions for children vary by industry, study area and activity, the RAs identifies some of them as severe enough to justify classification as among the WFCL. This identification is particularly critical for the assessments on children's work in fishing, garbage dumps and in sugar cane plantations, which are not considered to be worst forms, but which may be classified as such depending on the particular conditions under which the children work. Long hours, exposure to dangerous equipment or substances and hazardous work environments are cited by researchers across assessments as justification for the activities to be categorized among the WFCL. High rates of physical abuse suffered by children in domestic work in particular (64 percent), provides further justification.

The earnings of children engaged in the WFCL across El Salvador appear to vary greatly, but are most typically used to supplement family income or pay for living expenses, rather than as disposable income. It is difficult to determine annual earnings or the full impact on family income from the assessments due to the variations in pay type. Children engaged in CSE have the highest income range, from US\$70 to US\$170 per week, compared to domestic workers who received on average US\$63 per month. Children working in the urban informal sector make between US\$3 and US\$23 per day, depending on hours and activity. And children working in sugar cane are paid an average of US\$3.25 per day, although their income, as well as the income of children working in garbage dumps, is often paid (always in the case of children under age 12) as part of the wage earned by their parents and, therefore, is difficult to document. In-kind payment of room and board, as for domestic workers, or fish, as for children working in fishing, is also common.

Although the earnings of most children are used to supplement family income, 50 percent of children in the informal sector use their earnings for personal expenses, and 53 percent of children in CSE use the money to pay for their living expenses. As previously noted, children working in agriculture and garbage dumps are most likely to have their wages paid directly to their parents.

Pathways

The presence of poverty in El Salvador and its relationship to children engaging in the WFCL cannot and should not be ignored. In fact, all assessments encountered poverty in both its relative and absolute forms. Yet, in a country where so much poverty exists, its exact role in the pathway to the WFCL is difficult to determine with certainty. There are two additional factors which emerged from the assessments that help to clarify the pathway: migration and cultural values.

The phenomenon of migration and, just as importantly, the disruptions that cause it, appear to play a major role in the lives of the children who find themselves in the WFCL in El Salvador. Across many of the assessments, parents had migrated to seek work to support their families, causing instability and disruption in the families. Ironically, children often become the only family members able to find work, and consequently, the older children often end up as the primary wage earners for their families. The frequent accrual of debt as a result of war, natural disasters and illness reinforces this trend.

Cultural values in El Salvador that support children's work as a necessary part of the social and economic structure of families and communities also contribute to children's participation in WFCL. Researchers in most assessments note that children's work is visible and supported by the community in which it takes place. Even in the more hidden forms, such as domestic work, children's participation is widespread and generally accepted as a societal norm.

Estonia

Drug Trafficking

Background Information

Drug use has been increasing at an alarming rate in Estonia over the past years since national independence, and there has been a corresponding increase in registered drug related offences. Consumption of drugs sometimes starts early in childhood (before age 10), though 39 percent of drug users in treatment report that they started using drugs between the ages of 15 and 16, whereas 53 percent report starting before the age of 18.

Researchers find that the times and places of drug trafficking depend more on the lifestyle of the child engaged in drug trafficking, whether she or he attends school, and where she or he likes to hang out, and less on any pre-determined schedule or locations. Drug trafficking is found to occur in bars, discos, on the street, at concerts, amongst friends, in school, out of cars, or by telephone. Intravenous drug users tend to traffic a wide variety of drugs including cannabis, heroin and amphetamines. Children who traffic drugs in order to receive a free dose are found to traffic the same type of drugs that they use. The money earned from drug trafficking (and by association, CSE) is usually spent on drugs or other immediate needs. A small number of children report that they became involved in drug trafficking to help their family, or themselves, financially.

Characteristics of the Children

The social background of children engaged in drug trafficking varies. Although there is a high rate of school dropouts, all of the children interviewed are literate. The assessment finds more boys involved in drug trafficking than girls, but girl drug users are significantly more likely to become engaged in CSE in addition to participating in drug trafficking in order to support their drug habits. It should be noted that because the legal age of consent for sexual activity is 14 years old in Estonia, some adolescents consider prostitution to be a safer source of income than drug trafficking as the latter is considered a criminal activity. Some of the children live on the streets, but most have permanent places of residence and live with one or both parents or other relatives. The assessment finds that children typically start trafficking between the ages of 13 and 16, at the same time as they start using drugs. Once a child becomes involved in drug distribution or CSE, she or he may stay engaged until adulthood. Notably, the financial status of the children's families varies from very poor to wealthy.

The majority of children involved in drug trafficking are drug users themselves, and many entered the trade after they had already become addicted to the substances. For other children, the reverse was true; they were not addicts when they began selling drugs, but experimentation with the products they were selling ultimately led to addiction. Children engaged in drug trafficking face a variety of dangers beyond drug addiction, including, most commonly, becoming a victim of violence, being caught by police and imprisonment. In addition, intravenous drug users are at risk for contracting HIV/AIDS due to the use of infected needles, and children engaging in CSE to fund their drug habits are also in danger of contracting HIV/AIDS and other STDs by practicing unsafe sex.

Pathways

The influence of close friends and peers is a primary determinant for children's engagement in drug trafficking, along with a desire to become rich quickly, the lack of other income generating opportunities, and the desire for free drugs. Some children report that they see drug trafficking as a way to gain influence over their peers. In many cases, however, the exploitation of children by drug pushers occurs long before any conscious decision to enter the drug trade, and children are eventually pulled in by their own addiction.

Ethiopia

Child Domestic Work

Background Information

Children in urban areas in Ethiopia generally work in the informal sector as domestic workers or are engaged in CSE; and in rural areas, they generally work in the agricultural sector. Recruitment of children into the armed services also has been known to occur. There is also evidence that children are trafficked outside of the country into domestic work. Researchers found that the conditions under which many CDW in Ethiopia work are consistent with the WFCL.

The study reveals two types of relationships between CDW and their employers: those who are paid wages for their work, and those who work without fixed monetary compensation. The majority of children (41 percent) encountered by researchers fall into the former category.

Characteristics of the Children

Migration rates are high among the families of CDW — 72 percent of families of child respondents have migrated from outside of Addis Ababa. Researchers found that the families of CDW have an average of 6 children. Most children in the study population (65 percent) are currently enrolled in either a literacy class or in formal education. Yet, a large number of boys and girls reported that they cannot study or do their homework and are often late or absent from school. Those not enrolled in school report that they have no school near their residence (for children living in rural areas), cannot afford the expense of school fees, have employers unwilling to send them, or lack the time to attend.

Of those CDW who are paid, a large number gives all or a portion of the wages to the parents, either directly or through the employers.

Child domestic workers in Ethiopia overwhelmingly report that they do not feel “free from fear” in their employers’ homes. Eighty percent of children report that they do not have the right to voluntarily quit their jobs. Many children start work at 6 a.m. and do not go to sleep until midnight. On average, they work more than 15 hours per day (including short break time), 7 days per week. Many CDW are the victims of psychological, physical, or sexual abuse, and few are allowed to visit their families on a regular basis. A number of children have not visited their families in 5 or 6 years. Many are not even allowed to leave the premises unless accompanied, and most are not allowed to play with the children of the employer, watch television or listen to the radio. As a result, many children are deprived of affection and leisure and lack access to sources of information on such critical topics as the spread of HIV/AIDS. Child domestic workers report not liking their sleeping conditions (few are given bed sheets or a blanket), but the majority think that their quality of life has improved since entering domestic work.

Pathways

Researchers identify three primary factors affecting children’s participation in the WFCL, in particular domestic work — destitution, family disintegration, or the death of one or both parents. Poverty is considered to be the single most important cause of children entering domestic work. Community attitudes also appear to play a key role. Most employers of CDW report that they believe they are helping, rather than hurting, the children and their families. Yet, researchers observe that child abuse, whether by employers or families, is common across Ethiopia, and that a common lack of respect for the fundamental rights of both adults and children is prevalent.

Guatemala

Garbage Dump Scavenging

Background Information

Migration from poor rural areas into urban areas in search of a better life is a common phenomenon across the country, and as a consequence, the cities are becoming crowded with *campesinos* (rural dwellers) seeking work. Few are able to find work outside the low-paying informal sector, and children are thus called upon to play a role in the economic support of the family, often also finding jobs within the informal sector. Consistent with this trend, the garbage dumps and surrounding areas in Guatemala City are inhabited by the poorest of the poor. Eight percent of children who work in the garbage dump report that they live in the dumps themselves. Although work in the dumps is not limited to children, an estimated 70 percent of all workers in the dumps are between the ages of 7 and 18.

Characteristics of the Children

The study results point out that children's work in the garbage dumps begins at an early age — 43 percent of the workers interviewed report that they began working in the dumps before or at age 9 (91 percent report beginning before age 16). Boys and men are significantly more likely to be working in the dumps — 73 percent of the workers interviewed are male.

Children in the garbage dumps work long hours (7 to 8 hours per day), are exposed to a variety of hazards such as sharp or rusty objects, chemicals and bacteria, and suffer from frequent cuts, burns, headaches, and respiratory problems.

School attendance, low to begin with among the population investigated, decreases even further as age increases. More than half of children (53 percent) have already stopped attending school by age 13, but that number shoots up to 74 percent between ages 13 and 18. Children and their families report several reasons for leaving school — primarily that school expenses are not easy to cover and scholarships are difficult to acquire, but also that discrimination and marginalization by teachers and peers provides poor children with an additional incentive to drop out of school. Most families report, however, that the provision of scholarships would likely enable them to send their children back to school.

The children and adolescents interviewed are likely to live with their families and report that either their father or mother brought them to work at the dump. Of the workers, 76 percent are ethnically Latino, compared to 24 percent who came from indigenous ancestry.

Pathways

Researchers note several economic and psychological factors that contribute to children working in garbage dumps, primarily related to the fact that the majority of the parents of children interviewed also work as scavengers. Researchers hypothesize that the despair brought about by extreme destitution and the prejudice suffered by many children as a result of their affiliation with poverty and the dumps are likely to play a key role in the continuation of the cycle of poverty and garbage dump work. Although most of the parents interviewed say that they value education highly, they also report that they are simply unable to afford sending their children to school.

Jamaica

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Background Information

The main activities in which working children are engaged in Jamaica are identified as vending, newspaper delivery, welding, mechanics, carpentry, care giving, farming and domestic work. Though children engaged in CSE is the subject of the RA, there are no reliable quantitative estimates on the magnitude of the problem in the country.

Much of the CSE of children appears to be related to the tourism sector. As the country's largest foreign exchange earner, the tourism sector formally employs thousands of people, and hundreds (maybe thousands) more are thought to be involved in an affiliated informal sector — earning their living by selling goods and services to tourists, including CSE. Although the latter is illegal, it persists in response to demands from visitors and is often tolerated by local businesses and communities as an integral part of the tourism industry.

Characteristics of the Children

According to the study results, the vast majority of children involved in prostitution and related activities are girls, although researchers did encounter groups of boys who are severely sexually exploited. Research in Montego Bay, Negril, Sav-la-Mar, Lucea, Spanish Town, Portmore and Kingston, revealed a number of high risk areas where children between the ages of 10 and 18 are found to be engaged in various forms of CSE. Activities include prostitution, long-term sexual-economic exchanges with “sugar daddies”, pornographic performances such as go-go dancing, and other exploitative activities. The areas in which children are most frequently encountered include parks, bathing and fishing beaches, sea walls, bus stands, taxi stands, major tourist centres, school gates, malls and fast food restaurants, go-go clubs, massage parlours, and brothels. Researchers find that activities take place in private residences as well as public spaces.

Although CSE is an unconditional WFCL and, therefore, needs no further justification for its inclusion as a worst form of child labour, the conditions and consequences of the involvement in CSE in Jamaica are worth mentioning. In particular, children's education is seriously disrupted — most children interviewed within the compulsory schooling age range are either attending school irregularly or not at all. They also face serious health and safety risks resulting from exposure to STDs, physical violence from clients/exploiters and co-workers, gang rape, physical and mental abuse and sexual harassment, and exposure to hard drugs leading to high risk of addiction. Further, researchers note a significant distortion of values and expansion of moral boundaries to justify participation in CSE as well as other criminal activities such as theft.

Pathways

The research establishes several causal links that act as “push” factors for children's engagement in CSE. In particular, poverty, unemployment and limited job opportunities for young people and their parents leave children with few options and vulnerable to the lure of money offered by CSE. Poor parenting and adolescent parenting often spur children to leave home and find their own forms of survival. Poor family values often contribute to inter-generational prostitution and “go-go dancing” being promoted as viable lifestyles. Cultural traditions of early forced entry into adulthood (often at first menstruation) and all its associated behaviours including sexual activity and responsibility for economic support of the family also appear to play a role in children's likelihood to become engaged in CSE. Peer pressure to engage in CSE as a way to earn good money and buy material goods is also common. Limited education, low literacy and high drop out rates, misleading job advertisements seeking girls to work in massage parlours; untreated mental health problems such as depression and emotional deprivation; poor monitoring and enforcement of weak laws with legal loopholes are also identified as contributing factors to the problem of children in CSE.

Lebanon

Agriculture - Tobacco

Background Information

Tobacco cultivation is highly concentrated in the south of the country. Most of the work of children in tobacco cultivation is carried out during the spring and summer seasons, including needle binding of tobacco leaves, harvesting and seedling transplant. For children below 5 years of age, work is limited to leaf drying. Children 5 to 10 years old work in seedling transplant and leaf drying, while those aged 10 to 15 years become actively involved in tobacco drying, harvesting, and planting (seedling transplant, irrigation, weeding). Young people aged 15 to 20 years participate in all tasks related to tobacco cultivation.

Characteristics of the Children

Most of the working children in tobacco cultivation are 12 to 15 years old, followed by children 9 to 12 years old. They are almost all unpaid family labour and start working at a very early age, some as young as age 3. The tobacco farming family is very large, with an average family size of around 7 members, and a high percentage of young people aged 11 to 19 years. The educational status of parents of working children in tobacco cultivation is low, and most families earn a yearly income ranging between LBP20 and 110 million³¹ for an average family of 7 members.

The majority of these children are enrolled in school — 94 percent are either at the elementary or intermediate levels. The highest school dropout rate begins after completion of the elementary stage. More than half of the children working in tobacco cultivation indicate that their work in tobacco cultivation has a negative effect on their educational achievements due to absenteeism.

Daily working hours in tobacco cultivation are long, with most children working an average of between 9 and 13 hours per day during the tobacco production season. The premises where children work are small, dirty, and full of dust. Children working in the fields are exposed to intense sunlight and high temperatures, which frequently cause headaches for boys and girls. Children are also required to use dangerous tools — usually non-motorized hand tools that contain unguarded dangerous parts. Most working children report eating during their working hours. Most of the working children interviewed do not like working in tobacco cultivation and report that the work is “tiring, boring, and hard”.

Pathways

Child labour in the tobacco industry appears to be almost entirely integrated into the economic activity of the family as a whole and, thus, is a direct result of families having inadequate resources, such as technology, to accomplish the work by other means. For those children working on larger farms, also alongside their families, the inadequate wages paid to adults, or, from the perspective of the employer, efficiency in production, require the participation of children.

³¹ US\$1 equivalent to LBP1,500 (August 2001 exchange rates).

Madagascar

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Background Information

The CSE of children in Madagascar, although considered sometimes to be a normal, and even acceptable, activity for girls, is hidden in many areas and can be accessed only through personal contacts or word of mouth. The RA was undertaken in three cities with distinct qualities: Antsiranana, a French military base, Toliara, a poor region and tourist site, and Antanarivo, the capital city.

Characteristics of the Children

Of the children engaged in CSE interviewed, 83 percent are girls. The average age of the respondents is between 14 and 15 years old. Boys tend to enter CSE earlier, slightly under age 13, compared to girls who tend to enter CSE over age 13. Only 20 percent of children interviewed are currently attending school — 70 percent have dropped out (most around the age of 12 or 13), and 10 percent have never attended. While the majority of children come from poor families, this is not true for all.

Most girls meet their clients/exploiters at discotheques or on the roadside. In Antsiranana, hotel receptionists serve as middlepersons, transmitting offers between boys and their clients/exploiters.

As a consequence of their participation in CSE, children regularly face a variety of hazards including exposure to HIV/AIDS, STDs (29 percent), fatigue (20 percent), abuse by clients/exploiters (18 percent), rape (8 percent) and unwanted pregnancy (7 percent). Only 23 percent of respondents report regularly using condoms. Monthly earnings range from Fmg\$250,000 - 300,000,³² though one third of respondents report engaging in other income-earning activities in addition to CSE.

Pathways

Researchers identify a variety of economic and social pressures that lead to children's participation in CSE in Madagascar. Poverty (defined by the children as the inability or refusal of parents or caretakers to pay for school or school supplies) and lack of interest in studies are the two main reasons that children report for leaving school. Once out of school, children generally report seeing their engagement in CSE as a logical alternative to schooling given their need to contribute to family income and their desire to fulfil their own economic needs and wants. Researchers note that a majority of the children have experienced major family trauma — 22 percent of children have divorced parents and 41 percent have experienced the death of one or both parents (22 percent fathers, 5 percent mothers, and 14 percent both parents). Many parents and caretakers interviewed seem to be resigned to their children's activities.

Most of the girls report that they became familiar with prostitution through friends, family (specifically their mother, cousin, sister or aunt), or by frequenting places where it occurs, before becoming engaged in it themselves. Some girls acknowledge that they have been influenced by the perceived economic successes of other women and girls engaged in CSE. Others admit that they entered CSE in order to meet rich men, particularly foreigners. Boys, on the other hand, tend to fall into CSE much more spontaneously or "accidentally", usually on the advice of friends. Their first sexual experience generally occurs as a result of peer pressure

³² US\$1 equivalent to FMG6,250 (September 2001 exchange rates).

— through the goading, or encouragement, of a companion. Boys report that it somehow becomes a “habit” which is reinforced by the money they earn.

Inadequate laws protecting children from CSE and poor monitoring and enforcement of existing laws are also seen as important contributing factors. Researchers note that the participation of public officials in the CSE of children is also a major hindrance in addressing the problem.

Nepal

Bonded Labour
Child Domestic Work
Commercial Sexual Exploitation/Child Trafficking
Urban Informal Sector – Portering
Urban Informal Sector – Rag Picking

Background Information

In the context of the project to investigate the WFCL, five RAs were undertaken in Nepal: on bonded labour, child domestic work, CSE and child trafficking, porters and rag pickers. According to the results from these studies, children from poor and socially excluded ethnic and caste groups, particularly those found in the hill and mountain regions, are disproportionately represented across all forms of child labour investigated — bonded work, child domestic work, working as porters or rag pickers and being trafficked into CSE, yet, no *Dalits*, the so-called “untouchables”, are found to be employed as domestic workers. Bonded labour appears to be a particular problem in Nepal, showing up across all forms — most obviously in child domestic work inside and outside of the Kamaiya system and CSE, but also in rag picking, where children are paid insufficient wages and are forced to borrow from their employers, often putting themselves into bondage.

Characteristics of the Children

Boys are significantly more likely to be found working in all forms, except they are less likely to be trafficked into CSE. A variety of factors may contribute to the gender gap, but in particular, girls are generally considered to be less mobile and are often kept home to work in the home and, among some groups, are considered impure during menstruation. Few children under the age of 10 are found to be working in any of the WFCL investigated, although children working as long distance porters, rag pickers and domestic child labourers are on average younger than children working as short distance porters and those who have been trafficked into CSE. Notably, most children across all assessments report being a first or second born child.

Extraordinarily low levels of educational attainment characterize children engaged in the WFCL in Nepal. Boys are significantly more literate than girls overall, but for the most part, educational levels are comparable with national averages. Younger children are more likely to be attending school — so, for example, a higher percentage of long distance porters are found attending school than short distance porters, and a majority of CDW report attending school before entering domestic work. One third of CDW are currently enrolled in school. In contrast, four fifths of the Kamaiya children in bonded labour have never attended school.

The overwhelming majority of children working in the WFCL in Nepal are not living at home, either full or part time. The majority of rag picking boys live on the street, short distance porters live on their own in rented rooms, and even the long distance porters, who technically live at home, are away from home for an average of more than 5 days per week at a time to deliver each load. Child domestic workers are most likely to live with their employers, and the overwhelming majority report that their living conditions and access to food are far superior to what they have at home, and even those free to leave (4/5) rarely chose to return home. In contrast, girls trafficked into CSE live primarily in brothels under extremely adverse conditions where they are often not even provided with enough food.

As noted earlier, children from poor, rural families, often from marginalized ethnic groups or castes, are disproportionately represented across all forms of WFCL in Nepal. Families may be large (average ranges from 4 to 6 members for CDW and porters to 8 for children in bonded labour), and both parents are most likely to be alive and together. Landlessness is also

common and where families do own land, it is usually less than half an acre. A high incidence of indebtedness characterizes many families.

The work conditions for children engaged in the WFCL in Nepal vary widely, but long hours are common — CDW, bonded labourers and children in CSE spend an average of 14 hours per day on their activities, and porters and rag pickers most often work between 6 and 9 hours per day, respectively. The assessments conducted on porters, rag pickers and CDW all identify children working under conditions that would characterize them as participating in a worst form of child labour. For example, rag pickers are commonly exposed to hazardous contaminants or bacteria that make them ill and often suffer wounds inflicted by sharp glass or metal objects, whereas those working as porters routinely carry loads heavier than their own body weight and far in excess of the legal limits of 25 kg. Few children working in rag picking or as porters have access to sufficient food. Children working as domestic help, aside from working long hours, also suffer from emotional deprivation and frequently also from psychological or physical abuse.

The conditions of children in bonded labour and CSE, though already categorized as an unconditional WFCL, confirm their status as such by the practices and conditions under which the children participate.

Earnings vary greatly across assessments, but are universally low for all children. The majority of children in bonded labour and child domestic work do not receive cash remuneration and are paid in food only. Children in rag picking earn between NR 50 and NR 300 per day, sums which rarely enable them to meet their daily expenses.³³ This circumstance forces them to choose between borrowing from the junkyards, thus putting themselves in a bonded labour situation, and resorting to petty crime. For porters, wages are most frequently determined by the weight of the load and average NR 71 per day for long distance routes, and NR 96 per day for short distance routes.

Pathways

Family indebtedness and the lure of potential employment in the cities appear as two of the primary pathways into the WFCL in Nepal. Rag pickers, porters and girls who ultimately end up in CSE often migrate from poor, rural, landless homes to urban areas seeking better economic opportunities. When promised or perceived jobs do not work out, they become vulnerable to exploitation in the WFCL.

The problem of family debt appears to be a similarly common pathway. Perhaps as a result of high levels of debt or other extreme economic circumstances, parental complicity in selling their children into bonded labour, mainly in domestic work, or into CSE, is a common occurrence among these children. Additionally, researchers note that certain aspects of Nepalese society may work as unintentional catalytic forces for children's engagement in the WFCL: mismatched and child marriages, patriarchy, and excessive spending at times of feasts, festivals, and funeral ceremonies may be key or contributing factors to children's participation in the WFCL across the country. Low levels of educational attainment, though common across the country, cannot be ignored as a contributing factor to the apparently high participation rate of children in the WFCL.

³³ US\$1 equivalent to NR74.65 (August 2001 exchange rates).

Philippines

Child Soldiers³⁴ ***Drug Trafficking***

Background Information

Child labour is a prevalent phenomenon throughout the Philippines and is more common in the rural areas. Approximately half of working children are engaged in agriculture. Other child workers can be found in manufacturing, dynamite production, mining, pearl farming, fishing, domestic work, the informal sector, in CSE, drug trafficking or engaged in armed conflict. The latter two categories are the focus of the two RAs on the Philippines included in this synthesis report.

Poverty is cited as the most common reason forcing children into situations of child labour and the WFCL, in particular. Child soldiers and children engaged in drug trafficking are no exception; children engaged in either activity tend to come from poor, marginalized families. Yet, the pathways into each are significantly more complex and reflect two of the most pressing issues in Philippine society today: a significant rise in drug use and trafficking activities, and the increasing social unrest represented through the continuation of a decades-long armed struggle between the Philippine government and communist insurgents.

Characteristics of the Children

Child soldiers and children in drug trafficking included in the study tend to be older adolescents, the majority of whom do not become involved in these activities until their mid to late teens. Boys are significantly more likely than girls to be involved in either occupation. Children in both types of work are likely to come from poor, marginalized families. The families of children in the drug trade, however, are marked by high rates of family trauma, violence or disintegration. Whereas child soldiers are highly educated and literate in both English and Arabic (61 percent are still enrolled in formal education), only one third of children in the drug trade are still attending school.

Children in either occupation report having the same responsibilities and duties as adults, and, in the case of trafficking drugs, receiving the same rate of pay. Notably, although child soldiers work an average of 7 hours per day, they report receiving sufficient sleep — an average of 8 hours per day. Most children working in the Philippines earn PhP 20.00 (US\$0.40) or less per day, compared to children in drug trafficking who make a minimum of PhP 195 (US\$3.90) per day. Few child soldiers (only 19 percent), on the other hand, report receiving any payment for their duties.

Pathways

Children engaged in drug trafficking are likely to cite economic reasons for their participation in the drug trade, primarily to help their families with daily expenses or to fund their own drug habit. Child soldiers, on the other hand, are likely to report volunteering in order to help protect their communities, and because they see joining the insurgency as a heroic, noble thing to do. Yet, there is a significant causal factor common to both groups: the involvement of parents or peers. Almost all child soldiers have parents or siblings involved in the armed struggle, and many cite family influence as a reason for volunteering. Similarly, one third of children in the drug trade have parents or siblings who are engaged in the drug trade, and three fourths have friends in the drug trade.

³⁴ The term *child soldiers* is used in this report not only to refer to child combatants but also to children taking part in activities related to armed conflict situations such as foot patrol, guard/sentry posts, carry arms for the soldiers, run errands for a military unit, food preparation for combatants, medical team duties or being exploited for sexual purposes.

Romania

Children Working in the Streets

Background Information

The most common forms of children's work encountered in the urban informal sector in Bucharest are begging³⁵ (44 percent), car-washing at intersections or garages (17 percent), selling goods (15 percent), loading and unloading heavy goods in markets, warehouses and supermarkets (9 percent), household work (8 percent), and scavenging/collecting waste products (5 percent). Although children reported the above activities as their primary activity in the informal sector, 69 percent are found to be engaged in more than one. And even though children told researchers they are aware of children engaging in more illicit activities such as CSE and stealing, researchers encountered few of them during the course of the assessment due to their hidden nature. In fact, they encountered only one child who reports engaging in CSE and only three who report stealing as a primary activity.

Characteristics of the Children

The distribution by sex of the interviewed children indicates a strong prevalence of boys working in the streets in Bucharest — boys are found in 102 cases (68 percent of the total of 150 children interviewed), whereas girls are found in 48 cases (32 percent of the total 150 cases). Ethnicity appears to be a strong explanatory factor for the type of work in which a child engages. For example, Roma children are more likely to engage in “car-washing” (67 percent of those engaged in this type of work) and collection of waste products (89 percent), whereas “household work” (65 percent) and “begging” (60 percent) are more common among the non-Roma children.

The investigation indicates a low level of school performance and a high dropout rate — 63 percent of the interviewed children dropped out of school, and the percentage of children both working and attending school is only 35 percent. Despite the high dropout rate, most children seem to have a positive attitude about school. Approximately 72 percent of the children who had abandoned the formal education process want to go back to school.

The RA also provides information about the risks to which children are exposed while working. One of the most common consequences of child labour is exhaustion — 56 percent of the children declare waking up tired. Twenty-four percent of children report suffering from work-related illness, and 17 percent report suffering from accidents related to their work.

Pathways

The migration of poor rural families to urban centres without sufficient skills to find work seems to trigger a set of factors that lead directly to children's participation in child labour. Family poverty is the primary factor, but family disorganization (single parent families, alcoholic or imprisoned parents) plays a major role, especially among those living on the street. A low level of education among the children's parents or legal guardians seems to contribute to mentalities and cultural patterns that favour child labour. The urban environment in which children, and sometimes their families, live is an environment characterized by a lower degree of social control and support than that of their original rural environment. Lack of legislation and poor enforcement of existing legislation to eliminate child labour clearly exacerbate the problem.

³⁵ These children included in the study beg for a third person or are forced by third parties to beg.

South Africa

National Report on Child Domestic Work

Background Information

Researchers identify two forms of domestic work in which children are commonly engaged in South Africa: paid domestic work in the households of employers, and unpaid domestic work at home in the form of chores.³⁶

Out of approximately 50 thousand children found to be doing some form of paid domestic work, a small number (10 thousand) are found to be engaged in paid domestic work that could be classified as a worst form of child labour. Although researchers note that these children are most likely underrepresented in the national household survey on child labour³⁷ given the laws against it, the numbers are too small for researchers to feel that they could undertake a full analysis of the causes, consequences and conditions of children engaged in the worst forms of domestic work. The following represents a quantitative analysis of all of the children found to be engaged in some form of domestic work.

Characteristics of the Children

“Coloured” (i.e., mixed racial heritage) children account for a disproportionate share of paid domestic workers according to the survey — 29 percent of CDW are coloured, even though coloured working children represent only 4 percent of all working children. In contrast, African children are underrepresented in domestic work. Boys are more likely to be working as paid domestic workers than girls by a ratio of 2 to 1, unlike their adult counterparts who are overwhelmingly women (by a ratio of 1 to 9).

Most young CDW are attending school — all children between the ages of 6 and 12 report being in school, but drop out rates increase with age. One third of 13 and 14 year olds report not being in school.

A variety of conditions detrimental to the health or development of children working as domestic servants are identified by researchers. Working long hours or at night, under fear of physical abuse (CDW are nearly twice as likely to face physical violence than other child workers), and sustaining injuries at work (paid CDW are, again, twice as likely to face such conditions than other workers), are all noted by researchers as conditions that constitute a child in the WFCL.

The working hours of CDW varies by age. Two thirds of children work 7 hours or less a week. Only 3 percent, all of whom are above age 10, report working 43 hours or more per week. Most paid domestic workers receive very low wages, often only in the form of payment in kind. Over 60 percent of CDW receive less than R100 per month³⁸.

Pathways

Reasons given for being in child domestic work differ greatly depending on the area in which the children work. Children in urban areas report that their primary reason for engaging in domestic work is to earn money for their own personal use. In contrast, children in rural, apartheid-era “homeland” areas report that they need to earn the money to help support their families.

³⁶ Hours spent on household chores are not regulated but may be considered a form of abuse according to the National Child Care Act if they are deemed to be excessive.

³⁷ African Survey of Activities of Young People (SAYP) implemented by Statistics South Africa in 1999 with the assistance of IPEC/SIMPOC.

³⁸ US\$1 equivalent to R6.22 (June 1999).

Sri Lanka

Child Domestic Work Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Background Information

In the context of the project to investigate the WFCL, two RAs were undertaken in Sri Lanka — one on CSE, and one on Child Domestic Work. The latter RA included a household survey undertaken in seven communities, representing four distinctive geographical and socio-economic structures that researchers had identified as likely areas from which children were sent into domestic work: estate areas, conflict affected areas, rural areas, and inner city slums. According to the study findings, the type of work in which children are most likely to be engaged varies greatly depending on the area; for example, in the inner city slum area of Colombo and the estate area of Walapane, children are most likely to be working in factories or in casual labour, whereas in a different estate area of Badulla, it is more common for children to be working on farms or in local shops. Only in the estate area of Hatton, do researchers find a large percentage of children engaged in domestic work.

Although domestic work is not considered as such a WFCL, researchers in Sri Lanka encounter conditions hazardous enough to warrant its inclusion among the WFCL. In particular, many children work with fire, sharp objects and are required to lift and carry heavy weights. The majority of children interviewed claim to have never been physically “ill-treated”, and about half report never being verbally mistreated. However, researchers note that it is likely that the level of abuse is higher than reported.

Many scholars in Sri Lanka agree that the boom in the tourist industry in the country in the 1980s is directly related to the emergence of sexual exploitation of children for commercial purposes. Yet, further studies suggest that the commercial exploitation of children, though perhaps initiated by the influx of foreign tourists, is no longer confined to foreign paedophiles but extends to the local Sri Lankan population as well. The RA on CSE find an overwhelming number of boys engaged in CSE in the tourist areas along the coast such as Hikkaduwa, Tangalle, Negombo, Unawatuna and Mt. Lavinia. By contrast, sexually exploited girls are more likely to be encountered in interior districts such as Kandy and Anuradhapura that are popular pilgrimage and tourist destinations for local tourists.

Characteristics of the Children

The household survey finds that the great majority of working children reported by the households surveyed are over the legal working age of 14 (only 41 out of 1,008 were younger than 14 years old). Boys are found with greater frequency than girls in domestic work (58 percent to 42 percent), and are just as likely as girls to be under the age of 14. Males are also more likely to be found in CSE but to a significantly greater margin. Although boys are more likely than girls to be reported as domestic workers in the household interviews, the survey of CDW themselves undertaken as part of the CDW RA encounters girls with greater frequency (59 to 41 percent). Similarly, the results from the survey of CDW suggest a much larger percentage of working children under the age of 14 — 86 percent report that they were recruited for domestic employment before they turned 14; 12 percent before age 10.

Only 18 percent of the respondents engaged in CSE are currently enrolled in school. Similarly, only 59 percent of female CDW and 41 percent of male CDW, report that they have ever attended school, though most claim to have basic literacy and math skills. Many have stopped attending school for financial constraints, but dislike for school and the long distance to school are also commonly reported. For children engaged in CSE, researchers find that many parents are not enthusiastic about sending their children to school mainly due to the economic and logistical difficulties related to the war environment. The need to limit lighting

in homes after dark and the common practice of having to spend the night in the jungle limits the interest of many children to stay in school. Children in CSE report either a dislike of school or the inability of parents to provide school requirements as the most common reason for leaving school. Additionally, 80 percent of dropouts, compared to 45 percent of those currently attending, have suffered from negative experiences at school such as punishment by teachers or humiliation by friends.

The household survey finds only 1,010 child workers among the 4,076 households surveyed in the identified high-risk communities. Data from the surveys of current and former CDW show that many of the families of these children live in houses owned by the estate on which their parents work. Data on the social and economic class position of the respondent children in CSE show that they are more or less evenly distributed among the three classes — 32 percent are “very poor”, 37 percent are “poor”, and 31 percent are “not so poor”. Girls in CSE are more likely than boys to come from the poorer families, and researchers find that there is an increasing tendency of males from better off families to become engaged in CSE.

Migration or displacement do not appear to be a big factor within the communities in which working children are found — only 5 percent of families in the household survey have lived in their current location for fewer than ten years, and 71 percent have been there for more than twenty years. Most families report that both parents are living and residing at home but 35 percent report some degree of family disintegration — one or both parents is either dead or not living at home. Parents of working children are most likely to work on estates or be engaged in some other form of agricultural work (67 percent of fathers and 57 percent of mothers).

Pathways

There are a variety of social and economic factors that serve as pathways for children into child labour in Sri Lanka, and into CSE or child domestic work in particular. In the household survey undertaken as part of the RA on CDW, parents with working children report that extra income and a child not liking school are the primary reasons for allowing a child to work (71 percent reported that one or both factors are the main determinant). In contrast, the desire to earn “quick and easy” money seems to be the most commonly reported positive “push” factor in the area of CSE. Yet, there are noteworthy differences between male and female respondents with respect to their initiation into CSE. Friendship, social environmental factors, and ignorance are the most common explanatory factors associated with boys’ participation in CSE, whereas force, social labelling and poverty are more commonly encountered in the experiences of girls. Correspondingly, only 31 percent of females report that they are willingly engaged in CSE, compared to 74 percent of the boys. Friends and relatives are the most frequently encountered intermediaries into CSE, particularly for male respondents. Yet, only 34 percent of adults surveyed in the CDW RA report that a parent or other relative of the child has been the intermediary — 39 percent of children report having found employment on their own, the rest had found it through a broker or a friend.

Tanzania

Agriculture – Tea, Coffee, Tobacco, Horticulture ***Urban Informal Sector*** ***Mining*** ***Commercial Sexual Exploitation***

Background Information

Seven RAs were undertaken in various types of activities throughout the country: in agriculture — in the coffee, tea, tobacco and horticulture sectors; in mining; in CSE and in the informal urban sector. Children working in the WFCL are found to exist in all sectors investigated with the exception of the cut flower industry. These studies were undertaken in diverse regions around the country: Iringa and Urambo (tobacco); Rungwe and Lushoto (tea); Karatu (coffee); Ruvuma, Mwanza, Dar Es Salaam, Singida and Iringa (CSE); Arusha, Dar Es Salaam and Mwanza regions (urban informal sector); districts of Chunya, Geita and Tunduru in Mbeya, Mwanza and Ruvuma regions respectively (mining).

Characteristics of the Children

The general characteristics of children engaged in the WFCL throughout Tanzania vary mainly by sector. Yet, there are important, though often subtle, differences depending on the specific study area within sectors or assessments. Children working in the agricultural sector tend to be younger than children working in the WFCL in other sectors of the economy (starting, in some cases, as young as 7), and there is a significantly smaller gender differential. Though more boys are observed than girls, or vice versa, in some study areas, the splits tend not to exceed 60/40 percent. Meanwhile, children involved in mining or the informal sector are generally older (between 14 and 17 years old), and primarily male (80 to 90 percent). Children in situations of CSE are predominantly girls between the ages of 12 and 17.

Perhaps the most striking finding is that the vast majority of children interviewed in the assessments, with the notable exception of children working in the informal sector,³⁹ are attending school if they are of primary school age, and have completed primary school if they are older. Nearly 60 percent of children engaged in CSE have completed primary school. School attendance and achievement is widely reported to suffer when children are working on farms and in the mines, but nonetheless, there seems to be a common commitment to primary education within households and communities. Equally, some employers seem to acknowledge the necessity of children to access education as well — some enable children to have flexible work hours and schedules that account for school time while others provide schools on the estates for children of plantation workers. Yet few, if any, children across the assessments have access to secondary education, reportedly due primarily to the small number of spots available in secondary education programmes. Thus, once completing primary school, children across the country have few alternatives but to seek work.

The living situation of the children differs primarily based on the sector as well. The majority of children working in agriculture are living at home with their families whereas children engaged in mining, CSE and the informal sector are more likely to have migrated, or been trafficked, away from home.

Although family size is often reported to be correlated with poverty and children's participation in the WFCL, not all children are from large families. In fact, in tobacco areas, children working in agriculture are more likely to come from families smaller than the national

³⁹ Only 34 percent of children working in the informal sector had completed primary school; 24 percent had never been enrolled; 23 percent were currently attending; and 19 percent dropped out. Most of the children reported that parent's inability to pay school fees was the primary reason for non-enrolment.

average of five, and in the informal sector, average size matches the national average. Researchers investigating the WFCL on tobacco plantations theorize that families with more members are better able to diversify their income earning opportunities, and, therefore, are less likely to need to have children working in WFCL.

Qualitative and quantitative data from the RA suggest that children working in the WFCL across Tanzania come primarily from poor families. “Poverty” is repeated across all assessments as the primary factor leading to children’s participation in the WFCL. However, although these early findings suggest that almost all of the families of children working in the WFCL fit into a broad definition of “poor”, there is some suggestion that poverty may be more relative than absolute. Even within and across study areas, incomes of families with children working in the WFCL range widely. On the coffee plantations, for example, researchers found that the income of families with children working in the WFCL range from Tsh 25,000⁴⁰ to Tsh 200,000 annually, compared to Tsh 200,000 to Tsh 500,000 for families of non-working children. Families of children working on Tobacco and Tea farms have similar income ranges — Tsh81,000 to Tsh 86,4000, and the average income of all families working in the Tea study areas is around Tsh 90,000.

Although the working conditions for children vary by industry, study area and activity, the RA generally identify them as severe enough to justify classification among the WFCL. This identification is particularly critical for the assessments on children’s work in the agriculture, mining and informal sectors, which are not considered as such to be WFCL, but which may be classified as such depending on the particular conditions under which children are engaged. A critical finding is that the conditions of working children are vastly superior in the areas or industries with employers who, either through legal enforcement or their own conscience, are cognizant of issues surrounding child work.

Researchers report that children working in all forms of agriculture work long hours and are exposed to potential hazards, including extremes of weather (heat, cold, and water), insects, dangerous tools, chemicals, and cuts and scrapes from sticks and thorns. Children working in mining and the informal sector are equally exposed to hazards from extreme weather, dangerous tools, heavy loads, chemicals and generally unsanitary or unhealthy physical environments. With very few exceptions,⁴¹ children lack appropriate gear to protect themselves from these hazards. The hours that children work vary by study area⁴² and depend greatly on the season (hours are longer when school is not in session, for example), and the activity. For example, children working directly in mining work an average of 6 hours per day, but those in the affiliated industries (restaurants, stores, etc.) tend to work much longer hours with an average of 10 per day. It should be noted that the policies and awareness of the employers combined with legal requirements and enforcement do have significant impact on the working conditions of children in some areas. For example, the larger coffee plantations hold firmly to regulations that allow children to work no more than 8 hours per day and only during school vacations, and researchers sense that among tobacco plantations, the larger plantations tend to have stricter, more formal policies regarding children’s participation, whereas smaller farms do not.

Commercial sexual exploitation is considered to be an unconditional WFCL, and it is clear that children engaged in CSE face conditions that expose them to a variety of severe hazards to their physical and psychological well-being.

The earnings of children engaged in the WFCL across Tanzania appear to vary greatly, but it is difficult from the assessments to determine annual earnings or full impact on family

⁴⁰ US\$1 is equivalent to Tsh 1,039 (December 2000 exchange rates).

⁴¹ For example, only one mining company investigated in the RA provided children mining in streams with a protective shelter under which to work.

⁴² On tobacco farms in one study area, children work for an average of 12 hours per day; 8 hours is the average in another study area.

income. Children engaged in CSE have the highest income range (from Tsh 200 to 100,000 per “act”) compared to total annual earnings of Tsh 7,800 to 10,500 per child on tobacco farms. Earnings of children working in the informal sector range from Tsh 200 per day for the younger scavengers to Tsh 1,115 for children working in fishing. In mining, payments can range from Tsh 50 to Tsh 6,000 per day. Ironically, researchers observe that children from better-off families, who work fewer hours, are generally paid better than children from poorer families who work longer hours.

Pathways

The most oft cited pathway into the WFCL is through poverty, and that is no less so in Tanzania. Nevertheless, the RA conducted throughout the country in various areas and industries illustrate the inadequacy of “poverty” as the main explanatory variable. As mentioned previously, researchers observe that although children working in the WFCL tend to come from poorer families, the income of the “poorer” families with children working in a WFCL in one area is sometimes equal to the average incomes of families without working children in other areas. On tea plantations, it appears that the irregularity of payments to parents is more directly related to a child’s participation in the WFCL than the overall level of payments — when families run out of cash, they are forced to send children to work for day wages to cover daily expenses. Although the need to secure income is present throughout the cases, many of the children (especially those in mining and coffee) are guided by strong cultural values that promote leaving home to find work. Children in the urban informal sector and CSE, on the other hand, are more likely to have been forced by more extreme circumstances such as abusive homes, the death of parents, or absolute poverty. That poverty plays a role in children’s participation in the WFCL in Tanzania is undisputed across the RA, but it may not always be the primary factor, and the specific nuances of how it manifests itself should not be overlooked.

Another contributing factor to the pathway into children’s participation in the WFCL across Tanzania is the severe lack of educational opportunities for children beyond primary school. Across the board, the majority of children of primary school age are attending school,⁴³ and those above primary school age have graduated, but none of the children engaged in the WFCL interviewed for the RA are attending secondary school. Although it is safe to assume that issues surrounding the cost and opportunity cost of continuing in school would be prohibitive for some children, thus sending them back on a pathway to the WFCL, at the moment, few are given the choice.

Employer demand for cheap labour provided by children is noted across studies as a primary factor contributing to children’s participation in the WFCL. Simple economics confirms that this must be the case, but the impact of employers on children’s participation in the WFCL is a bit more complex. The behaviour of employers in Tanzania regarding the engagement of children appears to have a major effect on the participation, and conditions of participation, of children. Though positive behaviour is guided by internal corporate values in some cases and by governmental regulation and enforcement in others, the effect is similar. For example, in the horticulture sector corporate values against child labour prevent the employment of children for any part of the harvesting or production of cut flowers in Tanzania. Meanwhile, strict regulations and enforcement in the coffee industry ensure that children working for the larger plantations work only during school vacations or non-school hours. Negative behaviours have profound, and predictable, effects on the well-being of children. In the tobacco industry, researchers observe that despite the existence of laws governing the employment of children, local enforcement is poor and some government officials even seem to be in collusion with tobacco farmers to allow children to be employed under conditions of the WFCL. Researchers also report that many children engaged in CSE have been lured by

⁴³ At the low end of the scale, 43 percent of children working in the informal sector have never been enrolled, or have dropped out, and 40 percent of children engaged in CSE have not completed primary school.

employers promising legitimate jobs in the tourist industry only to find themselves under conditions of severe exploitation.

Across Tanzania, researchers identify that low perceived value of education combined with an acceptance of children's work as a survival strategy for poor families contribute greatly to the phenomenon of children engaged in the WFCL. Researchers for the mining and tobacco assessments in particular note that society encourages children, particularly male children, to go out into the world to earn their keep and support their families. That some of these children should find themselves engaged in the WFCL is not surprising.

Thailand

Drug Trafficking Child Domestic Work

Background Information

The RA on child domestic work finds that the reduction in supply of CDW in Bangkok, resulting from recent economic and social advances, allows children working as domestic help to demand, and receive, good living and working conditions. Therefore, according to the researchers, this type of work cannot be considered a priority for action in the context of the WFCL.

In general children in drug trafficking face much more dire circumstances than those in domestic work. Methamphetamine abuse is widespread among children and youth, most of whom begin their involvement in drugs out of curiosity. Many then become addicted to the drugs and eventually enter the drug trade in order to support their habit. Researchers identify four activities undertaken by children engaged in the drug trade in Bangkok: drug buying, drug selling, drug delivering, and drug walking. Drug buying and selling are the most commonly reported activities (64 percent) although 20 percent of respondents say that they participate in a combination of the activities.

Characteristics of the Children

The vast majority of children interviewed was born, and currently live, in Bangkok. Boys are significantly more likely to be found in drug trafficking than girls (by an 8 to 1 ratio), and are most likely to be over the age of 14. Most are unmarried and practice Buddhism. Children are most likely to become involved in the drug trade between the ages of 13 and 16. Children in the drug trade come from families characterized by poverty, high levels of family disintegration, and some level of family trauma or difficulty. Approximately 79 percent of the respondents come from slum areas.

Few of the children report being in school and most say that they have dropped out before reaching high school. Low grades and bad behaviour are the most commonly reported reasons for leaving school, and 43 percent reported that they had used drugs while studying.

Pathways

The need to support a drug habit has already been mentioned as a primary causal factor in a child's entrance into the drug trade, but researchers identified several other economic and social pathways. Children were often enticed into the drug trade as a means to obtain sufficient income to purchase material goods, particularly luxury items such as cell phones or motorcycles that they would otherwise be unable to afford. Lifestyles that emphasized alcohol consumption, gambling and nightlife and materialistic values associated with the party culture also appeared to leave children more vulnerable to drug use, abuse, and ultimately to entering the drug trade. Finally, researchers observed that some occupations, such as work in restaurants or snooker clubs, increased children's exposure to the drug trade and therefore the likelihood that they would some day enter it.

The RA conducted on CDW in Bangkok concludes that it is not a priority for action in the context of the WFCL. The mechanisms that have been developed in the communities of origin managed to ensure a certain confidence in the families sending their children to work that they are entering a safe and healthy environment. Such mechanisms include well-developed migration networks and easy communication between child workers and relatives working in the cities. Additionally, the success of family planning, widespread educational opportunities in rural regions, the development of the industrial and service sectors, and the increase of the

minimum legal age for work have all contributed to a decline in the supply of domestic child labour in Bangkok. The middle and high classes in cities have a harder time employing CDW than in the past, providing the children (and their families) with greater negotiating power with employers, and, as a result, better working and living conditions. Still, the verbal abuses, sense of confinement, and loneliness reported by the respondents indicate that the situation of CDW can easily cross the line into the WFCL.

Looking beyond the study sample, it should be noted that many foreign children from Burma, Laos and Cambodia in particular are satisfying the demand for child domestic workers in the urban sector. Cultural and structural violence persists in Thai society that may lead to the occurrence of the WFCL affecting under-privileged children at any time.

Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand-Myanmar Border Areas

Child Trafficking

Background Information

Although child trafficking is often considered to be a single process of transportation from a place of origin to a place of work, researchers find that this occurs in only about one third of the cases included in this study. In the majority of the cases, foreign children are recruited for labour exploitation within Thailand after having made separate arrangements to enter the country. In most of the cases investigated, children are working in extremely exploitative and harmful conditions regardless of the method of transportation to work or reasons for which the children left their homes.

Characteristics of the Children

In most cases, children are recruited for employment in the town where the work was located rather than in their home village or at border sites. The 103 children interviewed for this study are found to be working in factories (22), construction (17), fisheries (10), domestic work (4), other services (5), and most commonly in CSE (45). Only around one third of those interviewed were recruited to a particular job before entering Thailand. In cases where children arrive in Thailand before they begin working, it is most common for them to arrange the travel themselves, though girls and ethnic minorities are more likely to be accompanied by a family member. In the less frequent situation where a child travelled to Thailand having already been recruited for a particular job, different actors organize the transportation — most commonly these are trusted friends of the family. In almost half of the cases, the transporters are linked to an organized network of transporters, recruiters, and employers. In over half of the cases where recruitment takes place, no profit is made in the transportation or recruitment process. In the small number of interviewed cases where a profit is made upon the recruitment of a child for work, the child usually becomes the possession of the employer at least until a certain amount of profit is made. In other cases, the family pays a fee for the transportation and job placement of the child.

In most instances, the child or the child's family takes the initiative to obtain details on work opportunities outside their villages. Fellow villagers and friends are the most common sources of information about particular jobs and general work opportunities, and in the majority of cases, the children or their families know of someone who can arrange for their transportation and/or recruitment. Parents rarely appear to be the main driving force behind the decision that a child should leave for work — in over a third of the cases, the decision for the child to leave to seek work is taken jointly by the parents and the child, but most children report they made the decision on their own, and many do not even inform their parents because they expected their parents to disapprove.

Pathways

The desire to work, combined with a lack of protection skills in an unknown environment, make the majority of the children interviewed in this study vulnerable to trafficking. Children report that the desire to escape poverty in combination with the understanding that there would be no opportunities to develop a working life in their village were the primary reasons that they left their villages to work in Thailand. Others expressed a desire to see the world outside their village, and still others left to escape an unhappy or difficult home life or family situation. While almost three quarters of the children interviewed say they are motivated by a desire to help their family financially, only half are actually remitting funds home and approximately 42 percent have lost contact with their families. The overwhelming majority of the parents of the children interviewed have no information or only partial information on their child's situation.

Although the majority of the children interviewed believe they have not been tricked or coerced into work, many children say they were only told part of the truth. Still, half of the children interviewed say that they knew almost nothing about the nature of the work or the conditions under which they would be working. More specifically, the children report very low levels of awareness about working hours, working conditions, living conditions, or the degree of freedom they would have while living and working in Thailand.

Turkey

Children Working in the Streets

Background Information

The study was carried out in three metropolitan cities: Diyarbakir, Adana, and Istanbul. These were identified as representing three different degrees of urban development in Turkey and the conditions of children working on the streets vary greatly in these three cities. Children in Diyarbakir overwhelmingly report that they like working in the streets and indeed, as researchers observed, their activities seem to be functioning simultaneously as vehicles for both work and play, without interfering with education. In contrast, working conditions and children's attitudes about their work are considerably worse in Adana and Istanbul.

Characteristics of the Children

The children interviewed are between 7 and 17 years old, with a median age of 12 and a male majority. They are from very poor, large nuclear families with an average size of 8. The majority of the mothers are illiterate, and a number of the mothers speak only Kurdish. Fathers have attained a relatively higher educational level as compared to mothers, but they suffer from a high rate of unemployment. Most of the fathers who are employed work in the informal sector. The majority of children in the study have attended or continue to attend school — only 25 percent have dropped out and 13 percent have never attended school. The children interviewed report having difficulties in school mainly due to the attitudes and behaviours of their teachers and peers towards them. They also report feeling that their educational needs are not being met in school due to the crowded classes and lack of personal attention and report being frequently exposed to aggressive behaviour by their peers.

The children work on the streets, sometimes in the evening or at night, but most ultimately return home at night to stay with their families. These children are largely engaged in selling napkins, chewing gum, water, sunflower seeds, lottery tickets and other small items appropriate to the season. The smaller proportion of children who were found to be working and living on the streets are more likely to be involved in garbage collection and separation in the streets or garbage dumps and are more likely to be involved in drug abuse, street gangs and violence. Most children work in congested city streets and at intersections, exposed to noxious pollutants from motor vehicles, the risk of being run over or hit by cars, and abuse from older gangs of drug abusing street hawkers. Scavengers may also be exposed to infectious diseases such as hepatitis or HIV/AIDS, and children working at night are at risk of being sexually abused and are more likely to become voluntarily or involuntarily involved with petty crime and drugs. Children work all week for many hours per day (ranging from 2 to 14 hours). Earnings range between US\$1 and US\$10 per day, with an average contribution of US\$3 per day to the family budget. Most children report they do not like their work, they would not like their younger siblings to work in the future, and they believe that children their own age should not have to work.

Pathways

Two factors in particular seem to be essentially relevant to children working on the streets: parental attitudes about child labour and perceived values of education. Researchers noted that parents seem to be ignorant about the risks to which children are exposed while working in the streets. Customers generally have a sympathetic attitude towards these children and believed that giving them money is a form of social help. Working on the streets is considered to be an “apprenticeship” for adulthood, teaching children self-discipline and how to overcome hardships while contributing to family income. It is also considered to be a playful activity and even a form of social solidarity, and is preferred to begging. Children and their parents believe that for regular school attendance they need a higher income. Research suggests that families who do not send their children to work in the streets in general have fewer children, value education for their children, and tend to be more settled in their city and communities.

Viet Nam

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Background Information

The problem of children engaged in CSE in Viet Nam appears to be on the rise. RAs on CSE of children were conducted in North Viet Nam in Hanoi and Hai Phong, and in the South, in Ho Chi Minh City and Can Tho. Research conducted as part of the assessments found that the CSE has developed at an alarming rate in the south of the country in particular, where the selling of sex services is visible and uninhibited. Almost all service businesses, including hotels, restaurants, massage parlours, saunas, pharmacies, taxis, hair salons, tailors, beauty shops, and phone services, derive benefits from the sex trade and as such, CSE is considered a necessary part of the local economy and takes place openly.

Characteristics of the Children

Most of the children in the study are between the ages of 15 and 17, though some girls observed in the South are as young as 13. With a few exceptions in the South, all of the children encountered are girls. The educational attainment of the children in the North is significantly higher than that of those in the South; 81 percent in the North have received lower secondary education or higher compared to only 27 percent of those in the South. Nearly one quarter of the children in the South are illiterate. Nevertheless, 41 percent believe that a better future, particularly one with a stable, honest job, can only be achieved with the help of education.

Although most of the children encountered in the North have been engaged in CSE for less than a year (93 percent), the reverse is true in the South (12 percent), where children generally become engaged in CSE earlier and stay for longer. Children in both the North and the South report physical, psychological and sexual abuse, unhealthy environments, exposure to dangerous substances, processes, temperatures and noise levels, and unreasonable confinement to premises by their employers. Observation and reports from children indicate that children involved in brothels located far from the city centre are generally more severely exploited than their urban counterparts.

Commercial sexual exploitation is an extremely lucrative practise in Viet Nam. Employers/exploiters can make up to VND60 million per month, with net earnings of at least VND30 million (over US\$2,000). Children themselves may earn from VND6 million to VND16 million (US\$430 to US\$1,150) per month in the brothels, down to VND1 million to VND5 for children working on the streets. Apart from daily expenses, most children save their earnings to send home as remittances, though some save their money to put towards the future and a better job.

Pathways

Although researchers find that all children in both regions come from poor families, average incomes range from VND73 thousand (US\$60) to VND172 thousand (US\$147). Poverty alone does not explain why children enter CSE. Low levels of education, family dysfunction and trauma, social exclusion, materialistic values, peer pressure and cultural values such as filial piety are all contributing factors. Children interviewed in both the North and the South provide echoing reasons for their engagement in CSE. Nearly 84 percent of children in the South report voluntarily choosing to engage in CSE (the lack of options must be considered when interpreting this “choice”) compared to nearly 50 percent of children in the North; yet, an additional 33 percent in the North suggest that they initially had to be persuaded, but it was ultimately their choice to remain. Almost all children report seeking legitimate work in an effort to help their parents out of economic difficulties, but found the money that CSE offered to be irresistible or were persuaded or tricked into it. Some parents encouraged their children citing family “duty” and in some cases even deceived, forced or sold their children into CSE.

IV. Challenging Issues Emerging from the Synthesis of the RAs

According to the data collected and presented in the 38 RA and 2 national reports that formed part of the project to investigate the WFCL, there is variation in most indicators across types of WFCL and countries. Analysis suggests that the differences within types of WFCL range just as greatly as the differences between forms of WFCL. Despite this variation, however, some key themes do emerge clearly from the reports, and we discuss these below. Since at the time of the implementation of the RAs, expertise on the RA methodology on child labour and knowledge on these subjects was very limited, if not nonexistent, these RAs were in a sense “experiments”. Thus, many of these issues were not totally foreseen before or during the implementation of the investigations, but came up later and were discussed after data collection. Whereas the individual RA reports provide the most detailed information regarding particular WFCLs in specific countries, these emerging themes across the reports provide insights that are of more general interest and importance.

1. Poverty

Many of the RAs state among their conclusions that poverty is the main cause of children entering the WFCL. Although it is indisputable that poverty is in some cases the primary cause of children’s participation in the WFCL and in some others it is an important cause, other factors must also be examined, particularly when they can be altered more easily to remove the problem of WFCL. As poverty alleviation specialists know, factors accounting for poverty are at least as diverse, complex, and situation-specific as those underlying children’s participation in the WFCL. Analyses invoking poverty to explain the WFCL need to go further to identify its root causes and examine the specific ways in which it affects children’s participation in the WFCL. Are families experiencing an economic shock, such as the death of a parent or a natural disaster, or are they chronically unable to meet their basic needs? Are families unable to afford the opportunity costs of sending their children to school, or do they just have trouble meeting the requirements of school fees? Do children “need” to work in order to support themselves or their families or because they want to earn their own money?

And of course, there is evidence from the RAs to suggest that family poverty is not the primary factor in many cases of children engaged in the unconditional WFCL. Among children in CSE in El Salvador, parents were involved in all kinds of occupations, from low-wage labourers to professionals. And on the Thai-Lao border, the children were not coming from the poorest of poor, but from the dominant and more prosperous Lao Loum group rather than the poorer ethnic minorities. More than half of the children engaged in the drug trade in the Philippines reported that their parents’ income is enough for the family and in Brazil, only 8 percent reported that they left school to earn money to support their families (half reported leaving because they did not like it). As noted in the earlier synthesis section, the same holds true in general for CSE and drug trafficking — in some cases, children are involved to purchase luxury goods for themselves and are not using their income to contribute to family necessities.

Comparison in the RAs is also important to explain the role of poverty on children’s participation in the WFCL. For example, why do some poor children work in WFCL, others in non-hazardous forms and some not at all? Without knowing how the family incomes of children working in the WFCL compare – in amount, composition, regularity, etc. – with the family incomes of other working and non-working children, it is impossible to know the true role of poverty in the pathway to the WFCL. The same is true for children’s educational attainment (do children in the WFCL have lower educational attainment than other working or non-working children?), community and parental attitudes, and the range of other factors impacting a child in the WFCL.

2. Family Disruption: Death of One or Both Parents, Divorce, Abandonment

Several of the RAs noted that the loss or abandonment of a parent may be a causal factor in driving children to the WFCL. For example, the Sri Lanka RA concluded: “The death of the father seems to be an important factor driving these children to become victims of commercial sexual exploitation”. The Tanzania RA on the urban informal sector stated that “it cannot be overemphasized that irresponsible parenthood featured highly among all the participants in focus group discussions and/or interviews...”.

Yet despite these strong statements, many RAs did not notice the big effect. In particular, several reports suggested that since more children had both parents than were orphans, that family disruption was not a key factor. However, this misses the point that if 60 percent of children engaged in a WFCL have both parents and 40 percent do not, then while the majority have both parents, the rate of those without parents is still very high, especially relative to non-working children, and is therefore a likely factor. While being an orphan is not a necessary condition, it is clear that not having both parents alive is a significant factor behind entrance into the WFCL. While it was not possible to infer parental survivorship for many of the studies, the percent of children with both parents alive varies a great deal across the RAs, but is extremely low in many cases. For example, parental survivorship is about 50 percent or less in 11 of the 27 cases where data are available. Further, in the case of Tanzanian mining, 86 percent of children working part time have both parents living but only 46 percent of those working full-time do. In the only case where there are comparable data for non-working children, the case of drug trafficking in the Philippines, 73 percent of children involved in the drug trade have both parents living, which although high, must be compared to the 91 percent among children from the same communities who are not involved in the drug trade. It is, therefore, clear that losing a parent is a risk factor for becoming involved in the WFCL. When asked the reasons for working (with multiple responses permitted), 51 percent of CDW in Ethiopia said they work because one or both parent died, and another 28 percent cited the disintegration of their family as a reason.

Moreover, the impact appears to be asymmetric with respect to which parent is deceased or absent. In particular, where the data are available separately by mother living vs. father living (as opposed to just indicating whether zero, one or two parents are alive), the absence of the father is much more prevalent among children involved in the WFCL. In fact, in essentially all of the 22 cases where the data are available, children are much more likely to have only their mother and not their father alive and in the family, compared to having only a father and not their mother (though it should be kept in mind that in some cases the samples are small, and in the cases of Nepal on domestic work and child trafficking, the differences are very small as well). Even in cases where no data are available, the issue of mother-father asymmetry is suggested; for example, the El Salvador fishing RA states that many of the children come from broken families, especially headed by women (mother, grandmother or other). The potential explanations for why maternal and paternal absence/death should differ include the important economic impact of the loss of the father’s income, the need for a mother to help take care of children (thus sending children out to work), and perhaps any psychological effect of a missing “father figure.” In fact, there is some evidence that it is not just an income effect because there is also a high incidence of working children having lost their father but having an alternative potential male adult earner who is not the biological father such as a step-father, uncle, or other male adult. Regardless of the specific channel, which unfortunately cannot be determined with the present data and should be the subject of future study, it is clear that the absence of a parent, especially a father, is a significant factor associated with participation in the WFCL, and that social programmes to assist single parents or survivors, such as social insurance or fostering programmes, should be an important component of efforts to eradicate the WFCL. The problem may become worse as AIDS takes the life of more prime-aged adults, and several RAs mentioned losing a parent because of AIDS in particular as a risk factor.

Another aspect of family composition that needs to be looked into further in future research is children’s relationships with step-parents. As shown by the data, large proportions

of children in WFCL have one or both parents dead, and could thus be coping with step-parents.

The relationship between parental death and participation in the WFCL is also important with respect to its relationship to poverty. Where poverty was reported to be the primary factor for participation in the WFCL, that poverty may have been caused in many cases by the death or abandonment of an adult, particularly the father. This is another reason why the conclusion that poverty - without examining other related factors - is the main cause of the WFCL and the solution of a general strategy to alleviate poverty can be misleading, since in these cases the protection of children and social insurance are probably more important than a general poverty alleviation strategy.

Related to the issue of parental death and family disruption, there is a related phenomenon of adverse family environment; for example, the Nepal child trafficking/CSE RA mentioned that many of the children came from dysfunctional families with physical or psychological abuse, violence, alcohol use, and related problems. Similarly, about one quarter of Romanian children working in the streets mentioned a bad relationship with their father (such as abuse) and 17 percent a bad relationship with their mother. In the Philippines RA on drug trafficking, only 10 out of 43 children have not witnessed their parents fighting, and over half of those who have witnessed fighting say it was violent. Therefore, there may be a great value in interventions that focus on child protection services and safety nets for children and families in adverse times (both for family disintegration and for other economic shocks not specifically related to family break-up).

3. Family Size

A consistent finding across most RAs that reported on family size noted that children engaged in the WFCL came from large families (and in some cases, the comparison was to national averages). In particular, this was noted in Lebanon agriculture, Turkey children working in the streets (where working children came from families with 7.8 members, compared to 5.2 among non-working children), Tanzania mining and coffee, Nepal bonded child labour (where the average family size of working children was 8) and El Salvador fishing. Yet, as stated in the conceptual framework section, it cannot be inferred purely from such results whether families have many children because they plan to provide them with little education and to have them work, or whether this is the result of unintended pregnancies leading to higher than desired fertility. It would be beneficial for future RAs to gather more data on this topic.

Most studies did not report on birth order, and it is not possible to infer it from the tables or data available. Interestingly, in the two cases where it was reported, Nepal CDW and bonded child labour RAs, nearly two-thirds of children were either first or second born. Given the distribution of family size in Nepal, if all children were equally likely to work, a random selection of working children should have only 45 percent of children be first or second born. Therefore we can infer that there is a birth-order effect in engagement in these WFCL, suggesting in particular that credit constraints and using older children to help support younger children are important factors.

4. Economic Shocks

Although few of the RAs asked about economic shocks or family disruptions, illness or disability, where such questions were asked, they revealed important observations. For example, the Turkey street child assessment noted that 43 percent of the families of children working on the streets have a family member seriously ill, with no health insurance or social security. Further, the El Salvador fishing RA noted that the areas where most children were involved in fishing had also been hit by Hurricane Mitch in 1998 and an earthquake in 2001, both of which were significant economic shocks to the affected communities.

Similarly, the two RA studies in Nepal and Thailand that asked about family debt suggest that debt may be a significant factor in children's participation in the WFCL. For example, 46 percent of the CDW interviewed in Thailand said their parents were in debt, and about one-tenth of the CDW in Nepal were bonded to pay for parental debt. Debt also plays the dominant role in bonded labour under the Kamaiya system in Nepal where children's labour is used as collateral for loans, or as part of payment under the contract, or for sharecropping rights.

Unfortunately, we are unable to infer how significant the role of debt is more generally. In particular, it cannot be determined whether those studies that did not mention debt in their final reports did not mention it because it was not an important issue, did not mention it because they did not ask the question (inadvertently), or did not ask because it was assumed (or known) in advance that it was not important. But this points out that in reporting, it is just as important to state what was not found as what was found. If a factor is found not to be correlated with participation in the WFCL, it should still be reported; while it may not be relevant in one particular context, if it is found to be important in other studies, there is value in further research to determine why that factor has an impact in some contexts but not others, and what possible mediating factors are present in the cases where it is not a significant factor.

5. Marginalized and Dislocated/Displaced Groups

In some cases, there were some groups which were clearly more at risk of engagement in the WFCL, perhaps because of economic vulnerability, exclusion or alienation from the mainstream. For example, the ethnic Roma population was over-represented among Romanian children working in the streets. The Roma are just 10 percent of the Romanian population, but were about one-half of the sample of children working in the streets. In Brazil, children in the drug trade were more likely to be black or *pardo*, and in Estonia, they were more likely to be Russian (a minority in Estonia). Similarly, the Nepal child trafficking/CSE RA found those most at risk are hill tribe ethnic groups and lower castes, and the RA on bonded child labour for Nepal found that most Kamaiya bonded labourers come from a marginalized tribe (the Tharu).

In other cases, dislocation and displacement, for example due to natural disasters, forced migration or social/political unrest or conflict, also seemed to be factors in children's participation in the WFCL in some settings. The RA on CDW of El Salvador noted that many of the children involved came from areas of military-political conflict and areas affected by hurricanes and other natural disasters. The Turkey RA on children working in the streets noted that there had been large scale, rapid migration to urban areas related to economic or social unrest. Similar issues were mentioned in the RA on Romanian children working in the streets. Displacement or large-scale, rapid migration can result in inadequate preparation for relocation, lack of knowledge of how to get by in an unfamiliar environment, alienation, and a resulting desperation. Such population movements also reflect the rapid deterioration of a previous social system and structure. For example, in the Romanian RA on children working in the streets, the researchers suggest that Romanians used to regard the state as "responsible" for them and were thus unprepared when the social system collapsed. Further, families had previously been coercively moved to urban areas as part of industrialization and had a difficult time adjusting to a market economy. Thus overall in several cases, it is the difficulty of adjusting to rapid change, such as the collapse of an economic and social system or natural disasters and the absence of a comprehensive social safety net to help in the adjustment, that is a factor in the incidence of WFCL.

6. Attitudes

In many cases presented by the RAs there is evidence that parental and community attitudes do not discourage, and may even encourage children's work. Work may be seen as a part of a child's learning process, as an integral part of socialization or as a path towards better economic opportunity. In the cases where quantitative data are available, they support the hypothesis that community attitudes and norms do not discourage children working; in Bolivia

(sugar), only slightly more than a third of parents oppose their children working and in Romania 27 percent of parents said it is very good for children to work, 20 percent said it is good, 20 percent said it is neither good nor bad, and only 14 percent said it was bad, and 11 percent said it was very bad. Elsewhere, researchers reported that attitudes that did not discourage children's work are apparent. For example, many parents of CDW in Nepal view the work as safe and a comfortable way out of poverty to a better life; in fact, parents often encourage children to do this work so they can get a job or go to school afterwards. In Thailand, parents report that if children do not work, they are seen as lazy and no one will want their children to marry them. Work is often not seen as exploitative. Domestic work in particular is often seen as an honest job (particularly when compared with other forms of work) and not at all taboo. It should be noted, however, that in the instance of Thailand, where most cases found the conditions under which children worked to be good, we might not expect parents to view it in a negative way. Similar cultural acceptability of children working is expressed in RAs from El Salvador (fishing), Turkey (children working in the streets, especially work for boys), and Guatemala (garbage dumps). Similarly, many children across countries and WFCL had a positive attitude towards work and reported that they did not want to leave their jobs.

However, it may be that part of the reason that RAs suggest a prevalence of attitudes encouraging children's work across countries is either because the questions about children's work were not specifically asked regarding the WFCL, or the respondents were not aware of the hazards involved. In cases where parents are made aware of hazards, there may be a difference; for example, in Tanzania, no children were found working in horticulture, and one reason suggested is that parents were sensitized to the hazards of working in that job.

7. What Girls Do, What Boys Do

In general, there were no activities that were done exclusively by boys or girls. There are, however, some general observations that can be made regarding gender differences. In particular, in most cases, there were more boys engaged in commercial agriculture on plantations than girls, and they performed slightly different tasks. Yet, there are exceptions such as in Lebanon where there was an equal mixture of boys and girls. By contrast, girls were more prevalent in domestic work since in most societies housework is more associated with the feminine sphere. However, again there are exceptions; for example, in Nepal, boys are more prevalent in child domestic work, in part because parents do not want their daughters living away from home, and employers are more reluctant to hire them because girls are considered "impure" during menstruation. In general, more female than male children are found in CSE. The exception is Sri Lanka, where more boys were found, and again, it should be pointed out that boys were found in CSE in four out of the seven CSE RAs. Boys also reported receiving better treatment than girls and reported being free to quit prostitution and attain a healthy social standing, whereas girls in Sri Lanka would be considered social outcasts throughout their lives.⁴⁴

8. Loneliness of Child Domestic Workers

As observed in many of the RAs on child domestic work, children in this type of occupation often feel lonely due to their isolation, lack of contact with their family, and in extreme cases, the complete lack of social interaction at an equal basis with other persons of their age. In the case of Ethiopia, for example, many children had not visited their family in more than 5 years, and were not allowed to play with the employer's children. In Nepal, researchers noticed that CDW suffered from emotional deprivation. These feelings of loneliness certainly have psychological and physiological effects on children, and should be further researched.

⁴⁴ For more details refer to ILO/IPEC. Amarasinghe, S.W. *Sri Lanka — The commercial sexual exploitation of children: A rapid assessment*. Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 18. Geneva, 2002.

Issues for Further Investigation

Two important additional issues are worth mentioning: the role of the employer in promoting, or preventing the occurrence of the WFCL and the importance of a full industry and market analysis to identify other factors related to the incidence of WFCL; and the role of wage differentials in luring children into WFCL. Though lacking sufficient data across countries and WFCL to be included in the main findings, these two trends warrant further attention.

The Role of the Employer

Few RAs discussed the conditions of the industry or particular enterprise in which children were engaged in a WFCL though there is ample evidence that the employer, the industry and the market can play an important role in reducing or eradicating the WFCL. For example, in the Ngapa region of Tanzania, a district officer did not want girls working in mines because of the danger of being sexually exploited, and, in fact, none were found working there although they were found quite commonly in other locations. Similarly, no child labour was found in the cut flower industry in Tanzania according to the RA on horticulture. The authors of the report suggest that this is in part due to the skill needed (suggesting a role for skill-complementary technology that will cause employers to favour adult labour), part due to international standards in the industry and on the part of the multinational employers prohibiting child labour, and part a result of the attitudes of the community that this was hazardous and therefore inappropriate work for children which were largely shaped by public awareness-raising by the local agricultural union. This suggests that sufficient will, or perhaps cooperation with employers, is possible to eradicate the WFCL. But more needs to be known before any conclusions can be drawn. How was it that these attitudes came about and which of these factors was most significant? More studies of industries without WFCL, or cases where there are several employers in the same industry, some using children and some not, would yield important clues as to the process of eradicating the WFCL. The market can also play a role in determining participation in the WFCL. In the RA on domestic work in Thailand, the authors conclude that many of the children working do not experience WFCL. They suggest that the supply of children to work in this type of work has decreased, providing parents and children with greater negotiating power to bargain for better conditions.

Wage Differentials

For some forms of the WFCL, CSE and drug trafficking in particular, children's earnings are significantly higher than wages that could be earned from other activities. Most of the child respondents in the RAs on CSE and drug trafficking noted that the high level of income that could be earned was a significant factor both in their decision to begin engaging in those activities, as well as their decision to remain there. In-country analyses of compensation differentials between various types of WFCL and others forms of work might provide more important clues to the motivation of children to be engaged in the WFCL. As preliminary results suggest that in some cases, children choose more hazardous jobs because they pay more, it suggests that engaging in the WFCL can be sometimes a calculated economic decision. Such an analysis might be able to identify how much children would have to be paid in order to switch to school or another form of work, providing policy makers important information for policy design.

V. Conclusion

The project to investigate WFCL using the RA methodology was extremely successful in yielding a great deal of information on the WFCL. In many cases, data were collected for countries where there were previously little or none available. These RAs present a great stride towards developing an appropriate knowledge base on the magnitudes, character, causes and consequences of the WFCL. The RA methodology has also an ability to be relatively comprehensive in scope, and at the same time provide a qualitative overview of a whole target population where more traditional survey approaches cannot be suitably applied.

Further to the analysis of the data collected and presented in the 38 RA and 2 national reports that formed part of the aforementioned project to investigate the WFCL, some important themes emerged across countries and types of WFCL. In particular, family trauma or family disintegration (including death of a parent, and especially the death of a father) was identified as an often significant factor associated with engagement in the WFCL. In addition, economic shocks (as caused by drought, natural disaster, or family trauma), large family size (for example, due to unwanted pregnancies and births), community and parental attitudes towards children's work and schooling, and economic/social/political dislocation and marginalization emerged as important factors in a number of cases. Though not all RAs explored the role of enterprises and employers, those that did found that in the context of the industry and market, wage differentials between WFCL and non-hazardous forms of work also play strong roles in the engagement of children in the WFCL.

This synthesis report has also confirmed that the circumstances surrounding children in a particular WFCL are often unique to that form and the country or region where it occurs. The results show that there is substantial variation in almost all aspects of the nature and situation of the WFCL across the various reports. In fact, there is often as much variation across countries in one form of WFCL as there is between the different types of WFCL. Similarly, there is often just as much variation within a given country, both within a form of WFCL and across them, as there is across countries.

Although poverty was identified almost universally as a primary factor "causing" children to be engaged in the WFCL, this report aims to go beyond that proposition by examining other related factors. As the RAs confirmed, many poor families do not have children engaged in the WFCL while many non-poor children are engaged in the WFCL. Therefore, poverty may in some cases be neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for participation in the WFCL, particularly in the case of unconditional WFCL. As previously noted, particular factors which may lead to different types of poverty (for example, transitory versus chronic), such as family trauma or family disintegration, economic shock, large family size, and dislocation or displacement, may have more explanatory power and may be more precise explanations of the underlying issue. If the factors leading to poverty and participation in the WFCL can be accurately identified, they can be used to create better-targeted policy proposals.

Based on the results of this synthesis, the critical factors relating to a child's participation in the WFCL, whether an unconditional WFCL or hazardous forms of work will likely fall under any of the following categories: Characteristics of the Child, which include the children's age (both current and when they started working), sex, ethnicity, and sexual history; Living Conditions, which include the children's living context, educational attainment and access, family economic condition, and migration; Work Conditions, which include recruitment, schedule, activities, hazards, health/sanitation, payment, use of earnings, relative wage analysis, relationship with employer, ability to quit, and the children's attitudes about work; and Community/National Level Conditions, including legal protections, enforcement, community attitudes and awareness. Depending on the presence of critical factors, the potential severity of impact on a child will vary. Table 1 illustrates the spectrum of impact and the corresponding potential policy priority for factors relating to children's participation in the WFCL. The more severe the impact on the child, the higher priority the interventions to deal with it should have.

Table 1: Factors Related to WFCL and Severity of Impact

Factors Related to WFCL and Severity of Impact		Potential Severity of Impact on Child	
		Low	High
The Child	Characteristics of the child (age, age when started work)	Older	Younger
	Gender	Gender parity	Gender inequality
	Ethnicity	Ethnic parity	Ethnic inequality
	Sexual history	None/non-violent	Rape/incest
Living Conditions	Living context (location, quality of relationships, reason for leaving home)	At home Good Own initiative	Not Poor Forced/deceived
	Education (access, affordability, attendance, attainment, perceived value)	Accessible Affordable Attending High attainment Valuable	Not accessible Not affordable Not attending Low attainment Not valuable
	Economic condition	Ability to support household	Inability to meet basic needs
	Migration	No migration	Migration
	Recruitment	Own initiative	Forced or deceived
	Place of recruitment	Home	Work site
Work Conditions	Work context	N/A	
	Schedule	Light	Heavy
	Activities	Light work	Hard work
	Hazards	No/Minor hazards	Major hazards
	Health/sanitation (access to food, potable water, health care)	Adequate food Adequate water Access to health care	No food No water No access to health care
	Payment	Fair, timely wages	No pay
	Relative wage analysis	Lower pay	Higher pay
	Use of earnings	Personal effects	Sole household support
	Relationship with employer	Good	Bad
	Ability to quit	Can quit	Can't quit
	Child's attitudes about work	Like/happy	Dislike/unhappy
	Legal protections (laws, enforcement)	Strong child protection/WFCL laws Strong enforcement	No laws No enforcement
	Community attitudes and awareness (work, gender, education)	High awareness of WFCL Low value of girls & boys working Gender parity High value of education	No awareness High value of girls & boys working Gender inequality No value of education

Despite all that was learned from this project, this research undertaken on the nature and extent of child labour is just a beginning. In order to increase the global knowledge base on child labour, particularly the WFCL, more data must be collected for additional regions and forms. Based on the project's experiences, data collection can certainly be enhanced in the future. Further research would benefit from advancing the capability to provide more quantitative information; expanding the content of the questionnaires to focus on the causes of WFCL; gathering more data on comparison groups; undertaking studies on notable life stories; identifying and standardizing core topics to better synthesize around key themes; standardizing reporting; and conducting follow-up RAs to measure changes in situations post interventions. For more information on conducting an RA and details related to these recommendations, please consult the updated 2005 RA Manual.⁴⁵

The RAs examined for this synthesis report provide a wealth of valuable information, and in many of the countries represent the first attempt to collect data on a particular WFCL. This series of studies collectively also represent the first comprehensive effort at collecting standardized data across countries. In this regard, the RA's provide a great stride forward in our understanding of the WFCL and represent a desire and determination to address the underlying problems. RAs have an important role to play in the campaign to eradicate the WFCL — from gathering impressionistic accounts for the purposes of exposing and documenting the nature of the problem, to helping design programmes by providing key information, including baseline information, and inferring the causal mechanisms underlying the pathways to the WFCL. It is hoped that RA investigations continue to be carried out on a global basis as an ongoing contribution to the fight against the exploitation of children.

⁴⁵ ILO/UNICEF. *Manual on child labour rapid assessment methodology*. Geneva, 2005.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME ON THE ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOUR (IPEC)

International Labour Office
4, route des Morillons
CH 1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

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