

A Comparative Analysis:

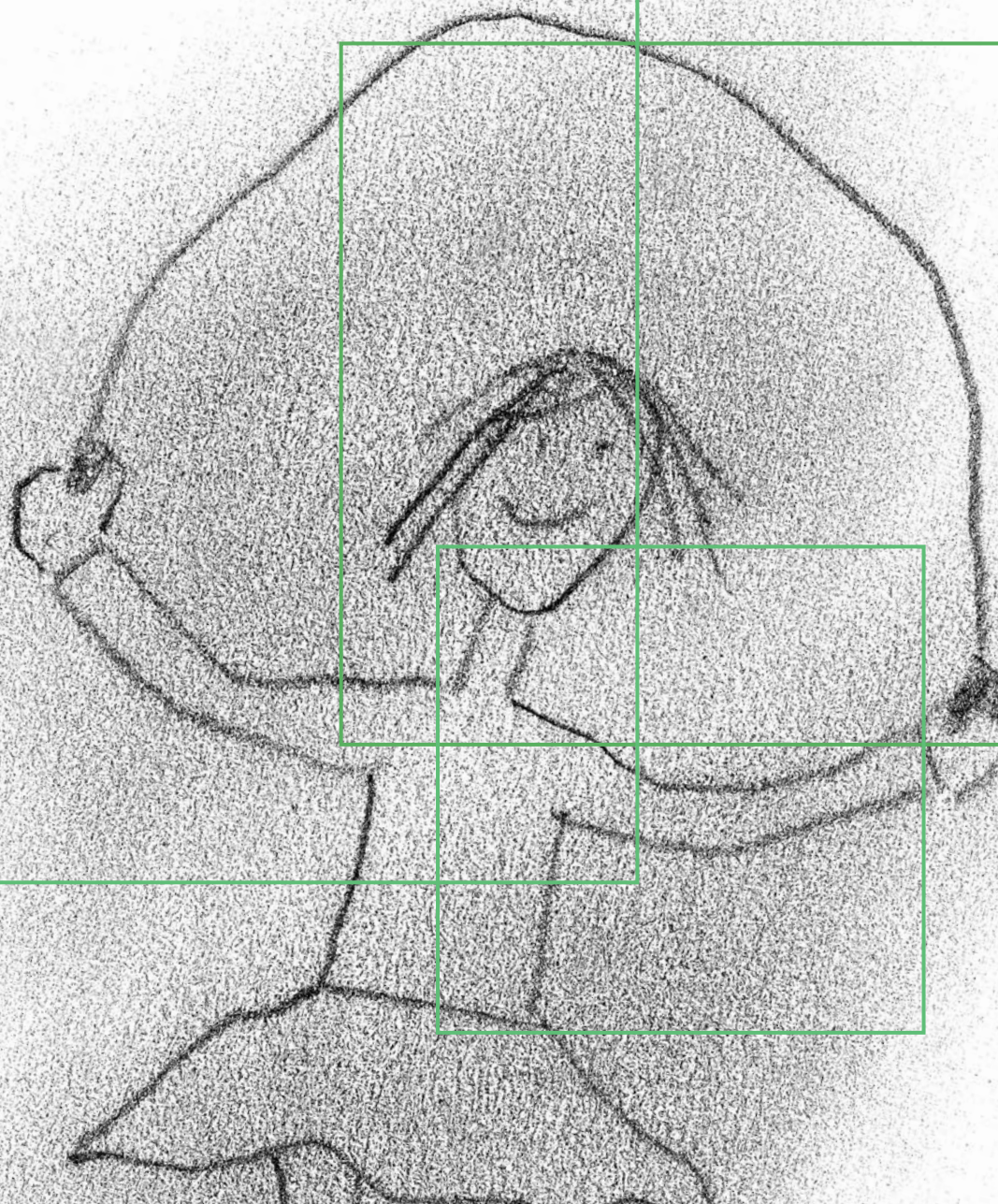
Girl Child Labour in Agriculture, Domestic Work and Sexual Exploitation

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines



International
Labour
Office

VOLUME 2



**A comparative analysis:
girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work
and sexual exploitation**

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

- Volume N° 1 Girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: rapid assessments on the cases of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador
- Volume N° 2 A comparative analysis: girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: the cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines**
- Volume N° 3 Global child labour data review: a gender perspective
- Volume N° 4 A selected annotated bibliography on girl child labour: a gender perspective

A comparative analysis: girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation

**The cases of Ghana, Ecuador
and the Philippines**

Girl child labour studies, volume N° 2

by:

Una Murray

Research Co-ordinator: Anita Amorim

Editors: Anita Amorim, John Bland

Editorial assistance: Tim Greeff, Sahar Hasan, James Lambert, Lerzan Kayıhan Ünal

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE · GENEVA

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ISBN print: 92-2-115292-8

ISBN web- PDF: 92-2-115293-6

First published 2004

Cover photographs: ILO

Research Co-ordinator: Anita Amorim

Author: Una Murray

Editors: Anita Amorim, John Bland

Editorial Assistance: Tim Greeff, Sahar Hasan, James Lambert, Lerzan Kayihan Ünal

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

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Acknowledgements

In all three countries, the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador, we thank the researching partners and individuals from those agencies that carried out the Rapid Assessments on child domestic work (CDW), children in commercial sexual exploitation (CSEC) and children in agricultural work upon which this report is based. Partners included:

- Ghana: Research International in Accra, and Glanville Einstein Williams from the West African Aids Foundation;
- The Philippines: The Visayan Forum (VF) Foundation, Inc, Saul T. de Vries & Arturo Sioson, Jr. working with the department of Labour and Employment, Jeanette Tana & Kurt Romaquin as well as Jaybee Baginda and Lauro Dizon from the Institute for Labour Studies, the Cordillera Administrative Region Officers and Municipal Social Welfare Development Officers;
- Ecuador: Castelnuovo y Asociados.

Many thanks go to the children and adults of the communities, parents, the men and women of the households, and workplaces, people in farming communities, key informants such as local officials, farm managers and supervisors, village chiefs, programme implementers and service providers, who were consulted and visited by the researchers for these reports. Government officials and organizational representatives were very helpful in providing information. We are most grateful for their time and commitment.

Great appreciation is owed to all ILO-IPEC staff in the three countries and in headquarters that supported this research and provided guidance to it. Most of all we wish to thank the child domestic workers, the boys and girls engaged in prostitution, the boy and girl child labourers working on the land and tending animals (as well as some of their parents). These children gave their opinions on many of the difficult questions asked, and provided information on their situations. We appreciate their analysis of their own situation immensely. By documenting their working conditions and situation, we seek to contribute to a situation where policy-makers ensure that all children have hope and opportunity for their future.

Foreword

A rising concern about the need to provide protection and institutional responses that will ensure the progressive elimination of child labour performed by girls, as well as the general welfare of working girl-children, highlights the need among policy makers, both international and local, for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. While gender and development programmes are finding their way into the institutional arena, little has been achieved in terms of providing coherent approaches, sensitive to the needs of girls. Thus, child labour initiatives have taken broad forms, like the national Time Bound Programmes for the elimination of child labour (TBP), and should apply the same degree of efficacy when extended to a girl child labourer. Both boys and girls deserve to be spared from child labour, in particular its worst forms, and encouraged to go to school.

Glimpses of the number of working girl children in agriculture, domestic work and the personal services sector can be discerned from quantitative and qualitative statistics. The statistical figures, however, can only be useful to the extent of raising awareness on the degree of participation of girls in the world of work and in the preparation of concrete programmes and policies targeted therein. Disaggregating the numbers according to sex and dissecting them across industry and geographic locations can be used as means to pinpoint the general concentration of girls, and the differences in tasks, working hours and occupations vis-à-vis boys. The need for studies focusing on the girl child stemmed from calls from all ILO-IPEC's stakeholders, and the particular mandate given by Convention N° 182 on the worst forms of child labour. In formulating policies and programmes to address the special needs of the working girl child, constant updating of information is required. In sectors where the girls are in workplaces that are not easily visible, as for instance in domestic work, employment agreements are generally casual and informal, making the girls isolated, invisible, separated from their families and difficult to reach.

This work is the **second volume** of a series of girl child studies which include **a study of girl child labour in domestic work, agriculture and sexual exploitation** through rapid assessments in the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador, **a data review of existing child labour data from a gender perspective** (mainly SIMPOC, LSMS, and MICS), as well as **an annotated bibliography** on girl child labour from a gender perspective. It analyses the reports from rapid assessments contained in volume N°1 of the current publication which were prepared by the Institute for Labour Studies and the Visayan Forum Foundation in Manila, Castelnuovo and Associates in Quito, and W.A.A.F. and Research International in Accra, in collaboration with the International Labour Organization. This was undertaken as part of the technical cooperation programme on improving data collection, analysis and dissemination of information and research on child labour, especially in its worst forms.

This volume comprises **a comparative analysis of all the rapid assessments** undertaken in the three countries in the fields of child domestic workers (CDWs), the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) and child labourers in agriculture. Taking a gender-sensitive approach, it draws together the rapid assessment findings from the three countries, and then analyses both the underlying factors of gender disparities and the consequences of those differences in opportunity. The

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analysis seeks to fill the present serious gap in understanding issues of child labour from a girl child labour perspective and it is based on comprehensive reports commissioned by ILO/IPEC and produced by independent researchers from the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador in the period 2002-2003. These include: from the Philippines, the Visayan Forum (VF) Foundation Inc., Saul T. de Vries & Arturo Sioson, Jr. working with the Department of Labour and Employment, Jeanette Tana & Kurt Romaquin as well as Jaybee Baginda and Lauro Dizon from the Institute for Labour Studies in the Philippines, the Cordillera Administrative Region Officers and Municipal Social Welfare Development Officers; from Ghana, the Research International in Accra, and Glanville Einstein Williams from the West African Aids Foundation; and from Ecuador Castelnuevo y Asociados.

The ILO-IPEC Rapid Assessments – undertaken between mid-2002 and early 2003 – and the comparative analysis that followed had a common general objective of being able to contribute to the knowledge base on girl child labour in the stated sectors. The studies had the following specific objectives:

- to assess the local magnitude of girl children in the three target sectors;
- to describe the work processes, conditions and arrangements involved in the sectors;
- to identify policies, programmes or initiatives that address the concerns of working girl-children; and
- to recommend directions toward the formulation of appropriate policies and programmes.

Alice Ouédraogo
Director for Policy Development and Advocacy
IPEC

Abbreviations

CAR	Cordillera Administrative Region, the Philippines
CDW	Child Domestic Worker
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DFID	UK Department for International Development
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
GAATW	Global Alliance against Traffic in Women
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
ILO	International Labour Organization/Office
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
KILM	Key indicators of the labour market
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Study from the World Bank
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NER	Net Enrolment Rates
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SIS	State Institute of Statistics
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TBP	Time-bound programme
UCW	Understanding Children's Work: An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VF	Visayan Forum, an NGO based in the Philippines
WAPTICAS	West African Project to Combat Aids
WB	World Bank
WFCL	The worst forms of child labour
WHO	World Health Organization

The three countries at a glance

Ghana	The Philippines	Ecuador
Population: 19.7 million	Population: 75.6 million	Population: 12.6 million
Surface area: 238.5 thousand sq. km	Surface area: 300.0 thousand sq.km	Surface area: 283.6 thousand sq. km
Population growth: 1.8% (annually)	Population per sq. km: 253.5	Population per sq. km: 45.7
GNI per capita: 290 US\$	Population growth: 1.8%	Population growth: 1.9%
GDP: 5.7 billion US\$	Life expectancy (1999): 69 years	Life expectancy (1999): 69 years
	Population below national poverty line (1997): 36.8%	Population below national poverty line (1994): 35%
	GNI per capita: 1,040 US\$	GNP per capita: 1,210 US\$
	GDP: 75.2 billion US\$	GDP: 13.6 billion US\$
Source: <i>World Development Indicators 2000 Database</i>		

Background

To make informed decisions on policies relating to the prevention of child labour in any given country, the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), governments and partners require information to increase their knowledge base on the girl child in specific sectors. This series of comparative analysis is focused on the girl child labour in agricultural labour, domestic work and sexual exploitation in three countries from geographically diverse parts of the world - Asia, Africa and Central America.

Despite emerging information about child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation, there is still a gap in the overall existing analysis of the phenomenon. There is also a serious gap in understanding the issue from a girl child labour perspective. Such informational gaps hamper effective action and policy-making aimed at reducing this form of child labour, for both girls and boys.

During 2002, and 2003 a review of existing ILO, World Bank and UNICEF child labour data using a gender-sensitive approach was initiated with the aim of detecting, measuring and analysing both the underlying factors of gender disparities and the consequences of those differences in opportunities. These reviews also considered gender bias with regard to occupational gender segregation, and possible misperceptions about where boys and girls are working.

Subsequently, a series of Rapid Assessments was carried out in three countries, namely Ecuador, Ghana and the Philippines, focusing on agriculture, domestic labour and prostitution, activities often forced on girls. All these studies serve to contribute to a fuller picture of child labour in general, and girl child labour in particular.



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Methodologies employed in the rapid assessments

The ILO/IPEC/UNICEF Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology was utilized to provide a “snapshot” of the situation of the girl child in domestic work, prostitution and agriculture in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. The Rapid Assessment methodology as outlined by the ILO/UNICEF field manual on rapid assessments was adopted and adapted in all three countries.

The RA methodology is intended to provide relevant information in a relatively quick and cost-efficient way to serve as an essential tool for public awareness, programming and in-depth research. It is ideally suited for obtaining detailed knowledge of the working and life circumstances of children by means of discussions and interviews. RA uses background desk reviews, key informants, observation, semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and conversations. Its output is primarily qualitative and descriptive and is an effective way to gather information on the often hard-to-access worst forms of child labour. Field guidelines for using the rapid assessment methodology for investigating child labour are available from ILO/IPEC Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC).

Because qualitative RA approaches use non-random sampling strategies, and because of the unstructured nature of the RA methods and tools themselves, the results from RAs cannot be generalized to the entire population. Thus, conducting an RA will not produce a full picture of girls working in agriculture, domestic work or prostitution, but rather a detailed description from a particular place at a particular time that cannot be extrapolated to the population in general. This limitation can be minimized by triangulation of data sources (the use of several methods and the collation of secondary data). Consequently, as background for the RAs in all three countries and the comparative analysis, a review of relevant documentation and reports on child labour in agriculture took place. Regardless of the limitations of the RA methodology, it can nevertheless provide insights or inputs in the formulation of interventions against the proliferation of the worst forms of child labour in each respective country.

Methodology for writing the comparative analysis

The following sections in this publication contain comparative analysis of the results of rapid assessments in the specific regions of the three countries, Ecuador, Ghana and the Philippines.

The ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182 (1999), is the **frame of reference** for this comparison. All children involved in prostitution are in conditions that violate their human rights and make their work a worst form of child labour. Many of the children involved in domestic and agriculture work are in conditions involving long hours, physical, emotional and sexual abuse, insufficient rest, isolation and malnutrition. Such conditions can also make their work a worst form of child labour.

The **rationale** for the rapid assessments to have taken place in the countries of Ecuador, Ghana and the Philippines is partly based on the concern that these countries have expressed a desire to eradicate the worst forms of child labour. They have conveyed interest in becoming part of the ILO/IPEC integrated **“Time-Bound Programme”** (TBP) approach, which is essentially a set of integrated policies and programmes to prevent and eliminate a country's worst forms of child labour within a defined period of time.

Other grounds for comparison between Ecuador, Ghana and the Philippines are that similarities and differences exist in the reasons for, and conditions of, girls engaged in agricultural labour, domestic work and prostitution, both internally in a country and across the locations studied. Trends that are similar across the three countries can be highlighted in a comparative analysis for a specific sector. Identifying, comparing and contrasting the traditions, conditions and paths that lead to child labour, as outlined in each RA research report, provide more in-depth knowledge on child labour in domestic work, agriculture or prostitution in general. By understanding more about these phenomena, the debate about how to eliminate the worst forms of this child labour can be broadened.

In each of our comparative analysis of the three sectors for the three countries, we use a point-by-point approach. This implies that attention is drawn to a specific research finding from one rapid assessment research report (such as recruitment of children in agriculture, or knowledge amongst children in prostitution about HIV/AIDS hazards), and compared with the same issue from one or both of the other two reports.

Thus, the three comparative analysis spell out the similarities and differences in the results from each RA report, by comparing sampling sizes and methodologies, analysing and clarifying research results, and comparing and contrasting the recommendations made.

Attention is drawn to issues that are similar across the rapid assessment reports for that sector. There is also a strong emphasis on differences across the rapid assessment findings. In the final analysis it can be said that the findings point to both similarities and striking dissimilarities, firstly, in the nature of girl child labour and, secondly, internally at the different research locations in the three chosen countries.

Girl child labour in agriculture: a comparative analysis

**Based on rapid assessment reports
from the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador**

**The three rapid assessment reports upon which this comparative
analysis is based:**

Research International for the ILO/IPEC (2002), *Children in Agriculture (Ghana)* Draft Report Version 1.0, October 2002

Castelnuovo y Asociados for IPEC South America (2002), *Rapid Assessment Report on Girls Working in Agriculture, Domestic Labour and Sexual Exploitation in Ecuador*, August 2002

Saul T. de Vries & Arturo Sioson, Jr. (2002), *Girl Child Labour in Agriculture in the Philippines (A Rapid Assessment)*, Institute for Labour Studies, Department of Labour and Employment, Manila, for ILO/IPEC, October 2002

Executive summary

In 2002, three Rapid Assessments (RA) on child labour in agriculture took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. This report presents a comparative analysis of these findings.

A large sample of children was interviewed in Ghana, of whom over 72 per cent were girls engaged in agriculture. In the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) of the Philippines, over 60 per cent of the sample were also girls engaged in agriculture. However, the sample size from the region studied in Manabí, Ecuador, was very small and the majority were boys, with a small number of girls included. Instead, researchers in Ecuador contacted girl child domestic workers. Of course, this was compensated by a thorough research of secondary sources of the region. One should keep in mind though, the qualitative nature of the studies and not try to extrapolate to the whole country any of the regional information described in the reports.

Quite different situations of child labour in agriculture were presented in each of the RA reports, with child labourers from Ghana migrating and working mainly on plantations, the respondents from the Philippines chiefly working on small neighbouring farms or family farms, and the respondents from Ecuador primarily toiling on lands belonging to large landowners.

Across the regions in each country there was often a disparity between the working conditions of the children in one area in comparison to another. The more poverty-stricken the target area, the poorer the working conditions of the child labourers. This was particularly striking in two regions of the CAR in the Philippines and also across some regions of Ghana. In order to improve the conditions for child labour in agriculture, an improvement to the overall economic situation of the agricultural areas should be a foremost concern.

The majority of the child respondents from the regions assessed in Ghana were older (aged between 15 and 17) than the children interviewed in the Philippines or Ecuador. Children in the CAR, the Philippines, began working before their 10th year, with girls starting slightly later than their brothers. By contrast, in the regions assessed in Ghana, girls seemed to start working at a slightly older age. In Ecuador, boys started working in agriculture very young, at just 8½ years, but still later than their sisters who began working as child domestic workers when they were as young as 6 years old. In all three countries, there was often conflicting evidence from parents and children regarding the age at which the latter started working (as well as about payment and the use of chemicals during work).

Although child labour in agriculture is supposed to take place outside schooling, in reality during harvesting children must work long and hard all day long. According to the researchers in the Philippines, there is negligible disparity between the girl-child and the boy-child in conditions at work. However, the fact that more girls engage in domestic chores on top of child labour was not factored into the research. Nevertheless, to the present day girls in the CAR region seem more likely to be in school than their male counterparts. The opposite was true in Ghana, where fewer girls attend school than boys, for various cultural reasons and in view of the costs associated with schooling. Girls are needed mostly for harvesting and planting seasons in Ghana, while the boys are used for weeding and preparing the land for

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planting. On the whole, a higher percentage of child respondents from the regions assessed in Ghana have never been to school.

Nearly all of the child respondents who have dropped out of school in both Ecuador and the Philippines stated that they would like to complete their education.

The wish to contribute to the family income is a key factor in starting work as an agricultural labourer by all respondents (but in some regions of Ghana this is more so than others, e.g. in the Eastern Region). In the CAR of the Philippines, a greater motivating factor for respondents as compared to those from other countries was to earn an income to keep themselves in school. Parents or female relatives are more important in influencing girls to begin work in Ghana than in the CAR, the Philippines. A higher percentage of boys in comparison to girls decided themselves to begin working in agriculture in Ghana, whereas the opposite is true in the Philippines.

Apart from missing out on schooling, particularly at harvest time, children perform many tasks without any training or personal protective equipment and clothing, and are exposed to poisoning from chemicals, and to serious injuries and even death from equipment. Frequently there is a lack of washing facilities which prevents workers from washing off residue from chemicals. The lowest percentage of children from Ghana received information on the work hazards (14%), although nearly half of Philippines respondents and a third of respondents from Ecuador reported that they received information on work hazards. In fact the number of children exposed to chemicals could be actually higher than reported because many are not aware of the presence of chemicals.

Other hazards experienced by the children are carrying heavy loads, not having enough rest time (possibly affecting their physical and social development), and a lack of access to good drinking water. The latter was true for many respondents from both Ghana and Ecuador although only one-third of respondents from CAR, the Philippines, mentioned a lack of good drinking water as a problem.

Payment for working in agriculture was low across the regions, although girl workers from Ghana did not complain about it. Comparing the control over their money earned, only one in ten of the respondents from Ghana seem to be able to keep cash for themselves, and 16 per cent use the money for leisure. The respondents from the CAR, the Philippines, tend to give more to their families or use their cash earned to pay for their own schooling. The child labourers in Manabí, Ecuador, seem to be able to keep part and give the rest to parents.

Several country-specific recommendations were outlined in each RA report. Those that have wider application include: having more concise national legislation on child labour in agriculture including tackling the issue of the difference between whether children are “working” or are “involved in child labour”; protecting child labourers working on farms by ensuring that they have protective clothing and their schooling is not affected; and the provision of more and better education opportunities or grants to ensure that children can attend school. As mentioned, poverty is the major factor leading children to begin working in agriculture and must be tackled by rural development policies and employment opportunities.

It is strongly recommended that society’s acceptance of child labour in agriculture should be challenged. In all three countries, greater awareness among policy-makers, employers, parents and children themselves, needs to be created on the ills and woes of child labour in agriculture and all that it entails for the child in rural communities. It is a poignant commentary that well over half of the respondents from all the regions in each country reported that they would prefer not to carry on in their present work.

How this section is organized

An overview of the research is presented in **Part 1**. In **Part 2** we take stock of the issues of child labour and the division of labour in agriculture. Information on the child labour respondents in each of the three countries is presented in **Part 3**, and in **Part 4** of this report the respondents' work and their conditions at work are compared.

Reflections on the similarities and differences across the three countries are presented in **Part 5**, with an exploration of the factors that lead children to work in agriculture.

A comparison between the policy recommendations that emanated from each rapid assessment report are discussed in **Part 6**, particularly those that have wider application.

Overall conclusions are drawn in **Part 7**. Although not all of the RAs included and interviewed both girls and boys engaged in agricultural work, this report also attempts to explore some gender-related¹ factors that stem from the three RA reports. In order to have a particular emphasis on gender differences in terms of the girl in agricultural labour, as well as on the conditions and pertinent characteristics, causes and consequences, it is necessary to compare girls with boys in agricultural labour or to compare girls with boys of the same age. Where such information is available from the RA reports (as for some issues in Ghana and the Philippines), an attempt is made to analyse it in terms of differences in roles, access to resources, constraints and decision-making power about paid labour. These issues are particularly highlighted in **Part 7**.

¹ **Gender** refers to the *learned* social differences and relations between girls and boys and between women and men. These can vary widely within and between cultures.

1. Overview of the RA studies

1.1 Introduction

Child labour has many forms all over the world. The ILO Convention No. 182 provides four broad classifications of the worst forms of child labour, one of which is work that, by the nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. Each form of child labour has different degrees of safety for children, health consequences and overall risk to children's development. In agricultural work, the most hazardous and exploitative work for children can be encountered, such as long hours, low pay, un-regulation and exposure to dangerous chemicals, as well as missing out on school. Due to its hazardous nature, it can be considered one of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL).

The overall purpose of the Rapid Assessments (RA) compared in this report, as part of IPEC's work on action against the worst forms of child labour, was to deepen the knowledge and existing information on girls working in agriculture as a form of invisible and hidden girl child labour. Undertaken between mid-2002 and early 2003, the three RAs attempted to describe the magnitude, character and consequences of child labour in agriculture in the particular locations studied, documenting the working conditions of children in agriculture and girls in particular.

Each RA to varying degrees sought:

- To identify the principal factors that encourage children to begin working in agriculture, investigating in particular what pulls the girl child into agricultural activities;
- To determine the tasks performed by girls in agricultural production in comparison to boys;
- To evaluate the working conditions and occupational risks of girls involved in agricultural production;
- To define the educational, emotional and social consequences of child labour amongst girls involved in agricultural production.

1.2 Methodology employed in the three RAs

In the Philippines, a purposive, non-probability sampling procedure was used. This in practice allowed the researchers to concentrate on a sample population that aptly matched the desired target sample group of the study – the girl child in agriculture. Subsequently the researchers utilized:

- interviews,
- focus group discussions,
- field observations,
- an analysis of existing studies,
- photo documentation of the area visited.

Likewise **in Ghana**, the focus was on girls in agriculture with more girls interviewed than boys. The RA methodology was adapted from ILO/IPEC and employed two main data collection methods:

1. structured interviews,
2. focus group discussions.

A number of parents were also interviewed. One-to-one interviews took place with farm managers/supervisors to provide interesting comparisons with the quantitative information obtained from girls working in agriculture.

In Ecuador, a non-probabilistic sample using the snowball method was undertaken. The survey was again qualitative, exploring the participation of children in agricultural labour along with the activities they perform and an analysis of the consequences. In-depth interviews with some boy agricultural labourers took place, but the researchers were unable to locate many paid girl child labourers, so instead interviewed some child domestic workers (CDWs) in the same locations as the boy child farm workers. However in this report, we have mainly included the information on the child workers in agriculture rather than the girl CDWs².

1.3 Sources of information and locations in the three countries

The Philippines

The RA took place in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), in the northern central part of the Island of Luzon. The criteria used in CAR for choosing the respondents were age and exposure to agricultural work. Only children below eighteen years of age and who, for compensation, were engaged in agricultural work or performing any form of agricultural labour, with the exception of those who work

² This report is part of a series on girl child labour. In this report we concentrate mainly on the children engaged in agriculture. A comparative analysis of the same three countries and girl child labour in domestic work is also available in this series of ILO/IPEC publications on the girl child.

solely in family-owned fields, were interviewed. The children were from localities in the provinces of Abra, Benguet and Mountain Province in CAR. The sample size was initially set for 99 child respondents, yielding a 60%-40% ratio in favour of girls. The actual sample size was 106 children, encompassing 62 girls (58.49%) and 44 boys (41.5%).

Table 1: The CAR, the Philippines: Total respondents by Sex

Sex	Freq.	%
Boys	44	41.5
Girls	62	58.5
Total	106	100.0

Ghana

In Ghana, respondents were from the major agricultural areas in the country: the Northern, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern and Western regions. The structured interviews involved randomly selected respondents from these regions. The overall sample was biased 70:30 per cent in favour of girls. In all, 200 girls and 75 boys as well as 75 of the parents/guardians of the children were consulted. Eleven focus group discussions were conducted to supplement the interview information. Three of the focus groups were made up of both sexes of parents, and the other eight focus groups contained either all boys or all girls. The focus groups were formed in rural areas on the outskirts of the urban towns in the regions mentioned. These selected regions are representative of agricultural practices in the country and were considered by the researchers as by and large homogeneous in their composition.

Table 2: Ghana: The distribution of the sample used for the structured interviews

Location	Children in agriculture		Parent/Guardian
	Boys	Girls	Male/Female
Northern	15	40	15
Ashanti	15	40	15
Brong Ahafo	15	40	15
Eastern	15	40	15
Western	15	40	15
Total	75	200	75

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

Ecuador

The RA in Ecuador took place in the province of Manabí in the northern coastal zone, in rural areas on the outskirts of the city of Chone. The sample size was extremely small. Interviews were done with only two girls and 14 boys working in paid agricultural activities. Because of the absence of girls interviewed in agricultural work, interviews were done instead with 21 girls who performed unremunerated family domestic tasks in rural areas.

Table 3: Ecuador: children interviewed by sex and age

Age of children	Child Agricultural workers interviewed	Female domestic workers interviewed
8	1 female	
9	1 male	3 females
10		4 females
11	2 males	2 females
12	1 male	4 females
13	3 males + 1 female	6 females
14	2 males	1 female
15	1 male	
16	1 male	
17	1 male	
Unknown age		1 female
	12 males + 2 females	
	16 agricultural workers	21 female child domestic workers
	Overall total interviewed: 37 children	

Comparing the sample size and sex of respondents in the table above, it is evident that the sample size in Ecuador is inadequate for the purpose of the study. Thus less reference is made to this RA report than to the other two RA reports. The researchers from Ghana provided the largest sample size, but the RA report from Ghana contained the least analysis of the data results.

Table 4: Comparison of research locations across three countries

Location of research respondents			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Location of research	Provinces of Abra, Benguet and the Mountain Province, all of which are situated within the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR)	Northern, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern and Western Regions located throughout the country	Rural area on the outskirts of the city of Chone in the Province of Manabí on the coastal zone
Reasons for choice of research locations	The CAR is an agricultural region and well known to have children engaged in agricultural work as shown in earlier studies on child labour within the region. Statistics & a child labourer list provided by government documented the prevalence of child workers in certain municipalities. Other provinces were subsequently identified for assessment.	The regions assessed are the major agricultural areas of Ghana	Manabí province produces food and wood products for both the internal and external markets and has significant livestock production, making it representative of a rural agricultural province in Ecuador

Table 5: Comparison of sample size and sex of respondents in all three countries

Comparison of sample size and sex			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children involved in agricultural labour interviewed	106	275	16
No. of girls involved in agricultural labour	62	200	2
No. of boys involved in agricultural labour	44	75	14
Others interviewed or part of FGD	49 purposively selected parent-respondents	75 parents/guardians	21 girls from the same area who performed unremunerated family domestic tasks
Overall total interviewed	155	350	37

1.4 Reasons for choice of research location

The choice of regions from each of the three countries was based on the knowledge that agricultural activities are prevalent in those regions. Nevertheless in the **CAR, the Philippines**, it was stated that the region was also chosen on the basis of known child labour in agriculture activities, as shown in earlier studies on child labour. Initially statistics and a child labourer list provided by the government documented the prevalence of child workers in certain municipalities. Other provinces in the CAR were subsequently identified for assessment.

In **Ghana**, the reason given for the regions chosen to be assessed was that they were major agricultural areas of Ghana. In **Ecuador**, Manabí province produces food and wood products for both the internal and external markets and has significant livestock production, and was thus chosen because it was representative of a rural agricultural province.

1.5 Comparison of places of work in the three RAs

In the **Philippines**, many employers of child labourers in municipalities of CAR are in fact small-scale operators and landowners with seasonal operations. The CAR is mainly mountainous with vegetable farming and major crops such as coffee, tobacco, root crops, corn and coconut. One area, Benguet, is known as the salad bowl of the Philippines. It could be generalized that the surveyed areas were simply rural areas, offering no or very limited employment opportunities for children, thus giving children no choice but to work in the fields and farms.

In the regions assessed in **Ghana**, the children work mainly as wage earners on contract or as casual/temporary/part-time employees as well as unpaid family workers. It seems that many of the boy and girl child labourers interviewed migrate alone or with their parents to work on coffee, cocoa or palm plantations or on farms and other farms/plantations growing pawpaw, cashew, tomato, maize and cassava.

In **Ecuador**, all of the children interviewed worked on lands belonging to large landowners, except one who works on a family farm. Most children are hired to tend crops and assist with the harvest.

1.6 Limitations of the studies

As mentioned above, the samples were quite small and therefore the study does not go beyond the qualitative domain. However, it is significant that the researchers reported that paid agricultural labour is not normally an option for girls in Manabí, Ecuador. In the other two countries, the data obtained reflect a “snapshot” of the situation of girls in agricultural labour for those particular regions at that particular time. Although rapid assessment methodology can serve as a reference or

baseline to evaluate girl child labour in each of the three countries studied and give a general overview, it still has several other practical limitations.

a) Generalizing information from RAs

The information cannot be extrapolated nationally. The results of the RAs imply a bias in relation to the overall situation in each country and it is difficult to draw generalizations for the country at large.

b) Preliminary research results

Because of point a) above, the results that an RA produces are preliminary, and gaining a deeper and more comprehensive understanding still requires more detailed research.

c) Invisibility of girl child agricultural labourers

According to Jensen & Pearson (2001), authors of the ILO/UNICEF field guide on RAs³, “The RA methodology is best suited for situations where the children are easily observable and work is concentrated in a few well-known areas. It will not work well in situations where the children and their work are hidden.” Although the RAs were concentrated in known areas for child labour, in the Philippines the girl agricultural labourers were not easily observable. The seasonality of their work and their respective communities’ apprehension towards outsiders observing them during their work made the children and their work virtually hidden from the research team.

d) The need for very perceptive RA researchers

To locate girls working in agriculture, researchers have to be not only gender-sensitive but also flexible in locating such girls. It is not clear whether all researchers were trained in how to ask questions in a way that would locate both paid and unpaid girl child labourers in agriculture or that they were exclusively looking for paid workers. Very often parents and the girls themselves perceive themselves not as *working* per se but as *helping out*. Professional skills on the part of the researchers are required to interpret what they are being told, probe further and decode whether people tell them what they think they would like to hear. Researchers must be trained very well to understand that local people may be trying to protect themselves from any repercussions regarding what they report.

³ A Guide to Reporting on Rapid Assessments or What You Should Get from Your Rapid Assessments (ILO/UNICEF Draft Field guide), ILO/UNICEF Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, prepared by Robert T. Jensen, Meredith Pearson, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2001.

e) **No links with other WFCL**

The variables studied and the data gathered are of necessity concentrated on the issues outlined in the guidelines for the RA, and may not examine certain linked aspects of child labour in agriculture, such as the links between the girl child labour in agriculture and the trafficking of children, or the link with domestic labour.

1.7 Specific country challenges

The RA study required more time for the field researchers to prepare for both the research itself and cultural aspects of the study, including the local political and economic factors. For example, more time was required to establish a rapport with the respondents and their respective communities. Knowledge of the local dialect was also required, as the respondents were more responsive to members of the team who knew how to speak their local dialects. Specific challenges relating to each RA are outlined below.

- Filtering of respondents was a concern in the **CAR in the Philippines**. There were some children who were not involved in agricultural farming or who were over 18 years of age and yet wanted to be interviewed. This was initially due to a mistaken notion on the part of the parents/guardians that the children would receive some sort of financial support or assistance if they were interviewed. Opinions of those over 19 were later omitted from the study results.
- As mentioned above, in the province of **Manabí in Ecuador**, although the focus of the research was to be on the girls in agriculture, the researchers were only able to locate two girls engaged in paid agricultural labour. They reported that few girls are able to get paid work in agriculture. Rural work is considered *not* suitable for unaccompanied girls. Instead most girls complement domestic labour with agricultural tasks, still within the domestic sphere. Thus the small sample size from Ecuador is focused mainly on boys.
- **In Ecuador**, the researchers found that the RA instruments were not extremely appropriate for the country's social, cultural and economic situation, because of the length with which individual problems were addressed. For example, in rural areas in the province of Manabí, child labour is considered normal and is not separated from family life, especially in the cases of those who live on the plantation of an employer or *patrón*. The patron maintains non-contractual, property-style labour relations with his employees. It is considered an "honour" for the *patrón* to take an employee's child "as his own," and abuse is practically the only known method for raising and disciplining children. Because of this prevailing view, many interviewees responded with surprise and discomfort to various questions.
- It was extremely difficult for informants in **Manabí province** to understand a children's rights point of view, even though the questionnaires were adapted by the local team and modified several times. On the whole, the researchers in Ecuador reported that the methodology often triggered defence mechanisms in respondents.
- No limitations were reported from the Research International regarding the RA process in **Ghana**.

2. Taking stock of child labour in agriculture

2.1 Child labour in agriculture

The vast majority of child labourers in the world, 70 per cent or more, work in the agriculture sector. Correspondingly most working children in rural areas are engaged in agriculture. Child labour in agriculture takes many forms and can be seasonal or full time. Often it is related to work within family-run businesses and is thus hard to detect. Child labour on large plantations is also widespread throughout the world. Whatever the form of labour, it can be generalized that child labour in agriculture has serious implications both for the child and the human capital of the country, for the reasons outlined below.

- Occupational health and safety experts consider agriculture to be among the most dangerous of occupations. Climatic exposure, work that is too heavy for young bodies, and accidents such as cuts from sharpened tools are some of the hazards children face. Both boys and girls suffer from high rates of injuries when they operate dangerous instruments or haul heavy loads.
- Boys and girls routinely work in fields sprayed with pesticides, where they come into direct contact with these dangerous chemicals without any training or protective equipment, leading to health problems. Exposure to pesticides without protective equipment can lead to convulsions, nausea, cancer, sterility and birth defects. Frequently there is a lack of washing facilities on farms and plantations, preventing workers from washing off the residue of pesticides⁴. For example, children harvesting tobacco in the United Republic of Tanzania were found to experience nausea, vomiting and fainting from nicotine poisoning⁵.
- Primary school enrolment rates are often lower for children who work in agriculture. Long working hours leave children exhausted and their school studies are neglected as a result. Migrant workers and seasonal child farm workers have among the highest school dropout rates.
- In agricultural work, children tend to be paid very little or not paid at all.
- There are many reports of children being beaten, sexually abused and generally maltreated on farms.

⁴ ILO Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV): *Bitter Harvest: Child Labour in Agriculture* (1998), Geneva.

⁵ Masudi, A.; Ishumi, A.; Mbeo F.; Sambo, W. (2001). *Tanzania: Children Working in Commercial Agriculture-Tobacco: A Rapid Assessment*, November 2001, N°9, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Child workers in Tanzania

A survey in **the United Republic of Tanzania** concluded that worst forms of child labour exist on both small and large-scale tea plantations in the Lushoto and Rungwe districts. Children work without protective gear against thorns, snakes, extreme cold weather and agricultural chemicals. They work for long hours without rest and food, and carry heavy loads of tea leaves. They are exploited by middlemen and vulnerable to sexual harassment. They are mostly from poor homes and a majority are young girls. Their work situation has inadvertently affected their schooling⁶.

2.2 The gender division of labour in agriculture

Household food security is the prime concern of poor rural households in so much as it determines production and investment choices in agriculture. Throughout the world, the division of labour between men and women, and as a result between boys and girls in agriculture varies considerably from region to region and community to community. In general, the division of labour between women and men and boys and girls still remains poorly understood, particularly because traditionally much of women's work in crop production consists of unpaid labour in fields, and women and girls often produce for the household rather than the market. Thus in many countries the essential contribution that women and girls make to crop production is often forgotten, resulting in women's work going unrecorded in statistics.

For example, *an agricultural engineer* is responsible for seed procurement, land preparation, crop multiplication, irrigation, fertilization and pest control, and although a rural woman regularly undertakes such tasks, she is often only perceived as a rural woman, or a farmer's wife, rather than as a farmer or agriculturist in her own right. Likewise, rural women are often responsible for finding and locating water for the home, for cooking, cleaning and drinking. This work in some areas of specific countries is done daily. On the other hand, a male who performs similar duties full time may be considered more prestigiously with a title such as a *hydrologic supply technician*⁷.

It is often generalized that men plough the fields and drive draught animals, whereas women do the major share of sowing, weeding, applying fertilizer and pesticides, harvesting and threshing⁸. However as mentioned above, this varies from country to country. For example, in the regions assessed in Ghana more boys than girls were involved in weeding, whereas in the CAR in the Philippines it was reported that both sexes perform weeding.

⁶ Gonza M. J.; P. Moshi (2001). *Tanzania: Children Working in Commercial Agriculture – Tea – A Rapid Assessment* (December 2001): ILO Geneva.

⁷ The International Women's Tribune Centre (1993). *Women, Environment and Development*, Newsletter, No. 49, 1993.

⁸ FAO (2001). *Gender analysis of agricultural production systems*, Gender and development fact sheets. FAO, Rome, Italy, September 2001.

A further generality is that men tend to work on large-scale cash cropping, especially when it is highly mechanized, while women take care of household food production and small-scale cultivation of cash crops, requiring low levels of technology. In most parts of the world rural women and girls play a big role in growing secondary crops, such as legumes and vegetables. In addition to providing essential nutrients, these crops are often the only food available during the lean season between harvests or when the main harvest fails. Home gardens and fishponds, often tended by women or children, also claim labour-intensive time. Home gardens and small scale aquaculture are frequently only considered as within the domestic realm rather than 'work in agriculture' even though the surplus from home gardens and fish ponds is sold locally to provide income to the household.

Agricultural work thus encompasses a wide range of activities. Gender roles in agriculture are not static and depend on circumstances and opportunities. In many countries modern cultivation is being introduced, with both boys and girls engaged in new techniques. For example, an ILO RA assessment on horticulture in Ecuador found the percentage of girls working in plantations in Cayambe was similar to that of boys in Cotopaxi and vice versa⁹. On the other hand, in some countries traditions and taboos dictate what tasks women and men undertake, and change in some gender roles can be slow. Thus, in parts of sub-Saharan Africa it is not appropriate for women to handle cattle, or, in most countries taking care of poultry is the women's responsibility.

Regardless of what is considered appropriate work for women, men, girls or boys in agriculture, gender roles in agriculture are not stagnant. Taking the horticultural example from Ecuador again, it was found that, with the inclusion of women and girls in flower-growing enterprises, there was a profound change in traditional roles and relations¹⁰. Change of any type, economic shocks, social upheaval and cultural shifts lead to modifications in old ways of doing things. For instance, in many regions of the world there is a rise in the numbers of female-headed households due to male migration for economic reasons. This puts a stress on women's ability to meet both productive and domestic responsibilities, and such situations result in changing gender roles in agriculture and an increased reliance on child labour. Major changes have been brought about by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The resulting deaths of both women and men in their prime have often left boys and girls and older people to work the land.

Studies have shown that in many societies, women in rural areas tend to work longer hours than men. This is because, in addition to food production activities, women have the responsibility for preparing and processing the food while fulfilling their caring role for children and elderly members of the household.

⁹ Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. (2000). *Ecuador Child Labour in Horticulture: A Rapid Assessment*. ILO/IPEC (April 2000).

¹⁰ *ibid.*

2.3 Children's role in agriculture

It is important that women's and girls' labour in agriculture does not go unnoticed. Girls from an early age mimic the roles of their mothers or female relatives, and gradually are expected to perform the same activities as older female relatives. This includes the typical agricultural tasks for the region. Apart from crop and livestock production responsibilities, other duties may include water and irrigation management, firewood collection, household garden maintenance and frequently gathering wild foods (such as plants, fruits, game) for household consumption.

In the regions studied in the **Philippines**, it was evident that child labour is an accepted way of survival for both boys and girls. In terms of the gender division of labour, it was reported that their labour was undifferentiated, although it was mentioned that girls perform "lighter" work. For local economies rooted in agriculture, a child toiling in the field is nothing extraordinary. Whether the child is working in his or her own family's field, part-time work in a neighbour's field, seasonal work in a stranger's field or any other form of work in any agricultural field, child labour in the region is seen merely as a way of life. It is common for the child labourer to work alongside family members or friends or neighbours. Due to the nature of their work, which involves seasonal transferring from one field to another, there is an assumption that the respondents rarely even know who their employers are.

Likewise, the dominant culture in the province of **Manabí in Ecuador** makes it difficult to identify child labour in agriculture as a violation of the rights of children, because it is considered part of the population's tradition. Similarly in the regions of Ghana with little alternative options for work, children engage in agricultural work because such work is easy to obtain. Again, such work is not judged unusual and child labour is considered normal and not separated from family life.

In the **CAR region in the Philippines**, girls work alongside boys in fields, whereas in **Manabí in Ecuador**, paid child labour in agriculture is more common for boys than girls (but an ILO/IPEC RA in Ecuador found girls and boys working together in horticultural production¹¹ although boys and girls could be hired for different tasks). No significant details were given about whether girls and boys work together in agriculture in the regions studied in Ghana, but the division of labour of both their tasks was outlined (see Section 3.1).

2.4 Gender differences in agriculture work in RAs

In the **CAR, the Philippines**, the research team reported that they did not notice any disparity between the girl and boy child labourer. The major differences they noted were based on the overall conditions in the regions, with one region being

¹¹ Girls were employed almost exclusively in post-harvest activities and cultivation, whereas boys were involved in all activities, such as working for a subcontractor, for the construction and repair of greenhouses, or for tasks related to preparing beds, laying out roads or peeling guide stakes. Boys were also hired directly by enterprises to water, graft, till, fumigate and transport flowers as well as perform post-harvest tasks. On the other hand both boys and girls worked helping relatives employed in flower growing. Castelnuevo, C.; Castelnuevo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. (2000). *Ecuador Child Labour in Horticulture: A Rapid Assessment*. ILO/IPEC (April 2000).

more favourable in general to child labour than another (see Section 2.3 above). The researchers claimed that the slight differences in tasks between boys and girls were seemingly insignificant, and were due to reasonable circumstances and not caused by any form of undue bias or prejudice. They further stated that culture and practice accords the young male more strenuous work and responsibility than the young female, corresponding to lower wages for the young female worker. Although both girls and boys work the same average hours per day, it was noticeable that the proportion of girls who work longer than the normal eight working hours a day is higher than that of the boys.

In the regions assessed **in Ghana**, the researchers noted:

- Girls normally do additional work to agricultural work, such as selling produce to earn cash that will contribute to the household;
- Most girls do not have any free time for leisure activities; after finishing all their household chores and tasks, the time left is used to take care of their other assignments like fetching water and firewood for the household and doing laundry;
- There was a striking difference between the boys and girls in educational levels, with boys given preference over girls to be sent to school;
- Girls are needed mostly during harvesting and planting seasons while the boys work more during weeding and while preparing the land for planting. Parents noted that most girls are involved in the crop cultivation;
- In livestock farming, more boys than girls get involved;
- Stress as a consequence of agricultural labour was reported by the children to be a major health problem. More girls experience stress/fatigue than boys.

In Ecuador, child labour in agriculture is common among boys. Girls do not work outside home because if they did they would be unaccompanied. As noted, girls do however work as domestics as it is considered less threatening for their security. The researchers claimed that the hazards and prohibitions are not related to physical effort or the girls' incapacity, but to fear of sexual aggression. Thus, girls with paying jobs in agriculture must be accompanied by a male family member. This reveals a lack of safety for girls in rural areas. In this context, the girls' employment opportunities are restricted to the domestic sphere or to "getting a husband", which often occurs when they finish primary school at the ages of 13 or 14.

The labour options for rural girls in Manabí, Ecuador

In the district of Chone, in the province of Manabí in Ecuador, only three labour options were reported to be available to girls:

1. work on nearby farms doing cleaning, washing or preparing food for the workers rather than outside agricultural work
2. paid domestic labour in nearby cities (living outside the employer's home if they are close enough, otherwise living in)
3. migrating to large cities (Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca) in search of opportunities.

2.5 Regional differences within countries

In Ghana, more than one region was assessed, and in the Philippines more than one area of the same region was studied, with major differences being observed.

For example, comparing the three municipalities assessed in the **CAR the Philippines**, the living and working conditions of children from the Abra municipalities of Tayum and Dolores were extremely poor in comparison to Buguias, Benguet, and moderately poor in comparison to those of the child labourers from Mountain Province. The girl-child labourer from Abra in the CAR appeared poor, tired, thin and frail and had a gloomy face without any signs of child-like glee. On the contrary, the girl-child labourer from Benguet appeared happier and healthier-looking and could speak a few languages other than her native dialect. Child labourers in Benguet had more knowledge about pesticides and health issues. The following reasons were given for the differences in the regions:

- In the mountain municipality of Buguias, the climate is cooler and more refreshing. In contrast, the climate in the low-lying municipalities of Tayum and Dolores is hot and humid, making the working conditions in the afternoon heat almost unbearable.
- There are major differences in the local economies of the two areas. The municipality of Buguias harvests vegetables throughout the whole year. In contrast, the municipalities of Tayum and Dolores only have a seasonal harvest.
- Other possible factors contributing to these differences could be greater and lesser local government participation in each of the regions; differences in national government assistance; more and less public school facilities and educational programmes.

Significant regional differences were also evident **in Ghana**, although no explanations were given for such differences.

- The age range of the child labourers was much younger in the Northern region than in the Ashanti, Eastern or Western regions;
- All the children surveyed from Brong Ahafo region had been to school;
- The region with the highest percentage of “never-been-to-school” children (33%) was Western followed by Northern (26%);
- The boys in one region (around Tamale) had nearly all attended school and expressed their satisfaction with what they received from their farming activities. On the other hand, the boys in Tuobodom in Techiman were not very satisfied with their payments. Girls had no complaints across all regions about their pay;
- Depending on the economic activities of the region in Ghana, boys seemed to have more specific aspirations or future jobs in mind in comparison to girls, for example becoming mechanics, because the area was renowned for mechanics.

3. The child labour respondents in the three countries

3.1 The child agricultural labourer respondents

The children interviewed in the **CAR the Philippines** generally come from poor homes with few basic utilities. They generally live with their immediate family. Most children considered their family relations as okay, or good. The majority (88%) of the respondents in CAR came from the region itself.

Many of the children assessed in **Ghana** have migrated either for educational purposes, to join their parents in working, because of a death in the family, to learn a trade or to help care for the family. Slightly more girls than boys migrate to join parents and many more girls migrate together with their parents. More boys than girls migrate for educational purposes. A quarter of the respondents had had bad experiences within their families, coming from unstable homes and experiencing trauma. The majority of the parents that were interviewed described agriculture as the main activity their children perform and nearly half see their children as unpaid workers in their own farm.

In the parish of **Chone, Manabí**, where the research took place in **Ecuador**, the majority of child respondents come from large households of six members or more living in small residences. Overcrowding affects a third of households in Chone. Poverty is also prevalent. When asked about their home situation, some mentioned family conflicts and traumatic situations such as abandonment by the father, domestic violence or abuse at work or school. Most children interviewed came from the area.

3.2 Age of respondents and age started working

The average age of the child respondent from **CAR in the Philippines** was 13.9 years, with the youngest child being 9 years and the oldest 17. There was a slight difference noted in the respondents in terms of what age boys and girls begin working at. Girls begin working in agriculture just a few months before they are 10 years old, whereas boys begin working slightly earlier, just after they turn 9. Overall the majority of children began working very young, between the ages of 7-12 years. Some children were even working between the ages 4-6 years. Eleven per cent of girls stated that their start age was between 4-6 years, whereas 18 per

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

cent of boys started at this age. If children have not started working by 13-16 years, it is less likely that they will work in agriculture (only 9 per cent of boys and 16 per cent of girls started at this age).

In Ghana, the age at which most children start working ranged from between 14 to 17 years according to parents, although some admitted their children could start working on the farms at a far earlier age. Conversely the farm supervisors in Ghana declared that the age range of the children they employed was between 9 and 17. It would appear that in the Northern region children start work at an earlier age than in the Ashanti and Eastern regions.

The researchers only located and interviewed two girls paid to work in agricultural labour in the province of **Manabí, Ecuador**. In fact these girls were occasional workers and did not work full time. Fourteen boys were interviewed; 10 boys were wage earners, and 4 were seasonal workers. Boys working in agriculture begin at an average age of 8.76.

In the entire sample of children (37)¹² in **Ecuador**, only six cases were recorded in which rural girls worked outside the home (some were sisters of respondents and not actually interviewed themselves). The girls' work tended to be seasonal, such as during the harvest (always accompanied by a male member of the family), or domestic labour on farms, such as cleaning or providing services for day labourers. However, the research team in Ecuador did not include agricultural work within the girl's own household for the study. In lieu of girl-child agricultural labourers,

Table 6: Comparison of sample size, average age and age started work

Details of the child labourers in agriculture in the three countries			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador Agriculture
Total no. of child labourers in agriculture interviewed	106	275	16
Average age of respondents	13.9	Majority were between 12-17	Majority 10-14 years Average age agriculture: 12.6
			Average age CDW: 10.4
Age range of respondents	9-17 years	6-17 years Age range according to supervisors: 9-17 years	8-17 years
Age started working	9.79 for girls and 9.09 for boys Majority began between 7-12 years	Older than other 2 countries, but unclear due to discrepancies in answers from children, parents and supervisors	Average age started work in agriculture was 8.75 (14 boys and 2 girls), in domestic labour aged 6 (girls)

¹² 14 boys and 2 girls engaged in agricultural labour, plus 21 girl child domestic labourers.

21 female domestic workers (CDW) were interviewed. These CDW girls all began helping with domestic chores at home at the age of 6 on average, beginning by taking responsibility for house cleaning, washing cooking utensils and caring for small children.

Thus, the majority of the child respondents from the regions assessed in Ghana were older than the children interviewed in the Philippines or Ecuador, who were aged between 8 and 17. However, in Ghana the overall age range of children interviewed working in agriculture was 6 to 17.

Most of the children interviewed in Manabí, Ecuador, were slightly younger than the children in the other two countries, with an age range of 10 to 14 years. The overall age range of respondents in Manabí was 8-17 years.

3.3 Comparison of reasons for starting to work in agriculture

In the **CAR, the Philippines**, almost all the reasons for working provided by the children were financial. More than half (58%) of the child labourers had sought or were pushed into employment primarily because they needed to supplement family income. About a fifth of respondents needed an income to keep themselves in school since their parents' earnings were inadequate. Around 9 per cent, said they had to help pay family debts. The rest said that they wanted to be economically independent, to be with friends who were also working, to be able to buy medicine, or were forced by parents to work.

In Ghana, their main reason for starting work in agriculture was to supplement the family income or because their parents asked them. Interestingly, those in Ashanti had as their topmost reason to earn money to establish their own business (36%). This could possibly be influenced by the commercial activities which are highly prevalent in that area. The various responses from different regions of Ghana are outlined below.

Again, **in Ecuador** both boys and girls begin working mainly to contribute to the family income. Some stated they wished to pay for their studies, and some wished to be economically independent or begin work on their parents' orders.

Table 7: Reasons children work in agriculture according to children themselves in different regions of Ghana (N=266) in percentages

Why children work in agriculture	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Northern	Western
To gain experience	–	58	8	31	16
To acquire training	–	51	–	23	4
Supplement family income	28	15	67	44	44
Help pay family debts	11	–	8	6	–
No other job possibilities	17	6	14	6	26
Earn money to establish own business	36	6	4	14	9
There is no school nearby	–	–	2	2	–
To pay school fees	15	7	6	35	9
To be economically independent	9	13	4	17	7
Parents asked me to	23	44	35	52	38
Grandmother asked me to	2	–	–	–	–
Employer subjected me to farming to get money	–	–	2	–	–
Was introduced by a friend	–	–	–	–	2
To keep me busy	–	–	–	2	–
Uncle asked me to	–	2	–	–	–
Comes from a family with farming background	–	2	–	–	–
To give a helping hand to parents	–	2	–	–	–
It is a tradition	–	9	–	–	–

Table 8: Comparison of reasons why child respondents began working

Reasons for starting to work			
	The Philippines	Ghana (see table above)	Ecuador
Support the family income	64	Replies different for each region – no overall figures given, unclear whether same questions asked to each region, so unable to average	13/16 to contribute to family income
Income to keep themselves in school	21	–	3 /16
To become economically independent	2	–	Yes mentioned
Parents asked them to	1	–	Yes mentioned
To gain experience		–	Yes mentioned
To pay family debts	9	–	–
To be with friends who are working	2	–	–
To buy medicines	1	–	–

From both tables above it is clear that contributing to the family income is a key factor in starting work as an agricultural labour in all regions (in Ghana particularly in the Eastern region, but not so much in the Brong Ahafo region).

3.4 Who encourages the child to begin work in agriculture

The abundance of agricultural work in the **CAR, the Philippines**, makes it easy for boys and girls to be hired or recruited to work in the fields. About half of the child labourers (48%) got into agricultural work because their parents or guardians prompted them to work; 39 per cent decided to work themselves, while the remainder were prompted by other relatives, friends, a teacher or neighbours. A higher percentage of girls (47%) in comparison to boys (27%) stated they decided to work without any prompting from their parents or other people. This could indicate that girls are less pressurized to begin work, or alternatively that boys are less likely to take the initiative to work and help the family.

Likewise in **Ghana**, parents are the influential figures encouraging their children to work on farms. Nevertheless, some children decide themselves to go into farming. Peer pressure is another major factor, as children are greatly influenced by what their friends are doing.

In **Ecuador**, among the children who formally work, in most cases it was the father who got them involved in the work (12 of 16). In only two cases it was their

Table 9: Comparison of influences to get involved in agricultural work

	The Philippines			Ghana			Ecuador
	Boys	Girls	Both sexes	Boys	Girls	Both sexes	Both sexes
Prompted by parents	50%	47%	48%	15%	30%	25%	N/A
Prompted by mother	N/A	N/A	N/A	29%	37%	35%	N/A
Prompted by female guardian	N/A	N/A	N/A	4%	6%	5%	N/A
Prompted by father	N/A	N/A	N/A	35%	21%	25%	12/16 or 3 quarters
Prompted by male guardian	N/A	N/A	N/A	5%	3%	4%	N/A
Decided themselves	27%	47%	39%	23%	20%	21%	2/16
Prompted by relatives	11%	5%	8%	3%	5%	4%	N/A
Prompted by friends	5%	N/A	2%	16%	13%	14%	N/A
Prompted by siblings	2%	N/A	1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Prompted by trafficker	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%	1%	1%	N/A
Prompted by employer/ neighbour	5%	N/A	2%	4%	N/A	1%	N/A

own decision. The answers related to the father's influence might be because of the fact that all the respondents but two were boys, or alternatively, that fathers take the major decisions about what both sons and daughters do.

Where more than one influence was given by many respondents, it appears that parents or female relatives are more important in influencing girl respondents in Ghana than in the Philippines. A higher percentage of boy respondents in comparison to girls decided themselves to begin working in agriculture in Ghana, whereas the opposite is true in the Philippines. Interestingly, in neither Ghana nor Ecuador was being prompted by siblings mentioned. Ghana was the only country where traffickers were mentioned.

3.5 How recruitment takes place

Recruitment for work in agriculture in Ghana involves the farm manager going around the village to inform children in the area that he needs help on his farm. The seasonality of agricultural work means that children are needed more at various points of the year. Alternatively, children are told by their peers/friends about pending work or hear that they can earn some money. Children are sometimes picked up in a vehicle provided by the farm owner. Supervisors examine and question the children about their physique before they can start working.

In the CAR, the Philippines, children were working in nearby farms or on their own family plots, so emphasis was not put on how they are recruited. In Manabí province in Ecuador, no information was given on the recruitment of children to work in agriculture. Nearly two-thirds were in the category of wage earners (formally employed on farms of plantations), while the rest (including the girls) were seasonal or occasional workers.

3.6 Education and its importance for child workers

In the Philippines in CAR, there was a high rate of educational perseverance. Around 90 per cent of those surveyed are currently attending school, while under 9 per cent are school dropouts. Only 1 girl had never received formal education. Girls have a better record of school attendance at 95 per cent than boys at 82 per cent. The findings in the Philippines may indicate that the girl child is not left behind in having the right to an education in the region. Two-thirds of the presently enrolled girls report to school every day. Only 56 per cent of the presently enrolled boys are reporting to school daily, with a sizeable number going to school three times a week only. These percentages infer that child labour in agriculture in the CAR is more adverse to boys' education than to girls, or that boys are more pressured to work than girls. This is an interesting finding because other research has observed that a girl child's schooling is often postponed, delayed or not addressed because she is

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needed at home to care for her other siblings or support the schooling of her younger brother or sister¹³.

Table 10: School attendance in regions assessed in the CAR, the Philippines

Schooling Status	Boys		Girls		Both Sexes	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Never attended	1	2.22	1	1.6	1	0.9
Left school	8	17.78	2	3.2	10	9.4
Attending school	36	80.00	59	95.2	95	89.6
Total	45	100.00	62	100.0	106	100.0

There is an informal arrangement in most of the surveyed areas of accepting weekend child labourers in order to accommodate those who are at school. However, this arrangement is subject to the owner of the field or farm. During harvest time, child workers would be obliged to work more than twice a week and school attendance suffers as a result.

By comparison, in the regions studied **in Ghana**, more boys are sent to school than girls. The following reasons for not sending girls to school were given by both girl and boy respondents:

- girls get pregnant with a subsequent loss of investment;
- the notion that a woman's place is in the kitchen;
- the perception of boys being more brilliant than girls and better achievers;
- the view that boys need education before their sisters;
- a belief that boys may threaten mothers if they cannot go to school.

The majority (85%) of child respondents in Ghana have had some education, with 15 per cent declaring they have never been to school. The region with the highest percentage of never-been-to-school children is the Western region (33%), followed by the Northern region (26%). All the children from Brong Ahafo had been to school. Further regional and gender differences were evident as outlined in 2.5 and 2.6.

In the province of Manabí, in Ecuador, from the group of agricultural workers (16), nine had dropped out of school. Of the children still in school, four are in primary school and three are in secondary school. In contrast, of the girl CDWs interviewed,



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¹³ Porio, Emma. An Assessment of Education and the Worst Forms of Child Labour: How Do Education Policies and Programmes Work (or Do Not Work)? SERP (Socio-economic research portal for the Philippines) available at: <http://serp-p.pids.gov.ph/details.php3?tid=2149>.

most are still at school. Other studies¹⁴ have illustrated that, in the rural areas of Ecuador, priority has traditionally been given to the education of boys over that of girls, although both sexes generally receive a primary education. The enrolment of girls is lower than boys for secondary schooling.

Table 11: Comparison of respondents' education and school attendance

	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador Agriculture	Ecuador CDW
Average age of respondents	13.9	Majority were between 12-17	Majority 10-14 years Average age agriculture: 12.6	Average age CDW: 10.4
Age range	9-17 years	6-17 years	8-17 years	9-14 years
Never been to school	1%	15%	–	1
Currently at school	89% (95% girls, 82% boys)	Unclear	7/16	19
Dropped out of school	9% (18% boys, 3% girls)	Unclear	9/16 dropped out	1

On the whole a higher percentage of children from the regions studied in Ghana have never been to school. More boys dropped out of school in the CAR, the Philippines, than girls, and the reverse is true for Ghana. On the other hand, it is necessary to compare such findings with the age ranges of respondents. In Ghana the majority of the respondents were slightly older than in the other two countries.

3.7 Reasons for dropping out of school

In the **CAR, the Philippines**, *the inability* to pay school expenses was mentioned by 7 per cent of respondents, with single respondents mentioning that they had to earn a wage, or take care of ill family members or that their family did not allow them to study. Most respondents claimed to have left school for economic reasons. But 90 per cent are eager to return to formal education. Education is placed in high esteem in the region.

In Ghana, 81 per cent of respondents indicated that financial constraints were the reason why they were not able to further their education. Several other reasons were given including: the need to help their mother and other children, migration,

¹⁴ Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo, A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz, X. (2000). Ecuador Child Labour in Horticulture: A Rapid Assessment. ILO/IPEC (April 2000).

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death of father, girls are not considered clever, or are considered shy¹⁵. The majority of child respondents themselves thought boys were more favoured in education. One recent study¹⁶ on child labour and education in Ghana has focused on the day-to-day impact of child labour on those in school, finding that, as well as leaving children too tired to learn, child labour robs them of their interest in learning. Children who are already contributing economically to their family income may be less interested in academic achievement, resulting in a lack of motivation that affects both their learning and their future prospects. Other studies have reported that high fertility in Ghana negatively affects the education of girls¹⁷. Girls with many younger siblings are less likely to attend school than boys, and mothers were reported to prefer to educate sons to ensure future security.

In the group of agricultural worker respondents from Manabí, Ecuador, the most frequent reason for dropping out of school was the inability to pay school expenses (mentioned by 5 respondents), followed by the need to earn a wage (4 respondents). One respondent mentioned that parents did not give him permission (6%).

Again, for a more thorough analysis, it is necessary to compare school attendance with the average ages of the respondents in each country, in conjunction with the compulsory education ages.

Nearly all of the children who have dropped out of school in both Ecuador and the Philippines stated they would like to complete their education.

Table 12: Desire to return to school (of those that have dropped out)

The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador (agricultural workers)
90 per cent of respondents would wish to go back if they had the financial means	—	8/9 respondents would wish to go back to school if they could

3.8 Parents’ educational level

For all respondents in the three countries, the parents’ educational level is generally low. The majority of the parents of the children in the regions of the **CAR, the Philippines** had never been to secondary school. The mothers appeared to have a slightly higher educational attainment. The majority of the respondents’ parents spoken to in **Ghana** had not completed formal education, and most of them were illiterate. Many mentioned financial constraints as hindering their efforts to educate their children. In **Manabí, Ecuador**, the parents’ educational level was also low; in contrast to the Philippines, more mothers than fathers had no education.

¹⁵ In Ghana, the inability to pay school expenses was mentioned by 81%, 15% reported they were not interested, 9% wished to earn a wage; 4% to work in their own business; 11% to help in household work for wages; 5% mentioned that both parents were dead so they had to work; and 3% each said they needed to take care of sick family members or that school was too far away.

¹⁶ Heady, C. (2000). *What is the Effect of Child Labour on Learning Achievement? Evidence from Ghana*. Publisher: Innocenti Research Centre.

¹⁷ Lloyd, C.B.; Gage Brandon, A.T. *High fertility and children’s schooling in Ghana: sex difference in parental contributions and educational outcomes*, Population Studies Vol 48 (2) PP 293 - 306, 1992.

4. Comparison of work and conditions

4.1 Comparison of agricultural duties of boys and girls

In the **CAR, the Philippines**, almost all children (98%) are engaged in crop cultivation, with 51 per cent also spending time looking after livestock. However, discrepancies were noted between what activities parents stated their children were involved in, and what the children themselves stated.

Table 13: Activities of child labourers according to children and parents

Main activity according to child labourers		
Main Activity	Freq.	%
Crop cultivation only	50	47
Crop cultivation and look after livestock	54	51
Look after livestock only	1	0.9
No response	1	0.9
Total	106	100.0
Main activities according to parents		
Main Activity	Freq.	%
Crop cultivation only	30	61
Crop cultivation and animal rearing	16	33
Others	3	6
Total	49	100.0

Crop farming implies planting, weeding, harvesting, watering and preparing the land. Other activities mentioned by child labourers were uprooting seedlings, spraying pesticides, gathering snails and pests, operating threshers, mixing fertilizer and pesticide and hauling crops.

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Children are generally involved in the farming activities from the beginning of the planting season to the end of harvest in the regions studied in **Ghana**. Children are most needed during the harvesting of crops such as tomatoes and maize. Girls are needed mostly for harvesting and planting seasons, while the boys are used for weeding and preparing the land for planting. In livestock farming more boys (24%) than girls (5%) are involved. The typical tasks performed by boys and girls in crop farming are depicted below.

Table 14: Tasks performed by child workers in crop farming, Ghana

Main activities in crop farming (N=254)	Boys	Girls
Weeding	83%	67%
Planting	71%	69%
Land preparation	36%	16%
Harvesting	69%	78%
Watering	4%	6%

It is interesting to note that although slightly more boy respondents are involved in land preparation and planting, there is still a significant percentage of girls involved. Likewise, although more girl respondents are required for harvesting, many boys are also involved. The gender-differentiated tasks performed by child workers in animal rearing are outlined below.

Table 15: Tasks performed by child workers in animal farming, Ghana

Main activities in animal rearing (N=76)	Boys	Girls	Total
Feeding animals	83%	85%	84%
Fetching water	38%	58%	51%
Bringing the animals to pasture	29%	14%	18%
Shearing		4%	3%
Collecting eggs		4%	3%
Sweeping	4%	2%	3%

It is notable that boys also fetch water, a task often thought to be a girl’s duty.

In Manabí, Ecuador, almost 11 out of 16 children were hired to tend crops and assist with the harvest, and two to harvest and care for livestock. Individual children also mentioned that they were hired to weed, or to assemble boxes, pack fruit and load trucks, or plough and plant, as well as to perform domestic labour. As mentioned, girls sometimes complement domestic labour with agricultural tasks still within the domestic sphere.

4.2 Hours of work per day

As most work in agriculture is seasonal in nature, days of work vary and are dependent upon the harvest cycle of the crops in the field, on the plantation or on the farm.

In the provinces visited in **CAR in the Philippines**, the average working hours of the children in fields or on farms is eight hours per day. The shortest reported number of hours is three while the longest is 12 hours. At least 60 per cent of the children work for eight or less hours per working day (30 per cent for eight hours and 29 per cent for less than eight hours). Almost 40 per cent of respondents work for more than eight hours a day, especially during harvest. The researchers found little distinction between the average working hours of the girl child and those of her male counterpart. However, it is quite noticeable that the proportion of girls who work longer than the normal eight working hours a day is higher than that of the boys. Forty-four per cent of girls in comparison to 34 per cent of boys work between 8½ and 12 hours a day.

Fifty-nine per cent of the children claimed that there was no specific place set up for them in the field or farm where they could spend time to rest or relax. Most of them hide under the trees or any covered place they can find to take a break. However, the children are generally allowed to take breaks, with the exception of three child respondents who claimed they were not allowed to take break times.

Table 16: Average working hours per day by sex of child respondents, CAR, the Philippines

Working Hours/Day	Boys		Girls		Both Sexes	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Less than 8 hours	14	31.8	17	27.4	31	29.2
8 hours	14	31.8	18	29.0	32	30.2
More than 8 hours	15	34.1	27	43.5	42	39.6
No response	1	2.3			1	0.9
Total	44	100.0	62	100.0	106	100.0
Mean work hours	8.17 hours		7.84 hours		8.03	

In comparison, the parents of the child labourers reported a lower number of hours worked by their children per day (7-8 hours). Thirty per cent of the parents said their children work for two days in a week, most probably during weekends. Two-thirds of the respondents still manage to regularly attend school five times a week.

In Ghana, although farming is generally carried out from Mondays to Fridays, the children who attend school only work during the weekends, mostly Saturdays. The majority of the children were reported to go to church on Sundays and rest afterwards. Hours of work vary from place to place and range from as early as 5 am to a 9 am start, finishing at 4 or 5 pm, with a break or rest period around midday that lasts for about an hour. The majority of children work between 2-8 hours per day.

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In **Manabí, Ecuador** nearly all of the child respondents did not have clearly defined working hours. The average number of hours worked per week is 30.4. Only four children worked fewer than 20 hours a week. The most frequent figures were 30 hours (four children) and 45 hours (three children) a week. Three children work 55 or 60 hours a week (which could be described as 8 hours a day, 7 days a week). Eleven work all year round, although two only work at harvest time and outside school hours. The researchers believe that children would work all year round if they found employment.

Table 17: Comparison of hours worked by children

Hours of work					
	Philippines Boys	Philippines Girls	Philippines Both sexes	Ghana	Ecuador (agriculture)
Average hours per week	8.17 per day	7.84 per day	8.03 per day	Average response 2-8 hours per day	30.4 hours per week
Range of responses	3-12 hours per day	3-12 hours per day	3-12 hours per day	1-14 hours per day	20 to 60 hours per week
Less than 8 hours	32%	27%	29%	–	Only 4/16 worked fewer than 20 hours a week
8 hours	32%	29%	30%	–	4 worked 30 hours a week and 3 worked 45 hours a week
More than 8 hours per day	34%	44%	40%	–	hours a week, and 3 worked more than 55 hours a week
No response	2%	–	1%	–	–

Although it is impossible to generalize about working hours per day across the regions of the three countries assessed, what is obvious is that child labour in agriculture implies long working hours, with little time for free activities or study.

4.3 Pay

Nearly three quarters of the respondents claimed that they received compensation for their work, either in cash, in kind, or both in the **CAR, the Philippines**. They receive payment from the person that oversees their work but rarely have contact with the true landowner. Around 26%, mostly children working with their families or working on family farms, stated that they did not receive any payment for their services. This distribution is the same for both sexes.

In **Ghana**, two-thirds (63%) of the child respondents are not paid for their jobs but a third (37%) of them are paid.

In the survey in **Ecuador**, all of the children working in agriculture receive payment either in cash or in kind for their work. Twelve receive cash and 4 are paid with money and products that are used for family consumption.

Other points regarding payment are outlined below:

- In the **CAR, the Philippines**, 83 per cent of child labourers are paid on a per diem basis. Twelve per cent (12%) are paid per contract while the remainder are paid either per piece, per week or per hour. Most of the daily paid children reported earning P100¹⁸ a day. The average daily wage of all daily-paid child labourers, however, is only about P85, with some children receiving an extremely low pay of P30 to P60 a day.
- The girl child respondents in **CAR, the Philippines** received lower compensation for their work because employers perceive that their workload is lighter. Based on the information from the children who responded to this question, the average daily pay for girls was 77.50 pesos, which is lower than that of the boys' 97.70 pesos.
- Most in-kind payments reported by respondents from the **CAR** took the form of cereals, eggs, milk, vegetables and fruits.
- Generally, pocket money ('chop money') is given to the children in **Ghana** for their breakfast before the start of the day. This amount varies from employer to employer with a range of between ¢1,000.00¹⁹ and ¢2,000.00 daily (25 cents). The actual pay for workers was explained in the following ways:
 - ¢5,000 - ¢8,000 per day
 - ¢10,000 - ¢20,000 per day for adults
 - ¢10,000 for collecting 5 crates of tomatoes
 - ¢1,500 for collecting a bag of garden eggs
 - ¢1,000 for carrying a bag to the roadside
 - Children get ¢5,000 for any kind of work, female adults get ¢7,000 while males adults get ¢8,000 – according to girls from one area (Kumasi).
- In **Ghana**, those who receive cash payment are paid promptly. The payment in kind (26% of respondents) covers mostly food items like maize, yams, oranges, tomatoes, eggs, cereals and animal produce. Children can collect leftover produce to take home or they may be provided with meals on the farm.

¹⁸ 100 pesos = 1.8 US\$.

¹⁹ \$1 = cedis 8000 i.e. 1/8 of a dollar.

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- In **Manabí province in Ecuador** the monthly remuneration varies. A few receive US\$12 or less per month, most of the children receive US\$20 to US\$40, a few receive US\$44 to US\$60 and one gets US\$80 per week. The general tendency is for the youngest children to receive the lowest pay. Six out of every 10 children working in agriculture receive US\$40 or less; three out of every 10 receive less than US\$20.
- A quarter receive payment in kind - food or grains.
- Not enough girl respondents were interviewed **in Ecuador** so comparison of payment for boys and girls cannot be made.

Table 18: Comparison of whether respondents in the three countries are paid, and rate

Whether agricultural labourers are paid or not and how?			
	The Philippines \$1 = 53 pesos	Ghana \$1 = ₵8,000	Ecuador
How many are paid workers	73%	37%	16 respondents
Of those that are paid % that get cash	62%		12
Of those that are paid % that receive products	12%	26%	4
Range of daily/ monthly pay	30-100 pesos per day	2000-10,000 cedis per day	\$12-\$80 per month
Average	85.08 pesos per day		8 receive 20-40 US\$

The figures in the table above illustrate the low wages for work in agriculture, with a tendency for girls and younger children to be paid less. Comparison across the countries cannot be made, because of the different standards of living and the average salaries in each country.

4.4 Other sources of income

In the region studied in **the Philippines**, 41 per cent of the respondents have other sources of income, such as domestic work, laundry work, vending, car washing, fishing, fetching water and construction work.

In **Ghana**, girls normally do additional selling for other sources of income for the household. Most of the girls engage in the selling of groundnuts, oranges, yams, tomatoes and maize, according to respondents in Offuman, Nkwanta and Tamale. About 85 per cent of boy and girl workers indicated that they do not have any other sources of income.

In **Manabí, Ecuador**, besides the field work mentioned, three children also have other jobs: two work in fishing and one is hired to do spraying on farms. Besides working, and in some cases, studying, all of the children help with domestic chores (hauling water, caring for animals, production tasks on family plots).

4.5 How earnings are spent

In the **CAR, the Philippines**, 15 per cent of the respondents said that all their earnings go to their parents for family needs. Fifty nine per cent (59%) claimed that part of their income goes to their parents and the rest to school expenses and other personal needs. About 25 per cent, on the other hand, stated that none of their earnings go to their parents since all of them are spent on school fees and other personal expenses. The manner of spending of the girl child was relatively similar to that of her male counterpart. Nevertheless giving her earnings to her parents, either completely or in part, remains at the top of the average girl child's list of priorities.

In **Ghana**, 35 per cent of respondents reported that they give part of their earnings to their mothers with 16 per cent giving part to the father. 16 per cent spend part on leisure activities. What children receive in kind as payment is used for household subsistence or is partly sold to make money. Children also use their earned income to buy medicines. Only 13 per cent of money earned from farming is used to pay for school fees and materials.

According to the child respondents in **Manabí, Ecuador**, 7 children give their entire wages to their parents. Both the girl workers interviewed give their entire earnings to their parents. In another seven cases, part goes to the parents and part for personal expenses (clothing, studies, entertainment). In only one case was nothing contributed to the family income. Thus it can be said that in the small sample interviewed in the province of Manabí, the majority of the children contribute to the household income, either by giving money directly or indirectly by using the money in such a way that it represents a savings in family expenses.

Table 19: Comparison of control over earnings

Wages given to parents			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
How many of total are paid workers	73% (in cash or in kind)	37% (26% receive in kind payment)	100%
Of those that earn money, % give all to parents	15%	7% give all to mother 2% give all to father	7/16
% that give part to parents	59% and part to school & personal expenses	35% give part to mother, 16% give part to father	7/16

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Comparing the control over resources earned, one in ten of the respondents from Ghana seem to be able to keep cash for themselves, and 16 per cent use the money for leisure. The respondents from the CAR, the Philippines, did not mention using money for leisure. On the other hand, the child labourers in Manabí, Ecuador, seem to be able to keep part and give the rest to parents. The highest relative percentage of respondents from the Philippines (a quarter) use their cash resources to pay for their own schooling, in comparison to 13 per cent of the Ghana respondents. Ghana respondents reported in detail how they use the cash earned, with 6 per cent saving, 16 per cent spending for leisure and 7 per cent buying medicines.

4.6 Occupational hazards and sickness while working

The research in all three countries revealed that boys and girls engaged in agriculture are exposed to various types of problems and predicaments including cuts, bruises and wounds, headaches, fever and exposure to the climate.

More than three-quarters of the male and female respondents from **CAR in the Philippines** indicated that they suffer work-related illnesses and injuries. They mentioned occasional snakebites, getting lacerated or cut by the blades of the thresher and other work implements, falling from mountain slopes, and exposure to chemicals, heat and rains. There were also a few children who reported having suffered from pulmonary disease, stomach-ache and body aches/muscle pains. There is no marked difference between the proportion of male respondents who sustained injuries/illnesses and the number of female respondents. Potable drinking water is available in the workplace for two-thirds of the children.

Seventy-three per cent of children claimed to carry heavy loads, an average weight of 32.8 kilograms of harvested crop, seedlings, sprayer, pails of water, feeds, wood and work implements. The girl child is generally not exempt from carrying heavy loads as part of her regular job, although there is a lower proportion (68%) of girls who carry heavy loads compared to boys (80%). On average, girls carried 26.02 kilograms a day while boys carried 39.02 kilograms.

In Ghana, the most pressing problem described was stress or fatigue by 59 per cent of respondents. Sunburn/heat was listed by 47 per cent of respondents, back-ache by 39 per cent and long working hours by 32 per cent. Lack of good drinking water was also found to be a problem for them. The girls at Agona Nkwanta in Ghana complained about being in danger from falling trees, tripping on ropes and hurting themselves, and suffering from cutlass wounds during their farming activities.

Half of the boys admit carrying heavy loads as do nearly half (42%) of the girls. Across all the regions this is considered par for the course in agricultural work, especially during the harvesting periods. The girls in Nkawie said they also have to carry sawdust, which is very heavy when wet. Some of the boys in Tamale get around this problem by putting loads on bicycles.

In Manabí, Ecuador, most of the children interviewed (13 out of 16) said they suffered from too heavy a workload, 10 said they did not have time to rest, 14 do not have access to potable water for drinking, and only three were given protective gloves. None of the children had transport service, medical care or access to medicines at work. Nearly all the children must carry heavy loads at work. Twelve out of 16 children always carry heavy loads such as baskets of fruit or sacks of corn, peanuts, rice and often firewood. Some only carry loads at harvest time.

4.7 Exhaustion from work

There were regional differences in tiredness after a day's work in **CAR the Philippines**. Some child respondents from the municipality of Buguias answered that they felt happy after a day's work; they did feel tired, but they felt pleased and proud to have finished their work. On the other hand, the researchers reported that the girl child labourer from Abra appears tired all the time. Almost every parent interviewed had heard his/her child complain of fatigue or exhaustion after work.

On the whole, more than half of the boy and girl respondents in **Ghana** (58% and 51% respectively) attested that most of their sicknesses are work-related. Feeling exhausted and tired a lot is a big issue for many children. Half said they sometimes feel tired and the remaining half were split between feeling tired often (27%) and always (22%).

Three of the child respondents from **Manabí Ecuador** said they always feel tired, 6 said they often feel tired, 4 said they sometimes feel tired and only 1 said never. Similarly in **Ghana**, over half of all children complained that their workload is extremely or very heavy (63%). More boys than girls described their work as such. A third of girls and only a quarter of boys described it as just right.

4.8 Exposure to chemicals and pesticides

Almost half (48%) of the child respondents from the **CAR in the Philippines** stated that they have been exposed to agrochemicals either directly or indirectly. These children claimed to be exposed to small clouds or mists of vapour from sprayed pesticide and/or fertilizers. Exposure resulted from either spraying directly on the children's workplace or from chemical mists that are blown towards the children's place of work from nearby fields. More boys than girls reported exposure to chemicals (59% and 42% respectively).

Handling of chemicals is most likely to be left to adult workers in the CAR. The researchers noted, however, that this does not mean that children are not exposed to these chemicals. If spraying is assigned to children, it is usually the boys who do it although girls are also reported to do it. Fifty six per cent (56%) of the child respondents disclosed that they were not provided with any protective gear, not even boots, gloves, tools, hats or t-shirts that they could use to cover their faces and noses with. On the other hand, 39 per cent answered that they were offered protective gear like boots, long sleeves and masks. Among those provided with protective gear, 66 per cent were trained on how to use it. The researchers believed that in comparison to large-scale employers, many small-scale employers of children interviewed in CAR do not have the capability to provide proper wages and benefits (protective gear) to workers, which larger scale agricultural operations could probably provide.

Some child respondents admitted that they used fertilizers in **Ghana**. For example, the girls in Offuman, Nkwawie and Agona Nkwanta were found to apply fertilizers on crops. The reason given for not using fertilizer is that it is too costly for children to apply. With the exception of girls in Tamale, all the others were supervised when using fertilizer. Supervision is mainly to ensure that work is done properly and that

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workers do not steal the produce, rather than to check for health hazards while applying it. No provision is made to protect the health of the children in the majority of the cases. Sometimes boys (of Tuobodom) and girls (from Nkawie) are supplied with boots. Children are asked to use their bare hands when applying fertilizer, although they are told to wash hands after such applications.

Only one child respondent in **Manabí province, Ecuador**, admitted that he was involved in spraying chemicals and did not get protective gloves.

Table 20: Comparison of types of occupational hazards

Occupational hazards and illnesses experienced by respondents		
The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Cuts, wounds	Stress	Heavy workload
Bruises	Fatigue and exhaustion	Not enough time to rest
Headaches	Sunburn	Lack of good drinking water
Colds, coughs & flu	Too much heat	Heavy loads
Fever	Backache	
Pulmonary disease	Long working hours	
Stomach ache	Lack of good drinking water	
Body aches / muscle pains	Falling trees	
Occasional snakebites	Tripping on ropes	
Cut by blades of thresher	Wounds from cutlass	
Falling from mountain slopes	Using bare hands to apply fertilizer	
Exposure to chemicals		
Heat, rain		
Carrying heavy loads		

The common hazards experienced by the children are carrying heavy loads and not having enough rest time. A lack of access to good drinking water was a very significant complaint from respondents from both Ghana and Ecuador, but only one-third of respondents from CAR the Philippines were worried about this. Both the respondents from the Philippines and Ghana mentioned the hazards of wounds, sunburn and exposure to chemicals.

4.9 Medical check-ups and knowledge about health dangers

In the regions assessed in the **CAR, the Philippines**, nearly half of the respondents never had any medical check-up since birth. Furthermore, nearly half of the child labourers were not given information about the possible health dangers or diseases they might be exposed to while at work. Over a third felt that they are not

equipped with adequate information on the prevention and safety precaution they must observe at work. Most of those who received information obtained it from their parents and teachers. Yet, many parents were still ignorant of the health hazards their children face in the field or farm.

In Ghana, a very large percentage of the children surveyed had never been given any information on health dangers associated with their jobs (84%). Only 16 per cent had some information. Sources of their information came from the media 45 per cent; parents 24 per cent; teachers/school 14 per cent; the farmers 14 per cent; employers 14 per cent; NGOs 7 per cent; government officials 7 per cent; and doctors 2 per cent.

In Ghana, it is clear that employers of the respondents have shed their responsibility for informing children about the dangers of the job, contributing to their workers having work-related illnesses. Information given by employers is deemed to be inadequate by 28 per cent of respondents. However, of the 14 per cent that received some form of information, over half of them do not observe these precautions.

Almost all the child respondents in Ghana do not have any provisions for medical care and check-ups, unless in very critical conditions. Both boys and girls alike rarely go for medical check-ups. Reasons given were that they do not have the financial means and it is not a priority for them. Only 7 per cent of both sexes have undergone a thorough check-up and this was during critical illness. In some limited instances, the farm manager gives money when the children get very sick.

When asked about the information they had received about possible health hazards at work **in Manabí, Ecuador**, 10 out of 16 said they had received no infor-

Table 21: Knowledge about working conditions in Ecuador

Respondents from Manabí, Ecuador	
Total number of children interviewed	16
Duties at work	9 yes, 7 no
Form of payment	9 yes, 7 no
Work hours	5 yes, 11 no
Time for studies	0 yes, 16 no
Working situation	1 yes, 15 no
Benefits	0 yes, 16 no
Labour rights	0 yes, 16 no

Table 22: Comparison of information received on work hazards

Whether respondents received information about work hazards?			
	The Philippine	Ghana	Ecuador
Yes	47%	14%	5/16
No	45%	59%	10/16
Don't know	8%		1/16
Received training in handling agrochemicals	4 out of 12 parents who said their children handle agrochemicals said their children had training		1 child that does not work with agrochemicals received training

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mation. Of those who received information, two were informed by the employer and the other three by their parents. Only one child received training in handling agrochemicals, although this was not the child whose work included spraying. Nearly all of the children said the terms and conditions of their work had been clearly explained to them, although only one of the respondents knew about their benefits, labour rights or health rights.

Relatively speaking a higher percentage of children in the Philippines received information on work hazards than in the other two countries. Overall it is evident that employers and farm managers are irresponsibly keeping children and their parents ignorant about potential hazards related to spraying crops and chemical handling.

4.10 Abuses suffered

The respondents in the **CAR, the Philippines**, made no mention of any form of physical abuse on the part of their employer or co-worker, so the researchers generally assumed that child labourers are treated fairly in the region. In **Ghana**, children reported that they are sometimes abused physically on the farms. Farm managers shout at children, children get slapped, and it was reported that some managers even to go to the extent of using belts to beat them. In **Manabí province, Ecuador**, 7 out of 16 children said they had been reprimanded frequently at work, 6 had suffered verbal abuse and 4 had suffered physical abuse.

4.11 Leisure time

Aside from working in the field in the **CAR the Philippines**, 57 per cent of respondents are expected to help with household chores, including babysitting, 34 per cent study in their free time, 20 per cent play with friends and 7 per cent rest. Others tend to animals and do gardening. Some of the children were reluctant to reveal that they play whenever there is no work to be done. It is presumed that their culture of being immersed in work, if not in school, made some of them hesitant to reveal this fact to outsiders. Their time for play still remains negligible as compared to that of regular non-working children.

Some of the children in **Ghana** did not know what leisure activities are, as they do not enjoy such free time. It is only when they finish with all their farming work and household chores that they find the extra time to take care of their personal needs. In their free time, the girls do their personal laundry and washing, or fetch water and firewood for the house. Some of the boys reported that they also engage in activities such as being a driver's mate and keeping the goal for school football matches. Playing and chatting with friends are listed as leisure activities for children, as well as sleeping and resting.

In **Manabí province, Ecuador**, besides working and, in some cases, studying, all of the child respondents help with domestic chores. When asked about the activities they performed when they were not working, nearly a third did not answer, some

said they played or cared for the family's animals, and others reported that they performed domestic chores in their homes, did nothing or rested.

4.12 Children's aspirations for the future

Work in agriculture, as far as the child respondents in the **CAR, the Philippines** are concerned, is a means to help their families. The children appeared to have been brought up to accept work in the field as a normal or traditional way of life, but still feel burdened by such work, and if there was really a choice, they would clearly opt for something different. Almost two-thirds would rather finish their studies. Others would prefer domestic service (e.g., doing laundry, babysitting), vending, office work or any other better job (e.g., baking, mechanic, etc.).

In **Ghana**, the girl child labourers did not come up with any specific preferences for jobs. The boys on the other hand asserted that they plan to stop their farming activities on completion of school, or when they acquire a chance of going to school, or when they obtain work for regular pay. Many children wished to go to school to learn a trade/apprenticeship. Teaching, banking, trading, accounting, law, nursing, seamstress and hairdressing were mentioned as aspiration jobs. However, regional preferences for the future were very different, and boys seemed to have more specific aspirations by comparison with girls²⁰.

When respondents from **Manabí, Ecuador**, were asked whether they would choose to do this type of work, only two said they would continue; half said no (they would prefer auto mechanics, studying or playing) and six did not know or did not respond.

4.13 Girls' and boys' perceptions about work

More than half of the respondents from **CAR in the Philippines** (59%) thought that it would be difficult to leave their job, especially since no other work opportunities in the region are available to them. This sentiment is true for both sexes, as they believe that quitting their current job would undermine their economic survival and their need to help the family.

Nearly two-thirds of the children working on farms in the survey in **Ghana** would like to quit - about 62 per cent of both girls and boys. Eighty-eight per cent of boys and 86 per cent of girls confirmed this by stating that they would prefer not to be in this line of work. The respondents from the Eastern province seemed to be the group that answered more in the negative, followed by Brong Ahafo.

²⁰ For instance, 38 per cent were interested in being in local government for agriculture or education, engineers, teachers, doctors or in accounting. In Techiman they were interested in being a mechanic, a radio/bicycle repairer, a lawyer or a chief farmer, in Kumasi most were interested in becoming mechanics – probably because of the large concentration of mechanics in the area. On the other hand, in Agona Nkwanta they wanted to be welders, drivers, electrical engineers or carpenters.

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When asked if it was easy to leave their work, nearly half of the respondents in the province of **Manabí, Ecuador**, said no, 4 did not know and 5 did not answer. When asked whether they would encourage other children to become involved in agricultural work, only 2 said yes, 6 said no.

Table 23: Comparison of the respondents' perceptions about their agricultural work

	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Is it easy to change your job or leave this type of work	31% said yes they could	N/A	44% said no – 25% did not know and 31% did not answer
Do you wish to continue in the current job	69% would prefer not to continue current work	62% said no	12% said yes, 50% said no and 38% did not answer
Would you encourage your siblings to do your job	N/A	N/A	12% said yes, 38% said no, 25% did not answer

It is apparent that across the regions assessed in the three countries, over half of the child labour respondents interviewed for these RAs would prefer not to continue working as child labourers.

5. Reflections on the RAs in the 3 countries

5.1 Comparison of pathways that lead to child labour in agriculture in the three countries

In all three countries, there is a lack of implementation of child labour laws. Although such laws and policies may exist, the state does not have sufficient means to apply such laws. In the CAR, the Philippines, the researchers reported that there is an indifference on the part of law enforcers and the community to child labour, and the existing child labour laws are not a priority.

Poverty, due to unemployment and underemployment, is a major push factor into agricultural work. Poverty results in children being obliged to work because their parents' or guardians' income is not enough for their school necessities or everyday family expenditure. Few job opportunities are available. Children themselves feel duty bound to supplement family income, but many also wish to be economically independent. In the Ashanti region of Ghana, many children hope to earn enough to start their own business. Many boys and girls hope to gain experience and training through working.

In the CAR, the Philippines, most of the farming operations are small-scale and family-owned and child labour is required to ensure that they function. In the regions assessed in Ghana, children migrate to work on plantations. On the other hand in Ecuador, most of the child respondents work on lands belonging to large landowners, where child labour ensures that lower wages have to be paid out, and that seasonal labour is available at peak times.

Regardless of how agriculture is organized, in all three countries there appears to be a strong demand for child labour especially during harvest time, with children being abundant, available and cheap. Socio-cultural norms and values result in children believing that work in the fields is simply a way of life. Few other options are available. Children tend to be meeker than adults and thus more easily exploitable. Such characteristics make them an attractive workforce.

Ignorance about the consequences of child labour in agriculture is another reason why so many child labourers work rather than going to school. Parents and employers may not be fully aware of the scientific-medical fact that child labour in agriculture is harmful for children. Although in the three countries parents stated that they wished their children to obtain an education, they are not able to afford schools fees or the auxiliary costs associated with attending school. Instead, parents encourage children to work in the only economic activity available in rural areas,

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farming. The ignorance and lack of income of the parents is a key reason why their children are forced to work in the first place.

On the whole, parents or guardians serve as the most influential persons in getting boys and girls involved in agricultural activities. Although many children say they decide themselves (particularly the girl child labourers in CAR the Philippines), peer influence and the fact that it is simply a way of life and survival mean that children continue to work long hours, missing out on their schooling.

5.2 Link between agricultural labour and other WFCL²¹

How girl child labour in agriculture is closely linked to other forms of child labour was only explored in the RA report from **Manabí, Ecuador**. In general it is thought that a significant number of girls who end up in sexual exploitation come from rural areas. In order to escape rural life and the hard toil of unpaid agricultural work, they take jobs in domestic labour service early in their lives. They may eventually end up in sexual exploitation, either by trying to escape from their work in domestic service, by the promise of better pay, or through agents who come to rural areas and promise them opportunities as domestic workers that turn out to be quite different.

5.3 The knowledge gaps

- In Ecuador, information on girls in agriculture was lacking, with only two female paid agricultural labourers located by the researchers. It might be valid to conduct the same type of study, but this time to include unpaid girl child labourers who work on small family farms within their own household, rather than trying to locate paid girl agricultural workers.
- In the Philippines, the researchers stated that they did not notice any disparity between the girl and boy child labourer, with the major differences noted being regional rather than gender-related. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to conduct a similar type of study on girl child labour in agriculture in combination with a domestic tasks time-use study, and compare the daily time-use of boys and girls.
- In all three countries, research could be done into how the ministries of education can adapt their curriculum and teaching methods to reach girl and boy child labourers in agriculture, given their irregular attendance due to the seasonality of crops.

²¹ Worst forms of child labour.

6. Country specific recommendations with wider application

6.1 National legislation

- In the **CAR, the Philippines**, it was felt by the researchers that more concise national legislation is required. Although numerous child labour laws exist in the statute books of the Philippines, none have been effectively implemented in the CAR. Researchers from Ghana also emphasized laws to check the employment of child workers on farms and plantations.
- In the **CAR, the Philippines**, it was recommended that the local government should be responsible for the enforcement of anti-child labour laws and for monitoring and protecting child labourers within their respective jurisdictions. Subjecting child labour activities to local government regulation is important as such officials have a clearer grasp of what is happening locally.
- In order for local government to be responsible, they need more knowledge about child labour issues. Thus, it was proposed that seminars on child labour be conducted for local government officials in the **CAR**, defining child labour, the issues that surround it, the international and local laws that prohibit it and other relevant matters. Likewise it was recommended by the **Ghana** researchers that awareness must be raised first on the ills and woes of child labour. All that child labour takes from the child in the rural communities must be highlighted before monitoring of child labour is in place through labour offices.
- Furthermore, in the **CAR, the Philippines**, it was advised that local government should establish a registration programme so that the children and their employers may be identified.

6.2 Protection of existing child labourers

- The recommendations from the **Philippines RA** stressed the need for sufficient protection of children currently engaged in agriculture to be immediately addressed. In some instances perceptions of child labour in agriculture being considered a worst form of child labour, and of fewer hazards being associated with child labour in agriculture, vary according to the conditions of the workers and ultimately the region. Making the conditions for child labourers in some

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regions better, with the provision of protective clothing and measures in place to ensure that schooling is not affected, is highly recommended.

- The boy child labourers from the regions of **Ghana**²² made suggestions for easing their workload recommending agriculture-related technologies being made available to them. They implied that fertilizers and tractors could make their work easier.
- In the **CAR in the Philippines**, it appears that the information dissemination programmes of the past concerning child labour have been fairly effective. Most children interviewed were aware that agrochemicals were hazardous to their health, and most parents were conscious that child labour is prohibited under the existing laws. There were also indications that school was a good source of information regarding the hazards of child labour. Continuing such information campaigns is highly advised.

6.3 More and better education opportunities

- The researchers in CAR, the Philippines, advised that special privileges be provided for working students in schools to encourage them to stay in school. Teachers would have to be reoriented with child labour concerns and encouraged to practise leniency with children who cannot always attend school because of their work.
- Special educational modules could be developed to teach those engaged in child labour about their basic rights as a child labourer, the methods and means to protect themselves from abuse, and protective measures to protect their health and welfare.
- In Ghana, many recommendations were in terms of education. Giving parents loans to enhance their farming activities to earn more so that they could pay for their children's education was suggested as a way forward.
- It was also suggested in Ghana that the government provide financial support and free education for all school-going children to make it easier for those who do not have the means to attend school. Offering sponsorships for children in school was also mentioned.
- Both parents and boy child labourers in Ghana pointed out the need for more school buildings in certain rural communities.
- It was further urged that the treatment of children in the schools in Ghana should be looked into, as teachers were perceived as cruel, deterring school attendance.

²² Suggested interventions in Ghana were provided separately by the children, their parents, the farm supervisors and the researchers themselves.

6.4 Changing society's acceptance of child labour in agriculture

- In **Ecuador**, the researchers emphasized the importance of changing the socially accepted violence and abuse associated with child labour. A process of cultural change was called for. Raising the awareness of and re-educating civil society, with the government taking the lead, was strongly urged.
- This was also echoed in the recommendations from the **CAR, the Philippines**, where the need for a change in community values and attitudes was advocated because no anti-child labour programmes can take off without the support of the community. This implies a challenge to traditional values and attitudes toward child labour. A continuous information campaign targeting an adult audience was suggested.
- Similar to Ghana and the Philippines, it was suggested in **Ecuador** that campaigns be carried out to illustrate the daily situations of violence and abuse suffered by children in the workplace. But in Ecuador it was also noted that cultural and recreational opportunities should be created especially for children and youth, where they can interact with their peers.
- The researchers in **Ecuador** believed that the problem of child labour in agriculture has a structural origin and will take time to change, but in the meantime action should be taken for children in the worst forms of child labour situations. However, on the whole, the emphasis in the recommendations from Ecuador was on a process of change in family and social relationships to gradually eliminate child labour in agriculture.
- Interestingly farm supervisors in **Ghana** recommended that society should be educated against child labour, and also recommended more responsible parenting – parents should work harder to cater for their children and their needs. This means that they tended to shift the blame from themselves as employers of child labourers to the parents, in terms of making their children available for work.

6.5 Tackling poverty

- On the whole all the RA reports recognized that to tackle child labour, poverty and rural development issues have to be addressed.
- Special schemes like tax incentives for companies who can employ children in light and non-hazardous situations as approved by the Secretary of Labour in **the Philippines** were mentioned.
- Both **Ghana** and **the Philippines** recommended income-generating activities in the rural communities to avoid over-dependency of farmers on primary produce and being tied down by the seasonality of their produce. Thus the provision of alternative trades and training to parents and child labourers was suggested as a way forward. On the whole, more livelihood- related programmes should be formulated in cooperation with the government, private organizations and NGOs.

Table 24: Comparison of main recommendations emerging from RAs

Recommendations		
The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
• Enhance national/ local government participation • Implement rural development programmes • Minimise work-related protection issues • A reinforced information dissemination campaign required • Change community values and attitudes • Provide solutions to different geographical concerns • Conduct seminars on child labour for local government officials • Provide special privileges for working students in schools • Adopt special educational modules • Provide enhanced livelihood assistance programmes • Promote child labour ordinances • Conduct more in-depth research on the situation	• Government should provide financial support, loans for business development, employment opportunities • Government should ensure there is free education for all, more school buildings • Provide training in trades for children • Parents should be more responsible in not allowing children to work • Laws should be in place to check child labour • Laws should be monitored • Awareness-raising on dangers of child labour required	• A cultural change process is required within the country • Opportunities in general for children must be improved • The current situation of child workers in agriculture should be improved • Myths about child labour in Ecuador must be dispelled

An example of action against child labour in agriculture

In **Ghana**, the General Agricultural Workers Union in 1999 secured a child labour clause in a collective agreement that negotiated for workers of the Ghana Oil Palm Development Company, one of the country's largest oil palm plantations. The management is now supposedly committed to the eradication of child labour in and around the plantations, and within the country as a whole.

The Union outlined that, in order to withdraw and keep children away from the workplace/plantations, action is required to:

- raise awareness, investigate and identify child labour where and as it occurs;
- shift young child workers out of the workplace/plantations and provide them with rehabilitative services, with a view to integrating them into the formal education system;
- as a transitional measure, arrange reduced working hours, along with part-time pre-vocational training or education for older child workers who cannot be withdrawn from the workplace right away;
- provide older children with assistance and protection from occupational hazards;
- provide alternative sources of income to families of child workers – where possible, by giving the jobs of child workers to adult members of the same family, and at living wages;
- mobilize parents and the community to prevent very young children from joining the work force; and
- campaign for new (or better-resourced) educational facilities.

7. Summary and Conclusions

7.1 A summary of “comparisons” and gender issues

7.1.1 Gender roles and differences

The three RAs to a certain extent reflect differences and similarities between boys and girls in agricultural labour, although the RA report from Ecuador only located two girl labourers. Some gender role differences and gender relations between the sexes are outlined and compared below.

- From the RA report in **Ghana** and **Ecuador** it is clear that gender is a central organizing factor around which work in agriculture is organized. Gender roles are a key cultural determinant as to what tasks boys and girls undertake in agriculture and other areas. It would appear that gender roles in agriculture are less differentiated in the **CAR regions of the Philippines**.
- From a gender perspective, one of the key issues not fully addressed in the RA reports is how girls combine work in agriculture with domestic chores. It was touched upon in Ghana in terms of girls not having leisure time. Girls in comparison to boys must perform household duties after agricultural duties, whereas boys mentioned more leisure type activities that they enjoy when not working in the fields. Teenage girls in **Ghana** work longer hours weekly in both market and domestic work than boys, whether or not they are enrolled in school. Mothers are more likely to assign domestic chores to their daughters than sons because they perceive domestic chores are feminine. This is particularly true in rural areas, where girls are expected to assist the mother with farm work and household chores as well as babysitting/taking care of the younger ones.
- Although household chores undertaken (on top of agricultural activities) were listed by the respondents from the **CAR in the Philippines**, unfortunately they are not sex disaggregated. Thus it is impossible to determine from the RA report who is involved in babysitting, tending animals and gardening, or the differentiated percentage of time that girls and boys spend resting or playing with friends.
- The sample size of girls in **Ecuador** was too small and equally did not address the issue of domestic labour on top of agricultural labour, but rather treated domestic labour as a separate issue. Although the RA report did state that children help with domestic chores (hauling water, caring for animals, production tasks on family plots), again it is not clear who performs which tasks.
- The RA report from **Ghana** mentioned that girls are very active in market selling outside their agricultural labour tasks. Similarly in the RA report from **the**

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Philippines, nearly half of children engage in activities that lead to other sources of income, such as domestic service, laundry work, vending, car washing, fishing, fetching water and construction work. Unfortunately again in the Philippines, such activities were not sex disaggregated.

- Gender inequalities were clearly evident in opinions on the boy child being favoured for school when resources are limited over the girl child in **Ghana**, whereas the reverse was found in the **CAR, the Philippines**. In fact in the CAR, girl labourers started working a little later than the boy child labourers. Furthermore a higher percentage of girls than boys decided to work without any prompting from their parents or other people.
- In the **Ecuador** RA report, gender differences in the division of labour in paid agricultural work were highlighted to a certain extent. Girls tend to work closer to home, and do not work for pay or profit outside the house except as domestic workers. In comparison, boys are able to work for pay in agriculture outside the household.
- Information on the unpaid family-based agriculture-related tasks that girls perform in **Manabí province, Ecuador**, was missing completely from the RA report. Such tasks could include preparation and processing of primary crops for sale in markets, tending home gardens and poultry, and other unpaid labour related to family plots.
- Another interesting point regarding girl child labour in agriculture is that girls may not tend to see themselves as contributing to the family income, but rather as helping out, whereas boys working in agriculture may view themselves as breadwinners. Regrettably, differentiation between the boys' and girls' reasons for starting work is not included in the RAs.

7.1.2 Access to resources

Issues around access to resources for agricultural work were not addressed in any RA report. Only one group of boys from **Ghana** mentioned that if they had access to productive inputs such as fertilizer or tractors, their workload would be easier. On the whole, agricultural tools or implements were not mentioned²³.

7.1.3 Benefits children receive from their agricultural labour

Turning to the benefits obtained from work in agriculture, it appeared that if children were working for or with their parents, they were less likely to receive cash payment. Other points related to benefits from working are outlined below.

- It was highlighted in the **CAR, the Philippines**, that the distribution of those that receive payment and those who do not is the same for both sexes. Nonetheless, the girl child in certain instances received lower compensation for her work, using the argument that her workload is lighter. However, this argument has been found in many gender analysis studies to be not completely valid.

²³ Studies by FAO and IFAD have illustrated that often the socio-economic status of women impinges strongly on the production hand tools and implements they use. The quality and availability of hand hoes, weeding hoes, axes, slashers and harvesting tools vary considerably in weight, design and who obtains access. For example, using long-handled hoes can be perceived as laziness in some cultures.

- In **Ghana**, the differences in payment presented by the researchers were not sex- disaggregated in the RA report. It was mentioned however that boys are paid higher than girls. In the Northern region older girls are given cash while the younger ones are given items such as books or dresses. Additionally older girls working for their parents are given items for marriage as a form of payment by their parents.
- In **Manabí, Ecuador**, all of the children surveyed who work in agriculture receive payment for their work, including the two girls. Not enough girl respondents were interviewed so comparison of payment for boys and girls cannot be made.

7.1.4 Control over benefits

Gender-disaggregated reference to control over money earned is only mentioned in the **Philippines RA report**, where it is claimed that giving her earnings to her parents, either completely or in part, remains at the top of the average girl child's list of priorities. This is not mentioned as a top priority for boys, implying that boys have more control over the benefits from working in agriculture.

7.1.5 Constraints faced by girls

Only in the **Ecuador RA** was it mentioned that girls' participation in the labour force is constrained by the threat of sexual aggression, and it is not considered appropriate for unaccompanied girls to work in the fields. Ironically, the more accepted form of labour for rural girls from Manabí province is domestic labour, where sexual abuse of girls by employers or employers' sons is commonplace (for more information see report in this series on CDW).

7.1.6 Consequence of child labour in agriculture

The consequences of child labour in agriculture for both boys and girls were in most cases differentiated and some points are outlined below.

- In the **CAR, the Philippines**, more boys than girls reported exposure to chemicals;
- The girl child is not exempt from carrying heavy loads in the **Philippines**, although there is a slightly lower proportion of girls who carry heavy loads compared to boys;
- In **Ghana**, slightly more (8%) boys than girls admit to carrying heavy loads;
- Slightly more boys than girls in **Ghana** attested that most of their illnesses are work-related. More girls experienced stress from their work;
- Boy respondents from **Ghana** were more imaginative than girls in describing their aspirations for the future and the types of trades they would wish to engage in. Girls, probably partly as a consequence to their social conditioning and the employment opportunities available for them, have lower aspirations for their future than boys.

7.2 Conclusions

There are many cultural, social, psychological and even political issues that revolve around the problem of child labour and girl child labour in agriculture. Many more questions need to be answered from a legislative, cultural and economic point of view. What is clear from the RA reports is that both boys and girls are engaged in paid and unpaid agricultural work in the regions studied in the Philippines and Ghana. Paid agricultural labour for girls is not common in the region studied in Ecuador, while paid domestic labour is common for many girls as an alternative. However, the RA from Ecuador failed to mention any details about unpaid agricultural work.

The consequences of the findings in all three Rapid Assessments are important because occupational health and safety experts consider agriculture to be among the most dangerous of occupations for both girls and boys to be involved in.

Family situations, tradition and gender roles are key factors structuring the incidence and nature of child labour in agriculture. Poverty as the foremost factor in the occurrence of child labour in agriculture has to be directly addressed. Poverty in the family pushes young children to earn cash as early as possible. Poverty has gender dimensions. The roles that are expected of boy and girl children, including how society values boys' and girls' access to education and the opportunity costs of sending either of the two to school, all affect their future choices in life.

Societal attitudes towards boys and girls have to be addressed when long-term rural development plans are being developed to combat poverty. If the position of girls is low in society, as was alluded to by the RA report from Ecuador, the consequences of sending negative "vibes" to children that girls are less valued than boys will have to be eventually addressed. On the other hand, in the Philippines it was thought by the researchers that the position of girls was more valued. Such an analysis was validated by a better school attendance report of girl respondents. Nevertheless child labour will remain a reality as long as poverty persists. In Ghana, both the expense of sending children to school and the position of girls in society resulted in striking differences in school attendance for boys and girls, with boys unequivocally favoured over girls.

There is a need for more local regulations that cater to specific situations of child labour and guidelines that help to determine when child labour in agriculture is harmful to children. Laws should be more localized and specialized, with local governments taking a more active part in the fight against child labour. Rather than prohibiting children from working in agriculture completely, it is recommended that regulations be developed that regulate child work, so that it does not fall into the category of child labour or WFCL. Finally, the differences in the value placed on the girl child and on the boy child must be kept to the forefront in any debate or policy action on child labour in agriculture.

Girl child labour in domestic work: a comparative analysis

**Based on Rapid Assessment reports
from the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador**

**The three rapid assessment reports upon which this comparative
analysis is based:**

Research International Qualitatif for the ILO/IPEC 4th July 2002.
Project Teen Domestic Child Labour (Ghana).

Castelnuovo y Asociados for IPEC South America August 2002. *Rapid
Assessment Report on Girls Working in Agriculture, Domestic Labour and
Sexual Exploitation in Ecuador.*

Visayan Forum Foundation, Inc. & Institute for Labour Studies,
Department of Labour and Employment, Manila, for ILO/IPEC November
2002. *Girl Child Labour in Domestic Service in the Philippines: A Rapid
Assessment.*

Executive summary

Between mid-2002 and early 2003 three Rapid Assessments (RA) on **child domestic workers** took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. This report presents a comparative analysis of the findings from the regions across the three countries.

The neglect of the issue of child domestic work (CDW) as a labour issue arises from the long-standing non-acceptance of the child domestic worker as a serious worker in all three countries studied. Girls in particular become formally and informally involved in domestic work and this is seen as a natural extension of preparation for motherhood. Girls are frequently sent to relatives or acquaintances. The practice of sending a daughter to the household of another person to work with the hope that they may be given a better start in life or access to schooling is very common in the regions of the countries studied. Fewer girl respondents lived with their employers in Ecuador than the respondents from the other two countries. Girls are also sent into domestic service in order to contribute to the family income back home. For instance in Ecuador, about 70 per cent of the wages earned as a CDW contribute to the household income, either directly or because they represent a savings in other expenses. Formalized recruitment procedures exist in the Philippine and Ecuador, although they were not mentioned by the researchers from Ghana.

In all three countries, the CDWs were between the ages of 9 and 18 years. The sample size of respondents in the Philippines was older than the other two countries. The youngest respondents came from Ecuador. All the RAs also included the opinions of older domestic workers or former domestic workers who had begun such work while young.

In all regions of the three countries studied, economic reasons such as the desire to supplement the family income were key factors for girls to begin work as domestic workers. Nearly all of the CDWs come from very low-income families. Some are using money to pay for their education. In the regions assessed in the Philippines, parental expectations are a driving force influencing girls to start work. Likewise, in Ecuador a third of the respondents said they were influenced by their parents to begin work, and only a fifth decided themselves. Again in Ghana, mothers or female relatives had strong influences on the girl respondents taking up CDW. In all cases, recruitment is aided by contacts such as brothers, sisters, cousins, town-mates or relatives who have already migrated to the city.

Regardless of how girls end up as domestic workers, allowing children to migrate to work in the domestic sphere, or to spend long hours in another person's house each day, leaves the child completely under the control of the employer or relative, who does not necessarily serve the child's best interests.

Once CDWs have moved in with employers or have begun to work as CDWs, permission to attend school is now at their whim. Comparing the dropout rates at school once the child has begun to work, half or more of the CDWs in the regions studied in the Philippines and Ghana have dropped out. By comparison, in Ecuador only a third of CDWs had dropped out at the time of the RAs. This could be related to the fact that fewer respondents are living with their employers.

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

All three survey reports convey that over half of those who had dropped out of school now show interest in going back to school. Lack of money for school-related expenses is cited as the main reason for dropping out, so perhaps they would have dropped out of school at that age regardless of whether they were engaged as CDWs or not. Interestingly, no respondents from Ghana reported that they used the money earned to pay school-related costs, whereas in the Philippines 19 per cent are used for this purpose and 15 per cent in Ecuador.

Regular chores performed by respondents in all three countries are kitchen duties and laundry, ironing, cleaning, caring and helping out in the employers business. Girl respondents in all three countries are in general clear about their domestic duties, but unclear about their benefits, hours of work, whether they have full authorization to attend school or not, and other conditions of their work. According to the responses, it would appear that a high percentage of girls work more than 15 hours a day, particularly in the Philippines. The Philippines had a lower reported percentage of CDWs testifying that they have to work while ill (22%). In comparison, 93 per cent of the Ecuadorian respondents said they must continue working while ill and 79 per cent respondents said so in Ghana.

Over half of all respondents in the three countries find the workload a problem and experience fatigue, with not enough rest time. When free time is available, 39 per cent of the Filipina respondents spend such time watching television, 23 per cent of Ghanaian respondents do so also, but only 14 per cent of the respondents from Ecuador watch TV in their free time. Nevertheless it can be argued that television would potentially be a powerful tool to inform CDWs of their rights.

Some of the pathways leading girls to engage in domestic service include the lack of possibilities for jobs in rural areas, an idealized view of urban life, the desire for education and the socially defined and expected role of girls. Additionally the researchers in Ecuador argue that a social and family environment exists that objectifies children, allowing them to be used in various ways, and ignores their plight as CDWs. Interestingly, 75 per cent of Filipina, 37 per cent of Ghanaian and 15 per cent of Ecuadorian respondents would not encourage their siblings to do their job.

The link between CDW and other worst forms of child labour was not explicitly outlined in any of the three reports, although it was mentioned that agents often promise domestic work but girls end up being sexually exploited in brothels. In general, the major types of potential hazards that girls face in domestic work include long working hours, heavy physical work, physical and mental abuse or humiliation, sexual abuse, poor living conditions, low or no wages, lack of educational opportunities and lack of emotional and social development²⁴.

In all three countries, a major issue that must be tackled at the national level is the large percentage of CDWs working for relatives and family members. Such relationships make it difficult to formalise standards in the domestic work sector because the employer-employee relationship is a familial relationship.

Both the policy recommendations from the Philippines and Ghana researchers call for a multi-stakeholder process for protecting CDWs. Both the recommendations from Ecuador and the Philippines call for the current situation of girl now working as CDWs to be improved, although they recognize that changing attitudes is the answer in the long run. In the Philippines, an approach that encourages employers

²⁴ Salter, W. (1996). *Child Domestic Service: A Hazardous Occupation?* Visayan Forum National NGO Consultation of Child Domestic Workers in the Philippines, Quezon City, August 1996.

themselves to improve the working conditions of their employees is put forward. The recommendations from Ghana emphasize formalizing the recruitment process for CDWs. Changing attitudes at the community level is stressed in Ecuador and the Philippines. On the whole, it is strongly recommended that the myths associated with domestic work be dispelled and that the low status attached to such work be challenged.

How this section is organized

An overview of the research is presented in **Section 1**. The bulk of such information is presented in **Sections 2** and **3** of the document.

Reflections on the similarities and differences across the three countries is presented in **Section 4** as well as an exploration of the factors that trigger CDW and the link between CDW and other worst forms of child labour.

This document also attempts to explore gender-related differences that emanate from the three rapid assessment reports. In order to have a particular emphasis on gender differences in terms of the girl child in domestic labour, as well as CDW conditions and pertinent characteristics, causes and consequences; it is necessary to compare girls with boys in domestic service, or compare girls in CDW with boys of the same age. However, this type of information is for the most part lacking in the three rapid assessment research reports. Where such information is available from the rapid assessment reports, an attempt is made to include it. In its place other gender-related differences that are mentioned are highlighted at the end of **Section 4**.

A comparison between the policy recommendations that emanated from each rapid assessment report are discussed in **Section 5**, particularly those that have wider application. Final conclusions are drawn in **Section 6**.

1. Overall introduction to the RA study

1.1 Introduction

Between mid-2002 and early 2003 three Rapid Assessments on child domestic workers took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. The overall purpose of the rapid assessments, as part of the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour's (IPEC) work on action against the worst forms of child labour, was to deepen the existing information on child domestic work as a form of invisible and hidden girl child labour.

More specifically, the rapid assessments aimed to:

- Present a profile of CDWs in both sending and receiving regions of a sample area or areas in the country, identifying the principal factors that foster and/or encourage child labour within domestic services.
- Present the perceptions of girl child domestic workers themselves.
- Outline gender dimensions in this form of child labour.
- Analyse the tasks performed by girls in domestic service, evaluating the working conditions and occupational risks experienced by the girls.
- Outline the educational, emotional, family and social consequences of girl child labour in domestic service.
- Present recommendations for programming, policy-making and public awareness for each respective country.

1.2 Methodology employed in the three rapid assessments

In the Philippines, the format the rapid assessment took was to use ILO/IPEC questionnaires on child labour, undertaking structured individual interviews in two sections of the same city. Focus group discussions (FGDs) also took place to obtain quality descriptive information on girl CDWs.

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

In Ghana the ILO/IPEC rapid assessment methodology was adapted to suit the local situation. Two main data collection methods were employed in two different populous regions of the country. A one-on-one in-depth structured interview was used to gather the information from girl domestic workers. Parents who have their girl child working in their own household, as well as those whose children are involved in domestic work elsewhere, were also interviewed in order to compare and validate what the girls stated. Because the sample was large, both quantitative and qualitative data analysis were presented by the researchers.

In Ecuador, the rapid assessment was limited to a smaller sample size of children than Ghana and took place in one city²⁵. The assessment of CDWs was aimed at children, fathers/mothers and former working children. Again, in-depth interviews with girl domestic workers took place. A questionnaire for parents regarding socio-economic and family conditions and characteristics of child labour in domestic work was administered. Former child domestic workers were also interviewed. Focus groups were held with girls and adults to round out the information gathered through the surveys and in-depth interviews, including the participants' evident and latent expectations.

For all three countries, as background for the rapid assessment, a review of relevant documentation and reports on domestic child labour took place. A background document for each country was prepared.

In summary all three reports used qualitative information based on interviews and focus group discussions with purposeful samples. There were no control groups. Two of the reports presented their findings also using percentages. The percentages presented in this report are used only for the purpose of comparison across the three different countries.

Table 25: Profile of the three-country Rapid Assessments

Country	Type of study	Composition of sample	Methods used to obtain information	Notes on each RA report
Philippines	RA	Nearly all girls	IPEC questionnaire, structured interviews and FGD. Nearly 1/3 of parents also interviewed	Very clear RA report prepared – no table of contents
Ghana	RA	All girls	RA methodology adapted, structured interviews. Quantitative data also analysed. Nearly 1/3 of parents also interviewed	RA report still to be finalized
Ecuador	RA	All girls but 1	In-depth interviews with CDWs and former CDWs and FGDs. No parents interviewed	RA report on CDW part of same report on 2 other WFCL
<i>Notes</i>		<i>No control group or inclusion of boys of similar age and background</i>	<i>Sample numbers differ widely for each country</i>	<i>Difficult to compare all 3 reports</i>

²⁵ The researchers from Ecuador could not convert their results into percentage figures as the sample size was too small. However, in some parts of this report, percentage figures have been calculated.

1.3 Sources of information and locations in the three countries

The Philippines

In the Philippines the domestic workers surveyed were mainly below 18 years of age. However, a few domestic workers above 18 years were part of the sampling interviews. The logic for including these older workers is that, even if they are no longer minors, they have spent their early years in domestic work and thus know all about the situation from their younger years. They were requested to recount a specific stage in their working life to give further depth to the questionnaires. Regardless of age, all respondents were located in either Bacolod City or Metro Manila. There were 36 CDW respondents in all, 32 girls and 4 boys. Some respondents were pre-selected by the local staff of the Visayan Forum, a national NGO that works with children. The research also reached 13 parents.

Ghana

In Ghana, a total of 350 people were questioned in the Ashanti region and the greater Accra region. All in all, 250 children provided information. Similar to the Philippines, there were a few females above the age of 18 still involved in domestic labour who took part and are included in the figure of 250 children. The remaining 100 who supplied details were parents, guardians and employers. More specifically, this group of 100 was made up of parents who have their girl child working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work. All 250 children were female, so it is impossible to compare their experiences with male counterparts.

Ecuador

In Ecuador, a non-probabilistic sample using the “snowball” method took place, covering 37 people in total. Interviews were done with 26 girls and one boy in domestic labour. The remaining 10 interviews were with 10 former child domestic workers (female). All interviews took place in the city of Ambato, which is in the province of Tungurahua. In Central America, according to ILO/IPEC, girls mainly comprise child domestic workers, and in most cases this is due to the cultural and socio-economic factors and the distribution of gender roles²⁶.

In general, all locations where girl child domestic workers were interviewed are densely inhabited areas and destinations for rural girls in domestic service. Both the Philippines and Ghana included the capital city or areas very close to the capital, whereas CDW in Quito, the capital of Ecuador, was not part of the survey.

²⁶ ILO/ IPEC (2001). “Prevention and Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Domestic Labour in Central America and the Dominican Republic (Phase 1)”: ILO, Geneva.

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

Table 26: Comparison of locations and choice of location

Location of research respondents and reasons for location			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Location of research	Bacolod city in Negros Occidental province and Metro Manila	Greater Accra region and Ashanti region	City of Ambato, capital city in the province of Tungurahua
Reasons for choice of research locations	Manila, as the capital city, is a major destination of children in search of work. Bacolod City is a major destination for young rural girls looking for work, sometimes on the way to Manila.	Populated areas, where numerous domestic child workers are found – near Accra.	A mid-sized city that is traditionally both a source of and destination for internal migration, surrounded by indigenous communities that often obtain placements in the city before migrating further

Table 27: Comparison of sample sizes

Numbers interviewed			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children interviewed	36	250	27
No. of girls	32	250	26
No. of boys	4	0	1
Others interviewed	13 (parents of the child domestic workers)	100 (parents with children working in their own household or whose children are involved in DW elsewhere)	10 (former domestic girl child workers aged between 35 and 54)
Overall total interviewed	49	350	37

In Ghana no boy domestic child labourers were interviewed at all, and in Ecuador only one boy was interviewed. In the Philippines, the original research design stipulated that at least one-third of the respondents should be males. Although this figure was not met, the study emphasized the results of the focus group discussions with boys.

1.4 Reasons for choice of research locations

In the Philippines, Manila, as the capital city, is a major destination for children in search of work. Bacolod City is also a major destination for young rural girls looking for work, sometimes on the way to Manila. Localities reported to be host to many girls in the target sector were included in a short list and, in consultation with government agencies and whenever possible, non-government organizations based in the localities, final sites were selected.

In Ghana, the Ashanti region and the greater Accra region were chosen as research locations because they are populated areas where numerous domestic child workers are found.

In Ecuador, the City of Ambato is the capital city of the province of Tungurahua. This is a mid-sized city that is traditionally both a source of and a destination for internal migration in the region. The city is also supplied with indigenous communities that live in the surrounding areas. Girls and young women from these communities begin with placements in houses in Ambato before migrating to larger cities such as Guayaquil and Quito.

1.5 Limitations

In all three countries, the data obtained reflect a “snapshot” of the situation of the girl child in domestic labour for that particular region at that particular time. The information cannot be extrapolated nationally, although the areas chosen in each country were chosen because girl child domestic labour was prevalent there. It is important to note that the results of the rapid assessment imply a bias in relation to the overall situation in each country, and it is difficult to draw generalizations for the country at large. The rapid assessment method is best suited to village or community-level studies, and is less useful for studying larger geographic areas.

Although rapid assessment of child domestic workers can serve as a reference or baseline to evaluate the particular situation in the three countries studied and can give a general overview, it still has several practical limitations. Firstly, the variables studied and the data gathered are of necessity concentrated on the issues outlined in the guidelines for rapid assessment, and may only briefly examine certain linked aspects of child domestic labour, such as the links between child domestic labour and other worst forms of child labour in - for instance - agriculture, sexual exploitation and so forth.

Secondly and most importantly, the results it produces are preliminary, and gaining a deeper and more comprehensive understanding still requires more detailed research.

Thirdly, purposeful sampling of the girl child in all three RAs was undertaken, because worldwide domestic labour is a sector in which the girl child is over-represented. Thus comparisons cannot be made with boys of similar ages or with girl children engaged in other forms of child labour, or between girl domestic workers and boy domestic workers to determine how girls fare in comparison to their male counterparts. On the other hand, a comparison between girls and boys was made in the

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

rapid assessment reports to a certain extent in terms of the social triggers that pull young girls into domestic labour and of the gender differences in access to education, as well as the values placed on the girl child in comparison to the boy child.

1.6 Specific country challenges

Before the field work could begin in Ecuador, it was necessary to adjust the questionnaire instruments designed by IPEC/ILO (with regard to the form and extent of the content). Not enough time had been allotted for the preparation of the survey and adjustments and this proved a problem. Additionally, in Ecuador, the study included few live-in working children (because of the difficulty of reaching them).

In the Philippines, most children were relatively open during the interviews because of the presence of NGO staff who were familiar with their situation. Some children were interviewed in their own homes. They had worked as CDWs before but decided to return to their families. In the Philippines, no children were interviewed inside their employers' households. Information gathered when employers are present is usually not very accurate because they easily intimidate child domestic workers themselves. One in four of the respondents was working for relatives and their families (a brother or sister of the CDW). This was a limitation because, if respondents have actually been abused, they may not see a situation as abuse as such, but rather actions as disciplinary measures within the context of an extended family relationship.

2. Taking stock of the CDW respondents

2.1 CDW in general

Child domestics or child domestic workers (CDWs) are defined as children under the age of 18 who work in other people's households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running errands, among other tasks²⁷. According to UNICEF, care must be taken in any analysis of the situation of CDWs, because it is not necessarily the case that all CDWs suffer an infringement of their rights. The practice of sending a daughter to the household of another to work and *theoretically* being given a better start in life by having access to education or a trade is very common in many parts of the world. It is seen as a safe option particularly if the girls are sent to relatives or acquaintances.

Recruitment to become a domestic child worker can take other forms rather than going to work for a relative, however distant. In many countries, girls are recruited systematically by agents who bring girls into contact with employers seeking domestic workers.

More often than not, parents encourage their daughters to become domestic workers, and girls are even given away in the hope that they can provide some form of income for the family, or at the very least it is one less mouth to feed in the family household. In other cases, girls decide themselves to work in domestic service as they wish to escape their home environment.

Regardless of how girls end up as domestic workers, allowing children to migrate to work in the domestic sphere means that the child is completely under the control of the employer or relative, who does not necessarily serve the child's best interests. With no regulation and very often with no (or minimal) wages, long hours and little rest, young and vulnerable girls are often subjected to beatings, brutal treatment, as well as sexual abuse by employers or their sons. Many girl CDWs construe abuses as part of the job. Scores of girl CDWs suffer verbal insults on a daily basis at the very least. Consistent verbal abuse leads to a lowering of their self-esteem and the abuse becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, with girls accepting their low status.

Employers usually decide whether domestic workers should be allowed to go to school. Even when they are allowed, they will have difficulties adjusting to their heavy workload and long work hours in combination with study for school. Schoolwork is not normally tailored to their needs and time availability.

²⁷ UNICEF (1999). *Child Domestic Work*. Innocenti Digest, 5 International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy.

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

Seclusion from other CDWs, maltreatment and exploitation because of their age condemn CDWs to a miserable hard-working existence, often not knowing that things could be better. Although many CDWs come from very low-income families and are pleased to be earning something, when they realize how low their wages are they are compelled to seek better paid positions.

How child domestic work is closely linked to other forms of child labour is often not clear. Many girls who end up in sexual exploitation were involved in domestic labour service at one point in their lives. They may get sexually exploited either by trying to escape from their work in domestic service, the promise of better pay or through agents who promise them better jobs.

2.2 Details of the girl CDWs surveyed in the 3 countries

In all three countries, the domestic workers were between the ages of 9 to 18 years. The average age of the respondents from the regions in the Philippines was older than the other countries. The youngest respondents came from Ecuador. All regions in the three countries included former or older domestic workers, who had spent their earlier years as CDWs.

Table 28: Comparison of the sample size and age of CDW RA respondents

The CDWs who took part in the RAs			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children interviewed	36	250	27
Average age of respondents	17½ Included a few over 18	No average given All were between 13 and 18 years, included a few over 18	No average given 1 under 9, 14 girls aged 10-14 years 11 girls 15-17 years 1 boy 10-14 years + 10 older former domestic workers
Age range of respondents	13-23	13-over 18	9-17
Age started working	Information not provided	Between the ages of 11 and 16 years	Average age started working: 10.4 Over 1/3 began between ages 5 and 9, 1/3 between 10-13 years only 7 began when 13 or over

In Ghana, most girl child domestic respondents started working at the age of eleven years, with the minimum age being three and the maximum sixteen years.

In Ecuador, according to the respondents, it also seems girls are less likely to go into domestic labour when they are older and most start younger than in the Philippines. In fact three out of every four girls began working in family homes before they were 12 years old. Furthermore in Ecuador, among the adults who had been CDWs in their earlier years, the average age at which they started work was 5.2 years, with a range from 4 to 11 years for starting. According to these figures, the age for beginning domestic labour seems to have shifted slightly upward in the past three decades.

The information provided in the rapid assessment report from the Philippines does not provide information on the age the girls started working in domestic service.

2.3 Reasons for CDWs starting to work

In all regions of the three countries studied, coming from low income homes and other economic reasons such as the desire to supplement the family income were crucial motives for girls to work as domestic workers.

For example, in Ghana children work primarily for economic reasons. Poor parents are relieved when their child is housed and fed elsewhere. A quarter of the 250 children in the two regions studied in Ghana work to supplement the low family income. More children in the Greater Accra region work mainly to support the family income (28%) compared to their counterparts in the northern Ashanti (17%).

Similar to Ghana, a quarter of children respondents from the Philippines cite the desire to supplement family income as the main reason they do domestic work. However others are driven by the desire to be economically independent. A similar ratio of CDWs worked to be able to pay school fees, indicating a high value placed on education in the Philippines.

Again in Ecuador, the majority (around 85%) of children work to supplement the family income although almost half of the 27 respondents state that they work to keep themselves in school. Nearly a fifth wish to become economically independent themselves. A couple of children reported that they were attempting to escape from domestic violence.

Table 29: Reasons for starting to work

Reasons for starting to work	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Support the family income	25%	24%	23/27
Income to keep themselves in school	14%	6%	48% or 13/27
To become economically independent	14%	9%	18½% or 5/27
Parents asked them to	N/A	30%	N/A
To get money to start a business	N/A	13%	N/A
No other job opportunities	N/A	4%	3.7% or 1/27
To gain experience	N/A	6%	N/A
To escape domestic violence	N/A	3%	7.4% or 2/27

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

Thus it can be generalized that, in the regions of the three countries surveyed, working to supplement the family income is the main reason for starting work as a CDW.

2.4 Who encourages girls to get involved in domestic labour

In the Philippines, parental expectations are a driving force influencing girls to start work. Yet most CDWs do not consider their decision to work as directly prompted by parents, so perhaps parental expectations are inherent rather than vocalized. Most girls from the regions studied in the Philippines indicated that they decided themselves to work as CDWs. Almost 17 per cent believe that relatives prompted them to start work. In contrast, half of their parents believe that it was the relatives who convinced their children to work.

In Ghana, parental expectations are a driving force influencing girls to start work. It is unclear whether other relatives - of whom 14 per cent were cited as an influence - are female or male relatives. Traditionally in Ghana, women are responsible for providing food for the household so it is a relief for mothers if they have one less mouth to feed if their daughter becomes 'employed'. More parents from the Ashanti region ask their children to get involved in domestic labour (41%) in comparison to those from the Greater Accra region (22%).

In Ecuador, a third said they were influenced by their parents to begin work as a domestic child labourer and 18.5 per cent said they decided themselves.

For both Ecuador and the Philippines, girls already having a sibling working in domestic service were cited by 11 per cent of CDWs in both countries as a key influence. All three countries mentioned friends or peer influence as important, although it was of lower significance for the regions in Ghana. Ghana was the only country where traffickers were mentioned as an influence to begin working, whereas Ecuador mentioned the employers themselves as having an influence. The question of how CDWs are actually recruited is naturally linked to what influences girls to work in domestic service, and this is outlined in 2.5 below.

Table 30: Comparison of who influenced the girl respondents to start working

Influences to start working	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Prompted by parents	N/A	9%	33% or 9/27
Prompted by mother	N/A	43%	N/A
Prompted by female guardian	N/A	11%	N/A
Prompted by father	N/A	4%	N/A
Decided themselves	36%	7%	18½ % or 5/27
Prompted by relatives	17%	14%	11% or 3/27
Prompted by friends	11%	5%	11% or 3/27
Prompted by siblings	11%	N/A	11% or 3/27
Prompted by trafficker	N/A	6%	N/A
Prompted by employer	N/A	N/A	11% or 3/27

2.5 How the CDWs were recruited

Turning to how the girls actually find their domestic work positions, in the Philippines one in four sampled CDWs were recruited directly by employers. Employers use contacts they have in the provinces or recommendations from friends and relatives. Alternatively there are also informal referral mechanisms with agents or middlemen who recruit CDWs. Nevertheless all recruitment patterns are enhanced by the presence of an intricate web of contacts such as brothers, sisters, cousins, town-mates or relatives who have already migrated to the city. When their employers' friends are looking for someone to come and work with them, the former ask their current CDW to contact their younger siblings or friends back in their home village or suggest others who would be suitable. For those still located in rural areas, their elder sisters or friends already living in the city radiate a sense of glamour and seem more sophisticated, enticing them to leave home and work.

Examples were given in both Ghana and Ecuador where *"a woman"* (employer) came to their house, introduced herself, and the parents agreed that the child could go and stay with her. In a few cases in Ghana, children left to work without the knowledge of their parents or guardians (7%), whereas most CDWs in the Philippines reported that they seek the consent of their parents before deciding to work as CDWs. Details about whether this occurs in Ecuador were not given.

In Ecuador, when asked how they had obtained their current job, the majority of the girls said they had done so through a family member or had been recruited directly by their employer.

In Ghana, according to the researchers there is no known system or organization for recruitment of girl CDWs. In most cases mothers arrange with the employers for their daughters to stay with them. Similar to what respondents from both the Philippines and Ecuador reported, other means by which girls are recruited are through recommendations by friends and relatives.

2.6 The importance of education for girl child workers

In the Philippines only 7.5 per cent of respondents had never attended school, whereas in Ghana 40 per cent of girls have never been to school. By contrast, in Ecuador only around 4 per cent of the attendees had never been to school. Thus the respondents from the two regions in Ghana displayed the highest rate of girls that had never been to school at all. Reasons given for this were that parents could not afford the cost of school, or that girls were not interested in schooling.

In the two regions of the Philippines, half the respondents had left school while 44 per cent were still attending school. However, there were major differences between the Metro Manila area and Bacolod city, with most respondents in Manila not studying any more. The situation may be somewhat unique in Bacolod City because the Negros Occidental High School there offers night classes during week-days, which caters primarily to the needs of working children. Of those CDWs who attend school, just less than half pay their own tuition fees and other school

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expenses; however, 28 per cent say their employers provide them with allowances to go to school, albeit part of their salary. Often when they go to school in the evening they still have to work upon their return to compensate for lost time.

In the regions studied in Ghana, 60 per cent of girl CDWs have been to school, but more than half of that, 60 per cent, have now dropped out and, of the 60 per cent that have been to school, only a third are still attending school. For those that dropped out of school, the main reason was that they could not afford school, the same reason for those respondents who did not go to school at all. Other reasons given were the need to work for wages, a decrease in interest in school and the need to learn a trade or help in the household. However, half of those that dropped out of school appeared to show interest in the researchers in going back to school if they had the means. They thought education was the key to knowledge and success.

The girls who study in Ecuador show a lower level of abandonment and neglect than those who are not in school, according to the researchers. Eighteen out of 27 are currently in school, and eight have now dropped out. Of those still attending

Table 31: Comparison of respondents' school attendance status

School attendance status			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Never been to school	2/26 never attended school	40%	1
Currently at school	44% of 24 that have been to school	32% of 60% that have been to school	18 out of 27
Dropped out of school	50% of 24 respondents (mainly from Manila)	53% of 60% that have been to school	8 out of 27
Reasons: School too expensive	50% of those that left	59% of the 53%	4 out of 8
Family doesn't allow them to study	N/A	N/A	2 out of 8
Not interested	N/A	15% of the 53%	1 out of 8
To learn a trade, help in household work for wages	15% of the 50% that have dropped out of school	25% of the 53%	N/A
Currently at school: Given time off to study		N/A	8 out of 18
Not given time off to study	Many CDWs find it difficult to negotiate with employers and many not allowed	N/A	10 out of 18
Cover entire cost of school themselves	40% of the 44%	N/A	2 out of 18
Supported by parents	N/A	N/A	3 out of 18
Employers pay part of cost	38% of the 44% (those in school). Fees are in reality taken out of wages	N/A	2 out of 18

school, two attend classes during daytime hours, eight in the afternoons and seven at night. About eight are given time off work to study and 10 said they were not. Again similar to Ghana and the Philippines, the most significant reason for dropping out of school was the inability to pay school-related costs. In two cases the family did not allow the girls to study. Of the 18 girls who are currently in school, only two cover the entire cost themselves and three are supported by their parents. More than half (10) of the girls pay part of the cost of their education, while six receive funding from the National Institute of Children and the Family. Only two employers pay part of the cost of the girls' education.

Comparing the dropout rates once the child has begun to work, half or more of the CDWs in the regions studied in the Philippines and Ghana have dropped out. By contrast, the region assessed in Ecuador only seems to have a third of CDWs drop out at the time of the surveys. It could also be generalized from the respondents above, that over half of the CDW respondents from each country cite school expenses as a problem.

In general, child domestic workers often lag behind their peers at school because of their irregular attendance. They then tend to be embarrassed to repeat a year, because other students will ridicule them or they are too old. This is a problem in terms of continuing schooling. Comparing the number of respondents who wish to return to school out of those that had dropped out of school, 68 per cent of respondents from the Philippines, 51 per cent from Ghana and 75 per cent from Ecuador wished to go back to school. It is interesting to note that in all three survey reports over half of those that had dropped out of school now show interest in going back to school, or realize that education is important for their future.

3. Comparison of the predicament of the sampled CDWs

Researchers²⁸ who undertook the RA in the Philippines firmly believe that CDW is one of the worst forms of child labour. Although in the Philippines there is a high value placed on education relative to the other countries, with most children going into domestic service hoping to be able to continue their studies, abuse at work is so prevalent as to be considered “part of the job” (Crawford, & Poulson, 2001). The conclusion of the researchers that CDW is one of the worst forms of child labour is based on evidence around the arbitrary treatment by employers of CDWs, girls on call 24-hours a day, the physical and verbal abuse they receive, as well as the illegal recruitment of girls, their isolation from their families and other support networks, and their vulnerability to sexual abuses. Nevertheless, in general CDW is considered ‘easier’ than agricultural work.

In research that was drawn from the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions of Ghana, anomalies arose between what the girl CDWs and the employers stated. Again, girl CDWs are subjected to a 24-hour working day, on call seven times a week and often woken up during the night to look after a sick child. Girls claimed they worked more hours than employers/parents reported, and even had to work while sick. Girls from the survey consistently reported that their workload was too heavy, and they hardly got enough sleep or rest. Few receive payment. All these factors lead to the conclusion that it is a worst form of child labour.

In Ecuador, the researchers found a general denial of the existence of the problem of CDW and of society's responsibility toward the children who were engaged as domestic workers. Based on their small sample size, they believe that sexual abuse and violence against CDWs is greater and more hidden than other child abuse areas. Again they found that girls in domestic labour are exploited because of the length of their workday, their workload and their low pay (far below the minimum wage). The level of mistreatment, violence and abuse by employers is extremely high and many CDWs accept such violations of basic human rights as “normal”, and tolerate the state of affairs in the hope that they will eventually reach a better situation. Sexual abuse by employers is reported as common. On the whole, the researchers reported girls in domestic labour to be amongst the most exploited of child labourers in Ecuador.

²⁸ The Visayan Forum is the main organization dealing with child domestic work in the Philippines and is a major partner of ILO/IPEC; they were partners for the RA.

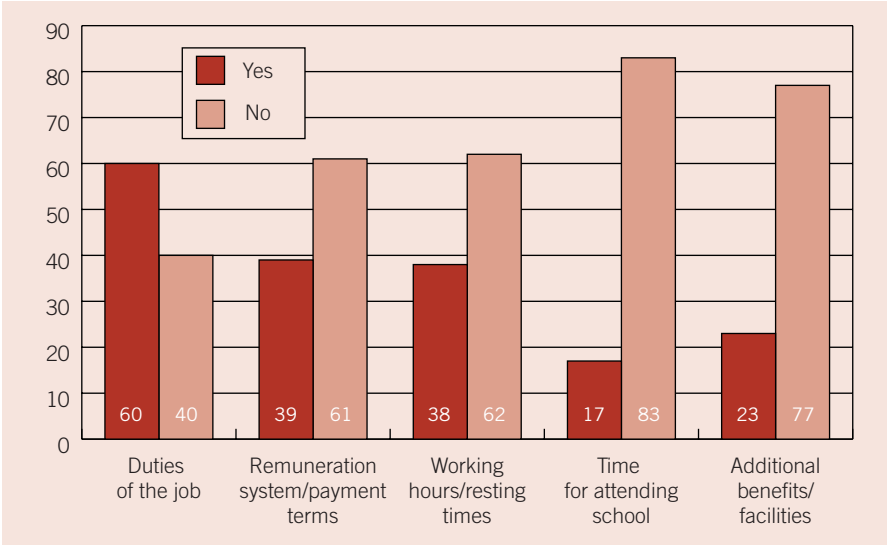
3.1 Comparison of CDWs’ terms of employment and chores

Eighty-nine per cent of the 36 CDWs in the two areas of the Philippines live in their employers’ home. The results of the survey conducted in Ghana deduced that 81 per cent of the CDWs live with their employers. It is not common for CDWs to live at home and just come to the employers’ house for work in the Greater Accra region. This is in contrast to the CDWs from Ecuador, where only seven or around 26 per cent of the girl respondents are live-in domestic workers. The remainder live outside the house in which they work.

In the Philippines, upon entry to work as a CDW most girls were told quite clearly about their duties and salaries; however, there were ambiguous aspects of their agreement with their employer or relative. Unclear issues were related to hours of work and rest, time availability for schooling and access to social benefits and facilities.

In Ghana in most cases reported to the researchers, there are no written contracts between the employers and the domestic workers. Girl CDWs are therefore totally at their employers’ mercy. Most employers only spell out the duties the girl domestic is supposed to perform in the household, with little else (such as time for attending school, pay, leisure time, additional benefits etc.). The chart below outlines which aspects of their work girls in the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions were or were not told about prior to employment. Issues concerning time for attending school scored the highest for lack of information.

Table 32: Ghana (Greater Accra and Ashanti regions together): whether terms of employment were specified



In Ecuador, all the girls except two said the terms and conditions of their work had been clearly explained to them, although none knew about their labour benefits and rights.

It can thus be deducted that in the regions of the three countries assessed, girls who are engaged in domestic labour may be clear about their domestic duties, but unclear about their benefits, hours of work, whether they have full authorization to attend school or not and other conditions of their work.

Regular chores performed by respondents in all three countries are kitchen duties, washing dishes and laundry, caring for children (or elderly people), ironing and cleaning the house. Some also help out in the employers' business (such as selling) and some do agricultural work (in Ecuador). Although nearly 20 per cent of CDWs are told they are hired specifically for childminding in the Philippines, they still have to perform similar tasks as those in Ghana and Ecuador (housework, laundry, tending employer's business).

3.2 Hours of work per day

According to the responses received from the specific locations in the three countries, it would appear that a higher percentage of girls work more than 15 hours a day in the Philippines than in the other two countries. A third of Filipina CDWs respondents work 11-13 hours a day. In Ecuador, over half work 9-11 hours a day, which is similar to what the girl CDWs in Ghana claimed – they worked between 8-12 hours a day. In Ecuador too, the girls reported that they are frequently asked to stay and finish their work, including weekends, without overtime or compensatory pay. The employer disapproves if the girl does not agree to stay.

In Ghana, although a large majority of girls claimed they worked between 8-12 hours a day, parents who have their daughters working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work maintained the girls worked between 6-8 hours a day on average.

Table 33: Hours of work per day

Hours of work per day			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Range of responses	5-16 hours a day	6-12 hours a day	5-16 hours a day
More than 15 hours a day	11%	N/A	7% (16 hrs)
13-15 hours a day	14%	N/A	11% (12-14 hrs)
11-13 hours a day	33%	See below	
9-11 hours a day	8%	Girl CDWs themselves report that they work 8-12 hours a day	53%
7-9 hours a day	17%	Parents and employers claim the girls work 6-8 hours a day	22% (6-8 hrs)
5-7 hours a day	14%	See above	4%

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

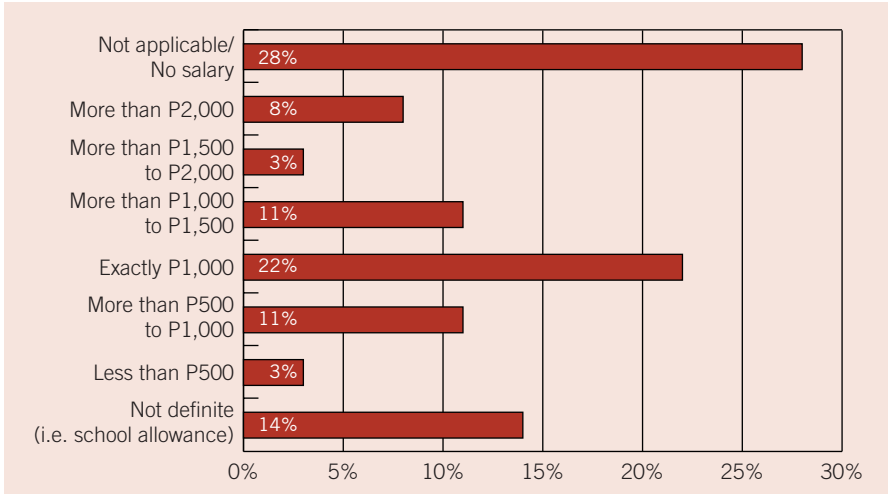
Well over half of all respondents across the three countries work over 7 hours a day, many of them working seven days a week.

Other researches by ILO/IPEC and UNICEF have found similar long working hours for domestic workers in different parts of the world. For instance a study in Ethiopia in 2002 found that some children work up to 80 hours a week²⁹.

3.3 Pay

The majority of the Philippine CDW respondents are paid workers. Three quarters are paid in cash, but it is unclear whether they receive cash irregularly or regularly. The remaining 25 per cent receive their allowances as school expenses or gifts during December. One in six are not paid at all. One of every five CDWs receives exactly P1,000³⁰ a month. This indicates that domestic work is among the lowest paid work in the Philippines. Salaries take into account the food and lodging. Other unpublished research on domestic work established that the salaries of live-out domestics are comparably higher at around P200-P300 a day.

Table 34: How much are CDWs paid in the Philippines



About 64 per cent of girl CDWs receive payment for their work in the two regions studied in Ghana. Of the 64 per cent who are paid, 21 per cent receive gifts

²⁹ Kifle, A. (2002). *Ethiopia: Child domestic workers in Addis Ababa: A rapid assessment*, Rapid Assessment Reports No. 38, ILO/IPEC, Geneva, 2002.

³⁰ Conversion and comparison in terms of a common currency has not been made for the three countries, as the cost of living and average annual salary is different for each country.

and 79 per cent receive money. Payment ranged from between 30,000 and 150,000 cedis a month.

Of the 89 per cent that received payment in the regions surveyed in Ecuador, the younger girls receive less. From the point of view of the employers, the low wages are probably an incentive for hiring younger girls. More than half of the girls aged 10 to 14 years, receive less than US\$39 a month, while more girls of the older age group (15-17 years) receive \$35-40.

Table 35: Ecuador: amount of remuneration by sex and age

Monthly wage (US\$)	Total	US\$5 to 8	US\$10 to 15	US\$16 to 30	US\$35 to 40	US\$60	US\$80	School materials	No resp.
Girls									
Under age 9	1								1
10 to 14 years	14	2	1	6	2	1		1	
15 to 17 years	11		2	3	4	1	1		
Overall total	26+ 1 boy	2	3	9+ 1 boy	6	2	1	1	1

Table 36: Comparison of respondents on whether they are paid or not

Whether CDWs are paid or not			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
How many are paid workers	81% (3/4 paid in cash)	64%	26/27 or 97% but in one case cash is given directly to mother, and in another case she just gets a very nominal wage irregularly => 89%
Of those that are paid % that get cash	75%	79%	89%
Of those that are paid % that receive gifts	25% (gifts or school allowances)	21%	Unknown

Thus, at least three-quarters of respondents in the regions studied in all three countries get paid in cash for their work in domestic service.

3.4 How earnings are spent

Twenty-two per cent of the Filipina CDW respondents give their earnings partly to their parents, while 19 per cent give partly to their parents and also save. Around 14 per cent give all their income to their parents. Most parents therefore rely on the remittances of their children. Taking these figures aggregately in combination, more

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than half or 57 per cent of CDWs remit the money to their families. About two in five or 19 per cent spend their salaries to pay for school fees and materials. Very few CDWs neither save money nor spend it for their own leisure. Recognizing the tight spending and saving patterns of CDWs, the researchers recommend micro-savings and credit schemes for CDWs. Most CDWs have no other sources of income. Most depend on cash salary advances from their employers, or borrow from relatives and friends in the city. There is an undocumented large number of CDWs who had to render services to their employers in exchange for their advances. Even when they may want to leave abusive working conditions, the CDW may not be allowed to go unless they can settle their accounts.

According to the respondents from the two regions surveyed in Ghana, many children work to supplement the family income; 42 per cent give part and 18 per cent give all of what they earn to their parents. For almost a third of the girls, the employers keep their money. This is worthy of note because it implies an even more unequal power situation. Whether this is for security reasons or to help the CDWs save, it still means that CDWs must ask for their hard-earned income from their employer.

Table 37: Comparison of control over wages

How wages are spent	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
% that earn cash/total no. interviewed	75% of 36	79% of 250	89% of 27
Of those that earn money, % that give all to parents	14%	18%	15%
% that give part to parents	22%	42%	41%
Money used for leisure	8%	10%	N/A
Money used to buy personal belongings	N/A	10%	N/A
Money used to buy medicines	N/A	4%	N/A
Pay for own school expenses	19%	N/A	15%

Comparing the three RA reports, at least half of the girl respondents give all or part of their wages to their parents. This could imply that they do not have control over their resources. In Ecuador for example, about 70 per cent of the wages earned as a CDW contribute to the household income, either as a direct contribution or because it represents a savings in school expenses.

Interestingly no respondents from Ghana reported that they used the money earned to pay school-related costs, whereas in the Philippines 19 per cent is used for this purpose and 15 per cent in Ecuador.

3.5 Sickness on the job

Nearly all the girls and the boy (26 of 27) have become injured or ill while working as a CDW in Ecuador. Only one received medical attention, 20 took care of themselves, two were attended by the employer, one by another domestic worker and two received no attention at all. Of the cases reported, 25 said they could not stop working while they were injured or ill. Only in nine cases did the employer pay for medicines. The lack of adequate care in the case of accidents leads to self-medication and the use of home remedies, aggravating certain problems.

The respondents from the two regions of Ghana said that the types of sickness mentioned stem mainly from exhaustion due to the working conditions. Over three-quarters get sick on the job. A little more than half (51%) of the girls mentioned that they experienced headache, and over a third (38%) fever. A quarter (25%) complained about pains in the back and 21 per cent mentioned cough and cold. The other forms of sicknesses mentioned by a few were chest pain/respiratory problems (5%) and body pains (3%). Many girl respondents mentioned domestic accidents such as knife cuts (60%), fire burns (35%) and minor fractures from falling (17%).

While half of the respondents from the regions surveyed in the Philippines said they were never injured in carrying out their jobs, a significant 39 per cent said they got injured in the form of burns and cuts. These are mainly attributed to cooking and food preparation. A majority of 83 per cent fell sick while working. Most suffered cough, colds, fever and headache. If they get sick, half of the respondents say their employers cover the expenses. Otherwise, they pay for their own medication. Most CDWs are not registered for social security and health benefits, and if the illness requires hospitalization or very expensive medicine they have to advance their salaries from their employers. Some employers who pay for medical expenses deduct from the domestic workers' future salary. Most are not forced to work when they get sick, but a significant 22 per cent or 8 respondents said they still had to work.

Table 38: Types of occupational risks of CDWs (Philippines)

- Electric shock in operating appliances they are not initially familiar with
- Allergies to soap and other materials
- Working for long indefinite hours, often at night
- Exposure to insecticides and other insect repellents
- Exposure to sun or extreme heat during laundry
- Carrying water, firewood or heavy weights

Table 39: Comparison of respondents claiming they must work when ill

Whether CDW must work while ill	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children interviewed	36	250	27
Yes	22%	73%	93%

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

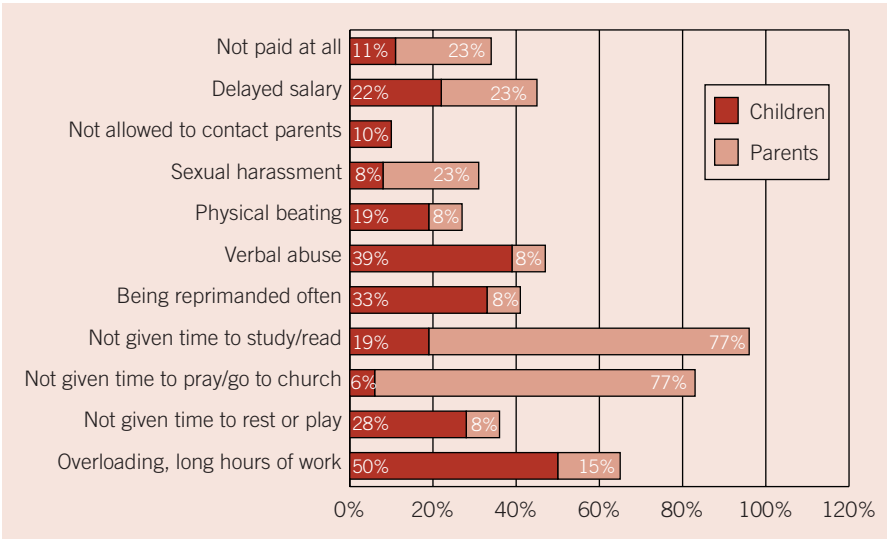
Comparing whether girl respondents must work while ill or not, it would appear that the Philippines is most favourable when ill, with a lower percentage (22%) of CDWs reporting they have to work while ill. Ecuador has the highest percentage (93%) who said they must continue working while ill. The percentage for Ghana is also high (79%).

3.6 Abuses suffered

While for many girls, domestic work is obviously a necessity and can offer a better life, they experience many difficulties at work. There are inherent problems and abuses that come with working for the different whims of their employers.

In the Philippines, half the respondents consider work overload and working for long hours as a foremost problem. Some (28%) said they were not given enough time to rest or play. Taken as a whole, three in four CDWs find domestic work to be an exhausting as well as a demanding occupation. Verbal abuse (39%) is the second most common problem while being reprimanded (33%) often comes third. CDWs have to put up with being called stupid, careless, useless and so on. Salary delays (22%) are also a commonly perceived problem. Finding opportunities to study and read their lessons is an issue for 19 per cent of the respondents. This implies that, based on the amount of time devoted for work and study, the latter becomes secondary. About two in five (19%) CDWs said they were physically beaten. Conversely some CDW respondents stated that they do not find physical punishments unjustifiable. Three respondents directly told of horrifying attempts of sexual harassment by members of the household where they were staying.

Table 40: Abuse experienced by CDW respondents from the Philippines



Around 62 per cent of the Ghana respondents felt that working as a domestic labourer was better than village life, with 21 per cent stating that they were fed better. On the other hand there were also reasons given for not encouraging others to be CDWs, the primary one being that the work load is too heavy (52%). Bad treatment and punishment were mentioned by 28 per cent and not being allowed to go to school was mentioned by a quarter. In addition 19 per cent feel isolated, and 12 per cent said the pay was low; 8 per cent suffered harassment although it is not clear what form of harassment they were referring to.

In Ecuador, twenty-one of the 27 respondents said they receive frequent reprimands. More than half (15) have been punished at work, 11 physically and verbally, 2 only physically and the



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Table 41: Comparison of the negative experiences of the CDW respondents

	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Work overload considered a serious problem	Yes a problem 3 in 4 consider it such	52%	Over half
Not enough time to rest	28% not enough time to rest	N/A	Fourteen of the 27 girls said they always feel tired from their work, while 2 said they frequently feel tired, 9 said sometimes and 1 said never
Suffered verbal abuse	39%	28%	21 out of 27 15 out of 27 punished a lot both physically & verbally
Reprimanded often/ punished	33%		
Experienced salary delays	22%	N/A	N/A
Respondents have no time to study	19%	25%	N/A
Experienced isolation		19%	N/A
Considered pay is low		12%	N/A
Experienced harassment	8%	N/A	5 out of 27, but researchers believe it is under reported

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other 2 physically with threats of greater violence. Five of the girls have been sexually harassed at work, three have been abused and one became pregnant at the age of 13 when she was raped. In reality, the researchers believe that there are probably many more cases of sexual harassment than reported. This under-reporting may be due to emotional effects and difficulties related to the issue. On the other hand, many of the girls consider abuse, including sexual abuse, as normal male behaviour.

3.7 Visits home or visits from family

In the Philippines, children cannot look for other opportunities for work because many CDWs are not even allowed to venture outside their employers' house. They are isolated except when allowed days off or to attend regular classes at night or at the weekends. Such isolation from the outside world is reinforced by their inability to visit their families. Only a third are allowed to visit their family back home about once a year. Others go home twice to five times a year, when they themselves have saved the money for transport.

Most of the girls from the two regions studied in Ghana are not allowed to go on visits back home. Employers are afraid that they might not come back or will report to their parents the kind of treatment they receive. On the other hand, relatives of these domestic girls come to visit on a few occasions. However, visits from government officials, trade union officials, institutions or NGOs protecting children, womens' groups and religious groups were completely absent, according to respondents, who believed that such visits are not a common practice in Ghana.

In Ecuador, seven of the 27 CDW respondents have been visited at work, four by family members or friends, two by religious organizations and three by institutions that protect children.

3.8 How to reach the CDWs

In the Philippines, CDWs are mostly reached by the Visayan Forum through friends or family members working in the same or nearby area. However, contacting CDWs in this way is by word of mouth, and in general CDWs cannot be contacted unless the privacy of the employers' home is infiltrated. On the other hand, if CDWs have free time, 39 per cent of the respondents in the rapid assessment reports spend such time watching television. Similarly 23 per cent of the girl respondents in Ghana cited watching television as an important activity. Thus, although expensive, public broadcasting programmes or adverts on television would potentially be a powerful tool to inform CDWs of their rights. On the other hand, only 14 per cent of the respondents watched television in Ecuador.

Going to church is an important activity for Filipinas, and could also serve as a place to give information to CDWs. No mention of church was explicitly made in the rapid assessment reports on the other two countries.

3.9 CDW perceptions about work

Two out of three respondents from the regions surveyed in the Philippines believe that they are better off working in somebody else's home than in their own homes. They believe they are better off because they are exposed to city life, they get free food, they can buy new clothes, get a chance for education and can go to popular leisure places (such as malls and parks). While many CDWs feel they are better off than at home, the work in itself is not considered by them as permanent. A significant 72 per cent of the respondents have thought of changing their jobs. This supports the observation that child domestic workers are typically transitory workers. Domestic work for them is not a highly esteemed profession. It may be a means to an end, such as obtaining education or a stepping-stone to better paying jobs. Reasons for not encouraging siblings to do CDW given included the isolation of the work in combination with other abuses and hardships.

Irrespective of the kind of treatment received and the work load, around one-third of the domestic girl respondents from Ghana would encourage other people to take up domestic labour. About two-thirds, however, will not advise anyone to get engaged in domestic child labour. Highest on the list of reasons for not encouraging others was the heavy workload – with over half giving this as a reason. The bad treatment and punishments as well as not being allowed to attend school, the feelings of isolation and low remuneration were also given as reasons.

Despite the slavery-like working conditions of the girl CDWs in Ecuador, approximately half the respondents said the situation was better than in their homes. Those who said they were worse off said they missed their families, felt lonely and unprotected and were overloaded with work. Similar to the respondents from Ghana, access to education, food, city life and clothing are considered advantages. But when asked if they would encourage other girls to go into the same type of work, only four responded affirmatively. When asked if they would continue in that type of work if they could choose, only nine girls said yes. The researchers felt that the girls cannot identify the disadvantages for themselves as easily as the disadvantages for others. In contrast, the interviews with the former domestic worker adult women revealed more about the excessive workloads, fatigue, lack of remuneration and the danger of being sexually abused (mentioned by 7 of the 10 respondents).

Table 42: Comparison of the opinions of the CDW respondents

	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Do you wish to change your job yes	72%	N/A	N/A
Do you wish to continue in current job	28%	N/A	9/27 or 33%
Would you encourage your siblings to do your job	¾ wouldn't encourage siblings	37%	4/27 or 15%

4. Reflections on the sampled CDW in the 3 countries

4.1 Gender dimensions in the RA reports

Other ILO/IPEC RA reports on child domestic workers note that the parents in rural communities regard child labour as a learning process and the society holds the working children in high regard as they are helpful to their parents. Migration networks and easy access to telecommunications (telephone) between girl child workers and their families gave a certain confidence to the parents sending their girls into domestic work³¹.

In the two regions assessed in the Philippines, 25 per cent of girl respondents explicitly felt that boys have greater opportunities for schooling than girls. On the other hand, 8 per cent felt girls had more opportunities and 17 per cent were unsure. Probing deeper with the boy focus group it was stressed that boys could be more competitive and aggressive in school than their female counterparts.

Other differences mentioned by the respondents worthy of note were that girl CDWs are expected to perform more tasks in the employers' home in comparison to boy domestic workers. Boys have more definite tasks such as gardening and running errands. Girls are more commonly all-round workers with less specific tasks, and are on-call all the time. Another significant difference noted was that employers give boys more freedom, whereas girls are more restricted in terms of rules for social behaviour and school activities. Thus boys when employed as domestic labourers tend to get away with more than girls.

In Ghana, several studies have illustrated that boys work more than girls. The average ratio is usually given as three boys to two girls. Yet, statistical surveys do not take into account the unpaid work carried out by girls around the households of their parents or guardians and the work they do in the household enterprises. Because of this full-time housework on top of other 'productive' activities, it can be argued that girls in actual fact work longer hours per day than boys. Moreover, if such activities were added to child labour estimates, there would be little or no difference between the sexes in the total number of working children. The rapid assessment report states that domestic labour is linked with reasons why girls receive less schooling than their brothers on the whole. In the survey on the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions of Ghana, the girls were of the opinion that boys are given greater opportunities to get an education than girls. They explained that girls are seen as homemakers and do not need high levels of education. Studies on child labour and school attendance in

³¹ Phlalinnoi N. (2002). *Thailand: Child Domestic Workers: A Rapid Assessment*, April 2002, N°X, ILO-IPEC, Geneva, 139 p.

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selected developing countries have also argued that determinants of child labour and school attendance were mainly affected by poverty, parents' employment status and educational attainment, and children's age and sex³².

In the province of Tungurahua where the domestic labour survey took place in Ecuador, the illiteracy rate for women is twice that of men. The parish of Ambato has an illiteracy rate of 5.5 per cent below the national average of 11.7 per cent, but is higher amongst women than men. This implies that girls receive fewer opportunities than boys for education, or that schools cater to boys more than to girls.

4.2 Situations that trigger CDW in the three countries

The strong desire for education is one of the main incentives for girls to engage in domestic labour in the two regions surveyed in the Philippines. Young rural girls have no alternatives except domestic labour. There is also a high demand for young domestic workers, as they are less trouble than older workers, particularly because of unregulated recruitment procedures.

According to the researchers in Ghana, some of the situations that prompt girls to begin working as domestic labours include the death of a parent or both parents, the separation of parents and the fact that girls come from large families with small incomes. Similar to the Philippines, the lure of something different from village life sparks an incentive for rural girls to leave their homes and begin to work in a seemingly more glamorous location. In both the Philippines and Ghana, girls have a strong desire to help their family financially.

Beginning with the plantation era, child domestic labour has been a common and extensive practice in Ecuador. Children, especially girls, were placed in family homes or businesses to work under conditions ranging from slavery through various degrees of servitude to formal contracts. The practice of young girls working as a "maid" for the wealthier urban families is widespread and a common tradition.

³² Dar, A.; Blunch, N.; Kim, B.; Sasaki, M. (2002). *Participation of Children in Schooling and Labour Activities: A Review of Empirical Studies*. The World Bank, Social Protection Discussion Paper No. 0221; Publication Date: 08/2002.

In all three countries surveyed, it could be argued that the lure of the city is a result of some of the factors below or a combination of these factors.

- The lack of possibilities for jobs in the countryside.
- An idealized view of urban life and the promise of an escape from the drudgery of rural life. Many young girls are lulled by the promise of something better in the city, perhaps because they are fleeing violence or family or social neglect.
- Many girls long to receive a better education, which they believe may be more accessible in the city.
- Some girls even wish to leave in order to escape an early marriage.
- The family and expected social role of children, whether such role implies that the child is expected to earn money for the family, like the girl CDWs in the Philippines, or whether the child is considered a mouth less to feed if gone into domestic servitude in Ghana. The researchers from Ecuador advocate that a social and family environment exists in some areas which objectifies children, allowing them to be used in various ways (including sexually) and ignores their plight as CDWs.

4.3 Link between CDW and other worst forms of child labour

According to an ILO/IPEC thematic evaluation on CDWs, CDW is usually a worst form of child labour. It infringes children's rights, leaves them open to all kinds of abuse, including physical, sexual and emotional abuse, and usually deprives children of education opportunities. For many, sexual abuse is seen as "part of the job". Children constantly "on call" are deprived of sleep, do not get adequate food, and may do hazardous jobs for which they are not prepared. Children who "fall out" of domestic work,³³ either because they are thrown out by their employers, or because they run away, run a very high risk of ending up in prostitution or other forms of commercial sexual exploitation.

The researchers from the Philippines reported that young girls from rural areas fall prey to promises of illegal recruiters to migrate and become child domestic workers. No recruiter would promise children work in brothels - they would instead usually promise domestic work. Once in transit, these recruits do not have enough information or alternatives to avoid whatever fate they are being lured into.

In Ecuador, the researchers report that loneliness, isolation, abuse and mistreatment force CDWs to seek new survival strategies, whether emotional (early marriage, enabling them to quit their jobs) or job-related (jobs that provide significant income so they can become independent). In these searches, if the levels of aggression,

³³ Crawford, S.; Poulson, B. (2002). *Thematic Evaluation on Child Domestic Workers*. ILO/IPEC.

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lack of protection and desperation reach intolerable levels, entry into the sex trade often occurs. The road to sexual exploitation from domestic servitude is often imperceptible, and many of those engaged in sexual exploitation experienced an almost obligatory passage through domestic labour.

No information on the links with other worst forms of child labour was outlined in the rapid assessment from the regions in Ghana.

4.4 The knowledge gaps

- The Philippines rapid assessment report advocates that more research should be undertaken into the links between child domestic work and other worst forms of child labour, particularly prostitution.
- In all three countries, mechanisms to evaluate the relative salary levels of domestic workers should be developed.
- The perceptions of teachers dealing with the working girl child would be an interesting area to follow up. In Ecuador, some girl CDWs were first recruited by or through their teachers. Attitudes of teachers to working children could be explored. A case study on one school that offers night classes in Negros Occidental in the Philippines could be developed so that the model it uses can be applied elsewhere.
- Case studies on CDWs' employers would be very helpful in all the three countries. Such information would help in understanding their position and how they view the sector and the conditions of their workers.
- For all regions studied in the three countries, more information on boy domestic workers is required and on how their situation compares in detail with girls. On the one hand, information on what the brothers of the girl CDWs are doing would complement the information on the girls, and on the other hand a comparison could be made between girl CDWs and boys of similar ages. For example, a National Report from South Africa on child domestic workers identified both boy and girl domestic workers using a gender analysis to reveal gender-based disparities, and the authors proposed gender-sensitive indicators by which the worst forms of child domestic labour could be measured³⁴.
- Another critical area for further study is the situation of girl CDWs who are involved in selling and marketing in comparison to those who only engage in housework. Issues around salary, isolation and opportunities could be investigated for those selling in comparison to those CDWs who do not normally leave the house.

³⁴ Budlender, D.; Bosch, D. (2002). *South Africa child domestic workers: A national report*. ILO/IPEC Geneva.

5. Country-specific recommendations with wider application

In all three countries, the large percentage of CDWs working for relatives and family members has significant implications for policy-making. It will be very difficult to formalise standards in the domestic work sector because the employer-employee relationship is foremost - although not quite in practice - a familial relationship. This issue will have to be tackled in all three countries.

The policy recommendations from both the Philippines and Ghana researchers call for a multi-stakeholder process to become involved in protecting children. This would include government officials, trade unions officials, existing institutions that protect children, NGOs, women's groups, religious organizations etc. Interestingly, this is the approach adapted in the ILO Time Bound Programmes for eradicating child labour in a particular country.

The policy recommendations from both the Philippines and Ecuador call for the current situation of girl CDWs to be improved. In the Philippines, it was recommended that employers should not be demonized, as this will encourage denial of the problem. Rather the recommendation is to adopt an approach that encourages employers themselves to engage in improving the working conditions of their employees. This is applicable also to Ghana and Ecuador.

The recommendations from Ghana emphasize formalizing the recruitment process for child domestic workers and having a register of all CDWs.

It is interesting to note that the recommendations from both the Philippines and Ecuador emphasize changing attitudes at the community level³⁵. In Ecuador, it is strongly recommended that the myths associated with domestic work be dispelled and low status attached to such work be challenged. Interestingly, this is in line with the recommendations from an ILO/IPEC International Meeting in the Americas (with experiences included from Ecuador) on child labour, where it was strongly recommended that a cultural transformation was needed to harmonize law, morals and culture, and the right for children to participate in the decision-making processes on child labour³⁶. Likewise in the Philippines, the challenge presented is to influence attitudes towards girl CDWs.

³⁵ An interesting example of an ILO/IPEC project that took this approach occurred in Erzurum, Turkey, in 1998/1999. Details are available in Murray, U. (2003). *Good practices: Gender mainstreaming in actions against child labour*. ILO/IPEC 2003 ISBN 92-2 113586-1

³⁶ OIT-IPEC (2000). *Memória: Reunión Técnica Internacional Niñez Trabajadora en el Hogar de Terceros*. Vários. Ed. Save the Children / OIT-IPEC (2000). *Memórias de la Reunión Técnica Internacional, Niñez Trabajadora en el Hogar de Terceros* (Lima:1999). Bogotá, 2000.

Table 43: Policy Recommendations

The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
The need for a multi-stakeholder framework for action	Stakeholders (government and trade union officials, institutions protecting children, women's groups and religious organizations) should be encouraged to get involved in issues concerning child labour	A cultural change process is required within the country
Improve working conditions for CDWs		Opportunities for children must be improved
Influence attitudes and gender norms		The current situation of child workers should be improved
Build relationships between CDWs and their employers	More agencies and institutions should be set up to handle recruitment of children involved in domestic labour and to help monitor their movements and activities	Myths about child labour in Ecuador must be dispelled
Improve educational opportunities for CDWs		
Institutionalize participation in group activities		
Prevent CDW through mobilizing communities		
Enhance tri-partite networking on the special needs of CDWs	A registering process should help to set a minimum age for children to be recruited	

6. Conclusions

CDW as a sector is nearly always beyond regulation and can in many cases be considered one of the worst forms of child labour. The majority of CDW respondents in the three countries studied worked with ‘relatives’, which makes the situation even more beyond regulation. Firstly, the employers or relatives are considered to be doing a large favour to the family of the girl child, and secondly any abuse they inflict on the CDW could be viewed as ‘normal’ inside the family or guardian relationship. Working for relatives means that their job and conditions are in the private sphere beyond rules. Most girls have unclear terms of work.

Although the girl respondents from Bacolod City in the Philippines have more opportunities for continuing their schooling³⁷ than the CDW girls from Manila or the respondents from the other two countries, many girls by virtue of becoming a CDW sacrifice their education and limit their chance of future employment opportunities beyond domestic work.

While living in their employers’ house, girls work hard all year round for long and indefinite hours, even at night. They suffer physical and verbal abuses. They experience extreme isolation from society in general and are often not allowed to move much outside the new household in which they now find themselves. They also suffer seclusion from their immediate families and any support networks that may exist. Many girls are vulnerable to sexual abuses from members of the household, although some may have been trying to escape abuse from their original family home.

CDWs are left at the mercy of their employers or relatives. Regardless of whether their life is considered better than it would be with their biological family, many employers do not fulfil their promises and very often the dream of escaping from rural life is not fulfilled.

Submission and acceptance of “their lot” is one of the common threads in all three countries studied. The conditions they experience and abuse or violation of their rights are considered normal, and are even considered acceptable by the girls’ families, although many parents expressed regret because of what their daughters will have to go through. Nonetheless many girls accept that *“this is the way it is”* rather than realizing that they have rights and their citizens’ and legal rights are being violated. Girls themselves need to be empowered so that they can negotiate better working conditions for themselves and learn that they do not have to “accept their lot”. Television was suggested as a way of reaching individual domestic workers in the Philippines.

Even if some CDWs have access to television in their place of work, most CDWs also do not have enough leisure or free time because they are always on call and

³⁷ Due to the presence of a unique education establishment sensitive to the needs of CDWs.

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hardly ever receive days off. Experience has shown, however, that those working directly with children in the domestic sector face major challenges in making contact with individual child domestic workers in their place of work³⁸. They are rarely reached by institutions from government, trade unions, or religious and women's institutions. Yet in many circumstances girl child domestic workers require help from these institutions, such as assistance in leaving their abusive working conditions. Girls may require temporary shelter so that they can avoid being thrown out on the streets, as well as medical care, legal assistance and counselling, particularly if they cannot return to their families. On a positive note, several institutions are starting to get in contact with CDWs in the Philippines.

One of the key lessons learned from these rapid assessments is that girls who work as domestic workers are not “helping out” in order to “become young women”, but are actually contributing financially to their family income. Recognizing the tight spending and saving patterns of CDWs, the necessity for micro-savings and credit schemes is evident from the responses in the Philippines. In view of the fact that employers hold the money for CDWs from the regions studied in Ghana, accessibility to a micro-savings scheme might be a way forward for these girls.

However, the most alarming results from all three countries studied are that girls are allowed to work as domestic workers subject to low wages, a high workload, verbal and physical abuse, as well as sexual abuse – all this with **little or no reaction** from society. The current acceptance of the conditions of girl child domestic workers and the belief that they are “helping out” must be challenged. This is particularly important because the domestic work sector is an ever-increasing sector in developing countries, even though in recent years in industrialized societies it has become more rare³⁹. Awareness-raising programmes, resulting in improved practices by employers, are necessary in all three countries compared in this analysis.

³⁸ Visayan Forum has organized a scheme known as “Luneta Park Activities” at Luneta Park in Manila, where the child domestics congregate on Sundays. This has proved to be an effective method of providing direct services. It has even led to the creation of an Association of Household Workers. See Flores-Oebanda, C., et al. (2001). *The Kasambahay (Child Domestic Work in the Philippines: A Living Experience)*, Visayan Forum (VF) Foundation Inc., with publication assistance from International Labour Organization (ILO), 2001.

³⁹ Salter, W. D. (1993). *The Forgotten Children, children in domestic service*, draft document produced for IPEC/ILO, Geneva.

Girl child labour in the commercial sexual exploitation of children: a comparative analysis

**Based on rapid assessment reports
from the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador**

The three rapid assessment reports upon which this comparative analysis is based are:

Glanville Einstein Williams (March 2003) *A rapid assessment report on girl child labour, especially commercial sexual exploitation, in Ghana.*

Castellnuovo y Asociados (August 2002) *Rapid Assessment Report on Girls Working in Agriculture, Domestic Labour and Sexual Exploitation in Ecuador.*

The Institute for Labour Studies, Department of Labour and Employment, Manila, (October 2002) *Girl Child Labour in commercial sexual exploitation in the Philippines: a rapid assessment.*

Executive summary

Between mid-2002 and early 2003 three Rapid Assessments (RAs) on the girl child in prostitution took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. Although this report presents a comparative analysis of these findings, the results of the RAs imply a bias to the particular location where the RA took place. Thus it is important to highlight that it is not possible to draw generalizations for each of the three countries at large.

The sample size from the regions of Ghana was much larger in comparison to the cities surveyed in Ecuador and the Philippines. However, only a very small percentage of respondents from Ghana described their work as being in prostitution, and many interviewed were engaged in other forms of work with prostitution as an ancillary activity.

The majority of respondents across the three countries were aged between 13 and 17 years, with the youngest respondents coming from Ghana. Half of the respondents from the Philippines and Ecuador had migrated to the area and two-thirds of the girls in Ghana had migrated. Poverty is at the root of all respondents' reasons for migration. Generalizing from the range of respondents, the girl child in Ghana migrates temporarily because it is a tradition to earn money for her marriage; in Ecuador she moves to the city to escape abuse at home and/or to obtain employment opportunities; and in the Philippines children migrated because of the collapse of the sugar industry in the region, and their families often moved in the search for better jobs.

In Bacolod City in the Philippines, the sexual exploitation of children was evident in two areas with very different conditions for boys and girls in each of the two areas. One area was a known rendezvous for cheap and unprotected sex, the other catered to those who were better off, with children who were better dressed and groomed. Young girls were made up not only to enhance their beauty but also to camouflage their age.

In Ghana, working as a Kayaye or child porter is considered to be an important rite of passage for a young girl, who has to save and purchase in advance all the items necessary for her marriage. Consequently, migrant young girls congregate in the capital city Accra to work as child porters, or engage in petty trading. It was revealed that many migrants and Kayaye girls engage in commercial sexual activity as a secondary source of fast cash. Some girls are as young as eleven years. Moreover, a high number of Kayaye girls are at one time or another forced to have sex with customers against their will. With no real shelter at night, these migrant girls are extremely vulnerable to sexual abuse and prostitution.

The researchers from Ecuador believe that for girls, agricultural work on third-party farms, complemented with unremunerated domestic labour and sexual exploitation, constitute stages of a single process. The passage from one to another comes as part of the search for better opportunities. They report that all girls involved in the sex industry have experienced situations of either physical and/or sexual abuse, or lack of protection, emotional neglect and/or abandonment. Some of the girls reported that they changed jobs to work in prostitution because, when they get abused now, they are paid for it. Becoming involved in prostitution comes from the

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failures of other survival strategies (getting married, domestic work, trying to live with relatives).

At least 70 per cent (or more) of the respondents across the three countries and regions do not attend school. When working, girls often fall below the average in school, and repeating a grade is not really an option, as they fear they will be ridiculed at school. A very high percentage of girls, nearly two-thirds of respondents from the Philippines and Ghana expressed an interest in going back to school. Yet a lack of interest in schooling by some girls coupled with the influence of friends often leads girls to become engaged in prostitution as a way to earn easy money.

The respondents from Ghana work the longest days, but this could be attributed to the fact that they engage in prostitution after their other day work, either in petty trading or as porters. The payment for working in prostitution varied considerably within each region of each country. It depended on the pick-up location in the Philippines; whether a commission had to go to pimps or queen mothers in the Philippines or Ghana; or whether the girls worked in legal brothels, on the street or in illegal barras in Ecuador. In terms of control over their earnings, having already had a sum taken off if there was a pimp, significant numbers of respondents in each country contribute to their family's income. Amounts given to the family also depended on whether the child lived with the parents or not. However, the highest percentage of girls gave part of their earnings to their families in Ecuador. Notably younger children in the Philippines did not automatically get paid a higher price; it depended on whether they had a pimp to negotiate for them.

The RAs from both Ghana and the Philippines reported that boys and girls were also found to engage in prostitution in tourist localities and it appears to be a growing phenomenon. Highly sophisticated international networks of paedophile gangs and the immense threat of HIV/AIDS give cause for extreme concern. Even if information on HIV/AIDS is available to respondents in the RAs, lack of acting on such information is worrying. This was especially true for boys in Bacolod City in the Philippines, in tourist locations for both boys and girls in coastal Ghana, and also in Guayaquil in Ecuador, where the girls get paid much more if a condom is not used. Girls and boys are more vulnerable than adults to concede when condom use is negotiated, as part of the power relationship established between the person who is sexually exploited and the user.

Over three-quarters of the girl respondents (and the boys in Bacolod City) in all the RAs reported that they were not happy with what they were doing.

The main situations that trigger child labour in prostitution in the three countries were found to be: poverty; dysfunctional families; the lure of city life; the lack of schooling; social obligations to make money to contribute to the family household; the influence of friends; social unrest and upheaval leading to economic hardship and migration; the value attributed to girls in society; the trafficking of children; interest and curiosity; materialism and obviously the demand for young children for sex.

How this section is organized

An overview of the research is presented in **Section 1**. The bulk of such information is presented in **Sections 2** and **3** of the document, with **Section 2** comparing the backgrounds of the girl child respondents in each country, and **Section 3** comparing their work situation.

Reflections on the similarities and differences across the three countries are presented in **Section 4** as well as an exploration of the factors that trigger children to engage in prostitution, including differences in the value society places on the girl child and the boy child.

A comparison between the policy recommendations that emanated from each RA report are presented in **Section 5**, particularly those that have wider application. Final conclusions are drawn in **Section 6**.

1. Overview of the research in the three countries

1.1 Introduction: Sexual exploitation of girls

Sexual exploitation of children is the sexual abuse of anyone under the age of 18 for economic or material gain or against payment in cash or kind. The sexual exploitation of children is a violation of human rights. The RAs from the regions of the three countries assessed focused on prostitution as a form of sexual exploitation.

Sexual exploitation is not a new problem, although due to improvements in transport and communication technology, including the Internet, it may be on the increase⁴⁰. Across the world it appears that there is a lowering of age at which children engage in sex work. The demand for younger girls relates partly to an attitude related to an affirmation of virility, and partly to a series of common myths related to the idea that girls do not carry STI/HIV/AIDS or can even cure such illnesses. Recognizing that prostitution is a complex problem including many and diverse victims and perpetrators, a deeper understanding about child labour in prostitution is required.

In 2002, three Rapid Assessments (RAs) on the girl child in prostitution took place in specific cities and regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. The overall purpose of the RAs, as part of IPEC's work on action against the worst forms of child labour, was to deepen the knowledge and existing information on child labour in prostitution as a worst form of child labour.

More specifically, the rapid assessments aimed to:

- Provide a holistic assessment of the situation of girl child labourers in prostitution in specific areas of the three countries
- Identify the principal factors that lead girls to become involved in prostitution
- Evaluate the working conditions and occupational risks of girls involved in prostitution
- Define the educational, emotional, family and social consequences of child labour among girls involved in prostitution
- Improve data collection, analysis and dissemination of information and research on child labour, especially its worst forms.

⁴⁰ Baker, R. (2001). *The Sexual Exploitation of Working Children – Guidelines for Action to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour*. Fact sheet for DFID (Department for International Development), February 2001:UK.

1.2 Research methods

The following RA methods were employed in the regions of the three countries:

In the Philippines

- One-on-one interviews with children engaged in prostitution.
- Interviews with some parents and other key informants organized using a structured questionnaire provided by ILO-IPEC (modified for cultural considerations).
- Site visits as well as observation of children during dialogues, observing their physical and verbal reactions.
- Focus group discussions (FGDs) with local government officials (including village officials), health workers, social workers, employers/managers, and police officers to verify/validate and compare information provided by the children and their parents.
- A document review and a review of official statistics.

In Ghana

- Interviews with girl children involved in commercial sexual work as their primary or secondary source of income (especially girls who primarily work as porters during the day – Kayaye⁴¹ girls).
- FGDs with children, pimps, child welfare workers and other key stakeholders.
- Observations of physical locations associated with children engaged in commercial sexual work and other related activities.
- A document and literature review.

In Ecuador

- In-depth interviews with children engaged in prostitution.
- A survey using an ILO/IPEC questionnaire as a basis with other children engaged in prostitution.
- A survey and some interviews with health-care institutions and institutions that care for children or youth.
- Interviews with key informants who were directly or indirectly involved with sexual exploitation, including the Juvenile Court, international agencies, local authorities, teachers, etc.
- A “snowball” technique was used to gather existing documentation on the subject.

⁴¹ Porters, girls hired to carry market items from place to place.

1.3 Sources of information

Children engaged in the commercial sex trade prostitution are an extremely difficult-to-reach group of subjects, partly because pimps, exploiters and others, including the children themselves, know that they are breaking the law, and partly because the children often tend to camouflage their age. Obtaining qualitative information from this invisible group can be very difficult and gruelling for the researchers involved.

The Philippines

- A study of available statistics on commercial sex workers was undertaken, which failed to produce reliable estimates. Consequently purposive sampling was undertaken in which the characteristics of the sample respondents were predetermined.
- A total of 44 girls and boys were interviewed in Bacolod City; 75 per cent were girls and 25 per cent boys. Thus girls were the main focus of the study, although the inclusion of boys allowed comparison to a certain extent. All children were aged 17 and below and engaged in commercial sex trade.

Ghana

- The sample included 363 girl child labourers and some of their parents, working in a variety of different locations throughout the Accra Metropolis. Only 2 per cent admitted that they were exchanging sex for money regularly, although 15 per cent admitted to have been paid for having sex. Nearly all (99%) of the girls were under 18 years of age.
- Three FGD were held with the following key informants in order to elicit their views, experiences, insights and concerns about the issue:
 - (1) Pimps, madams and girl child prostitutes actively engaged in commercial sexual activity,
 - (2) Individuals from the NGO community working on this issue,
 - (3) Key members from the Women and Juvenile's unit of the Ghana Police Service. This enabled them to discuss their experiences, the nature of the cases that they dealt with in the area of child labour (in particular the commercial sexual exploitation of the girl child), and their recommendations for policy-making.

Ecuador

- Surveys were undertaken with 22 girls involved in sexual exploitation in Guayaquil, using a non-probabilistic method.

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- In-depth interviews with 9 girls and 1 boy in the same city (10 children interviewed), thus making a total of 32 children (engaged in work as prostitutes) who were contacted⁴².
- Interviews with 10 adult sex workers who became involved in the sex industry when they were girls.
- Fifteen interviews with health-care institutions.
- Thirty interviews with members of youth organizations, women’s organizations, programmes for working children, children’s homes and NGOs working in community development or carrying out special protective programmes (for children separated from their families, gangs, pregnant teens, etc.).
- Thirty interviews with other stakeholders who are directly or indirectly involved with the activities being studied, including organizations for sexual minorities, the Juvenile Court, international agencies, local authorities, teachers, etc.⁴³.

Table 44: Comparison of sample size of children engaged in prostitution

Numbers interviewed			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children interviewed women	44	363	32 + 10 slightly older
No. of girls	33	363	22 girls surveyed 9 interviews with girls 10 older women interviewed = 41
No. of boys	11	0	1 in-depth interview

It is evident from the numbers of children interviewed in the three countries that the largest sample size was in Ghana, with both the Philippines and Ecuador having much smaller sample sizes. The researchers in the Philippines were the only ones that attempted to include a valid representation of boys engaged in sexual exploitation in their sample.

⁴² The RA results from Ecuador tended to be a bit confusing as sometimes the researchers are referring to the group of 22 girls surveyed and other times to the group of 9 girls and 1 boy interviewed or to the 10 older women.

⁴³ Note: The additional interviews also served to provide information for two other rapid assessments, one on child domestic workers and the other on girl child labour in agriculture.

1.4 Survey locations and reasons for choice of such locations

In the Philippines, Bacolod City in the northwestern part of the Province of Negro Occidental, on the Visayan Islands, was the surveyed area. Bacolod City is both a receiving and sending area for rural people heading for Manila.

Children were mainly located in two areas:

- 1) the main public plaza of Bacolod City
- 2) the city's entertainment district, the Golden Fields, which was more upmarket than the public plaza.

Final sites were selected in consultation with government agencies and, whenever possible, with NGOs based in the localities. Both sites were commonly known locations for commercial sexual activity. Some children were also interviewed at a government-run rehabilitation centre.

In Ghana, as mentioned above, the researchers did not directly approach the subject of prostitution but concentrated on interviewing girls suspected to be working in prostitution as a secondary source of income. The sites were carefully chosen around Metropolis Accra on the basis that they are immediately recognizable as areas that attract young girl child labourers. These research locations⁴⁴ are well-known as long-established centres of commercial activity by girls from the hinterlands, because of the promise of almost instantaneous work. Girls work as porters and conduct petty trading, but also engage in commercial sexual work as their ancillary occupation. RA sites included commercial market areas, localities notorious for girls engaging in prostitution, tourist beaches, nearby agricultural towns, and a busy lorry centre. An FGD at a brothel in Accra (home to around 200 girls, some as young

Table 45: Comparison of research areas

Location of research respondents and reasons for location			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Location of research	Bacolod City in the North Western part of the province of Negro Occidental on the Visayan Islands	Around Metropolis Accra: commercials market areas, notorious prostitute area, tourist destinations, lorry park, nearby towns	Guayaquil, in the province of Guayas in the coastal region
Reasons for choice of research locations	Bacolod City is both a receiving and sending area for rural people heading for Manila	Sites chosen as immediately recognizable as areas that attract young girl labourers	Guayaquil has the largest reported number of people with HIV/AIDS and children in prostitution

⁴⁴ Locations included: Agbogbloshie, Chorkor, Ashaiman, Mina, Mallam Attah, Labadi Pleasure Beach, Accra Lorry Park, Sodom and Gomorrah.

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as 9 years) corroborated the view that there is a very brisk trade in sex between young girls and boys with foreign tourists, who actively seek out liaisons at hotels, nightclubs, bars and other venues.

In Ecuador, the RA took place in Guayaquil, in the province of Guayas in the coastal region. Although Quito is the capital, it does not have the most developed sex industry. The study was instead limited to the city of Guayaquil, which is the largest on the coast and the country's main seaport. It is also a destination for migrants from throughout the country, and the province of Guayas has the largest number of people with HIV/AIDS (2,760 cases reported as of 2001). In 1994, according to an estimate by FIPA-UNICEF, there were 21,626 children in prostitution and being sexually exploited for homosexual and heterosexual relations with paedophiles. This number far exceeded estimates for other cities, such as Quito, Machala and Esmeraldas.

1.5 Limitations

Although RAs of children engaged in prostitution can serve as a reference or baseline to evaluate the particular situation in the three countries studied and give a general overview, it still has several practical limitations as outlined below.

- In all three countries, the information obtained reflects a particular picture from the locations, for the specific time during which the research took place, on the situation of the girl child in prostitution. The information cannot be extrapolated nationally.
- The results that RA produces are preliminary, and gaining a deeper and more comprehensive understanding still requires more detailed research.
- In general the RA methodology is considered best suited to village or community-level studies, and is less useful for studying larger geographic areas.
- The variables studied and the data gathered are of necessity concentrated on the issues outlined in the guidelines for the RA in that sector, and may only briefly examine certain linked aspects of girl child labour in prostitution. For instance, girls engaged in other forms of sexual exploitation such as pornography, or girls engaged in domestic work.

1.6 Specific country challenges

In all three countries, the emphasis was on the girl child because the girl child was the focus of the research. Comparisons cannot be made with boys of similar ages or with girl children engaged in other forms of child labour. Although a quarter of the respondents from Bacolod City in the Philippines were boys, in Ghana no boys engaged in prostitution were interviewed at all, and in Ecuador only one boy was interviewed. Furthermore, no control groups were included in the research in any country.

Ecuador

In **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, two groups of girls engaged in prostitution were assessed, one group was surveyed and the other group interviewed. Before the field work for the survey could begin, the IPEC/ILO research instruments had to be tested and redesigned with regard to the content. Certain questions created tension among girls involved in sexual exploitation or triggered defence mechanisms. The issue of money was among those omitted in the questionnaire (and information was gathered from the in-depth interviews instead). In general, the researchers in Ecuador found that the research instruments were too long and addressed issues with a coldness that tended to objectify both the children and the researcher. The researchers found that the in-depth interviews were better sources of information and more respectful than the survey.

On the whole, the researchers reported that not enough time was allotted for the preparation of the assessment, considering the intricate nature of the issue.

Ghana

The researchers from Ghana also encountered difficulties in interviewing children engaged in commercial sexual work, and thought the RA questionnaire inordinately long. Naturally the vast majority of respondents were reluctant to be open and honest concerning the sexual activity questions, so the researchers concentrated on prostitution as a secondary source of income. It was clear that a substantial number of the respondents are also engaged in commercial sexual activity, but refused to answer the questions related to sexual activity truthfully, if at all. As a result the researchers had to validate the answers given by cross-questioning the madams, offering inducements for full and frank disclosures, and undertaking clandestine nocturnal observations of the girls.

It proved difficult to determine the exact ages of the girls interviewed. Language barriers were a consideration with a large number of respondents originating from Northern Ghana and unfamiliar with or unable to answer the questions in Akan. This meant that interpreters had to be found and interviews re-conducted.

The Philippines

No special limitations were reported from the researchers in Bacolod City in the Philippines. This may have been because the researchers worked very closely with social workers who were known and trusted by the respondents for their concern and active involvement in their treatment.

2. Comparison of RA respondents in Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

2.1 Age range of respondents

The majority of the girl respondents from the Philippines were aged 17, whereas the boys were on average a year younger. The sample size from Ghana was much larger than in the other two countries. The majority of the respondents were slightly younger than the Philippines, with 41 per cent aged 13-15 years and a significant 35 per cent aged between 16-18. The majority of the girl respondents engaged in prostitution in Ecuador were between 15-16 years. The youngest respondents were interviewed in Ghana, with 3 per cent of respondents aged under 10 years and one-fifth aged between 10-12.

Table 46: Comparison of the age of respondents

	The Philippines		Ghana		Ecuador	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total number of children interviewed	11	33		363		22
Average age of respondents	Majority 16	Majority 17	Average age of respondents	Majority 13-15 followed by 17-18	Average age of respondents	Majority were 15-16 years
			5-9 years	3%		
			10-12 years	20%		
14-15	4	6	13-15 years	41%	14 years	1
16-17	7	27	16-18 years	35%	15-16 years 17 years	18 3

Overall, the majority of respondents across the three countries were aged between 13 and 17 years.

2.2 Age started working in prostitution

The girls in **Guayaquil in Ecuador** began working in sexual exploitation at an average age of 13.7 years. In general the children from **Bacolod City in the Philippines** started working in the sex trade at the age of 15, although two reported that they were only 10 when they started. Among the boys interviewed in Bacolod City, most were already engaged in prostitution when they were 13 years old. For nearly all the respondents in Bacolod City (86%) sexual exploitation was their first work experience. **In Guayaquil**, more than half of the surveyed girls reported that sexual exploitation was their first economic activity, although some girls had previously worked.

Determining the age at which girls started working in commercial sex in **Ghana** proved difficult, as only 2 per cent of the respondents described their work as commercial sexual work, although 15 per cent of the respondents admitted to have been paid for having sex. Of the 363 children interviewed, a third described their work as Kayayes (porters), whilst two-thirds described themselves as petty traders. Nevertheless a high degree of commercial sexual activity has been observed to take place amongst the young Kayaye girls and their customers. Very young females engaged in prostitution were found at Agbogbloshie and Chorkor markets. Over 60 per cent of the girl respondents in Ghana started working generally from the ages of 10 to 14.

Overall a third of the girl respondents in Ghana stated that they were engaging in some form of sexual activity but not specifically prostitution. Even so, over 78 per cent of the child respondents admitted that they had had their first sexual encounter before the age of 15 years. Around 20 per cent stated that they had been forced at one time or another to have sex against their will.

Table 47: Comparison of the age respondents started working

	The Philippines		Ghana	Ecuador
	Boys	Girls	Girls	Girls
Total number of children interviewed	11	33	363	22
Age started working in sexual exploitation	13	15 (with some as young as 10)	10-14 started work in general, because only 2% described their work as commercial sex work	13.7

2.3 Origin of girls

Over half of the child respondents in **Bacolod City in the Philippines** were born there. The trend to migrate was attributed to economic factors or familial roots.

Nearly two-thirds of the girl respondents in **Accra** were from the North of **Ghana**. In the North, migration to cities is a tradition for young girls and they mainly come

from the North to the city to work as Kayaye girls to earn money before marriage. Girls also migrate from the southern part of Ghana to enter into petty trading, domestic work and farming activities.

More than half of the girls in **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, were natives of the city (12 out of 22). Those who migrated to Guayaquil did so without their parents when they were young, between the ages of 11 and 14. The motivation for the move to Guayaquil was to look for work, to escape domestic abuse, or because they moved with their partner.

Thus a large number of respondents in all three RAs had migrated to the city. In Ghana the girl child does this as tradition to earn money for her marriage, in Ecuador she moves to the city to escape abuse at home, and in the Philippines children moved for family and work reasons.

2.4 Family situations and abuse

Little more than one-third of the respondents in **Bacolod City in the Philippines** enjoy a cordial relationship with their families, while over a fifth came from broken families. Twenty per cent replied that their family relationship is far from perfect, with frequent quarrels due to financial difficulties and vices (e.g. alcoholism, drugs, womanizing). One-fifth of the respondents, in fact, reported having dysfunctional families; 40 per cent of the respondents do not live with their parents. Five of the respondents had already given birth.

The results of the study in **Ghana** demonstrated the impoverished socioeconomic background of the average girl worker on the streets of Ghana. All the girls interviewed appeared to be malnourished and considerably underweight. However, the RA concentrated on current relationships rather than their family relationships, and the vast majority of children interviewed classified as good their relationships with their current bosses (madams, etc.), other adults with whom they work, their customers and their fellow child workers.

In **Ecuador**, nearly all of the respondents grew up without both of their biological parents living together. In general, the level of mistreatment and sexual abuse of the surveyed group of girls, the interviewed group and the older women engaged in prostitution was high – see below. Traumatic family situations were experienced by all, and each respondent listed at least one or more of the following: being orphaned; being abandoned by both parents; being abandoned by father or by mother; sexual harassment/abuse; physical abuse/violence/ alcoholism; pregnancy and abortion.

Table 48: Ecuador respondents: traumatic situations suffered by girls

Ecuador respondents in Guayaquil	
Of the 22 girls surveyed	6 had been pregnant 2 had children 4 abortions
Of the 18 girls interviewed	12 had been pregnant 10 had children 3 had abortions 2 were sexually harassed when young
The 1 boy interviewed	Raped by father when aged 9
Of the 10 adult sex workers	7 had abortions

2.5 Where the girls currently live

Sixty per cent of the respondents still live with their respective family members in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, while the remainder have run away from home and are living with their friends/gang mates, co-workers or handlers/pimps. Key informants revealed that pimps preferred hiring migrants rather than locals, mainly because the former were easier to manage, were more complacent and could not leave the establishment on very short notice as they had nowhere else to go. In contrast when scolded, locals can just leave work, go home or hide in their relatives' homes.

Referring to the Kayaye and petty trading girls in **Accra, Ghana**, most live in wooden sheds around the markets that are used for trading purposes by day and as night shelters. They pay a fee for the use of this shelter and typically sleep on either cardboard, sacking or upon a piece of cloth. The fact that this shelter is only available to them by night means that they have no secure place to store their possessions⁴⁵.

In **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, nearly half the girls surveyed live with their families, some live with female friends who are also involved in sexual exploitation, some live with a partner, others with sisters, cousins or more distant relatives.

2.6 Locations of exploitation and how the work is organized

Almost two-thirds of the respondents in **Bacolod City** operated in well-known pick-up points, namely the main public Plaza and the Golden Fields Entertainment Complex. The public Plaza is known as a rendezvous for cheap unprotected sex. Many children here work alone, roaming the area in search of customers who are

⁴⁵ The Kayaye girls have a well-developed system of savings amongst themselves.

served in nearby areas with no facilities. Those with pimps stay in one corner of the Plaza. The Golden Fields complex catered to those who are better off. Free-lancer prostitutes can be found mingling with potential customers in certain disco houses of the Complex, while those who have pimps stay in one place, usually aboard parked Asian utility vehicles.

In general, prostitution in **Accra, Ghana**, is seen as highly lucrative work that does not require any educational qualifications. A practice of some of the young girls was to squat on empty bottles smeared with shea butter to dilate the vagina sufficiently to accommodate any client.

Most prostitution organized around the Kayaye girls in Ghana was reported to occur without an intermediary, although organized prostitution is also prevalent. Some occurs at nights, other when meeting clients through porter work. Other findings from Ghana revealed that young children engaged in prostitution, some as young as eleven years, congregated at specific locations such as beaches and tourist resorts in order to be picked up, or lived at brothels in Accra.

Most girls work independently, operating from the street, drinking bars, market areas, restaurants and nightclubs. At some of these locations, the girls had organized themselves into groups of 5 to 10 members with their ages varying from 12 to 20 years. A *Queen Mother* is elected from within the group and her role is to market the services of members and to match them with specific client tastes. In some cases the Queen Mother was as young as 16 years. Employees of restaurants, clubs and bars also act as agents and refer clients to the Queen Mother for a commission. The organization of these groups mirrors the selling system of commodities in the market place. Sometimes young girls are the “understudy” of older prostitutes for about a month prior to engaging in independent activity.

In **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, four out of every 10 surveyed girls work in legal brothels, and two out of every 10 in clandestine brothels (known as *barra bars*) and the rest work from the street. Although the sexual exploitation of minors is prohibited in Ecuador, nearly half of the surveyed girls work in legal establishments supervised by health, labour and police authorities. In comparison, three-quarters of the girls interviewed rather than surveyed, revealed that they are mainly working in illegal places.

2.7 Reasons for engaging in work as prostitutes

In **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, the main incentive to engage in the sex trade was money. 48 per cent said that they needed the work to supplement their respective families' incomes; 14 per cent said they resorted to it to be able to escape from family problems, and 11 per cent wanted to become economically independent. The boys tended to work for survival more than the girls who tended to work to buy more material items.

In **Ghana**, 79 per cent of the respondents stated that the main motivation for working in general⁴⁶ was due to financial reasons; only 8 per cent cited family problems as the reason for entering into employment, and the remaining 13 per cent seem to have entered into employment because of peer pressure or because it was customary for them to do so. When they marry, between the ages of 15 and 17,

⁴⁶ This question was answered with respect to work in general, rather than engaging in prostitution.

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brides are expected to have certain items such as pots and pans, aluminium bowls, cooking utensils, traditional cloth and money. A girl who has nothing is considered a disgrace and will be the laughing stock of the village. Girls usually return home from the city after they have earned enough money to purchase such items.

According to the survey, respondents from **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, except for those who mentioned increasing income, became involved in sexual exploitation to contribute to the family and for survival.

Table 49: Comparison of reasons for starting to work in prostitution

Reasons for starting to work			
	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
To contribute to family income	48%	N/A	17 out of 22
To pay school expenses	N/A	N/A	1 out of 22
To become economically independent	11%	N/A	8 out of 22
Only accessible source of income / no other jobs	9%	N/A	4 out of 22
To increase income	N/A	79%	8 out of 22
To escape domestic violence or family problems	14%	8%	5 out of 22
Peer pressure/customary	N/A	13%	N/A

It is evident across the respondents from all three countries that financial reasons such as contributing to family income or increasing their own income are the main reasons for engaging in work in sexual exploitation. Relatively more respondents from Ecuador reported that they wished to escape family violence or abuse.

2.8 Who encourages the girls to get involved in prostitution

In **Bacolod City in the Philippines**, the small group of parents interviewed unanimously stated that they neither forced nor requested their children to work. Peer influence seems to be the main driving factor why children in Bacolod City got involved in commercial sex, with two-thirds prompted by their friends to get involved. Those driven into commercial sex by pimps only accounted for 9 per cent of the children interviewed. Twenty per cent decided themselves because it was considered easy money.

By contrast in **Ghana**, the RA survey showed that the vast majority of the children (46%), when questioned about who had recruited them into their work (not referring directly to their work in commercial sex), answered that their parents or

Table 50: Comparison of respondents' influences to begin working in prostitution

Influences to start working			
	The Philippines	Ghana (working in general, rather than in prostitution)	Ecuador
Prompted by parents	N/A	46%	N/A
Prompted by mother	N/A	21%	N/A
Decided themselves	20%	N/A	N/A
Prompted by friends	66%	N/A	18 out of 22
Prompted by husbands/partners	N/A	N/A	4 out of 22
Prompted by pimp	9%	N/A	N/A

other family members had been instrumental, with 21 per cent of them acknowledging that it was their mothers who had recruited them. In some cases parents take their children from the village to urban areas to be housemaids or apprentices, and negotiate a fee for them. In other cases, the children are lured by strangers or a syndicated group that move around villages, enticing parents to give up their children with the promise of “better living” at their destinations.

In **Ecuador**, the great majority of girls became involved in the sex industry through friends, followed by husbands or partners, although this figure was numerically less significant.

Being prompted by friends had a significantly high number of responses from the Ecuador and Philippines respondents. This is in line with other case studies (in South-East Asia)⁴⁷ that have detailed the recruitment of children by siblings, friends or other children in the community.

Conversely, because the survey in Ghana seemed to refer to work in general, rather than work in prostitution, the responses related to parents or mothers prompting children to begin earning money for their future.

2.9 Education and its importance for respondents

All of the respondents from **Bacolod City in the Philippines** could fairly well read and write in English and Filipino, although not perfectly. About 93 per cent of the respondents have stopped going to school. Twenty-seven per cent had been out of school for at least two years. There were more girls who have been out of school for longer periods than the boys. Despite the tuition-free for primary and secondary education offered by the government, almost a third of the respondents said their

⁴⁷ Lim, L. L. (eds.) (1998). *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia*, International Labour Office: ILO, Geneva.

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respective families could not afford to send them to school due to the high cost of school supplies, uniforms and transport fares.

Other reasons for giving up schooling included:

- Girls needed to help in the household chores,
- Fear of being ridiculed in school,
- Not interested in school,
- To work for wages to help augment family income,
- Running away from home to be away from an abusive father, involvement in gangs,
- To take care of sick members of the family.

Most of the respondents in **Ghana** originated from rural backgrounds where the need for a formal education was reported as not viewed to be a cost-effective investment. Often education is seen as important only in equipping the children with the ability to count and read for the purposes of selling their family produce at the market. Nearly 70 per cent were not currently attending school, while a quarter claimed that they were combining attending school with working. Very few of those in school in Ghana had graduated to secondary school, as can be seen from the table below.

Table 51: Level of school attendance of respondents from Ghana

Grade	Total
Grades P1-P6	36
Junior school 1-3	38
Secondary school 1-3	17
	91

Other points related to the education of the girls in Ghana:

- Nearly a fifth left school between the ages of 10 and 14,
- Eight per cent left school between the ages of 5 and 9,
- Five per cent left school when they were over 15 to enter into work,
- Thirty-eight per cent were reluctant to discuss education,
- Nearly 40 per cent of the girls reported that they could read and write.

Nearly all of the girls surveyed in **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, had been to school. Other findings included:

- Still studying – 2 out of 22,
- Dropped out of school – 20 out of 22,
- Completed some primary school – 9 out of 22.

It is evident that the majority of the respondents across the countries and regions assessed do not now attend school, with at least over 70 per cent of respondents in all three RAs reporting that they do not currently attend school. It was reported in both Ecuador and the Philippines that, when girls fall below average in school, repeating a grade is not really an option as they fear they will be ridiculed at school.

Girl child labour in commercial sexual exploitation of children

Almost two-thirds of the respondents in Bacolod City in the **Philippines** expressed their desire to go back to school. However 20 per cent, all of whom were girls, had no intention of going back to school. 68 per cent of the respondents from Ghana wished to return to school. Of the girls in **Ghana** who did not wish to go back to school, nearly three-quarters were over 15 years, which possibly explained their reluctance to return to school.

Although no information from **Ecuador** was available on this question, nearly two-thirds of respondents from the Philippines and Ghana expressed an interest in going back to school.

Table 52: Comparison of respondents' school attendance status

School attendance status	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total interviews	44	363	22
Never been to school	–	Not known how many actually ever attended school – but high	2
Currently not at school	93% (70% are girls)	70%	20
Currently combining school & work	–	25%	2
Reasons: School too expensive	32%	–	–
Not interested	11%	–	–
To work for wages	7%	–	–
Gave up to help in domestic chores	16%	–	–
Were ridiculed or laughed at in school	14%	–	–
Other reasons (ran away from home, gangs, caring for sick)	7%	–	–

Table 53: Comparison of desire to return to school

	The Philippines	Ghana
% that wish to go to school	62%	68%

2.10 Respondents' parents

The parents of the Bacolod City children in the **Philippines** knew how to read and write. The background of the parents of the average girl respondent in **Ghana** comprised farmers, petty traders, and semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The parents of the children engaged in prostitution in Guayaquil, **Ecuador**, have little or no formal education.

None of those parents interviewed in the Philippines were aware of their daughters' activities. Similarly in no case were parents aware of their daughters' activities in Guayaquil, Ecuador. Only a handful of girls said that a sibling knew about their work in Guayaquil.

3. The conditions under which the RA respondents from Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines are exploited

3.1 Hours of work per day

Most of the child respondents in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, have no fixed work time and a third have no fixed work days. About 18 per cent spend six hours of work a day while 14 per cent work for five hours a day. The longest number of hours worked reported in this study was ten hours while the shortest was less than three hours; 16 per cent work almost every day.

The hours of work for the girl respondents from **Accra, Ghana**, vary from 4 hours per day to 18 hours per day; however over 71 per cent of the respondents work between 8 and 14 hours every day, seven days a week⁴⁸.

The girls who were surveyed in **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, work an average four days a week (with a minimum of three and a maximum of six). Nearly all the girls are engaged to work more than 21 hours a week. Half of these girls work between 21 and 30 hours a week. The average number of hours is 30.3 a week, with an average of eight sexual contacts a day. The average number of daily sexual contacts among the girls who were interviewed was higher, at 17.7 (with a minimum of 10 and maximum of 50 contacts a day).

Table 54: Comparison of days/hours worked

Time spent working		
The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Range of responses 3-10 hours a day	Range of responses 4 hours to 18 hours a day	All work more than 21 hours a week
18% work 6 hours a day	71% work between 8 and 14 hours a day,	45% work 21 to 30 hours
14% work 5 hours a day	7 days a week	40% work 31 to 40 hours
16% work almost every day		9% more than 40 hours
33% have no fixed workdays		Average 4 days a week

⁴⁸ It is important to note that these percentages refer to their primary occupation, although it could also refer to engaging in prostitution after their primary work.

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From a comparison of the responses in the table above, the respondents from Ghana seem to have the longest days. However, it is not clear if respondents from each country were asked this question in the same way, and also whether all respondents were including other tasks they perform, rather than the primary one.

3.2 Pay

In **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, each customer is charged for the specific period. Pick-up points determine the fees. Some of the findings from Bacolod City are summarized below:

- Commercial sex workers based in the Golden Fields command higher fees compared to their Plaza-based counterparts. Plaza-based children (both boys and girls) charge between P100 (\$1.87) and P500 (\$9.40) while Golden Fields girls sell their services at P1000 (\$18.7) and higher.
- Commercial sexual activity in the Golden Fields is a lot more organized and the majority of the girls here are managed, housed and groomed. Consequently, the pimps get a sizeable portion of the service fees that the child workers receive from their clients, so the price per customer tends to be higher.
- Plaza-based commercial sexual workers in comparison are mainly freelancers and not very well groomed (they spend less money on their appearance).
- Golden Fields girls have to factor in pay-offs to local authorities if arrested - they also have to pay off their protectors to allow them to operate in the area.
- Plaza-based children do not worry about bailing themselves out when they are arrested by local police, since they will eventually be freed or transferred to temporary shelters for counselling and rehabilitation. Police detention of children is against the law.
- Virgins do not command a high price. Most pimps prefer not to hire them because the price attached to their services is outweighed by the costs of providing physical, mental and emotional assistance.
- The highest recorded service fee charged by a boy respondent (15 years of age) was P500 or \$9.40, while for girls (one 16-year-old), P5000 or \$94. However, one 17-year-old girl said that she charges as low as P100 or \$1.87 for each sexual intercourse with a customer. Two 14-year-old boys also gave the same answer. Thus age alone is not the only factor for the child's service rate.
- Children usually charge a relatively higher fee early in the evening. The fees decrease in the course of the night due to the smaller number of customers demanding services.
- Higher fees were usually attached to young children being managed by pimps, as the pimps were in a better position to negotiate with the client about the price on behalf of the child. In comparison, young children in the Plaza cannot alone negotiate higher prices.
- Some child workers receive payment in kind, such as cell phones, clothes, food, accessories and sometimes jewellery. Regular customers usually give cell phones so that the next time they can easily reach the children.

- More girl children tended to prefer in-kind items than boys, inferring that boys were into the trade for survival while the girls were into it for convenience, allowing them to buy luxuries.

In **Accra, Ghana**, 74 per cent of the girl child labourers were paid for their services in cash, the remainder are paid in goods, tips etc. However, as mentioned above, only a small percentage of girls admitted they were engaged in prostitution. Of the 363 girls, only 12 per cent of the girls questioned admitted that they received income from other activities, of whom 14 per cent confessed that the extra income was earned from prostitution. Although the real incidence of prostitution amongst girl child labourers is much higher, the RA could not provide more information on payments for engaging in prostitution.

According to the girls in the interview group in Guayaquil, Ecuador, the amount of money received for each sexual contact varies depending on the place and type of contact. The girls who earn least are those who work on the street; they receive US\$3 to US\$4 per contact, doubling the price if a condom is not used. Girls in brothels receive from US\$4 to US\$5 or from US\$6 to US\$10 per contact, depending on the type of contact. Here, too, the price doubles if a condom is not used.

The girls who work in illegal establishments (barras) receive a fixed wage for their work as waitresses, ranging from US\$10 to US\$20 a month, but it can be as much as US\$130 or US\$170. Payment for sexual contacts is separate from wages. The boy interviewed receives far more than the girls: US\$50 per contact. A rough estimate of the monthly income of these girls is US\$726 a month; 68 per cent of the girls received some information about their obligations to the employer, the payment they will receive for each client (according to the service provided) and their work hours. One-third of the girls have received no information. In most cases, another woman engaged in prostitution - and in fewer cases the brothel owner or manager or the pimp - provided the information. Those who work in illegal establishments (from the interview group) receive far less information.

3.3 Control over resources earned

In **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, 23 per cent of children give part of their earnings to their parents and another part to their pimps; 18 per cent share their earnings with their parents alone.

In **Accra, Ghana**, the research findings indicate that 27 per cent of the girls regularly remit money home to their families. Other studies on street girls of Accra⁴⁹ indicated that such girls remain strongly connected to their communities of origin (as well as to the new urban communities which are formed by migrants from their home towns). Forty-two per cent stated that they spent their money on purchasing items such as clothes, household goods etc. Thirty per cent of the girls engaged in some sort of savings scheme. Savings were found to be quite common with the Kayaye girls, outside the formal banking structure but with highly organized informal systems (called susu and adashie).

⁴⁹ Apt, N.A.; Grieco, M. (1997). *Listening to the Girls on the Streets tell their own Story – What will help them most*. The Centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana.

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Of those 12 surveyed girls who live outside their nuclear family in **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, 6 girls contribute money to their families. Of those who still live with their families (10 girls), only 7 said they contribute to their families. Of the girls surveyed, just over half of them contribute to the income of their nuclear families, whether or not they live with their families.

Table 55: Comparison of control of resources earned

How money earned is spent	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Total number of children interviewed	44	363	22
Give part to parents	23%	27%	10
Give part to pimps	23%	–	–
Give only to parents	18%	–	–
Money used for purchasing items for household, clothes	–	42%	–
Save	–	30%	–

A significant number of respondents in each country contribute to their family's income. Although this varied, it depended on whether the child lives with the parents or not. However, the highest percentage of girls gave part of their earnings to their families in Ecuador.

3.4 Knowledge about sexually transmitted diseases

Over two-thirds of the respondents in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, were already aware of the demands of prostitution, including the risks and hazards accompanying it, before entering into the work. They were taught by their peers and managers or learned about it as they got into it. Only a minority (7%) said that they had no idea what they were getting into, although a quarter of the respondents gave no response. A fifth viewed contracting sexually- transmitted diseases (STDs including HIV/AIDS) as a hazard. Most of the boys engaged in prostitution declined to comment on these issues.

In **Accra, Ghana**, over 50 per cent of the respondents said that contracting HIV/AIDS or any other sexually transmitted disease was what they feared most. Nearly 50 per cent of the children engaging in sex claimed that they used condoms or other forms of protection against sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancy. FGD respondents from a brothel stated that quite often their foreign clients would request anal sex, insisting on the use of a condom; however there were some clients who insisted on not wearing any condom at all, and they were charged a higher rate.

The majority of the girls surveyed in **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, had sufficient information about the prevention of STDs. Only 4 out of 22 girls surveyed did not have a

clear understanding of the concepts. Despite this, only about a third of girls use condoms, and those who do use condoms only do so in slightly more than half their sexual contacts. When asked about their reasons for not using condoms, the only two reasons given were:

- 1. the man pays more if a condom is not used
- 2. the man simply refuses to use one.

Table 56: Respondents’ knowledge about sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)

The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
66% aware of the demands of sex trade	50% said contracting HIV/AIDS or STDs was what they feared most	Majority had sufficient information on STDs
7% said no idea of what they were getting into	50% claimed they use condoms	4 out of 22 did not understand STDs
25% no response		A third use condoms but only in half of their sexual contacts
20% worried about STDs		

The respondents from Ghana seemed the most concerned about contacting HIV/AIDS. Girls and boys are more vulnerable than adults to concede when condom use is negotiated, as part of the power relationship established between the person who is sexually exploited and the user. This vulnerability is increased by the age difference, by pressure from brothel managers and owners, and by characteristics of the supply of and demand for services.

3.5 Medical check-ups

About a quarter of female respondents in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, undergo physical/medical examinations once a week, although 23 per cent never have medical check-ups. Health or medical check-ups for others, usually the Plaza-based workers, may occur after being arrested by the police and being sent to the city’s social and health development centres. On the other hand, regular entertainers over 18 years of age are required to undergo a physical check-up once a week in order to be issued a certificate or good health card. Ironically, customers often request this from older women engaged in prostitution.

The RA reports from **Ghana and Ecuador** did not make reference to medical check-ups.

3.6 Abuses suffered

Many children in prostitution in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, experienced contempt from their own family and suffered insults from people in general. Over a third suffered physical abuse from clients, and nearly a third had constant interaction with the police resulting in detention. The boy respondents viewed police detention as very serious. Boys got detained whenever they were caught loitering in the Plaza, engaging in gang wars and sniffing solvents. Being physically/sexually abused by a client was the foremost concern of many girl respondents. Many girls and boys engaged in substance abuse.

Due to the fact that the majority of Kayaye girls and petty traders in **Ghana** do not have a suitable structure in which to sleep, but rather sleep in kiosks, market stalls and even out in the open, they are very susceptible to malaria. Sixty-five per cent of the girls stated that they did not think their work dangerous. However, the 35 per cent who did consider their work to be dangerous mentioned as problems having to indulge in sexual intercourse with customers, being raped and being influenced by bad friends. They said that anyone could do anything to them at any time.

Neither the girls in the survey group nor those interviewed in **Ecuador** reported or admitted violent or cruel practices in sexual exploitation. The adult women, however, did report such practices, leading the researchers to believe that the girls engaged in prostitution could not relate or vocalize the abuses they suffered.

Table 57: Comparison of abuses mentioned by respondents

Abuses mentioned		
The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Contempt from family and people in general	Illnesses associated with sleeping rough	Girls did not report abuses but older women were able to relate abuses
33% suffered physical abuse from clients	40% of porters maltreated	
33% suffered from constant interaction with police	35% think the work is dangerous	
20% sexually abused by police	Being raped by customers a problem	
Engaging in substance abuse	The bad influence of friends	

3.7 Girls’ perceptions of their work

A large percentage (86%) of respondents in **Bacolod City, the Philippines**, did not want to continue in commercial sex. Only 9 per cent were satisfied with their current jobs. A quarter of the respondents said they would like to receive better payment and have a job that would be easier to perform. Fourteen per cent would like to finish their studies and 12 per cent would prefer to work as a salesperson.

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Over 75 per cent of the girl respondents from **Accra, Ghana**, confessed that they would like to stop doing their work. When asked what they would rather be doing, around two-thirds answered that they would rather go to school, 36 per cent of them would rather get another job and the remaining 2 per cent stated that they would like to just hang out with friends. Furthermore, almost 89 per cent of them felt strongly that children should not start working until 18 years or above. Over 8 per cent said they would prefer their younger siblings to attend school than do this type of work.

In **Guayaquil, Ecuador**, both the girls in the survey group and those in the interview group said they would rather not do this type of work. The adult women responded the same way. The members of all three groups said they would discourage their daughters and sisters from working in this activity because:

“It’s dangerous, it’s humiliating, it’s not a life, you suffer a lot, it isn’t easy, they’re demanding and humiliate you, they insult and abuse you, there are health risks”.

Table 58: Comparison of satisfaction with work

	The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Not happy with your current work	86%	75%	Most said no
Wished to continue in current job	9%		
What would you prefer to do instead?	25% would like better payment and easier job 14% would like to finish studies 12% would like to be a salesperson	62% prefer to go to school 36% get another job 2% hang out with friends 89% said children should not work so early 81% would prefer their siblings to go to school	The following were merchants, secretaries, hairdressers, professionals, finish school, be a teacher, model, dressmaker or farmer

Based on their social background, all the respondents chose options that would allow them to be respected in their community. Interestingly, nearly two-thirds of respondents from Ghana mentioned school as a preferred option; however, in general respondents from Ghana were younger than in the other two countries.

4. Reflections on RA reports

4.1 Situations that trigger child labour in prostitution in the three countries

There is no one prevailing reason why children can be found engaged in this worst form of child labour. Many studies worldwide have attempted to enquire into the child's point of view on prostitution, what happens inside them; what are their thoughts and feelings about their experiences; how do they make sense of their life situations; and what are their ways of dealing with difficulties⁵⁰. One factor such as coming from a broken home or being abused as a child gives rise to another, such as leaving home, being unable to find work except in the sex trade, and so on.

Other research has pointed out how family members, or exposure to prostitution through other work and living conditions lead girls to engage in prostitution⁵¹. Regardless of how they began working, all working children face fewer opportunities for education, personal development and health care, thus perpetuating the circle of poverty. Some of the foremost causes of the girl child becoming involved in prostitution, as specifically outlined in the RAs in the three countries, are summarized below.

Poverty

- Poverty, unemployment and the very low incomes of families have resulted in a situation in which girls feel compelled to engage in some form of commercial activity to supplement the family income. Low-income level condemns many girls to a life of toil and drudgery, as they are forced onto the streets in order to earn any form of income. Parents are simply unable to shoulder their responsibilities towards their children and they themselves work for low salaries. Key informants in the Philippines said that they knew cases of parents who volunteered the services of their children in exchange for regular income.

⁵⁰ For example, the ILO/IPEC Manila, Philippines (1996). *"The Child's Inner and Outer World: A study of the phenomenology of the Child in Prostitution"*. Many of the ILO/IPEC RA assessments address these questions, such as *Tanzania: Children in Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment*, November 2001; RA on children in prostitution in Jamaica etc.

⁵¹ Boonpala, P. (1996). *"Strategy and action against the commercial sexual exploitation of children" prepared for the World Congress on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*, 27-31 August 1996: Stockholm, Sweden (ILO/IPEC).

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Dysfunctional families

- Broken homes and dysfunctional families (and the breakdown of the traditional nuclear and extended family system) lead girls and boys to escape abuse or neglectful and irresponsible parents. This was very much highlighted in the Ecuador RA report. Children who have left their family home due to a dysfunctional family may be prompted to seek emotional and social refuge with their peers/friends. The researchers in the Philippines also disclosed that weak family relationships and support systems often led children to the streets.
- Levirate marriage/widow inheritance is common in the Upper East region of Ghana, where it is estimated that up to 70 per cent of the indigenous population practise the custom. The new husband usually neglects children born from such unions, with obvious effects on the vulnerability of those children.

Lure of city life

- In all three countries surveyed, it could be argued that the lure of the city and the lack of possibilities for jobs in the countryside are important factors. An idealized view of urban life and the promise of an escape from the drudgery of rural life lead many rural people to migrate to nearby cities. In the Philippines, a lack of employment opportunities or alternative livelihood was mentioned specifically as a factor with a downturn in the economy in the region.
- The potential of something better in the city is more promising when girls are fleeing violence or neglect. Some girls may even wish to leave rural areas to escape an early marriage, although in Ghana girls migrate to the city to earn money prior to marriage.

The influence of friends

- Vulnerable children seeing their friends with a display of apparent wealth decide to also go and seek their own fortunes. Thus, peer pressure is a factor that influences the young girl to make the move into the big cities and eventually – due to no other survival choice - they begin to work on the streets.
- Peer influence is also an important factor for children already living in the city. In both Ecuador and the Philippines, the research indicated that friends highly influenced respondents to become engaged in prostitution. Apart from seeing their friends with spending money or gifts, most children were afraid of being rejected and excluded from their peer group.

Lack of schooling

- Traditional practices in Northern Ghana inhibit the effective participation of girls in schooling. When not attending school, girls face a higher risk of becoming involved in prostitution as a perceived “easy” way to earn income. Likewise in Bacolod City, the Philippines girls are often excluded from basic education

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because their families do not have the money to pay the ancillary costs of educating their children, despite the free compulsory basic education policy.

Social obligations

- The family and expected social and economic role of children is another key factor. Whether such a role implies that the child is expected to earn money for the family, or whether the child is considered a mouth less to feed if not living in the family household is significant. If children are considered a nuisance, their self-esteem and self-worth is low, leading them to be exploited.

The value attributed to girls

- The researchers from Ecuador assert that a social and family environment exists in some areas which objectifies children, allowing them to be used in various ways (including sexually) and ignores their plight.
- In Ghana, the discriminatory inheritance patterns amongst some communities tend to exclude girls from inheriting assets. Male children in areas such as the three Northern Regions as well as the Volta Region are regarded as sole heirs to property, while female children and widows are only entitled to rights of access, leading some girls to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

External environmental and political factors

- In Ghana, there is some evidence to suggest that ethnic and regional disputes are responsible for a small but nevertheless significant proportion of child workers arriving in Accra. In the Philippines, earthquake, drought, typhoons, floods and armed conflicts caused the loss of lives and affected family structures and ultimately children. For example, in Negros Oriental, the collapse of the sugar industry followed by a prolonged drought forced thousands of (sugarcane) workers and their families to seek other sources of income.

Trafficking of children

- In some cases, girls are lured by strangers or agents who move around villages, enticing parents to give up their children, with the promise of better living conditions at their destinations.
- Organized child trafficking through parents is also a factor, where parents take their children from the village to urban areas to become housemaids or apprentices, and negotiate a fee for them. Girls sent to work as domestic workers can often, due to bad working conditions, end up in sexual exploitation.

Interest and curiosity

- In the Philippines, the researchers reported that sex is a popular subject matter among grown-ups. The proliferation of pornographic materials and their accessibility causes widespread interest in sex amongst teenagers. Teenage years in

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general are a period of experimentation, with teenagers having the urge to explore their desires. In some cultures, such experimentation is allowed in preparation for marriage⁵².

Materialism

- The desire to possess private belongings or live a lifestyle beyond his/her means can be identified as one of the impelling reasons why some people engaged in prostitution. Thus in Bacolod City in the Philippines, girls in particular (by comparison to boys) wanted to earn more money and live luxuriously the fast and easy way. By comparison, the girls in Ghana required basic material items in preparation for marriage or else they would enter marriage without household belongings.

The demand for young children for sex

- Demand factors for young partners in sex are a huge factor that is not fully discussed in any of the three RA reports. Issues around demand factors have been highlighted in other ILO/IPEC actions against the sexual exploitation of children⁵³. However there was reference to the many inaccurate notions about not acquiring HIV/AIDS from children. This is an area that requires further investigation.
- Sex tourism was mentioned in Ghana and Bacolod City, the Philippines, as a probable supply and demand factor, with many locations being on sex tour destinations. Much has been written by other authors on sex tourism and how children are marketed and used in this industry to attract foreigners⁵⁴. Rapid Assessments commissioned through ILO/IPEC in other countries such as Sri Lanka have explained the issue of sex tourism in more detail, outlining how - when children live in proximity to tourist areas - the sexual exploitation of children is linked to the expansion of the tourist industry, involving both foreign and local clients⁵⁵.

⁵² This was highlighted in the ILO/IPEC RA on the girl child in prostitution in Tanzania.

⁵³ For example, in the ILO/IPEC 2001 publication – *Action against trafficking and the sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are...* An evaluation of ILO/IPEC programmes in Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, the Philippines and Thailand.

⁵⁴ For example, publications such as Black, M.: *In the twilight zone: Child workers in the hotel, tourism and catering industry*, ILO, Geneva, xii, or Pluss, C.: *Quick money – easy money? A report on child labour in tourism*, Working Paper 1/99, SDC Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

⁵⁵ Amarsinghe W. S. (2002). Sri Lanka: *The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: A Rapid Assessment*, ILO/IPEC.

4.2 Gender differences in the RA reports

In order to explore gender-related differences that emanate from the three RA reports, it is necessary to compare girls with boys in terms of the value society places on them, and the educational levels, situation, access to resources and their constraints. However, this type of information is for the most part lacking from the three RA research reports. Nevertheless, some gender-related observations are highlighted below:

- In Bacolod City in the Philippines, a quarter of those interviewed were boys. Male respondents viewed police detention as a serious problem, whereas most females consider being physically abused by a client a more serious setback.
- Boys engaged in prostitution seemed to be in a very serious predicament in Bacolod City, particularly those working in the Plaza area. They declined to comment on health and medical check-up issues. It was assumed that this could be partly attributed to their lack of information on the danger their work poses to their well-being. Girls on the other hand seemed to be more informed or at least able to discuss the issue.
- Although the focus of the research in Ghana was only on the girl child, the observations in some localities showed the existence of large numbers of young boys also engaging in transactional sex with foreign tourists. Some boys were as young as twelve. Members of the Hotel Staff, who receive a commission from the transaction, recommend them to hotel residents. It was revealed that young boarding school boys attending the many secondary institutions in the Central Region regularly abscond from school to ply their trade as gay prostitutes at the many tourist locations in the Region. Research undertaken at 3 major hospitals in Accra reveals that the incidence of rectum relapse amongst young boys aged between 13 and 18 is on the increase.
- A high proportion of the girl respondents in Ghana were from the North. Traditionally the family concentrates its little resources on educating male children, as it is expected that the girls will invariably get married from the age of 14.
- The custom of marriage in Ghana places a heavy burden on girls as they have to enter into marriage with their own material items for their home. As a result, girls drop out from school to enter into employment.
- The researchers in Ecuador reported that the situation for working girls is worse than boys because of the traditional role assigned to women in Ecuadorian society. Women's work implies low wages and little or no training.
- In Ecuador, of the population between ages 6 and 17 that is not enrolled in school for economic reasons, the proportion of girls exceeds that of boys by about 10% in all categories (region, area, ethnic group, etc.).

Research into the trafficking and sexual exploitation of children by the ILO/IPEC⁵⁶ recommended that “gender dimensions” be reconsidered not only in terms of positively targeting girls/women as beneficiaries, but also in differentiating

⁵⁶ Kane J.; Augustin L.M. (April 2001). *“Thematic Evaluation of ILO-IPEC Programmes in Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children: Thailand, Philippines, Columbia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua”*. Thematic Evaluation Report: ILO, Geneva.

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between the needs of girls and boys as beneficiaries and, in particular, in considering the role of both men and women as perpetrators of abuse and exploitation. The authors of this report advocate that this differentiation should be done at both analytical and programming levels.

5. Country-specific recommendations with wider application

5.1 Policy formulation

Of critical concern in each country is that policy-makers should be fully sensitized and informed about the child labour problem in their country and on all its implications, so that they can address the legislative gaps.

Although some measures have been introduced to the Philippine's penal laws⁵⁷ to ensure adequate protection of children from sexual abuse and exploitation, the actual implementation of such laws at the local level is the main problem. Likewise, Ghana has traditionally been good at signing international treaties and conventions on issues relating to children and on developing intervention strategies. Nevertheless, in Ghana the problems encountered in implementation are overwhelming. As the researchers from Ecuador recommend, government commitments to guarantee that corrective steps will be taken must be assured. Policy-makers must be pressurized into taking action. The researchers from Ghana recommend including the participation of children into policy processes, if future policies are to have any meaningful impact.

5.2 Implementing policy

Very often there are frustrating bureaucratic judicial delays in child rights cases, resulting in inadequate or no punishments for the offenders.

In order to implement laws related to child labour in prostitution, actively seeking out *good practice models* from other countries, with a view to adapting them, if necessary, is highly recommended. In fact in Ecuador, the researchers recommend documenting and learning from the many experiences in their own country first, as points of reference to overall strategies that address the sexual exploitation of children.

⁵⁷ One example is the Magna Carta for the Working Child, Providing for Stronger Deterrence Against Child Labour. The bill provides more severe penalties for unlawful recruitment of children as well as for engaging children in worst forms of child labour, including prostitution.

Other recommendations related to the implementation of policy:

- Undertake further studies into the causative factors of child labour.
- Develop national databases on child workers, street children, children engaged in prostitution and child trafficking to assist policy-makers and development agencies in implementing and planning.
- Collaborate with governments, international law enforcement agencies and other international networks (ECPAT) to strengthen information-sharing on commercial sex tourism, child trafficking and paedophile activities. Working together is crucial, with the police, civil society groups and NGOs all sharing relevant information.
- The knowledge base and operational capacities of institutions (such as the police, the government agencies dealing with the issues, the judicial level) must be strengthened. The Ghana researchers recommend a top-down approach to tackle the problem at the judicial and policing level.

5.3 Combating poverty

Suggested types of assistance for parents such as skills and entrepreneurship training, credit/capital to set up private businesses and information on markets for their produce are recommended as a means to augment family income. This could eventually lead to fewer children having to resort to prostitution to contribute to the family income.

5.4 Protection and rehabilitation

The researchers from Bacolod City recommended mobilizing local councils for the protection of children. The registration of all children and youths in their Barangay (or administrative area) is recommended as a way to monitor the number and determine the location of youth. Likewise, the Ecuadorian researchers also recommend the establishment of oversight networks that can detect, provide referrals and/or care for children in critical situations, as well as working with families and communities on issues related to mistreatment and abuse.

Other recommendations aimed at protecting children and their rehabilitation include:

- Having a dedicated national child line (free-phone number and free-post address) to register complaints of sexual abuse which would be immediately followed up.
- In the Philippines, more social work with families whose children are at risk is recommended. Such interventions must focus on prevention measures.
- In Ecuador, it was recommended that rehabilitation systems be in place to enable the child to recover his or her dignity, and provide some redirection toward other kinds of work. Also important in the rehabilitation process is the process of developing in the girls or boys the building of self-esteem and the development of life plans.
- It was noted that both girls and boys have different needs, ways and coping mechanisms. Therefore a therapy module for rehabilitation that is responsive to the needs of both girls and boys separately is required.

5.5 Public education campaign

The recommendations from the researchers in both Ghana and Ecuador underline that a process of cultural change is necessary to begin to safeguard children's rights. To overcome some of the traditional and cultural practices that result in child labour, a public education campaign is needed that seeks to address stereotypes and change the attitudes of citizens, particularly those concerning the treatment of girls. In fact the researchers in Ecuador recommend a vivid media communications campaign that illustrates the daily situations of violence and abuse suffered by children in all spheres (family, social, workplace and school).

Table 59: Comparison of policy recommendations in the three countries

Policy recommendations		
The Philippines	Ghana	Ecuador
Improve condition of the local economy	Recommendations for policy formulation and programme Development	A cultural change process is required within the country
Provide employment assistance to parents of child labourers	Recommendations for enhancing the institutional framework	Opportunities for children must be improved
Social interventions to families	Recommendations for a dedicated public education campaign	The current situation of child workers should be improved
Increase implementation of social services		Myths about child labour in Ecuador must be addressed
Mobilize the councils for the protection of children		
Intensify information campaign on STDs, HIV/AIDS and drug addiction		
Solicit support of and deepen networking with NGOs		
Support stronger legislation and strengthen advocacy		

On the other hand, the researchers from Bacolod City in the Philippines propose that an information campaign on the consequences of contracting STDs and HIV/AIDS, as well as on the effects of substance abuse, should be developed, specifically targeted towards children.

6. Conclusions

The information on child labour in prostitution from the three RAs demonstrates the sad reality that none of the respondents for this research had the luxury of just being children. Rather they have had to mortgage their childhood for short-term financial gain, with huge ramifications and often irreparable consequences for their long-term well-being and future lives. The consequences of the sexual exploitation of girls and HIV/AIDS are startling, and will lead to many girls getting infected, infecting others, and ultimately illness and death.

All three RA reports describe a society that forces its children to suffer terrible traumas. Family problems prompt children to seek emotional and social refuge with their peers/friends. Poverty, dysfunctional families and the incomplete education of girls resulting in the lack of marketable skills are also factors that lead to their engagement in sexual exploitation.

Although many in society know about the issue of girls being sexually exploited, they turn a blind eye to the situation. Society thus ignores the fact that the sex industry not only violates these children's rights, it also seriously damages their physical and mental integrity by subjecting them to conditions that lead to their physical and psychological deterioration. Some young girls even operate from legal brothels, where the police know what is going on but do not act against such exploitation. Actions must be taken directed both towards preventive measures and the rehabilitation of such girls. Moreover, a campaign targeting towards changing the attitudes of adults who wish to sexually exploit young girls must be waged. In fact, research is urgently required that focuses on demand factors, perhaps surveying men who exploit girls. Such research would prove interesting to supplement our knowledge about how the exploitation of girls becomes acceptable to a certain group of clients.

At the end of the day, society at large needs to become more aware of the creeping menace of commercial sexual tourism, child trafficking and child prostitution. It is necessary that the girl child in prostitution does not become more acceptable to society. Those who exploit young girls must be made to realize the consequences of what they are doing. Without a public education campaign, all other interventions at the policy-making, legislative, policing and judicial levels will be meaningless because people will still behave in exactly the same way. In each country, the government – through its political, administrative and legal agencies and in conjunction with society in general – must take the necessary steps to identify, detain and punish those responsible for exploiting young girls and boys, and must organize a campaign against the acceptance of such exploitation.

SIMPOC child labour data review: the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador

(by Tetyana Kolomiyets, part of the data review, girl child studies, vol N° 3)

1. Methodology for the data analysis

The following pages present a concise analysis of the available SIMPOC⁵⁸ data from the Philippines.

Child labour and child work

Often child labour is coined as children in economic activity. However this is a misnomer, as child labour is a subset of the economic activity of children based on the prescription that a child is considered economically active if he/she:

- worked for paid or unpaid employment of any kind even for one hour in the reference week;
- worked in some voluntary capacity, or for family;
- did not work but was available to work, that is, absent from work during the week of reference.

A child is not considered economically active if he/she was working on house-keeping activities, even for long hours that interfered with his/her schooling, or did not work, but was looking for work during the reference week.

Although the existence of child domestic workers has been widely acknowledged and, in fact, categorized as belonging to the informal sector of labour, children (especially girls) engaged in this work have still remained fairly invisible in employment statistics. Such invisibility may be attributed to the fact that the nature of their job is not valued essentially as a “service” that deserves to be compensated, but rather it is viewed more as an extension of their duties as children, even though they are also actually hired to do domestic work or work full time in the household on domestic chores. However, domestic work is not regarded as “real” or “serious” work. Consequently significant gaps exist in the recorded incidence of child labour.

⁵⁸ SIMPOC is the statistical arm of IPEC which researches and monitors child labour in different parts of the world by helping national partners to conduct stand-alone or modular child labour surveys. The data sources that are under SIMPOC are not all SIMPOC countries. These data were supplied by the Policy Integration department, which used the data for the recent exercise on the global count of child labour. In the case of non-SIMPOC countries the data from them were harmonized to those of the SIMPOC countries.

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In particular, statistical data do not take account of working girls in domestic labour⁵⁹. This is further complicated by the fact that very often girls are sent to relatives in nearby towns to “help” with household chores in exchange for their board and keep, and perhaps the opportunity to attend school or “to gain experience”. Such children are not viewed as workers as such.

In the data presented here, children officially classified as “neither working nor studying” are assumed to be involved in household chores.

2. Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM)

The Key Indicators of the Labour Market (KILM) were developed based on the need of the International Labour Organization and its constituents, and of policy-makers and researchers, for an easily accessible, reliable and user-friendly tool for locating timely information on labour markets that is also comparable across countries⁶⁰. KILM were designed with the goal of establishing an international comparability related to the labour force. The 20 KILM are outlined below.

- KILM 1. Labour force participation rate
- KILM 2. Employment-to-population ratio
- KILM 3. Status in employment
- KILM 4. Employment by sector
- KILM 5. Part-time workers
- KILM 6. Hours of work
- KILM 7. Informal sector employment
- KILM 8. Unemployment
- KILM 9. Youth unemployment
- KILM 10. Long-term employment
- KILM 11. Unemployment by educational attainment
- KILM 12. Time-related underemployment
- KILM 13. Inactivity rate
- KILM 14. Educational attainment and literacy
- KILM 15. Manufacturing wage indices
- KILM 16. Occupational wage and earning indices
- KILM 17. Hourly compensation costs
- KILM 18. Labour productivity and unit labour costs
- KILM 19. Labour market flows
- KILM 20. Poverty and income distribution

The scarcity and lack of uniformity of the data on the worst forms of child labour do not allow us on this occasion to examine all the 20 KILM. Thus, given the data available, the data sources for the Philippines are not arranged into the KILM regional groupings, but the following indicators have been used:

⁵⁹ Amparita S. S.-M. (2002). Study on the Legal Protection of Child Domestic Workers in Asia-Pacific (available on the ILO/IPEC website www.ilo.org/childlabour) & Innocenti Research Centre, Child Domestic Work, 5 Innocenti Digest (August 20, 2002) - <http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/digest5e.pdf>

⁶⁰ *Key Indicators of the Labour Market 2001-2002*, International Labour Office. Geneva.

- Labour force participation rate;
- Sectors of employment;
- Hours of work (economic and other);
- Unemployment or idleness;
- Educational attainment and literacy;
- Participation in household chores.

This analysis should be considered as a first step towards a more comprehensive analysis of child labour data in the Philippines – covering more KILM indicators. The data are presented below, based on the suggested indicators, with some summary points highlighted.

The Philippines

The Philippines SIMPOC child labour survey included all children between the ages of five and seventeen who were found to have worked at any time during the last twelve months from the time of the interview. Hence no information on the children who did not work during the past year is available. Among the sample size of 6670 children interviewed, 4272 were boys (64.1%), and 2396 girls (35.9%) (all of whom worked during the last year). No sex or age information is missing from the dataset and it has been weighted to bring it to the national estimation.

Attributes of the Philippines Survey

Title: Child Labour Survey in Philippines

Time period covered: 1995.

Date of collection: 1995.

Geographic coverage: These data include all the geographic regions of Philippines.

Geographic unit: This survey covers all the provinces, states, and districts.

Unit of analysis: As for most surveys, the basic unit of analysis is the individual person; this survey is no exception.

Universe: The survey covers a sample representing all persons of Philippines. But the scope of the analysis is children aged five to seventeen years.

Kind of data: Survey data.

Data collector: National statistics office for administering the questionnaire, interviewing and compiling the data.

Frequency of data collection: One time.

Mode of data collection: Face-to-face interviews.

Type of research instrument: “Structured” questionnaire includes mostly pre-coded questions.

Weighting: The weights are calculated and applied to the data.

Details and tables

Table 1.1: School attendance

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Are you attending school at present or attended school last school year?	yes	87,9%	91,4%
		no	12,1%	8,6%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Are you attending school at present or attended school last school year?	yes	80,8%	87,9%
		no	19,2%	12,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	Are you attending school at present or attended school last school year?	yes	50,9%	63,5%
		no	49,0%	36,5%
		not reported	0,0%	
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

In all age categories more girls attend school than boys. The number of children attending school decreases through the years.

Table 1.2: Economic activity rate

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Did you work during the past week?	yes	75,9%	70,0%
		no	23,4%	28,8%
		not reported	0,7%	1,3%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Did you work during the past week?	yes	75,8%	75,2%
		no	23,9%	24,3%
		not reported	0,3%	0,5%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	Did you work during the past week?	yes	79,3%	74,0%
		no	20,2%	25,5%
		not reported	0,4%	0,5%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

More boys were found working than girls in all age categories; however the difference between male and female is not so significant.

Table 1.3: Industry distribution

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Industry	farming	71,7%	41,0%
		fishing	5,0%	2,0%
		forestry/logging	2,1%	2,5%
		quarrying	0,6%	
		retail trade	14,6%	43,5%
		wholesale trade	1,0%	
		transportation	0,5%	
		food manufacturing	1,2%	0,7%
		non-food manufacturing	0,8%	3,3%
		restaurant/catering	1,8%	3,6%
		personal services	0,5%	3,3%
		others, specify	0,4%	
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Industry	farming	68,5%	48,4%
		fishing	8,2%	2,1%
		forestry/logging	1,3%	1,3%
		quarrying	0,3%	
		retail trade	12,5%	28,2%
		wholesale trade	0,1%	0,6%
		transportation	1,0%	
		communication	0,1%	
		construction	0,7%	
		utilities	0,0%	0,1%
		health services	0,0%	
		food manufacturing	1,1%	1,1%
		non-food manufacturing	2,1%	6,3%
		restaurant/catering	0,4%	1,8%
		personal services	2,9%	9,8%
		others, specify	0,8%	0,3%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Table 1.3: (Cont.)

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
15-17 years	Industry	farming	59,6%	33,8%
		fishing	10,5%	1,7%
		forestry/logging	1,2%	0,2%
		mining	0,1%	
		quarrying	0,5%	
		retail trade	7,7%	24,5%
		wholesale trade	0,6%	1,1%
		transportation	3,8%	
		communication	0,2%	
		construction	3,3%	0,1%
		utilities	0,1%	
		health services		0,2%
		education services		0,2%
		food manufacturing	2,8%	2,4%
		non-food manufacturing	4,0%	7,8%
		restaurant/catering	1,1%	4,1%
		personal services	3,4%	23,4%
		others, specify	0,9%	0,6%
Total			100,0%	100,0%

From Table 1.3 the following points were noted:

More boys are found in:

- farming (significantly more boys than girls in each age category);
- fishing (significantly more boys, in each age category);
- forestry/logging (more boys than girls in all age categories, except for the age category 10-14, where there is no difference between male and female);
- quarrying (only boys present in all age categories);
- transportation (only boys present in all age categories);
- food manufacturing (more boys than girls, except for the age category 10-14 where girls prevail);
- communication, construction (this type of activity present only in the age categories 10-17 and represented only by boys).

More girls are found in:

- retail trade (significantly more girls than boys in all age categories);
- wholesale trade (more girls than boys);
- non-food manufacturing (girls prevail over boys in all age categories);
- restaurant/catering (the biggest difference is in the higher age category);
- personal services (significantly more girls than boys in all age categories, and difference increases between male and female with age).

Table 1.4: Frequency of heavy physical work

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 yrs	heavy physical work	always/often	83.4%	16.6%
		sometimes	66.3%	33.7%
		seldom/never	60.2%	39.8%
		Total	63.0%	37.0%
10-14 yrs	heavy physical work	always/often	81.0%	19.0%
		sometimes	72.0%	28.0%
		seldom/never	57.2%	42.8%
		not reported	100.0%	
		Total	64.1%	35.9%
15-17 yrs	heavy physical work	always/often	85.0%	15.0%
		sometimes	72.0%	28.0%
		seldom/never	56.9%	43.1%
		not reported	100.0%	
		Total	67.3%	32.7%

Boys were found to be doing more heavy physical work than girls, and Table 1.4. indicates that there is no difference with respect to age.

Table 1.5: Risky or dangerous work

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	did/do you consider some aspects of your work risky or dangerous?	yes	13,1%	9,1%
		no	86,9%	89,7%
		not reported		1,2%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	did/do you consider some aspects of your work risky or dangerous?	yes	19,0%	9,4%
		no	80,8%	90,3%
		not reported	0,2%	0,3%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	did/do you consider some aspects of your work risky or dangerous?	yes	25,7%	10,3%
		no	73,9%	89,5%
		not reported	0,5%	0,2%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Table 1.5 illustrates that more boys than girls are exposed to risky and dangerous work. Work becomes even more risky with the increase in age.

Table 1.6: Satisfaction with job/business

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	were/are you satisfied with your last/recent job/business?	yes	76,5%	74,8%
		no	23,5%	24,5%
		not reported		0,7%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	were/are you satisfied with your last/recent job/business?	yes	73,0%	76,0%
		no	26,8%	23,9%
		not reported	0,1%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	were/are you satisfied with your last/recent job/business?	yes	72,4%	71,9%
		no	27,6%	28,0%
		not reported	0,0%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

It is evident from Table 1.6 that many children reported that they are satisfied with their job, and they were mostly males. Overall the difference between male and female is not significant.

Table 1.7: Working hours

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	working hour bracket (last week)	less than 42 hours	99,5%	100,0%
		42 hours or more	0,5%	
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	working hour bracket (last week)	less than 42 hours	93,1%	93,7%
		42 hours or more	6,9%	6,3%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	working hour bracket (last week)	less than 42 hours	79,4%	71,6%
		42 hours or more	20,6%	28,4%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Table 1.7 shows that with the increase in age girls are prone to work longer hours than boys. There is almost no difference in the 10-14 years category, but in the 15-17 years category the difference is more pronounced.

Table 1.8: Working and household chores together

					Sex			
hh chores hours	working hours				Male	Female		
less than 42 hours	less than 42 hours	age category 2	5-9 yrs	% within age category 2	61.5%	38.5%		
				% within sex	6.7%	7.1%		
			10-14 yrs	% within age category 2	60.0%	40.0%		
			% within sex	47.8%	54.1%			
		15-17 yrs	% within age category 2	66.5%	33.5%			
			% within sex	45.5%	38.8%			
Total				% within age category 2	62.9%	37.1%		
				% within sex	100.0%	100.0%		
	more than 42 hours	age category 2	10-14 yrs	% within age category 2	61.5%	38.5%		
				% within sex	24.4%	21.7%		
			15-17 yrs	% within age category 2	57.9%	42.1%		
			% within sex	75.6%	78.3%			
		Total				% within age category 2	58.7%	41.3%
						% within sex	100.0%	100.0%
more than 42 hours	less than 42 hours	age category 2	5-9 yrs	% within age category 2	45.6%	54.4%		
				% within sex	7.6%	9.4%		
			10-14 yrs	% within age category 2	54.4%	45.6%		
			% within sex	48.4%	41.9%			
		15-17 yrs	% within age category 2	48.3%	51.7%			
			% within sex	43.9%	48.7%			
Total				% within age category 2	50.8%	49.2%		
				% within sex	100.0%	100.0%		

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Table 1.8: (cont.)

					Sex	
hh chores hours	working hours				Male	Female
	more than 42 hours	age category 2	10-14 yrs	% within age category 2	39.7%	60.3%
				% within sex	46.9%	16.3%
			15-17 yrs	% within age category 2	12.7%	87.3%
				% within sex	53.1%	83.7%
	Total			% within age category 2	18.6%	81.4%
				% within sex	100.0%	100.0%

From Table 1.8 above, it is evident that girls work longer hours when one considers regular work and household chores combined. While boys and girls are about the same when we count high working hours, boys have relatively lower hours for household chores.

Table 1.9: Household chores

Age category				Sex	
				Male	Female
5-9 years	do you usually do housekeeping activities at home?	yes		75,2%	85,9%
		no		24,8%	13,6%
		not reported			0,5%
		Total		100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	do you usually do housekeeping activities at home?	yes		76,7%	94,0%
		no		23,3%	6,0%
		not reported		0,0%	
		Total		100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	do you usually do housekeeping activities at home?	yes		69,7%	90,0%
		no		30,3%	10,0%
		not reported		0,0%	
		Total		100,0%	100,0%

Table 1.9 illustrates that more girls than boys are engaged in housekeeping activities, and this difference increases according to their age.

Table 1.10: Economic status of family

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	in your opinion, what is the economic status of your family?	very rich	0,2%	
		rich	1,3%	3,7%
		middle level	27,9%	34,0%
		poor	52,9%	44,2%
		very poor	17,8%	18,0%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	in your opinion, what is the economic status of your family?	very rich	0,2%	0,4%
		rich	0,9%	1,1%
		middle level	30,4%	33,5%
		poor	53,9%	52,3%
		very poor	14,6%	12,7%
		not reported	0,0%	
15-17 years	in your opinion, what is the economic status of your family?	Total	100,0%	100,0%
		very rich	0,4%	0,4%
		rich	0,8%	0,9%
		middle level	34,7%	35,4%
		poor	52,0%	52,3%
		very poor	12,0%	11,0%
		not reported	0,0%	
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Most working children in the survey come from middle class and poor families, but it is interesting to note that more girls come from the rich or middle-level families, while more boys come from poor and very poor families.

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Table 1.11: Future aspirations

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	mainly what would you like to do in the future?	attend school only	59,1%	69,5%
		undergo skills training for a better job	4,9%	2,4%
		look for a better job	19,0%	16,7%
		help in parents'/relatives'/guardians' household enterprise	14,8%	6,1%
		Others	1,7%	5,3%
		not reported	0,5%	
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	mainly what would you like to do in the future?	attend school only	46,2%	55,4%
		undergo skills training for a better job	8,1%	9,6%
		look for a better job	30,8%	21,8%
		help in parents'/relatives'/guardians' household enterprise	12,0%	11,0%
		others	2,7%	2,1%
		not reported	0,1%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	mainly what would you like to do in the future?	attend school only	28,4%	40,7%
		undergo skills training for a better job	13,1%	9,4%
		look for a better job	43,4%	38,5%
		help in parents'/relatives'/guardians' household enterprise	11,9%	8,4%
		others	3,2%	2,9%
		not reported	0,1%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Regarding future aspirations of the children surveyed, observations from Table 1.11 include the following:

- **Study:** girls have higher aspirations for study than boys;
- **Work:** boys are usually more interesting in finding work in the future, including finding a better job, and getting further training for this;
- **Household work:** boys have higher aspirations for helping the family in the household enterprise.

Ghana

Ghana

Attributes of the Ghana Survey

The Ghana Statistical Service in collaboration with the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare conducted the Ghana Child Labour Survey.

Title: Ghana Child Labour Survey

Time period covered: 2000

Date of collection: 2000

Geographic coverage: This data includes all the geographic regions of Ghana.

Geographic unit: This survey covers all the provinces, states and districts.

Unit of analysis: As for most surveys, the basic unit of analysis is the individual person; this survey is no exception.

Universe: The survey covers a sample representing all persons of Ghana. But the scope of the analysis is children aged five to seventeen years.

Kind of data: Survey data.

Data collector: Ghana Statistical Services (GSS) for administering the questionnaire, interviewing and compiling the data.

Frequency of data collection: One time.

Mode of data collection: Face-to-face interviews.

Type of research instrument: "Structured" questionnaire includes mostly pre-coded questions.

Weighting: The weights are yet to be received by SIMPOC from the GSS, but it is advised that the data is a self-weighted data.

2.1 Details and Tables

Table 2.1: Schooling

Age category		Sex	
		Male	Female
5-9 years			
Attended/attending school/training	Never attended	21,1%	21,5%
	Still attending	77,9%	77,7%
	Past (left school)	1,0%	0,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years			
Attended/attending school/training	Never attended	13,8%	13,9%
	Still attending	82,8%	81,4%
	Past (left school)	3,4%	4,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years			
Attended/attending school/training	Never attended	15,6%	18,9%
	Still attending	63,8%	59,1%
	Past (left school)	20,6%	22,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%

In all age categories, there is no significant difference that can be highlighted between studying males and females, but overall Table 2.1 illustrates that rather more males than females attended school. On the whole, it is evident that the overall level of school attendance decreases with age. This has negative correlation with the following Table 2.3 economic activity. As children start to work, their school attendance decreases and often they just simply drop out. Because of this fact, many people see the solution to elimination of child labour as education for all, and enforcement of that through national legislation.

Table 2.2: Highest level of education

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9	Highest level of schooling	No Education	21.1%	21.6%
		Pre-school	19.6%	19.6%
		Primary	59.2%	58.8%
		Total	100.0%	100.0%
10-14	Highest level of schooling	No Education	13.8%	13.9%
		Primary	69.2%	67.7%
		Middle/JSS	16.9%	18.3%
		Secondary/SSS	0.1%	0.1%
		Voc/Tech/Commercial		0.0%
		Total	100.0%	100.0%
15-17	Highest level of schooling	No Education	15.7%	18.9%
		Primary	25.7%	21.2%
		Middle/JSS	50.4%	50.5%
		Secondary/SSS	7.4%	8.6%
		Voc/Tech/Commercial	0.7%	0.7%
		Post sec	0.1%	
		Total	100.0%	100.0%

A few more boys than girls have primary education in all age categories in Table 2.2. above. Slightly more girls are in junior, secondary and higher education than boys.

Table 2.3: Economic activity

Age category		Sex	
		Male	Female
5-9 years			
Work for pay or profit during last week?	Yes	15,6%	14,1%
	No	84,4%	85,9%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years			
Work for pay or profit during last week?	Yes	33,8%	34,7%
	No	66,2%	65,3%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years			
Work for pay or profit during last week?	Yes	46,7%	45,0%
	No	53,3%	55,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%

From the Table 2.3 above, we can see that in all age categories the difference between male and female is not significant. The number of working children increases according to the age, which is quite to be expected.

Table 2.4: Types of employment of children

Age category		Sex	
		Male	Female
5-9 years			
Employment Status	Wage employment	1,2%	1,2%
	Self-employment	4,1%	4,6%
	Unpaid family work	94,5%	94,0%
	Other	0,2%	0,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years			
Employment Status	Wage employment	2,8%	2,7%
	Self-employment	7,4%	8,5%
	Unpaid family work	88,6%	88,1%
	Other	1,3%	0,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years			
Employment Status	Wage employment	6,2%	6,7%
	Self-employment	12,0%	14,5%
	Unpaid family work	76,4%	73,3%
	Other	5,4%	5,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%

Table 2.4 highlights that in “wage employment” there is no significant difference between boys and girls in any age category. In “self-employment”, we can see slightly more girls than boys. In “unpaid family work” there are slightly more boys than girls, in all age categories. The number of children in wage and self-employment increases with age, but the number of children in unpaid family work is the reverse. It is likely that this shift is due to the migration of children from unpaid family work into employment that yields monetary benefits.

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Table 2.5: Industry distribution

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Major industry	Agric/Hunting/Forestry	76,3%	63,9%
		Fishing	4,4%	0,9%
		Mining and quarrying	0,3%	0,5%
		Manufacturing	2,3%	6,4%
		Wholesale and retail trade	13,5%	23,8%
		Hotel and restaurants	1,8%	3,2%
		Transport/Storage/Communication	0,5%	
		Health and social work		0,2%
		Other community activities	0,7%	0,4%
		Private households	0,2%	0,5%
		Extra-territorial bodies	0,2%	0,2%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Major industry	Agric/Hunting/Forestry	72,9%	51,0%
		Fishing	3,7%	0,3%
		Mining and quarrying	0,5%	0,5%
		Manufacturing	5,2%	6,7%
		Construction	0,2%	0,1%
		Wholesale and retail trade	14,0%	32,8%
		Hotel and restaurants	2,6%	8,0%
		Transport/Storage/Communication	0,2%	0,2%
		Other community activities	0,6%	0,1%
		Private households	0,1%	0,5%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	Major industry	Agric/Hunting/Forestry	69,5%	43,4%
		Fishing	4,6%	1,1%
		Mining and quarrying	0,5%	0,5%
		Manufacturing	6,8%	10,7%
		Electricity/Gas/Water	0,2%	
		Construction	1,4%	0,1%
		Wholesale and retail trade	12,1%	33,7%
		Hotel and restaurants	1,9%	5,7%
		Transport/Storage/Communication	1,5%	0,3%
		Real estate/Rent	0,2%	
		Education		0,3%
		Health and social work		0,1%
		Other community activities	1,0%	2,0%
		Private households	0,2%	1,9%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

From Table 2.5 the following points were noted regarding the types of activities girls and boys engage in.

More boys were found in:

- agriculture/hunting/forestry (the overall number of children decrease according to age);
- fishing (significantly more boys in all age categories);
- transport/storage/communication (overall more boys than girls);
- other community activities (in age categories 5-14 there are more boys, but in age category 15 -17 girls prevail).

More girls were found in:

- manufacturing (in all age categories girls prevail, the difference being more noticeable in the younger age category);
- wholesale and retail trade (in all age categories there are more girls than boys);
- hotel and restaurant work (in all age categories girls prevail);
- health and social work (present in the age categories 5-9 and 15-17 years, and represented only by girls);
- private households (significantly more girls than boys, the number increasing according to age).

Table 2.6: Hours worked during the day

Age Group				Sex	
				Male	Female
5-9	Hours worked during – day	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – day	50.0%	50.0%
			% within Sex	3.2%	3.5%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	51.5%	48.5%
			% within Sex	24.2%	25.0%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	50.3%	49.7%
			% within Sex	27.7%	29.9%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during - day	53.9%	46.1%
			% within Sex	21.5%	20.2%
		4-5 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	50.7%	49.3%
			% within Sex	13.5%	14.4%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked during - day	58.3%	41.7%
			% within Sex	7.4%	5.8%
		more than 8hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	68.2%	31.8%
			% within Sex	2.6%	1.3%
		Total	% within Hours worked during – day	52.3%	47.7%
			% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%

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Table 2.6: (cont.)

Age Group				Sex	
				Male	Female
10-14	Hours worked during – day	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – day	50.0%	50.0%
			% within Sex	2.0%	2.2%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	49.8%	50.2%
			% within Sex	16.9%	18.3%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	51.1%	48.9%
			% within Sex	31.5%	32.3%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	52.7%	47.3%
			% within Sex	23.4%	22.6%
		4-5 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	49.9%	50.1%
			% within Sex	16.1%	17.3%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	61.5%	38.5%
			% within Sex	8.1%	5.5%
		more than 8hrs	% within Hours worked during –day	53.3%	46.7%
			% within Sex	2.0%	1.8%
		Total	% within Hours worked during – day	51.8%	48.2%
			% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%
15-17	Hours worked during – day	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – day	50.0%	50.0%
			% within Sex	1.2%	1.4%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	47.7%	52.3%
			% within Sex	10.0%	2.0%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	51.6%	48.4%
			% within Sex	22.4%	23.2%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during – day	54.4%	45.6%
			% within Sex	25.1%	23.2%
		4-5 hrs	% within Hours worked during - day	53.1%	46.9%
			% within Sex	21.2%	20.6%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked y during – da	53.9%	46.1%
			% within Sex	14.1%	13.3%

Table 2.6: (cont.)

Age Group			Sex	
			Male	Female
	more than 8hrs	% within Hours worked during - day	51.2%	48.8%
		% within Sex	6.0%	6.3%
	Total	% within Hours worked during - day	52.4%	47.6%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%

Boys were found to be working longer hours during the day than girls in all age categories, as specified in Table 2.6 above. On the whole the differences in house work amongst boys and girls were not large. Slightly more girls than boys were found only in the age category 10-17 years to be working 1-2 hours a day.

Table 2.7: Hours worked during the night

Age Group				Sex	
				Male	Female
5-9	Hours worked during – Night	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – Night	60.7%	39.3%
			% within Sex	29.3%	21.6%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	43.6%	56.4%
			% within Sex	29.3%	43.1%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	51.7%	48.3%
			% within Sex	25.9%	27.5%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	62.5%	37.5%
			% within Sex	8.6%	5.9%
		4-6 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	75.0%	25.0%
			% within Sex	5.2%	2.0%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	100.0%	
			% within Sex	1.7%	
		Total	% within Hours worked during – Night	53.2%	46.8%
			% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%

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Table 2.7: (cont.)

Age Group				Sex	
				Male	Female
10 - 14	Hours worked during – Night	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – Night	51.1%	48.9%
			% within Sex	35.6%	26.3%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	40.2%	59.8%
			% within Sex	34.1%	39.2%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	39.7%	60.3%
			% within Sex	17.4%	20.5%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	42.9%	57.1%
			% within Sex	6.8%	7.0%
		4-6 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	15.4%	84.6%
			% within Sex	1.5%	6.4%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	80.0%	20.0%
			% within Sex	3.0%	0.6%
		more than 8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	100.0%	
			% within Sex	1.5%	
	Total	% within Hours worked during – Night	43.6%	56.4%	
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	
15 – 17	Hours worked during – Night	Less than 1 hr	% within Hours worked during – Night	50.0%	50.0%
			% within Sex	27.3%	21.6%
		1-2 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	50.0%	50.0%
			% within Sex	39.0%	30.9%
		2-3 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	31.6%	68.4%
			% within Sex	15.6%	26.8%
		3-4 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	33.3%	66.7%
			% within Sex	9.1%	14.4%
		4-6 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	57.1%	42.9%
			% within Sex	5.2%	3.1%
		6-8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	100.0%	
			% within Sex	2.6%	

Table 2.7: (cont.)

Age Group			Sex	
			Male	Female
	more than 8 hrs	% within Hours worked during – Night	25.0%	75.0%
		% within Sex	1.3%	3.1%
	Total	% within Hours worked during – Night	44.3%	55.7%
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%

In the age category 5-9 years, Table 2.7 illustrates that there are more boys working during the night than girls, but in the age category 10-14 the situation is the opposite, where more girls than boys work during the night. Boys prevail only in long working hours (starting from 6 hours and more). In the age category 15-17 years many more girls than boys work at night in the 2-3, 3-4 (both double) hour categories, as well as the 4-5 hours and more than 8 hours categories. More boys are represented as working 6-8 hours per night in this age category.

Table 2.8: Injury

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Ever been injured	No	81,7%	85,7%
		Yes, at home	12,4%	10,2%
		Yes at school	3,0%	2,3%
		Yes at work place	2,9%	1,8%
		Other		0,0%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Ever been injured	No	71,5%	77,7%
		Yes, at home	14,7%	13,6%
		Yes at school	4,3%	3,1%
		Yes at work place	9,3%	5,6%
		Other	0,2%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	Ever been injured	No	66,3%	72,8%
		Yes, at home	15,4%	15,8%
		Yes at school	3,4%	2,5%
		Other	0,3%	0,1%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

More boys have ever been injured than girls according to Table 2.8, and the percentage of injuries increases according to age. It is especially noticeable that significantly more boys were injured at the work place than girls.

Table 2.9: Household chores

Age category			Sex	
			Male	Female
5-9 years	Engaged in housekeeping activities	Yes	79,1%	86,0%
		No	20,9%	14,0%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
10-14 years	Engaged in housekeeping activities	Yes	93,3%	96,3%
		No	6,7%	3,7%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years	Engaged in housekeeping activities	Yes	93,1%	95,5%
		No	6,9%	4,5%
		Total	100,0%	100,0%

Table 2.9 clearly illustrates that more girls than boys engage in housekeeping activities in all age categories.

Table 2.10: Future aspirations

Age category		Sex	
		Male	Female
5-9 years What to do in Future	Go to school full time	2,2%	2,7%
	Work for income full time	23,3%	22,2%
	Work full time in household enterprise	1,1%	0,9%
	Work full time in household chores		0,1%
	Go to school part time and work part time	0,2%	0,2%
	Work part time in household enterprise	0,1%	0,2%
	Work part time in household chores		0,0%
	Complete education and start work	44,2%	43,0%
	Find a better job than present one	1,6%	0,8%
	Learn a trade	22,8%	26,2%
	Travel abroad	2,9%	2,1%
	Other	1,6%	1,5%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%

Table 2.10: (cont)

Age category		Sex	
		Male	Female
10-14 years			
What to do in Future	Go to school full time	2,5%	2,0%
	Work for income full time	23,4%	23,7%
	Work full time in household enterprise	1,0%	0,9%
	Work full time in household chores	0,0%	0,3%
	Go to school part time and work part time	0,2%	0,2%
	Work part time in household enterprise	0,1%	0,1%
	Work part time in household chores	0,0%	0,1%
	Complete education and start work	43,1%	38,9%
	Find a better job than present one	1,9%	1,9%
	Learn a trade	22,7%	28,6%
	Travel abroad	3,3%	2,2%
	Other	1,8%	1,3%
Total		100,0%	100,0%
15-17 years			
What to do in Future	Go to school full time	2,3%	2,1%
	Work for income full time	29,1%	27,0%
	Work full time in household enterprise	1,3%	1,1%
	Work full time in household chores	0,1%	0,1%
	Go to school part time and work part time	0,3%	0,2%
	Work part time in household enterprise	0,1%	0,1%
	Work part time in household chores	0,1%	
	Complete education and start work	38,0%	37,6%
	Find a better job than present one	3,4%	2,9%
	Learn a trade	20,8%	24,8%
	Travel abroad	2,8%	2,5%
	Other	1,7%	1,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%

Regarding boys' and girls' future aspirations, the observations from Table 2.10 above are the following:

Study: boys have higher aspirations for study, except for girls in the 5-9 age category.

Work: boys are represented more as wishing to find work in the future, including finding better jobs, however more girls want to learn a trade. We can also see more girls who want to be involved in the household chores, but this percentage is very small.

Ecuador

Ecuador data review (LSMS)

Ecuador

Attributes of the Ecuador Survey

Title: Encuesta Condiciones de Vida – Tercera Ronda

Time period covered: 1997- 1998

Date of collection: 1998.

Geographic coverage: The data includes all the geographic regions of Ecuador.

Geographic unit: This survey covers all the provinces, states, or districts.

Unit of analysis: As for most surveys, the basic unit of analysis or observation is the individual person, this survey is no exception. Although this survey was designed not specifically for child labour, it has some information that gives some insight into the child labour situation in Ecuador.

Universe: The survey covers a sample representing all persons of Ecuador. The scope of the analysis is children five to fourteen years for education, and for work-related matters it is for children 10-14 years old.

Kind of data: Survey data.

Data collector: National statistics office (Instituto Nacional Estadística y Censo) for administering the questionnaire, interview and for compiling the data.

Frequency of data collection: World Bank administers LSMS surveys throughout the world on a regular basis, and this was the second LSMS survey in Ecuador. The first one took place in 1994.

Sampling procedure: This is the type of sample and sample design used to select survey respondents representative of the target population. It includes reference to the target sample size and the sampling fraction.

Mode of data collection: Method used to collect the data – face-to-face interviews.

Type of research instrument: “Structured” questionnaire includes open-ended and close-ended questions.

Weighting: The weights are calculated and applied to the data.

Ecuador

The data from Ecuador are from World Bank's Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS), and therefore differ from the other datasets that were considered for this paper. As that survey does not concentrate on children, most variables from Ecuador have limited scope in terms of comparability. Thus this dataset has been set aside from the mainstream analysis of this paper, and it is recommended that any cross-country comparison should be avoided without putting in place a normalization scheme. Such an effort was beyond the scope of this paper.

Table 3.1: School attendance rate of children

Age	Male	Female	Total
5	1.0	1.0	1.0
6	81.9	89.3	85.3
7	90.5	94.4	92.4
8	97.1	97.0	97.0
9	94.6	97.7	96.2
10	96.0	97.7	96.9
11	95.4	97.4	96.4
12	90.9	91.4	91.1
13	79.4	78.1	78.7
14	74.9	69.6	72.4
Total	90.1	91.4	90.7

There are slightly more girls in school attendance than boys until the age of 12. At the ages 13 and 14 there are slightly more boys in education. This could perhaps be due to early marriages of some girls, who are then forced to drop out of school. A common pattern emerges that in the older age categories fewer children overall attend school.

Table 3.2: Studying only children by sex and age

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	51.6	63.3	57.4

Table 3.2 illustrates that more girls are studying only than boys.

Table 3.3: Working and studying children by sex and age

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	35.7	23.6	29.7

Table 3.3 shows that, when we combine work and study, boys predominate over girls.

The cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines

Table 3.4: Economic activity rate of children⁶¹

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	46.5	31.6	39.1

Table 3.4 illustrates that there are more working boys than girls in the age group 10-14 years.

Table 3.5: Average weekly working hours for working only children

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	39.5	35.4	37.8

Among working only children, Table 3.5 highlights that boys work longer hours than girls, but the difference is not significant.

Table 3.6: Average weekly working hours for children (working and studying)

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	24.9	24.0	24.5

Among the children that both work and study, no difference in working hours between boys and girls is observed according to Table 3.6.

Table 3.7: Percentage of children with health problems by type of activity

Type of Activity	Male	Female	Total
Work only	54.4	53.1	53.8
Study only	41.2	31.2	35.7
Work and study	43.8	34.1	39.7
No activities	27.5	50.6	43.9
Total	43.3	34.8	39.1

Table 3.7 indicates that there are more boys than girls with health problems in the categories of work only, study only and work and study. A significantly greater percentage of girls experience health problems in the no activities category, which could be related to domestic work.

⁶¹ As the survey was not designed for children or to measure child labour, economic activity does not cover children below 10 years of age.

Table 3.8: Children with health problems and the duration of illnesses

Type of activity	Duration of illness in days	Male	Female	Total
Work only	1-7	76.5	78.0	77.1
	8-15	23.5	11.6	18.4
	16-22	0.0	10.4	4.5
	23-31	0.0	0.0	0.0
Study only	1-7	71.4	85.1	78.0
	8-15	25.9	11.9	19.1
	16-22	0.7	0.8	0.7
	23-31	2.0	2.3	2.1
Work and study	1-7	84.7	85.8	85.1
	8-15	14.0	11.0	12.9
	16-22	0.0	0.0	0.0
	23-31	1.3	3.3	2.0
No activities	1-7	1.0	60.9	68.0
	8-15	0.0	34.4	28.1
	16-22	0.0	4.7	3.9
	23-31	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	1-7	77.6	82.6	79.8
	8-15	20.7	13.3	17.4
	16-22	0.3	2.1	1.1
	23-31	1.4	2.1	1.7

Among working only children and working and studying we can see that girls remain sick for longer hours than boys. Among children that study only, there is almost no difference between male and female in the duration of illnesses, with only more boys than girls sick for 8-15 days. And among children who are categorized as having no activities, there are almost no sick boys, only girls, indicating that girls categorized as having no activities (which often means being involved in domestic work) experience much more illness than boys. Overall Table 3.8 illustrates that girls slightly predominate in 1-7, 16-22 and 23-31 days of illnesses, whereas boys experience more illnesses of 8-15 days than girls.

Table 3.9: Children considered idle

Age	Male	Female	Total
10-14	1.9	5.1	3.5

Table 3.9 depicts that more girls are described as idle than boys. However, these girls are usually found to be working in the household enterprise in tasks which are often not registered in any questions captured by the interviews. One of the objectives of the ILO/SIMPOC is to probe deeper into this hard-to-access and define category of perceived “idleness”.

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**International Programme on the Elimination
of Child Labour (IPEC)**

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

E-mail: childlabour@ilo.org
Tel (+ 41 22) 799 81 81
Fax (+ 41 22) 799 87 71

ISBN 92-2115292-8