



Population Teaching and
Research Center



BASELINE SURVEY ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS IN **MONGOLIA**



Ulaanbaatar
2005

MAIN REPORT

BASELINE SURVEY ON CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS IN MONGOLIA

Financed by:

International Labour Organization-IPEC

Executed by:

Population Teaching and Research Center
National University of Mongolia

Ulaanbaatar, 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Despite the fact that a number of research studies on child labor and employment in Mongolia has been carried out in the last few years, no comprehensive survey or research study has been implemented yet on such a unique form of child labor as a domestic worker or herding livestock for other families.

ILO-IPEC commissioned this survey of child domestic workers in Mongolia to the research team of the Population Teaching and Research Center (PTRC) of the School of Economic Studies, National University of Mongolia. With the financial and technical assistance of ILO-IPEC, PTRC has implemented a “Baseline Survey of Child Domestic Workers” in order to determine the incidence and distribution of child domestic workers in Ulaanbaatar city and in selected rural aimags. Further, the profile and working conditions of children employed as domestic workers/herding livestock for other families, is also analyzed in order to clarify differences in the realities of child domestic workers in urban and rural areas.

Two different sampling methods were used for the urban and rural areas. A two stage sampling method was used for Ulaanbaatar city and a three stage sampling method was used for the three selected rural aimags. The total sample size was 360 children working as domestic workers and herding livestock for other families, 168 parents of children domestic workers and herding livestock for other families and 166 employers.

Our team would like to express our deep gratitude to Ms. Sanjukta Mukherjee, Baseline survey specialist, ILO-IPEC Bangkok, for her technical assistance in the conceptualization and design of the survey. Her technical backstopping at various stages of the survey and her valuable professional recommendations is much appreciated by PTRC.

Special thanks to Ms. N. Mongolmaa, ILO-IPEC Mongolia, for bringing attention to the plight of child domestic workers and for her contributions to the survey report. Also, special thanks to Ms. Ayaka Matsuno, programme officer, ILO-IPEC Bangkok, for her contributions to the survey report.

PTRC staff would also like to thank all individuals and organizations who assisted us in successful implementation of the baseline survey of child domestic workers including questionnaire development. This includes Ulaanbaatar citizens, rural respondents of the study, state and non-government organisations, and students of the School of Economic Studies, NUM, who worked with the survey team as interviewers. Finally, we would like to convey gratitude to the tireless and brave child domestic workers and herders who contributed their valuable time and shared their personal stories.

Population Teaching and Research Center, National University of Mongolia

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER 1. Introduction	4
<i>Solongo Alгаа</i>	
1.1 Justification	4
1.2 Objective of the Survey	4
1.3 Structure of the Report	5
 CHAPTER 2. Survey methodology	6
<i>Narantulga Baatarjav</i>	
2.1 Pilot Survey method	6
2.2 Quantitative research method	7
2.2.1 Sampling	7
2.2.2 Population estimate using sample survey result	11
2.2.3 Questionnaire	12
2.2.4 Data collection	12
2.2.5 Data processing	12
2.2.6 Limitations of the survey	12
2.3 Qualitative research method	13
 CHAPTER 3. Children as Domestic Workers in Ulaanbaatar city	14
<i>Navch Tumurtolgoi</i>	
3.1 Characteristics of the children as domestic workers	14
3.1.1 Demographic characteristics	14
3.1.2 School attendance and literacy	15
3.1.3 Migration	18
3.1.4 Living conditions and family status	20
3.2 Past and present employment	23
3.2.1 First employment	23
3.2.2 Present employment	26
3.2.3 Duration of work and rest	28
3.3 Wages and expenditure	31
3.4 Labor relations and problems faced by children	34
3.5 Child health and labor protection	38
3.6 Leisure time and habits	41
3.6.1 Bad habits and behavior	41
3.6.2 Knowledge, attitudes, aspiration for future	42
 CHAPTER 4. Children Herding Livestock for Other Families in Rural Areas	46
<i>Solongo Alгаа</i>	
4.1 The characteristics of children herding livestock for other families	46
4.1.1 Demographic characteristics	46
4.1.2 Caregivers' supervision and guidance	46
4.1.3 Citizenship documentation, coverage by health insurance	49
4.1.4 Literacy and school attendance level	50
4.2 Past and present employment of children herding livestock for other families	53
4.2.1 Past employment	53
4.2.2 Present employment	56
4.2.3 Distribution of working hours	61
4.2.4 Labor relations and their coordination	64
4.2.5 Distribution of children livestock for other families	66
4.3 Health status and labor protection	67
4.3.1 Health status and medical assistance and services	67
4.4 Leisure time and aspirations	70

CHAPTER 5.	Parents of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families	74
<i>Munkhjargal Battsengel</i>		
5.1	Profile of parents and household members covered by the study	74
5.1.1	Profile of household members of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families	74
5.1.2	Profile of parents of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families	76
5.2	Living conditions of survey parents	77
5.3	Income of parents	78
5.4	Access to the social services	82
5.5	Opinions of the parents on working conditions of their children	83
5.6	Parents' thoughts on the future of their children	87
CHAPTER 6.	Employers of the child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families	92
<i>Narantulga Baatarjav</i>		
6.1	Profile of the employers and household members of the employers	92
6.1.1	Profile of the employer's household members	92
6.1.2	The profile of the employers	94
6.2	Valuation of child labour from the employer's perspective	97
6.2.1	Child labor remuneration	97
6.2.2	Valuation of the working children's issues	102
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS		105

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Justification

One of the phenomena of concern which emerged in society during the transition of Mongolia to the market economy in the 1990s is child labor. As children start working, their basic rights such as a right to get education, to live healthily, to experience happiness and joy of life, are violated.

In Mongolia there has always been the tradition and custom to teach children to work. However, with the spread of poverty and the emerging interest to employ cheap workforce, children are more and more involved in economic activities. Children from poor households, who have limited opportunities to study at school, start working in order to earn income and sustain their livelihood.¹

Children participate in nearly all *agricultural, industrial and trade and services* activities such as engaging in petty trade in the streets, shoe shining, carrying luggage, illegal gold mining, and collecting waste materials. As forms and scope of child labor are expanding, children working for other families as domestic workers openly or in hidden form have already become a normal phenomenon in Mongolia.

However, conditions and realities of child domestic workers in urban and rural areas are different. For instance, child domestic workers in urban areas are isolated and hidden, while children herding livestock for households in the countryside not only herd livestock, but also participate in all everyday activities of the employer's household. It is important to distinguish clearly if children herd livestock or work as domestic workers at their own home or for other families. Parents of children who work for other families do not pay much attention to basic education of their children. Although children in rural areas who study at school mostly live in dormitories, at weekends they herd livestock or work as domestic workers for other families or do both. During summer vacation they work as full-time herders or domestic workers or combine both. Since rural infrastructure is underdeveloped, children engaged in such activities have limited opportunities to study at school (especially children who work in remote baghs in the countryside).

Despite a fact that a number of research studies on child labor and employment in Mongolia was carried out in the last few years, no comprehensive survey or research has been implemented yet on such a unique form of child labor as a domestic worker or herding livestock for other families.

1.2. Objectives of the Survey

No previous research report or knowledge base exists on the situation of Child Domestic Workers in Mongolia. The main objective with the collection of primary data is to be able to estimate the urban incidence of CDWs in Ulaanbaatar and to estimate the rural incidence of CDWs in the three selected rural aimags. The survey results are expected to clarify the differences in the realities facing child domestic workers in urban and rural areas. Further, the following issues are to be explored through the survey:

¹ National Statistical Office 2004. "Main Report of the Workforce Survey", Ulaanbaatar

- To determine the characteristics, working conditions, intensity of work carried out by children as domestic workers/herding livestock for other families, their labor protection and exploitation issues;
- To reveal and compare disparities in conditions of employment of child domestic workers in the city and children herding other families' livestock in rural areas;
- To determine position and attitudes of employers and parents who make their children work for other families.

1.3 Structure of the Report

The report is structured in the following way. It starts with an executive summary where key findings of the survey are introduced briefly. Chapter 1 describes justification, objectives of the survey and Chapter 2 presents the survey methodology. Chapter 3 describes the characteristics, working conditions, workload, wages, forms of payment, the amount of wages, its expenditure and problems faced by child domestic workers. Chapter 4 looks at the abovementioned issues with regard to children herding livestock for other families and in addition examines in detail how children participate in other everyday activities of a herder household. Chapter 5 looks at position and attitudes of parents, whose children work for other families while, Chapter 6 studies the characteristics of employers, their position and attitudes towards child labor. Finally, policy recommendations are given on the basis of the main report findings.

CHAPTER TWO. SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Child domestic workers work in places other than their home and therefore they are hidden from the eyes of the public. Although the International Labour Organization Convention No. 182 does not officially count housework among the intolerable forms of child labour, it states that children at risk of taking up intolerable forms of labour should be detected and prevented. Recommendation No.190 that ensued the convention states that “attention should be directed towards hidden labour conditions that pose specific risks for girls”.

The practice of employing children for housework is common in Asian countries, and research shows that domestic workers receive the lowest remunerations, often having to work for long hours without rest, and that children take it up at a very young age. For those children living at the family he/she works for are permanently under the employer’s supervision, who can restrict their freedom, their right to play, to go to school, to interact with others, and to have friends. Girls are at a high risk of being subjected to sexual abuse. These reasons provide justification for housework to be included amongst the intolerable forms of child labour.

The definition of “children working as domestic workers” (further called **domestic workers**) for the purpose of the survey includes children aged 6-17, who work for families other than their own, carrying out domestic work with or without payment. Children who live at the employer’s household permanently or for a certain period or those who do not live with the employer’s family, but participate in everyday activities of this household (such as cleaning the house, looking after children, preparing firewood and carrying water, looking after the house) are included in our definition of children who work as domestic workers. A total of 90 children working as domestic workers from Ulaanbaatar were covered in the survey.

In the rural aimags of Mongolia, animal husbandry is the predominant means of livelihood of the population. Therefore, children are mainly engaged in the herding activities (such as herding livestock, preparing daily products, shear hair/wool of livestock, looking for lost livestock) but their daily domestic work is not trivial. This combination of herding livestock and domestic work is a reality whether the children are working in their own households or whether they are working for someone else.

The rural component of the survey covered 270 children, who participate in herding activities permanently and seasonally for other families in the rural *baghs* and soum centers. The “Baseline survey of child domestic workers” was conducted using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods as described below.

2.1. Pilot Survey method

As research and statistics on households with domestic workers in Ulaanbaatar are scarce, and the number of unknowns too many, the determination of the sampling universe was not obvious. In order to collect necessary information for sampling and to determine main parameters, a pilot survey was conducted between September 2-13, 2004 in 8th Khoroo of Songinokhairkhan district and 7th Khoroo of Sukhbaatar district. These two khorooos in these particular districts were selected as they were considered to be representative of ger and apartment areas respectively.

Table 2.1.shows the coverage frame of the pilot survey.

Table 2.1. Coverage frame of the pilot survey

Districts	Selected districts	Number of khorooos in the selected districts	Selected khorooos	Type of the selected khorooos	Number of HHs in the selected khorooos	Number of selected HHs	Number of HHs with CDW
Bayangol Bayanzurkh Songinokhairkhan Sukhbaatar Khan-Uul Chingeltei	Songinokhairkhan Sukhbaatar	21 16	8th khoroo 7th khoroo	Ger Apartment	1422 2108	143 142	9 5
Total	2	37	2	-	3530	285	14

Source: PTRC, Pilot survey on "Child domestic workers" for sampling, 2004

According to the pilot survey results, the incidence of households with child domestic workers was found to be 4.9 percent. As there are no other statistics; this information was used to design the sample survey.

2.2. Quantitative research method

2.2.1 Sampling

The sampling procedure employed for Ulaanbaatar was different from the sampling procedure employed for the rural aimags.

A. Sampling framework for Ulaanbaatar:

Size of the sample to be selected from Ulaanbaatar

The sample size of households to be selected for the study from Ulaanbaatar was determined with assistance of the following formula:

$$n = t^2 p(1 - p) / \alpha^2, \text{ where } n - \text{Sample size}$$

α - Sampling error

p- Percentage of households with child domestic workers

t - Level of reliability

We accepted the sampling error of 0.05 percentage points and significance level of 0.05. Using this information and the above formula, we determined the representative sample size as 72 households. In order to consider non-sampling error we decided the actual sample size as 90 households. In order to take into account differences in households situated in different khesegs it was decided to select 16 khesegs and survey 5-6 households per kheseg.

Sampling design in Ulaanbaatar

A two-stage simple random sampling method was used for Ulaanbaatar city. In Ulaanbaatar city the administrative wards are as follows: 9 districts are sub-divided into 109 khorooos which are further sub-divided into khesegs. Recall also that khorooos are differentiated into

ger and apartment areas. At the first stage of sampling 16 kheseg were selected randomly from 1102 kheseg of 109 khoroo of 6 Ulaanbaatar districts.² In making such choice on the basis of the ger and apartment areas ratio, we made a simple random sampling with replacement 60 percent of 16 kheseg in ger areas and 40 percent in apartment areas.

At the second stage from total households employing child domestic workers at 7 apartment areas and 9 ger areas selected at the first stage, a number of households equal to the optimal size of sample (90 households) was selected randomly and child domestic workers from these households were covered by the study.

B. Sampling framework for rural areas:

Size of the sample to be selected from rural areas

In determining the size of sample from rural areas we used results of the study on "Children herding livestock for other families" implemented by the Consulting Unit on the commission of the IPEC program of ILO in 2002.

The sample size was determined with assistance of the following formula:

$$n = t^2 p(1 - p) / \alpha^2, \text{ where } n - \text{Sample size}$$

α - Sampling error
p - Percentage of households with child domestic workers
t - Level of reliability

We were accepted the sampling error of 0.05 percentage points and significance level of 0.05. According to results of the survey on "Children herding livestock for other households", percentage of children herding livestock for other households is equal to 22.2. Using this information and above formula we can determine the representative sample size as 265 households. In order to consider non-sampling error, we will take an actual sample size as 270 households.

An equal allocation method will be used for the sampling of households. With regard to practical experience, it is more efficient to keep the sample size (which will be selected from each primary unit) between 30 and 50 in order to reduce the non-sampling error. Therefore, it is suitable to select 30 households from each soum, which is a primary sampling unit, and then three soums will be selected from each aimag.

Sampling design in rural areas

In selecting households from the rural areas to be covered by the study a three stage sampling method was used. At the first stage according to purposive sampling, 3 rural aimags from a total of 18 aimags¹³, were selected on the basis of criteria such as: the number of livestock per

² Ulaanbaatar city, Darkhan Uul, Orkhon and Govisumber aimags have relatively small number of livestock and their infrastructure and industry are developed, so the survey sampling was conducted in the remaining 18 aimags.

household, poverty level (in terms of GDP per capita in aimag being lower than national average), remoteness from the capital city, incidence of natural and climatic disasters in the last years which have a significant influence on decline of number of livestock and therefore impact of rural livelihood and well-being.

Table 2.2. Some parameters of the sampling, by aimags

No	Aimags	Number of HHs /thous/	Number of livestock /thous/	Number of livestock per household	GDP per capita*, /US \$/
1	Arkhangai	24.7	1837.5	74.4	1232.12
2	Bayan-Ulgii	21.8	1315.6	60.3	992.85
3	Bayankhongor	21.5	1099.2	51.1	1392.36
4	Bulgan	15.4	1107.9	71.9	1434.46
5	Govi-Altai	15.2	1261.2	83.0	1345.54
6	Dornogovi	13.2	926.4	70.2	1193.62
7	Dornod	17.1	843.8	49.3	956.32
8	Dundgovi	12.5	1598.1	127.8	1424.74
9	Zavkhan	20.2	1628.6	80.6	1225.91
10	Uvurkhangai	28.8	1918.8	66.6	792.77
11	Umnugovi	12.1	907.4	75.0	1667.14
12	Sukhbaatar	13.3	1622.7	122.0	1272.8
13	Selenge	22.6	587.0	26.0	1600.98
14	Tuv	23.3	1475.6	63.3	1719.77
15	Uvs	19.8	1664.4	84.1	1098.3
16	Khovd	19.2	1,541.0	80.3	1178.42
17	Khuvsgul	31.0	2060.4	66.5	976.44
18	Khentii	17.6	1451.7	82.5	1289.61
Average of aimags		349.3	24847.3	71.1	-
Mongolia		585.5	25427.7	43.4	1740

Source: NSO, statistical data, 2003,

*- Mongolian Human Development Report, 2003, (GDP, 2002)

The NSO statistics from 2003 show that in total 349.3 thousand households live in the above aimags and Table 2.2. shows the distribution of households, the number of livestock and GDP per capita in these aimags.

At the second stage 3 soums from each aimag were selected on the basis of the number of livestock per one household. This resulted in a total of 9 soums. At the third stage of sampling, 30 household were randomly selected from each soum. This resulted in 270 households, which employ children from other families, who help them to herd their livestock, as the sample size for rural areas. Table 2.3 shows the first stage sampling units selected from each selected aimag along with sampling parameters of the second stage.

Table 2.3. Selected sampling primary units for each aimag

	Aimags	Soums/Sampling primary units	Number of HHs	Number of livestock	Number of livestock per HH
1	Uvurkhangai	Zuunbayanulaan	1,255	79,571	63.4
		Taragt	1,171	90,414	77.2
		Khujirt	2,041	108,895	53.4
		Aimag	28,865	1,918,832	66.5
2	Khovd	Bulgan	1,953	172,499	88.3
		Buyant	734	73,333	99.9
		Durgun	654	56,681	86.7
		Aimag	19,243	1,541,004	80.1
3	Khuvsgul	Jargalant	1,271	76,684	60.3
		Tarialan	1,474	96,092	65.2
		Erdenebulgan	710	43,196	60.8
		Aimag	31,021	2,060,424	66.4

Source: NSO, 2003

C. Sample sizes for CDWs, parents and employers

The sample size of children as domestic workers/herding livestock for other families, their parents and employers covered by the survey is shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Sample size

	Aimags/City	Covered		
		Children as Domestic Workers and Children Herding Livestock for other families	Parents	Employers
1	Uvurkhangai	90	40	40
2	Khovd	90	39	41
3	Khuvsgul	90	45	35
4	Ulaanbaatar	90	44	50
	Total	270	168	166

As can be seen from the table, the sample size of parents and employers is approximately 62 percent of the sample size of the child respondents.

In order to collect data from child domestic workers/herding livestock for other families covered by the study, their parents and employers, the team made 3 visits to Ulaanbaatar and 1 visit to the countryside.

Totally, 48.9 percent of the parents of the CDWs in urban, while 45.9 percent of the parents of children herding livestock in countryside were covered by the survey. From the table it was found that about 55 percent of countryside employers and 43 percent of urban employers faced in the interview.

Such reasons as residence of parents of children covered by the study in different aimags and towns (20 percent), their temporary absence (18.9 percent) are some of the reasons which affected low coverage of parents child domestic workers/herding livestock for other families. As for employers, such reasons as temporary absence (31.4 percent), their refusal to be interviewed (8.6 percent) have the highest share among other reasons.

2.2.2 Population estimate using sample survey results

We estimated number of the HHs with Child domestic workers in the central 6 districts in Ulaanbaatar and Children herding livestock in the rural areas using sample survey results.

Table 2.5 illustrates population estimate.

Table 2.5 Sample allocation

Location	Survey results/For sample			For population	
	Number of HHs with CDW/Sample size- n_{CDW}	Total HHs, which are covered in the survey- n_{total}	Incidence rate $p = \frac{n_{CDW}}{n_{total}}$	Total HHs- N_{total}	Number of HHs with CDW - $N_{CDW} = N_{total} \times p$
Ulaanbaatar	90	2624	3.4%	180822*	6148
Rural areas	270	2152	12.5%	246412**	30427

Source: NSO, Statistical Data, 2003

From the survey it was found that about 3.4 percent of the total HHs in Ulaanbaatar have child domestic workers. Also, about 12-13 HHs in every 100 have children herding livestock. Using these statistics, we calculated the total number of HHs with child domestic workers and children herding livestock. (See table 2.5)

According to the population estimate, then, in the central 6 districts in Ulaanbaatar city 6148 HHs employ child domestic workers. Assuming that each household employs no more than one CDW, the population estimate of CDWs in the central 6 districts in Ulaanbaatar is 6148 children. Similarly the population estimate of children herding livestock in the rural aimags is 30427.

Table 2.6 illustrates children's relations to the employers.

Table 2.6 Children's relations to the employers

Children's relation to the employers	Urban		Rural	
	Percentage distribution of Child Domestic Workers	Number of Child Domestic Workers	Percentage distribution of Children Herding livestock for other families	Number of Children Herding livestock
Grandparents	37.8	2324	27.8	8459
Siblings	14.4	885	2.2	669
Other relatives	18.9	1162	41.9	12749
Non relatives	28.9	1777	28.1	8550
Total	100.0	6148	100.0	30427

* -Number of HHs in the central 6 districts in Ulaanbaatar

** -Excluded HHs in Ulaanbaatar city, Darkhan-Uul and Orkhon aimags and HHs in the aimag center of other aimags.

Among children herding livestock in the rural aimags 30 percent or 9128 children are working for their extended families such as grandparents and siblings. In urban areas however, 52.2 percent of the child domestic workers participate in everyday activities for extended families. Survey results also show that 1777 child domestic workers aged 6-17 in the central 6 districts in Ulaanbaatar work for non-relatives whereas in the rural aimags 8550 child herders work for non relative's families.

2.2.3 Questionnaires

In order to collect numeric data in line with survey objectives 4 different types of questionnaires were used in the quantitative study:

- A questionnaire for child domestic workers
- A questionnaire for children herding livestock for other families
- A questionnaire for parents of child domestic workers/ herding livestock for other families
- A questionnaire for employers

Each of these questionnaires is designed to better understand the realities facing the child domestic workers and the people who inhabit their realities. The questionnaires are designed to gather comprehensive information on the profile of child domestic workers/ herding livestock for other families, their past and present employment, working conditions, problems faced by them, issues of labor protection; and to make an evaluation and conclusion.

2.2.4 Data collection

The National University of Mongolia, PTRC professors, researchers, BA and MA students majoring in Demography participated in data collection for the survey. Work on data collection was conducted in 15 days from November 12, 2004 to November 26, 2004. The team consisted of 1 team leader and 3 interviewers. Leaders of selected khesege and baghs provided support in data collection for the survey. In order to evaluate performance of team leaders and interviewers and to improve quality of data collection, monitoring and evaluation process was conducted in Ulaanbaatar and Khuvsgul aimag.

2.2.5 Data processing

ISSA software package was used for data entry and SPSS software was used for data processing and analyzing of the quantitative survey. Since the present survey data was collected with use of 4 different questionnaires, different databases were processed and analysis was done using descriptive and comparative statistics.

2.2.6 Limitations of the survey

As always, it is necessary to be cautious to interpret the reported income level of households in the study as it is known that reported income level is usually lower than the household consumption level.³ Further, the distribution of daily working hours of children employed in families has to be interpreted with caution as the hours reported are from memory.

³ PTRC, 2004 "Poverty and In-migration in Ulaanbaatar", Ulaanbaatar

2.3. Qualitative research method

In addition to the quantitative sample survey method employed to collect numeric data for the “Baseline survey on child domestic workers,” a qualitative survey was also conducted to reinforce the results of the numeric data. Qualitative survey consisted of an in-depth interview and observation. On the basis of detailed interview with each child covered by the survey (according to the previously developed guidelines) the qualitative component is expected to reveal:

- physical, intellectual, mental development of a child
- description of a day from the child’s life (how they spend their time, places visited regularly etc.)
- problems and difficulties of their employment
- relationships with the family of the employer, violation of child rights, existence of abuse symptoms
- criminal environment
- children’s dreams and aspirations

CHAPTER THREE. CHILDREN AS DOMESTIC WORKERS IN ULAANBAATAR CITY

The urban component of the survey is focused on studying children engaged in domestic work in the capital city level. In many developing countries in the world this form of child labor is widespread and research on child domestic workers is substantial, which was of assistance in conducting our survey.

This chapter contains detailed information on profile of child domestic workers in Ulaanbaatar city, their past and present employment, their health, work safety, their habits, problems encountered, their dreams and aspirations about future.

3.1 Characteristics of children as domestic workers

The baseline survey of children employed as domestic workers was conducted in 16 selected khesege in 6 districts of Ulaanbaatar. A total of 90 children as domestic workers employed by 2624 households were surveyed. According to the sample distribution calculations, we estimate a population of 6148 children employed as domestic workers in 6 central districts of Ulaanbaatar. Given that the urban sample size of child domestic workers was small and errors due to small sample size should be taken into account, we decided that the estimation should be done only in relation to children covered by the study without data distribution.

3.1.1 Demographic characteristics

Table 3.1 shows distribution of the sample of child domestic workers by age, sex and districts of Ulaanbaatar city:

Table 3.1. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by district, according to sex

District	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Bayangol	13.7	7.8	11.1
Bayanzurkh	35.3	20.5	28.9
Sukhbaatar	5.9	20.5	12.2
Songinokhairkhan	33.3	25.6	30.0
Chingeltei	5.9	12.8	8.9
Khan-Uul	5.9	12.8	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of children as domestic workers (CDW's)	51	39	90

Study of child domestic workers by districts shows that percentage of child domestic workers in Songinokhairkhan (30.0 percent) and Bayanzurkh (28.9 percent) districts is relatively higher compared to other districts. This is related to the fact that the number of migrants in these districts is quite large.

Although we aimed to examine differences in the profile of child domestic workers in ger and apartment areas, unfortunately, a relatively small number of children from apartment areas (14) were covered by the survey. In order to identify children employed as domestic workers a pre-testing was carried out before conducting the main study. However, especially in apartment blocks, people were not willing to open the doors, and even when the khoroo district compiled a list of households employing child domestic workers, many denied this

fact and refused to participate in the survey. In the course of the study it was observed that although people's awareness is high regarding the issue of children being employed as domestic workers and advertisements about hiring child domestic workers have been printed and broadcasted in media for a long time, there is a concern among general public that people will blame them for making children work as servants.

Of children employed as domestic workers 56.7 percent are boys and 43.3 percent are girls. By age group almost half of them or 47.8 percent are 12-14 years old, the average age of boys domestic workers is 13, that of girls is 14.

Of child domestic workers 52.2 percent work for their grandparents, brothers or sisters, 18.9 percent for other relatives and 28.9 percent work for friends or other non-relatives.

3.1.2 School attendance and literacy

One of major reasons for child labor is lack of opportunity to study at school. In the last few years the school drop out rate at the national level has declined, but the number of children who have never attended school or have not finished elementary school is still very high. Results of the 2004 study on child labor in Mongolia show that among children who never attended school, children aged 10-17 take up 8.0 percent. One fourth of total children do not finish elementary school, among them nearly 44.0 percent are aged 10-17, which is an issue of concern.⁴

Of child domestic workers covered by the survey 34.4 percent do not study at school and 6 children are covered by informal training (Table 3.2). Out of children aged 7-15, who should get a compulsory education, 25.3 percent do not study at school.

Of children who do not attend school 13.2 percent are younger than 12 years old, 23.5 percent of children are aged 12-14, 59.4 percent of those aged 15-17 do not study at school. In other words, the share of children who do not attend school in the given age group increases as children get older. Looked at by sex, the share of boys who do not study at school is approximately at the same level as that of girls.

If looked at with regard to children's relations to employers, the majority of children who work for their grandparents, brothers and sisters study at school, whereas over half of children, who work for other relatives and only one in four children, who work for non-relatives study at school.

One issue that draws attention is that nearly one in two children migrants does not study at school.

⁴ National statistical Office, 2004. 'Survey on Child Labour', Main report, Ulaanbaatar

Table 3.2. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by school attendance, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	School attendance			Total	Number of CDW's
	Study at school	Informal training	Do not study		
Age					
6-11	86.7	-	13.3	100.0	15
12-14	67.4	9.3	23.5	100.0	43
15-17	34.4	6.2	59.4	100.0	32
Sex					
Male	58.8	5.9	35.3	100.0	51
Female	59.0	7.7	33.3	100.0	39
Migration status					
Migrant	47.4	10.5	42.1	100.0	19
Non -migrant	62.0	5.6	32.4	100.0	71
Relationship with employer					
Grandparents/siblings	80.9	-	19.1	100.0	47
Other relatives	52.9	5.9	41.2	100.0	17
Non-relatives	23.1	19.2	57.7	100.0	26
Total	58.9	6.7	34.4	100.0	90

Table 3.3 shows reasons of child domestic workers for not studying at school.

Table 3.3. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers, who are not studying at school by reason for not studying, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Reason for not studying						Total	Number of CDW's, who are not studying at school
	Learning unsuccessfully	Because of work	Domestic problems	Health problems	Lack of income/money	Don't like study		
Age								
6-11	-	-	50.0	50.0	-	-	100.0	2
12-14	10.0	10.0	60.0	-	20.0	-	100.0	10
15-17	10.5	21.1	47.4	10.5	10.5	-	100.0	19
Sex								
Male	16.6	5.6	50.0	11.1	11.1	5.6	100.0	18
Female	-	30.8	53.8	7.7	-	7.7	100.0	13
Whether live with parents/father/mother								
Live with	9.5	14.3	52.3	14.3	4.8	4.8	100.0	21
Doesn't live with/Orphan	10.0	20.0	50.0	-	10.0	10.0	100.0	10
Total	9.7	16.1	51.6	9.7	12.9	-	100.0	31

Over half of child domestic workers who do not study at school reported family difficulties as a reason for not studying and this percentage is high in all age groups. The second most popular reply given by children aged 15-17, girls, children who do not live with their parents or orphans is "I do not study because I work". It is interesting that while among girls no one selected the answer "I do not study because of academic failure", 16.6 percent of boys gave that answer. Of total children, who do not study at school, 48.4 percent is taken up by children, who work for non-relatives and family problems are the main reason for their drop-out of school.

After interviewing children we asked about problems faced by children, their dreams and aspirations, studied their general physical development and their psychology/ mentality. During the discussions six children with low speech development, deaf or with learning difficulties were observed.

We also aimed to examine how successful are child domestic workers who study at school, and whether they have time to do their homework. Of 59 children studying at school about 60 percent reported successful study with A and B marks. And the share of B marks in any of the forms was over 40 percent. Not one child reported unsatisfactory or F marks. Although we do not have an opportunity to verify if child domestic workers answered truthfully to this question, we examined how much time is spent by them on completing independent assignments or homework. The answers show that children in average spend 1 hour 45 minutes to do their homework.

Table 3.4 Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers, who are studying at school by time spent on homework, according to sex

Hours spent on homework a day	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
1 or less hour	60.6	30.8	47.5
2 hours	15.2	38.5	25.4
3 hours	21.2	26.9	23.7
4 hours	3.0	3.8	3.4
<i>Mean minutes</i>	<i>93.4</i>	<i>120.0</i>	<i>105.4</i>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of CDW's who are studying at school	33	26	59

Nearly half of child domestic workers who study at school spend up to one hour on doing their homework. Especially among boys, 60.6 percent of them gave this answer. It is insufficient time for good studies. This can be explained on the one hand, by lack of their own commitment and on the other hand, by little amount of time allocated by employers for children's studies.

In order to determine reading and writing skills of children we asked them to read questions in the questionnaire and write one sentence in the notebooks of researchers.

Of child domestic workers covered by the survey 8.9 percent can not read and 11.1 percent can not write. Especially among boys of 12-14 years old, who migrated to the city, the share of illiterate children unable to read or write was higher than among other children. A time has come for related institutions to pay attention to the fact that there is a substantial number of children who are not able to realize their right to get education according to the Constitution and who are illiterate. Migrant children of the age, when they should obtain a basic education, are not able to realize their right to get education according to the Constitution and, moreover, are illiterate (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by literacy status, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether can read		Whether can write		Total	Number of CDW's
	Yes	No	Yes	No		
Age						
6-11	93.3	6.7	86.7	13.3	100.0	15
12-14	86.0	14.0	86.0	14.0	100.0	43
15-17	96.9	3.1	93.8	6.2	100.0	32
Sex						
Male	90.2	9.8	86.3	13.7	100.0	51
Female	93.2	7.7	92.3	7.7	100.0	39
Migration status						
Migrant	89.5	10.5	84.2	15.8	100.0	19
Non-Migrant	91.5	8.5	90.1	9.9	100.0	71
Total	91.1	8.9	88.9	11.1	100.0	90

3.1.3 Migration

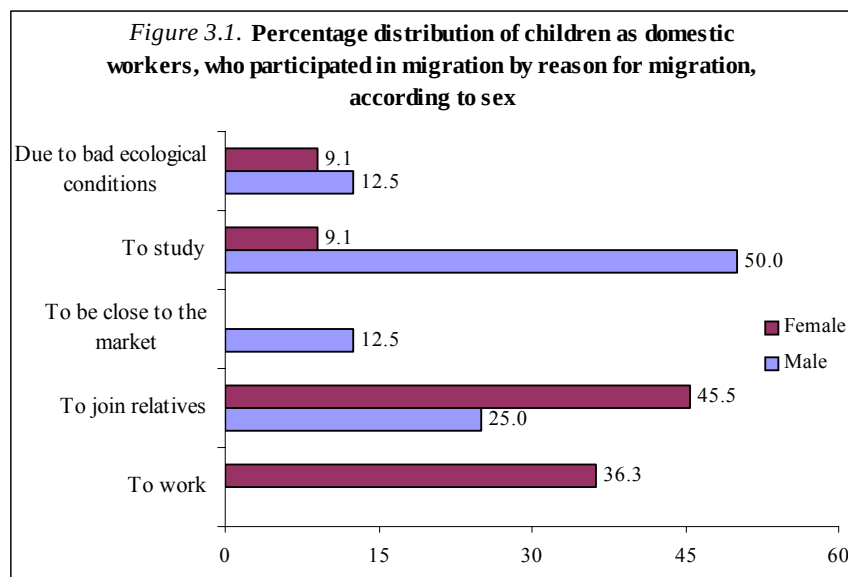
One of the factors affecting child labor is the force of migration from rural areas to the capital city. At present migrants constitute one third of the population of the capital city. Migrants from the countryside build gers in open areas at outskirts of the city, thus expanding the borders of the city and increasing the ranks of the poor.⁵ Due to insufficient quality of education in rural areas children from soums of the Central aimag surrounding Ulaanbaatar come to the capital city to study and work or just to work.⁶

Of child domestic workers covered by the survey 21.1 percent or one in five has migrated to the city in the last five years. Reasons for their migration are shown in Figure 3.1.

Of total children who participated in migration 36.8 percent indicated the reason for coming to Ulaanbaatar was to be close to their relatives and 26.3 percent to study. An interesting issue is that the share of girls who migrated to be closer to their relatives is higher than that of boys by 20.5 points, but the share of boys who moved in order to study is 5 times larger than that of girls.

⁵ Government of Mongolia and UNDP, 2004. "Human Development Report, 2003: Urban and Rural Disparities", Ulaanbaatar

⁶ IPEC and PTRC, 2002. "Survey on Children Work at the Market", Ulaanbaatar



There is a need to examine whether migrant working children are under supervision and in care of parents or relatives or whether they work and live independently. It is related to the fact that in the last years the number of street children at the national level has not declined and as a result of inadequate care, lack of attention and control by adults, such violation of child rights as abuse of children, their involvement in crime etc. still takes place in our country.

Table 3.6 Percentage distribution of migrant children as domestic workers in terms of people they migrated with, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	People with whom, the children came together with to the city						Total	Number of migrant CDW's
	Myself	Parents	Siblings	Grand-parents	Other relatives	Parents/Siblings /Grandparents		
Age								
6-11	-	-	-	66.7	-	33.3	100.0	3
12-14	22.2	22.2	11.1	44.5	-	-	100.0	9
15-17	42.9	-	-	42.9	14.2	-	100.0	7
Sex								
Male	37.5	12.5	-	37.5	12.5	-	100.0	8
Female	18.2	9.1	9.1	54.5	9.1	-	100.0	11
Total	26.3	10.5	5.3	47.3	5.3	5.3	100.0	19

That is why we studied who these children came with from the countryside. The survey results show that 73.7 percent of migrant child domestic workers moved to the city together with parents or relatives, while 26.3 percent moved to the city on their own. Among older children aged 15-17 and among boys the share of those who came to the city on their own is quite high (Table 3.6.)

The following parts of the study will be explained with regard to migration.

3.1.4 Living conditions and family status

Numerous problems faced by the society such as poverty of children's households, incomplete families and other issues are behind the reasons for children to start working. We looked at the parents of child domestic workers.

Table 3.7 shows if parents of child domestic workers covered by the study are alive.

Table 3.7 Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by whether their parents are alive, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Both alive	Orphan			Total	Number of CDW's
		Both died	Father died	Mother died		
Age						
6-11	60.0	-	40.0	-	100.0	15
12-14	76.7	7.0	14.0	2.3	100.0	43
15-17	37.5	9.4	50.0	3.1	100.0	32
Sex						
Male	54.9	5.9	35.3	3.9	100.0	51
Female	66.7	7.7	25.6	-	100.0	39
Migration status						
Migrant	63.2	-	36.8	-	100.0	19
Non-Migrant	59.2	8.5	29.5	2.8	100.0	71
Total	60.0	6.7	31.1	2.2	100.0	90

Of child domestic workers covered by the survey 60.0 percent have both their parents alive, 31.1 percent have only their mother alive as the father died, 2.2 percent have only their father alive as the mother died, 6.7 percent are complete orphans. The questionnaire asked if their parents were alive, but not if they lived with their parents at present.

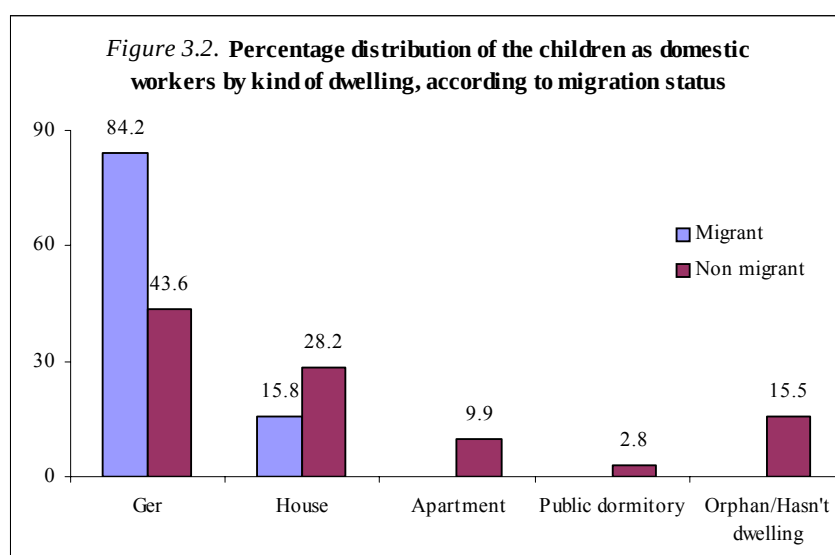
Table 3.8 shows whether child domestic workers who have both or one of their parents alive live together with them. Although 60 percent of child domestic workers replied previously that their parents are alive, only 23.8 percent of children answered that they live with their parents, as results of Table 3.8 show.

About half of children covered by the survey replied that they did not live with either of parents. If looked at by age groups, the share of children aged 6-11, who do not live with either of parents, is higher compared to other groups. Of children, who migrated to the city, 57.9 percent do not live with either of parents. It can be explained by a fact that some children live at their employers', and others live with their relatives or in other places. An issue of concern is that up to present we have constantly paid attention to female-headed households and have taken many social measures focusing on these households. However, our survey revealed a number of children, who live with their fathers. Therefore, attention should be paid in the future to vulnerable households with single fathers as heads of households and a detailed study of such households is necessary.

Table 3.8 Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers, whose parent/parents are alive by whether live with them, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether live with both parents/father/mother				Total	Number of CDW's whose parents are alive
	Live with both parents	Live with mother	Live with father	Live without parents		
Age						
6-11	13.3	33.3	-	53.4	100.0	15
12-14	32.5	17.5	5.0	45.0	100.0	40
15-17	17.2	41.4	-	41.4	100.0	29
Sex						
Male	29.2	29.2	-	41.6	100.0	48
Female	16.7	27.7	5.6	50.0	100.0	36
Migration status						
Migrant	26.3	10.5	5.3	57.9	100.0	19
Non-Migrant	23.2	33.8	1.5	41.5	100.0	65
Total	23.8	28.6	2.4	45.2	100.0	84

Figure 3.2 shows accommodation where child domestic workers live at present in relation to their participation in migration.



Of child domestic workers 52.2 percent live in gers, 25.5 percent live in private houses. An issue of concern is that 12.3 percent of children do not have own housing and wander from place to place. The Figure 3.2 shows that children who migrated to the city have some kind of dwelling and the majority live in gers, while non-migrant children live in different kinds of dwelling and the share of homeless children among them is quite large.

Of child domestic workers covered by the survey 48.9 percent or 44 children live at their employer's.

When asked if their employers allow children, who live at their place, visit their families, 52.3 percent reported that their employers allow them to go home, while 47.7 percent said that they were not allowed to do so. As for the age and sex of children, there is no substantial difference in who the employers allow to visit home. The share of children who came from

the countryside was higher among those who were allowed to visit their families (81.8 percent). When children who were allowed to go home were asked about frequency of their visits home, 26.1 percent answered once a week, 17.4 percent once in two weeks, 17.4 percent quarterly, and these answers had higher percentage from other answers. Answers “once a half year”, “once a year” were given by two children.

When reasons for not allowing children to visit families were clarified, children answered as follows: they were not allowed to go home as they look after small children (2 children), as they were homeless and their fathers lived at some friend’s (2 children), as they were homeless and their mothers was abroad (2 children), as they were homeless (2 children), as they folded their ger and had nowhere to go (2 children), as they came only recently (3 children), as they made a 2 year contract and the contract has not ended (3 children), as their mother was ill (1 child).

The employer’s house was at the nearest at distance of 5 meters from the child’s house, at the farthest – at distance of 550 km and in average the distance between the employer’s place and children’s home is 41.6 km. Table 3.9 shows whether child domestic workers have any documentation, by selected indicators.

Of child domestic workers 88.9 percent have birth certificates/ID, 87.8 percent have health insurance documents, the rest answered that they did not have any or did not know about them. Among boys the share of children who did not know about the existence of the documents was higher. In addition, 15.6 percent of children aged 15-17 do not have birth certificates/ ID, 12.5 percent do not have a health insurance, 15.8 percent of migrant children do not have a health insurance.

The general public mostly thinks that only migrant children are not covered by the health insurance and they do not have any documents. However, the survey findings show that the percentage of migrant and non-migrant children, who reported lack of documents, is approximately at the same level, which shows that the issue of children’s identity documentation should be addressed with regard to ALL children- irrespective of migration status or urban/rural residency status.

Table 3.9 Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by existence of their documentation, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether have a birth certificate/ID			Whether have a health insurance			Total	Number of CDW's
	Have	Have not	Don't know	Have	Have not	Don't know		
Age								
6-11	86.6	6.7	6.7	93.3	6.7	-	100.0	15
12-14	93.0	7.0	-	86.0	9.3	4.7	100.0	43
15-17	84.4	15.6	-	87.5	12.5	-	100.0	32
Sex								
Male	86.2	11.8	2.0	88.2	7.8	4.0	100.0	51
Female	92.3	7.7	-	87.2	12.8	-	100.0	39
Migration status								
Migrant	89.5	10.5	-	78.9	15.8	5.3	100.0	19
Non-Migrant	88.7	9.9	1.4	90.1	8.5	1.4	100.0	71
Total	88.9	10.0	1.1	87.8	10.0	2.2	100.0	90

Although the Law on Medical Insurance states that the state is responsible for health insurance of all children under 16 years old, because of irresponsible parents children are not covered fully by medical insurance (10 percent do not have birth certificates/ID, 10 percent do not have medical insurance documents). Therefore, the Citizen Registration Office and Medical Insurance Office need to organize work on child registration and their coverage with medical insurance.

3.2 Past and present employment

In this section, past and present employment, kinds of work carried out by child domestic workers, their reasons for starting working, school attendance while working, who initiated work, whether they changed jobs and reasons for this change are examined.

3.2.1 First employment

The survey revealed that child domestic workers carry out such works as looking after children, cleaning the house, cooking and other chores that adult workers are not usually interested in doing. They work from sunrise to sunset, without any rest in order to sustain their livelihood. Like adults who always say that children should learn to do domestic chores well, and who accept their services, but do not value their work, the employers, too, think that children only help a little, while the employers feed them and pay them.

The average age of child domestic workers, when they start their first job, is 10, for boys-9, for girls-11. We aimed to determine what kind of work child domestic workers were engaged in previously and what was their first job. However, children whose first job is their present work as domestic workers are also included (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10. Percent of the children as domestic workers by type of their first work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Type of first work							Number of CDW's
	Herding	Domestic work	Vending at market or street	Collect cans and bottles	Singing /Games	Wash/Look after cars	Carry loads	
Age								
6-11	20.0	93.3	-	-	-	-	6.7	15
12-14	11.6	93.0	9.3	4.7	-	-	2.3	43
15-17	12.5	84.4	9.4	3.1	6.3	6.3	3.1	32
Sex								
Male	13.7	88.2	5.9	5.9	3.9	2.0	3.9	51
Female	12.8	92.3	10.3	-	-	2.6	2.6	39
Total	13.3	90.0	7.7	3.3	2.2	2.2	3.3	90

Note: Answers are multiple

The majority of children or 90.0 percent started working first as domestic help. The share of children who previously herded livestock is also quite high (13.3 percent). Especially, boys previously had different jobs as collecting bones and bottles, singing in the streets, organizing games, washing cars and carrying loads.

Table 3.11 shows whether child domestic workers were out of school when they started working.

Table 3.11. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by whether they were out of schools at the start of work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether they were out of school at the start of work			Total	Number of CDW's
	Yes, already	Yes, for start working	No		
Age					
6-11	6.7	-	93.3	100.0	15
12-14	23.3	4.7	72.0	100.0	43
15-17	28.1	6.3	65.6	100.0	32
Sex					
Male	19.6	3.9	76.5	100.0	51
Female	25.6	5.1	69.2	100.0	39
Number of people in the child's household					
1-3	7.4	3.7	88.9	100.0	27
4-5	27.6	-	72.4	100.0	29
6 or more	29.4	8.8	61.8	100.0	34
Total	22.2	4.4	73.4	100.0	90

While 22.2 percent of children covered by the survey were out of school when they first started working, 4.4 percent reported leaving school to start working. The share of respondents who were out of schools increases as they are older and the family size is larger. The share of boys domestic workers, who were out of schools before starting work, is lower than that of girls by 6.0 percent, the share of those who dropped out of schools in order to work is 1.2 points lower than that of girls.

Table 3.12 shows who initiated children's work.

Table 3.12. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by person who initiated first work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Person who initiated first work						Total	Number of CDW's
	Myself	Parents	Siblings/Grand parents	Other relatives	Friends	Employer		
Age								
6-11	40.0	26.7	20.0	-	-	13.3	100.0	15
12-14	46.5	23.3	11.6	2.3	-	16.3	100.0	43
15-17	50.0	9.4	6.3	3.0	6.3	25.0	100.0	32
Sex								
Male	54.9	23.5	15.7	-	-	5.9	100.0	51
Female	35.9	12.9	5.1	5.1	5.1	35.9	100.0	39
Number of people in the child's household								
1-3	51.9	11.1	18.5	3.7	-	14.8	100.0	27
4-5	34.5	31.0	6.9	-	6.9	20.7	100.0	29
6 or more	52.9	14.7	8.8	2.9	-	20.7	100.0	34
Relationship with employer								
Grandparents/siblings	52.9	5.9	11.8	5.9	-	23.5	100.0	17
Other relatives	53.8	7.7	7.7	3.8	7.7	19.3	100.0	26
Non-relatives	40.4	29.8	12.8	-	-	17.0	100.0	47
Total	46.7	18.9	11.1	2.2	2.2	18.9	100.0	90

Of children covered by the survey 46.7 percent took the initiative to work. The table also shows that parents and employers also often initiate child labor. The share of children who started working on their own initiative increases as they get older and more boys than girls were themselves initiators of work.

Table 3.13. shows reasons for starting work by selected indicators.

Leading reasons for children to start working are a need to increase the household income, to help others, unemployed parents, a need for having own money. Children aged 15-17 and children from large families with six and more family members mostly indicated the reason “to increase household income”. Children aged 6-11 gave more answers that their parents are unemployed. Among reasons for starting work children, working for their grandparents or older siblings, listed such reasons as “in order to help them” (36.2 percent), children, who work for other relatives- “to have money for myself” (35.3 percent), children working for non-relatives- “to contribute to the household’s income” (50.0 percent), “to have my own money” (38.5 percent) and these were the prevailing reasons.

Table 3.13. Percent of the children as domestic workers by reasons for starting work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Reasons for starting work								Number of CDW's
	Parents are unemployed	To support household income	Dropped out of school	To have own income	Forced by parents	To help others	I was lived in employers home	To have working experience	
Age									
6-11	26.6	6.7	-	6.7	26.6	40.0	13.3	6.7	15
12-14	23.3	23.3	11.6	18.6	14.0	20.9	9.3	4.7	43
15-17	18.8	37.5	12.5	15.6	15.6	18.8	9.4	3.2	32
Sex									
Male	19.6	25.5	11.8	19.6	19.6	17.6	7.8	3.9	51
Female	23.1	25.6	2.6	17.9	12.8	30.8	10.3	2.6	39
Number of people in the child's household									
1-3	18.5	7.4	3.7	3.7	11.1	40.7	22.2	7.4	27
4-5	17.2	27.6	10.0	24.1	24.1	20.7	6.9	3.4	29
6 or more	26.5	38.2	14.7	29.4	14.7	11.8	2.9	8.8	34
Relationship with employer									
Grandparents/siblings	19.1	14.9	2.1	6.4	21.3	36.2	12.8	6.4	47
Other relatives	23.5	17.6	17.6	35.3	11.8	11.8	17.6	-	17
Non-relatives	23.1	50.0	15.4	38.5	11.5	7.7	-	-	26
Total	21.1	25.6	12.2	18.9	16.7	23.3	8.9	3.3	90

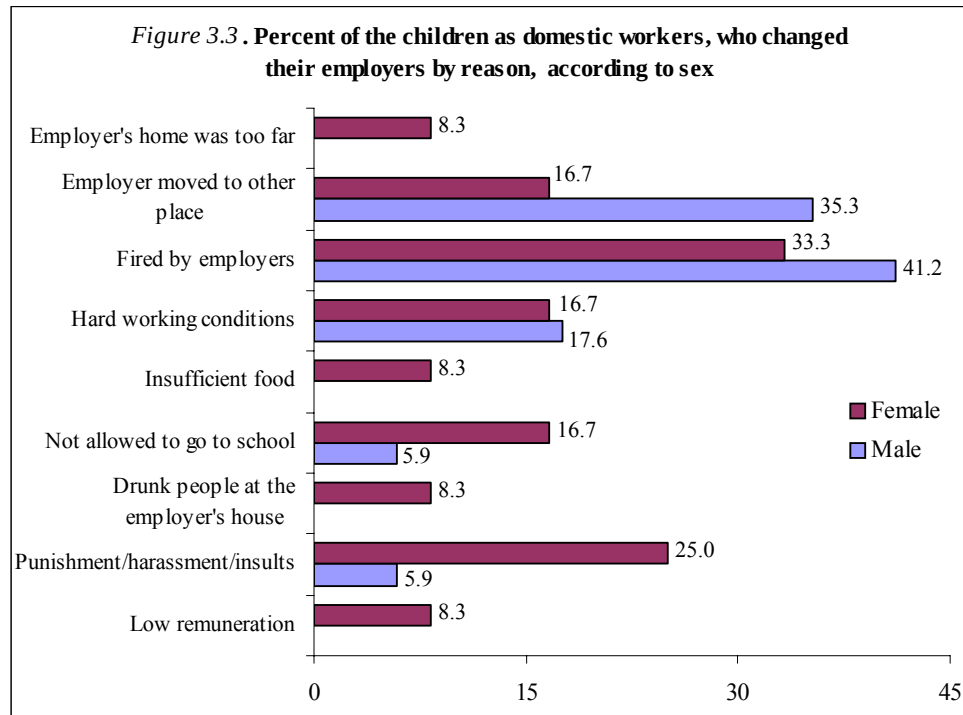
Note: Answers are multiple

As for the duration of working as domestic help, 31.1 percent of children worked up to one year, 37.8 percent one to three years, 31.1 percent three and more years. The share of children aged 6-11, who answered that they worked one to three years as domestic help, was the highest or 53.3 percent.

Asked if they worked previously in other families as domestic workers, 32.2 percent replied positively and these children worked in average in two families.

Figure 3.3. shows reasons for changing their employers.

The main reason for boys domestic workers to change their employers was that the families did not need them anymore or the employer's family moved away, while girls reported such reasons as employers stopped employing them, or they punished/beat/ insulted them. Out of girls and boys covered by the survey nearly 17 percent reported difficult work conditions. One worrying issue is that some girls answered that employers harassed them when they were drunk and that was the reason for them to change employers. It shows that there exists a problem of sexual abuse in relation to girls domestic workers. There were also such answers as "employers do not allow to attend school". A conclusion can be made that the rights of child domestic workers are violated.



Note: Answers are multiple

3.2.2 Present employment

Now, we will look at kinds of work carried out by child domestic workers in their current employment.

Children covered by the survey carried out such domestic chores as cleaning the house, looking after small children or elders, doing the laundry, cooking, carrying water from wells, bringing and splitting firewood. While boys do work that requires physical strength such as carrying water from wells, bringing and splitting firewood, cleaning the house, girls are in charge of work, which is traditionally considered women's duties, such as cleaning the house, cooking, looking after the house (Table 3.14).

Table 3.14. Percent of the children as domestic workers in charge of certain chores by type of current chores, according to sex

Type of current chores	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
House cleaning	74.5	100.0	85.6
Child care/Taking care of elderly	60.8	71.8	65.6
Doing laundry	58.8	66.7	62.2
Cooking	64.7	87.2	74.4
House keep	70.6	82.1	75.6
Carry water	82.4	64.1	74.4
Prepare/Carry the fire wood	54.9	25.6	42.2
Chop wood	72.5	20.5	50.0
Sitting in a small shop/canteen	7.8	7.7	7.8
Herding livestock	7.8	10.3	8.9
Running errands	5.9	20.5	12.1
Number of CDW's	51	39	90

Note: Answers are multiple

Younger children are mostly given such chores as cleaning the house or looking after the house, while older children are in charge of cooking. In general, kinds of work carried out by child domestic workers differ only slightly by age and sex (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15. Percent of the children as domestic workers in charge of certain chores by type of current chores, according to age group

Type of current work	Age group			Total
	6-11	12-14	15-17	
House cleaning	93.3	90.7	75.0	85.6
Child care/Taking care of elderly	80.0	60.5	65.6	65.6
Doing laundry	60.0	69.8	53.1	62.2
Cooking	66.7	76.7	75.0	74.4
House keeping	93.3	72.1	71.9	75.6
Carry water	80.0	72.1	75.0	74.4
Prepare/Carry the fire wood	53.3	37.2	43.8	42.2
Chop wood	60.0	46.5	50.0	50.0
Sitting in a small shop/canteen	13.3	4.7	9.4	7.8
Herding livestock	30.0	4.7	9.4	8.9
Running errands	13.3	9.3	15.6	12.2
Number of CDW's	12	31	24	90

Note: Answers are multiple

We examined separately such chores done by child domestic workers as carrying water from wells and preparing firewood. The reason for this is that according to norms and standards of working conditions a child below 16 years old is prohibited to carry loads with use of a two-wheeled cart and 16-17 year-olds are allowed to carry up to 115 kg loads by a cart. The working conditions are also determined depending on the distance of transportation.

Table 3.16. shows the share of child domestic workers who carry water from wells by means of transportation and selected indicators.

Of child domestic workers 68.7 percent carry water by the cart and 29.9 percent manually. A few boys aged 15-17 reported use of cars and motorcycles to carry water. The average distance from wells was 617 meters. The share of children carrying water by carts increased

as the distance from wells was greater, while if wells were at closer distance, children had to carry water manually.

Table 3.16. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers who carry water by means of transportation, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Mean of transportation			Total	Number of CDW's who carry water
	By cart	By hand	By car/motorcycle		
Age					
6-11	75.0	25.0	-	100.0	12
12-14	74.2	25.8	-	100.0	31
15-17	58.3	37.5	4.2	100.0	24
Sex					
Male	71.4	26.2	2.4	100.0	42
Female	64.0	36.0	-	100.0	25
Distance of carry water					
Under 500 meter	66.7	33.3	-	100.0	33
500-1000 meter	67.9	28.6	3.6	100.0	28
More than 1000 meter	83.3	16.7	-	100.0	6
Total	68.7	29.9	1.4	100.0	67

Of children who carried firewood 44.7 percent used carts, 50.0 percent brought it on their back, only 5 percent brought it by car (Table 3.17). As we mentioned previously, since it is work requiring physical strength, boys mostly did it. The mean distance for bringing firewood was 1125 meters.

Children, especially younger children, have to carry heavy load, much heavier than permitted (such as water and firewood) from distant places in difficult weather conditions such as the harsh Mongolian winters in addition to rain and heat.

Table 3.17. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers who bring firewood by means of transportation, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Mean of transportation			Total	Number of CDW's who bring firewood
	By cart	On the back	By car		
Age					
6-11	62.5	37.5	-	100.0	8
12-14	18.8	75.0	6.3	100.0	16
15-17	64.3	28.6	7.1	100.0	14
Sex					
Male	50.0	42.9	7.1	100.0	28
Female	30.0	70.0	-	100.0	10
Distance of carry fire wood					
Under 500 meter	35.0	60.0	5.0	100.0	20
500-1000 meter	55.6	33.3	11.1	100.0	9
More than 1000 meter	55.6	44.4	-	100.0	9
Total	44.7	50.0	5.3	100.0	38

3.2.3 Duration of work and rest

One indicators which determines intolerable forms of child labor is duration of work or working hours. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) recommendation in the publication "Every Child Counts" working hours in excess of 43 per week, is regarded as hazardous child labor.

Table 3.18. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by division of working hours, according to sex

Division of working hours	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Time for starting work a day			
Before 8.00 A.M	13.7	15.4	14.4
8.00-9.00 A.M	49.0	33.3	42.3
10.00 A.M	37.3	51.3	43.3
<i>Mean</i>	9.59	10.00	9.77
Time for finishing work a day			
5.00 P.M or before	21.6	28.2	24.4
6.00-7.00 P.M	35.3	12.8	25.6
8.00 P.M or after	43.1	59.0	50.0
<i>Mean</i>	18.59	18.74	18.66
Hours for work as a domestic worker a day			
3 or less hours	31.4	30.7	31.2
4-6 hours	39.2	43.6	41.1
7-8 hours	17.6	10.3	14.4
9 or more hours	11.8	15.4	13.3
<i>Mean</i>	5.12	5.31	5.20
Days for work as a domestic worker a week			
1-2 days	2.0	10.3	5.6
3-5 days	19.6	23.1	21.1
6 days	5.9	10.3	7.8
7 days	72.5	56.3	65.5
<i>Mean</i>	6.37	5.82	6.13
Months for work as a domestic worker a year			
1-4 months	7.8	10.3	8.9
5-8 months	2.0	5.1	3.3
9-12 months	90.2	84.6	87.8
<i>Mean</i>	10.90	10.59	10.77
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of CDW's	51	39	90

Table 3.18 shows duration of work of child domestic workers. The majority of boys domestic workers answered that they start work at 8-9 am, while the majority of girls reported starting work from 10 am. However, the share of children who start work before 8 am is not trivial (14.4 percent). Children reported finishing their work in mean at 7 pm. Therefore, mean working hours per day equal five hours twenty minutes. Of total children covered by the survey, 13.3 percent work 9 or more hours a day. Especially, for children working for non-relatives this indicator is higher and equals 26.9 percent.

Child domestic workers work in mean six days a week and children working a whole week without rest take up 65.6 percent of total children.

Calculations made on the basis of this data show that child domestic workers work in mean over 30 hours a week. This is an average amount, but in the course of the study it was observed that a certain group of children work longer hours than recommended by the ILO, in other words, they work in conditions, which are considered as hazardous form of child labor⁷.

⁷ ILO, 2003. Working Children in Mongolia, 2002-2003, survey report, Ulaanbaatar

Article 71.1 of chapter 5 of the Labor Law of Mongolia, states that “in case of a worker aged 14-15 working hours per week can be up to 30 hours and those of a 16-17-year-old worker can be up to 36 hours.” The survey data thus confirms that the children domestic workers are exploited and working over time (without compensation) is widespread.

Let us examine if employers make child domestic workers work at night (Table 3.19).

Table 3.19. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by whether they work at night, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether work at night		Total	Number of CDW's
	Yes, sometimes	No		
Age				
6-11	6.7	93.3	100.0	15
12-14	9.3	90.7	100.0	43
15-17	25.0	75.0	100.0	32
Sex				
Male	11.8	88.2	100.0	51
Female	17.9	82.1	100.0	39
Whether live with parents/father/ mother				
Live with	22.2	77.8	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	6.7	93.3	100.0	45
Relationship with employer				
Grandparents/siblings	10.6	89.4	100.0	47
Other relatives	-	100.0	100.0	17
Non-relatives	30.8	69.2	100.0	26
Total	14.4	85.6	100.0	90

In total, 14.4 percent of children reported occasionally being made to work at night or in the evening. The table shows that children covered by the survey work in the evening and at night without regard to their age (6.7 percent of children aged 6-11 gave this answer). 25.0 percent of children aged 15-17 and 30.8 percent of children working for non-relatives reported working in the evening and at night, which is the highest percentage.

Children said that they have to work at night when some urgent matters happen at the employer's, or when they have to prepare firewood, split it, lit fire and heat the ger, or look after the children. They work at night for at least 1 hour, at most 4 hours.

One working day of a child domestic worker living at the employer's

I get up in the morning, usually at 8 o'clock. Of course, if children get up early I have to get up too, and I look after children when their parents go to work. I have to cook and feed them, do the laundry, clean the house and take a walk with children. After they have lunch I put them to bed. While they sleep I do the washing up and start preparing the dinner. As the family members come home usually late I do not have time even to watch TV. I go to bed at 11 pm. Twice a week I bring water from the well.

(SB district, E., 16 years old, girl)

One working day of a child domestic worker living at home

I get up at 7 am and at 8 am I should be at my employer's. First I make the beds and clean the house. Then I prepare lunch to children and do all the laundry, washing everyone's clothes. Then I split the firewood. Everyday I go to the well, when it opens at 4 pm and carry water. After that I start cooking dinner. In the evening I do washing up and make a good fire, so I leave for home at 10 pm. Sometimes, if the family members are late I stay there for a night.

(SB district, B., 15 years old, girl)

Table 3.20. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by whether they get leave during public holidays and weekends, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether get leave during public holidays and weekends				Total	Number of CDW's
	Yes, I get a day off	Yes, during public holiday only	Yes, during weekends only	No, I work		
Age						
6-11	6.7	40.0	-	53.3	100.0	15
12-14	25.5	23.3	7.0	44.2	100.0	43
15-17	25.0	25.0	3.1	46.9	100.0	32
Sex						
Male	15.7	27.5	5.8	51.0	100.0	51
Female	30.8	25.6	2.6	41.0	100.0	39
Whether live with parents/father/ mother						
Live with	26.7	20.0	6.7	46.6	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	17.8	33.3	2.2	46.7	100.0	45
Relationship with employer						
Grandparents/siblings	10.6	29.8	2.1	57.5	100.0	47
Other relatives	35.3	35.3	5.9	23.5	100.0	17
Non-relatives	34.6	15.4	7.7	42.3	100.0	26
Total	22.2	26.7	4.4	46.7	100.0	90

While every citizen according to Constitution has a right to get a rest during public holidays, 46.7 percent of children surveyed answered they do not have days off during holidays. The fact that the percentage of such answers is higher among children working for their grandparents or older siblings compared to children working for other relatives or non-relatives, is of concern.

Of children who responded that they have no leave on holidays 66.7 percent notice that during holidays the work load is heavier than on ordinary days, 29.6 percent that it is the same, 4.7 percent that it is less than on usual days.

3.3 Wages and expenditure

Survey results show that work of a domestic help pays much less than other forms of child labor. It is difficult to determine its exact valuation as children sometimes are not paid wages, they are dependent on the employers.

Similarly to the adult's domestic labor which is not valued, work of a child domestic worker is the least valued labor.

Of children covered by the survey 44.4 percent receive their wages in cash, but 48.9 percent receive it in non-cash form, 6.7 percent receive nothing (Table 3.21). The table shows that the

share of children who receive wages in cash increases as children get older and on the contrary, the younger the children, the bigger share of them receives their wages in non-cash form or is unpaid. The share of children receiving wages in cash is 2.3 times greater among those who live with their parents in comparison to orphans or children who do not live with their parents. The percentage of children receiving their wages in cash is higher among children working for non-relatives in comparison to children working for their close or distant relatives.

Table 3.21. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by form of employer's payment to child, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Form of employer's payment to child			Total	Number of CDW's
	In cash	By kind	Nothing		
Age					
6-11	26.7	60.0	13.3	100.0	15
12-14	44.2	46.5	9.3	100.0	43
15-17	53.1	46.9	-	100.0	32
Sex					
Male	47.1	43.1	9.8	100.0	51
Female	41.0	56.4	2.6	100.0	39
Whether live with parents/father/mother					
Live with	62.2	33.3	4.4	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	26.7	64.4	8.6	100.0	45
Relationship with employer					
Grandparents/siblings	34.0	55.3	10.7	100.0	47
Other relatives	35.3	64.7	-	100.0	17
Non-relatives	69.2	26.9	3.8	100.0	26
Total	44.4	48.9	6.7	100.0	90

Table 3.21 shows the amount of wages, which children who receive their wages in cash, got in the last 12 months.

From the survey it can be inferred that the average annual wages of a child equal 134,312 tugrugs. In other words, if we consider that children surveyed worked for the whole 12 months, their average monthly wages would be 11 thousand tugrugs approximately (1\$US=1219Tg).

By the directive of the government of Mongolia the minimum monthly wages are determined as 40 thousand tugrugs, starting from March 1, 2004. Wages of child domestic workers (not counting those who do not receive any wages) are several times lower than the minimum, which shows that it is the lowest paid job.

As can be seen from Table 3.21, the younger the children, the lower the amount of wages.

Table 3.23 illustrates that most part (60.0 percent) of income earned by children is given to the family in order to contribute to family income. The rest is spent by children on pocket money (35.0 percent), on purchase of clothes for themselves (32.5 percent), on food (22.5 percent), on purchase of stationary and other school supply (20.0 percent).

Table 3.22. Percent of the children as domestic workers who get payment in cash by amount of wages in past 12 months, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Amount of wages in past 12 months (tugrugs)			Total	Number of CDW's, who get payment in cash
	Less than 40,000	40,000- 120,000	More than 120,000		
Age					
6-11	50.0	50.0	-	100.0	4
12-14	36.8	36.8	26.4	100.0	19
15-17	35.3	23.6	41.1	100.0	17
Sex					
Male	45.8	25.0	29.2	100.0	24
Female	25.0	43.8	31.1	100.0	16
Whether live with parents/father/mother					
Live with	39.3	35.7	25.0	100.0	28
Doesn't live with/Orphan	33.3	25.0	41.7	100.0	12
Total	37.5	32.5	30.0	100.0	40

Expenditure of wages differs substantially depending on age and sex of children. Younger children give the largest share of wages to the family and spend the rest on pocket money, sweets and fruits, while older children give a part of the money to their family and also spend them on purchase of clothes for themselves. Girls spend more money on purchase of stationary and school supplies than boys. The amount of wages received by child domestic workers is closely related to the expenditure. For instance, the share of children who said that they contribute to family budget increases when their annual wages are higher than 120 thousand tugrugs. There was not one answer which mentioned purchase of school supplies. Probably these children did not study at school.

Table 3.23. Percent of the children as domestic workers who get payment in cash by expenditure of income, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Type of salary/income expenditure							Number of CDW's, who get payment in cash
	Pay rent	Bye books, uniform etc.	Give to parents/ family	Keep some as pocket money (for cigarettes, sweets)	Pay debts	Clothing (to myself)	Food (to myself)	
Age								
6-11	-	25.0	50.0	25.0	-	-	-	4
12-14	5.3	21.1	47.4	57.9	-	21.1	21.1	19
15-17	-	17.6	70.6	52.9	11.8	52.9	29.4	17
Sex								
Male	-	2.0	58.3	25.0	8.3	33.3	33.3	24
Female	6.3	18.8	62.5	50.0	6.3	31.3	6.3	16
Salary per year (tugrugs)								
Under 40,000	-	33.3	46.7	20.0	6.7	20.0	40.0	15
40,000-120,000	7.7	23.1	46.2	53.8	7.7	30.8	-	13
More than 120,000	-	-	83.3	66.7	8.3	50.0	25.0	12
Total	2.5	20.0	60.0	35.0	7.5	32.5	22.5	40

Note: Answers are multiple

When asked if they share their cash and other income with their family, 48.8 percent of child domestic workers answered negatively (Table 3.24).

Table 3.24. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers who get payment by whether share income with the family, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether share income with the family		Total	Number of CDW's, who get any payment
	No	Yes		
Age				
6-11	69.2	30.8	100.0	13
12-14	53.8	46.2	100.0	39
15-17	34.4	65.6	100.0	32
Sex				
Male	45.7	54.3	100.0	46
Female	52.6	47.4	100.0	38
Migration status				
Migrant	61.1	38.9	100.0	18
Non-migrant	45.5	54.5	100.0	66
Whether live with parents/father/mother				
Live with	23.3	76.7	100.0	43
Doesn't live with/Orphan	75.6	24.4	100.0	41
Salary per year (tugrugs)*				
Under 40,000	26.7	73.3	100.0	15
40,000-120,000	7.6	92.3	100.0	13
More than 120,000	8.3	91.7	100.0	12
Total	48.8	51.2	100.0	84

Note: * Estimated for children, who get payment in cash (N=40)

Of children who gave this answer, share of those who did not live with parents (75.6 percent), younger children (69.2 percent), girls (52.6 percent), migrants (61.1 percent) is higher in comparison to other groups.

Of total 40 children, who answered they received their wages in cash, the share of those who did not give money to their family is higher among children whose wages are low. Answers that employers pay children their wages (in cash or non-cash form) daily (35.7 percent) or monthly (27.5 percent) have higher share than other answers. However, the share of such answers as once in a year (7.1 percent), once a half year (8.3 percent), quarterly (9.5 percent) is quite high.

Employers also give children their wages in non-cash form such as food stuffs- to 84.1 percent of children, clothes- to 77.3 percent, school supplies- to 43.2 percent. It is interesting that there were 2 answers, which stated that employers praise children.

3.4 Labor relations and problems faced by children

Child domestic workers do not establish formal labor relations according to the Labor Law of Mongolia. To clarify: they are employed without a labor contract. They do not have any understanding or knowledge about work agreement, who it is made with, who can support them, who can protect them. They do not have any opportunity or conditions to know that. For children, the main goal is to find whatever work to earn some money. That is why there are numerous occasions when they often do not get regular payment and are left with damaged health and low morals.

Table 3.25 shows if child domestic workers make an agreement with their employers.

Table 3.25. Percentage distribution of the children as domestic workers by whether have work agreement with employers, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether have agreement with employer			Total	Number of CDW's
	Have written agreement	Have oral agreement	Haven't any agreement		
Age					
6-11	-	-	100.0	100.0	15
12-14	-	14.0	86.0	100.0	43
15-17	3.1	15.6	81.3	100.0	32
Sex					
Male	-	2.0	98.0	100.0	51
Female	2.6	25.6	71.8	100.0	39
Migration status					
Migrant	5.3	21.1	73.6	100.0	19
Non-migrant	-	9.9	90.1	100.0	71
Whether live with parents/father/mother					
Live with	-	15.6	84.4	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	2.2	8.9	88.9	100.0	45
Salary per year (tugrugs)*					
Under 40,000	-	6.7	93.3	100.0	15
40,000-120,000	-	23.1	76.9	100.0	13
More than 120,000	8.3	25.0	66.7	100.0	12
Total	1.1	12.2	86.7	100.0	90

Note: * Estimated for children, who get payment in cash (N=40)

Of children covered by the survey 86.7 percent works without a work agreement with their employers. Survey data shows that the kind of children who are made to work without a contract are the vulnerable and weak. In fact, of children who gave this answer, share of those who did not live with parents is 75.6 percent, younger children are 69.2 percent, girls are 52.6 percent, and migrants constitute 61.1 percent. The table shows that the share of children having a work agreement increases as they are older.

As for children who receive their payment in cash, from the status of their work agreements it can be seen that as the amount of payment is higher, the share of children with written or oral agreement is getting higher, too.

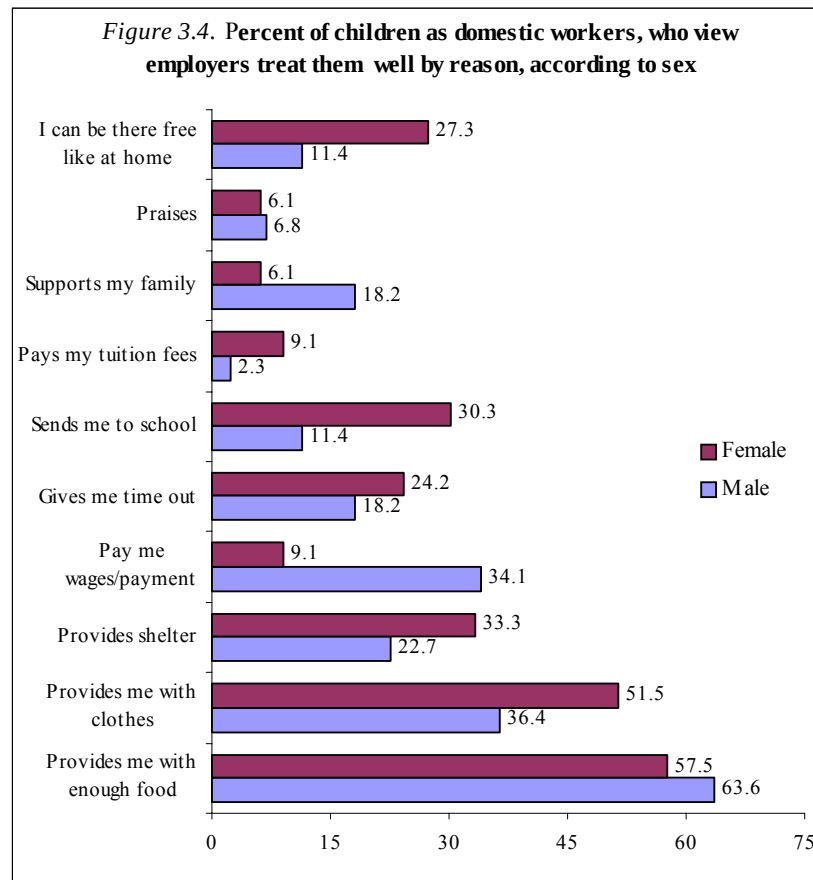
When asked about main contents of the agreement, children who have a written or oral agreement with the employer, reported inclusion of such provisions as payment of wages on time in cash, change of wages depending on quality of implementation, provision of accommodation, provision of food and other stuff. Some children had such provisions in the agreement as having no days off, not visiting their families, rent of the room in return for carrying water etc. Although such contents is difficult to consider a real labor contract, it presents a progress in comparison with children who do not have any agreement. However, there are many occasions when employers breach the agreement, not paying the wages on time.

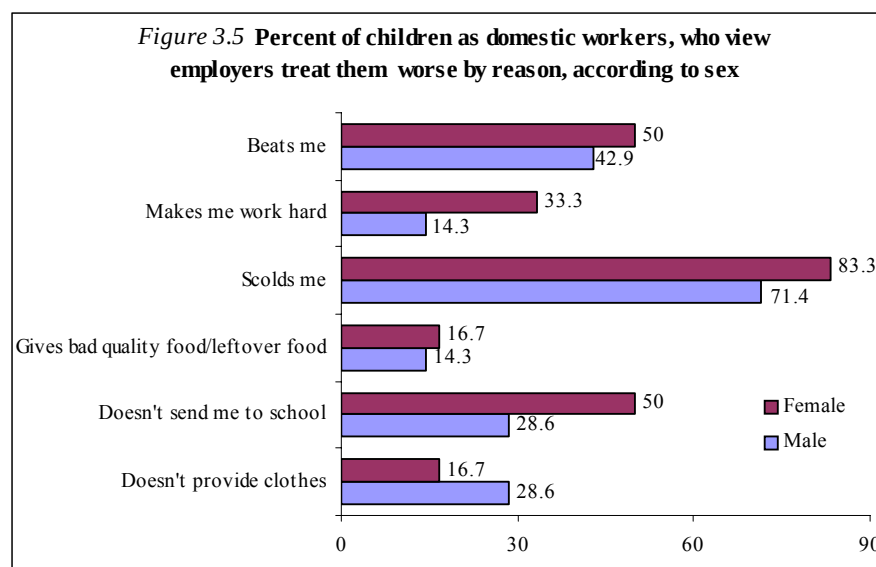
Despite the existence of legal provisions such as: (a) allowing employment of children aged 14-15 with their parent's consent, in order to provide professional orientation and work practice; (b) employment of children older than 16 years old on the basis of a work agreement for implementing work which is not harmful to the child health or ethics with provision of related privileges, these conditions are not realized in practice.

When asked about attitudes of employers towards them, almost all children without regard to age or sex gave an answer that they have good relationships (85.6 percent). Main reasons for such reply are for boys good food, provision of clothes and payment of wages, while girls conclude that employers are good to them when the food is good, clothes are provided, they live at the employer's and they can go to school (Figure 3.4).

Children who replied that their employers are bad to them, listed such reasons as scolding and beating and such replies are dominating (Figure 3.5.).

Child domestic workers who live at their employer's were asked if they are allowed to go home when they accomplish all their work. 60.9 percent of children replied positively, 8.7 percent "sometimes", 30.4 percent reported that they are not allowed to do so. During holidays or festive occasions employers allow 68.2 percent of children to visit their family and 6.8 percent of children replied they were sometimes given a permission to go home





Note: Answers are multiple

When asked about difficulties faced by children with regard to employers more than half of children reported insults (Table 3.26).

Table 3.26. Percent of children as domestic workers, who faced abuses from employers by types of abuses encountered during work, according to sex and age group

Types of abuses	Sex		Age			Total
	Male	Female	6-11	12-14	15-17	
Beaten by master	17.6	23.1	40.0	11.6	21.9	20.0
Scolded	52.9	53.8	-	-	3.1	1.1
Sexual abuse	-	2.6	73.3	44.2	56.3	53.3
Verbal abuse	13.7	28.2	13.3	18.6	25.0	20.0
Given little or no food	13.3	7.0	13.3	7.0	15.6	11.1
Paid low wage/salary	9.8	12.8	20.0	4.6	15.6	11.1
Never paid any wage/salary	13.7	7.7	26.7	9.3	6.3	11.1
Number of CDW's	51	39	15	43	32	90

Moreover, a substantial part of children reported beating and threats. Especially, younger children are often beaten, their wages are low and sometimes their work is unpaid, which can be seen from the results of the survey. More over, there are some cases when girls domestic workers are threatened and even are subjected to sexual abuse. It is important to mention here the definition of sexual abuse given by the researchers in the course of administering questionnaires which is: touching, kissing, tugging and provoking etc.

A conclusion can be made that in Mongolia nearly all rights indicated in the Child Rights Convention are violated with regard to child domestic workers and intolerable forms of child labor take place.

The head of family where I am employed is very angry. I look after their two children aged 2-3. He always scolds me when children cry and even hits me. He threatens that he will not pay my wages.

(Bayanzurkh district, X, 15 years old, female)

In general, it is difficult to work in a family as a domestic worker. It is not that difficult to look after the children. The biggest problem is that they always drink vodka. Their guests harass me a lot, maybe because I look quite grown up.

(Sukhbaatar district, E, 16 years old, female)

In total, 3.3 percent of child domestic workers, while 6.7 percent of their parents are indebted to the employer. In the course of the survey it was noticed that there are some cases when children work as a pawn of debt.

Previously I worked for another family, which was indebted to this family who I presently work for, so they made me work for this family as their debt pawn.

(Bayanzurkh district, X, 16 years old, female)

In order to determine the scope of child domestic workers and their contacts, they were asked if they knew other child domestic workers. In total, 32.2 percent answered positively and one child knew in average 2 other child domestic workers. Children covered by the survey knew in total 61 other child domestic workers. Asked if they knew children who previously worked as domestic workers, 11.1 percent answered positively.

22.2 percent of the children surveyed are engaged in some other work along with employment as a domestic help such as petty trade in the streets, splitting firewood and putting it in sacks at the market, working as a ticket seller in small private buses, working in car repair or guarding cars. They dedicate in average 3 days a week to such work and mostly work all year round.

3.5 Child health and labor protection

Of child domestic workers in the families aged 6-14 two thirds reported falling ill while working. By sex, the share of boys aged 6-11 and girls aged 12-14 who gave that reply is higher compared to other groups (Table 3.27).

Of children who reported getting ill while working, 30 percent of children aged 6-11, 17.2 percent of children aged 12-14 and 33.3 percent of children aged 15-17 reported still being ill at present. Over half of them were able to get medical assistance.

Table 3.27. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by whether they got ill while working, according to sex and age group

Whether got ill while working	Male			Female			Total		
	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17
Yes	72.7	56.5	29.4	50.0	80.0	66.7	66.7	67.4	46.9
No	27.3	43.5	70.6	50.0	20.0	33.3	33.3	32.6	53.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of CDW's	11	23	17	4	20	15	15	43	32

Asked about illnesses that lasted until present time, 84.6 percent reported having a cough, 38.5 percent have a headache, 15.4 percent have a sore throat; skin rash, stomachache, allergies are reported by 7.7 percent of children .

Of those children 77.4 percent got medical assistance from family doctors, 19.4 percent from specialist doctors and 3.2 percent from monks/chiropractors. It is interesting that boys unlike girls have not sought assistance from monks/chiropractors. Of these children 67.7 percent did not pay for medical assistance, fees of 25.8 percent were paid by their parents or relatives and 6.5 percent paid for treatment themselves.

Of children who answered they did not have medical assistance, 39.1 percent did not wish to get it, 21.7 percent did not have money for it, 17.4 percent reported taking medicines given by their parents or chosen by themselves, the rest listed such causes as remoteness from the hospital, lack of medical history card.

Table 3.28. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers who fell ill while working by selected characteristics, according to sex and age group

Selected characteristics	Male			Female			Total		
	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17
Whether child is still sick									
Yes	37.5	15.4	40.0	-	18.8	40.0	30.0	17.2	33.3
No	62.5	84.6	60.0	100.0	81.2	60.0	70.0	82.8	66.7
Whether got assistance from doctor/health professional									
Yes	75.0	46.2	60.0	100.0	56.3	50.0	80.0	51.7	53.3
No	25.0	53.8	40.0	-	43.7	50.0	20.0	48.3	46.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of CDW's, who fell ill while working	8	13	5	2	16	10	10	29	15

Of children covered by the survey 43.3 percent reported wearing work/ protective clothing while working. Table 3.29 shows what kind of work/protective clothing they wear.

Table 3.29. Percent of children as domestic workers who wear work/protective clothing/special tools by kind of clothing, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Kind of clothing					Number of CDW's
	Warm clothes	Gloves	Hat	Scarf	Apron	
Age						
6-11	16.7	83.3	50.0	16.7	-	15
12-14	37.5	93.8	56.3	25.0	-	43
15-17	23.5	88.2	35.3	35.3	5.9	32
Sex						
Male	38.1	85.7	61.9	28.6	-	51
Female	16.7	94.4	27.8	27.8	5.6	39
Total	28.2	89.7	46.2	28.2	2.6	90

Note: Answers are multiple

Of children wearing work/protective clothing the majority or 89.7 percent reported wearing gloves, 46.2 percent-hats, 30.8 percent-scarf, 28.2 percent-warm clothes. The number of boys who answered they wore warm clothes and hats was nearly twice as high as that of girls, which can be explained by a fact that boys mostly do works outside the house, while girls mostly do housework. Children said they were very cold when carrying water as they did not have mittens in winter.

There are many occasions when working children are hungry and their health suffers. During work 22.2 percent of children eat at home, 73.3 percent eat at the employer's and 4.4 percent eat in canteens.

Table 3.30 shows how many times a day child domestic workers have hot meals by selected indicators.

Of children 52.2 percent have one hot meal a day, 36.7 percent have two hot meals a day. An issue of concern is that the percentage of children at the age of intensive growth, especially those aged 6-11, who reported eating only one hot meal a day is quite high. 1.1 percent of total children reported not eating a daily hot meal.

When asked if they are sated by their meals, 19.1 percent answered negatively. This answer was given mostly by children, especially boys, aged 6-11. Of children covered by the study 22.2 percent spent at least one day without a hot meal during the week before the survey. When the number of such cases was calculated, these children have spent 2 days without meals in the previous week.

Table 3.30. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by number of hot meals a day, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Number of hot meals a day				Total	Number of CDW's
	Doesn't have	1	2	3		
Age						
6-11	-	66.7	26.7	6.7	100.0	15
12-14	2.3	46.5	41.9	9.3	100.0	43
15-17	-	53.1	34.4	12.5	100.0	32
Sex						
Male	-	54.9	37.3	7.8	100.0	51
Female	2.6	48.7	35.9	12.8	100.0	39
Whether live with parents/father/mother						
Live with	-	57.7	35.6	6.7	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	2.2	46.7	37.8	13.3	100.0	45
Total	1.1	52.2	36.7	10.0	100.0	90

In total, 30 percent of children sleep on the floor, 5.6 percent have only one blanket, 1.1 percent have only a mattress, 11.1 percent do not have their own blankets or mattresses.

3.6 Leisure time and habits

3.6.1 Bad habits and behavior

Among child domestic workers there are quite a number of those who smoke and waste their wages aimlessly. By the age groups over 10 percent of children aged over 12 without regard to sex smoke. The average age of starting smoking is 11 years old (Table 3.31).

Girls aged 6-11 all answered that they had never tried any alcoholic beverages, but in other age groups a share of children who tried alcohol is not that small, which can be seen from the table. The average age of first trying alcoholic beverages is 14.

There is a small share of children who reported trying narcotic substances such as cannabis, drugs or smelling petrol. Especially a fact that a share of girls who answered positively to this question is higher than the share of boys is tragic. The average frequency of tries is 2 times.

Asked if they were detained or questioned by police 11.8 percent of boys and 5.1 percent of girls gave a positive answer. The main reasons for detention/interrogation by police are as follows: for boys, 16.7 percent were detained for theft, 33.3 percent for a fight, 50.0 percent for hooliganism, while of two girls one was detained for hooliganism, another one for trading in the streets without permission. Of these children half were afraid of their parents, relatives and the rest were afraid of police.

Table 3.31. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by their habits, according to sex and age group

Habits	Male			Female			Total		
	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17	6-11	12-14	15-17
Whether smoke									
Yes	-	8.7	17.6	-	10.0	6.7	-	9.3	12.5
No	100.0	91.3	82.4	100.0	90.0	93.3	100.0	90.7	87.5
Whether have drunk alcohol									
Yes	18.2	13.0	11.8	-	10.0	33.3	13.3	11.6	21.9
No	81.8	87.0	88.2	100.0	90.0	66.7	86.7	88.4	78.1
Whether have used drugs/ sniffed glue/ plants/petrol etc.									
Yes	-	4.3	-	-	5.0	6.7	-	4.7	3.1
No	100.0	95.7	100.0	100.0	95.0	93.3	100.0	93.3	96.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ofn CDW's	11	23	17	4	20	15	15	43	32

In terms of leisure time, Boys mostly spend their free time at home, in the street, at their friends' or in public entertainment places, while girls spend their leisure time at home, at their employer's or in a public entertainment place. Asked about the reasons of choosing these places to spend their free time 53.3 percent answered "to play", 28.9 percent- "to help my family", 26.7 percent- "because other children are there". So children mostly play, watch TV or sleep in their free time. Few persons answered they were going to a swimming pool or to different clubs or read books.

Asked about their hobbies, 58.8 percent of boys answered "sports", 11.8 percent- "listening to music", while 30.8 percent of girls answered "listening to music", 20.5 percent "playing games", "reading books", 12.8 percent- "sports".

3.6.2 Knowledge, attitudes, aspirations for future

Asked which of the options they would choose: studying at school or working, 86.7% of total children selected the answer “study at school” (Table 3.32). It shows that the majority of children works only in order to sustain their livelihood.

As children get older, the share of those who chose an opportunity to study declines, while as children are younger it increases. For instance, all children aged 6-11 answered they would study if there was an opportunity. The share of boys who selected this answer is lower than that of girls by 29.9 points. In other words, girls are more interested in studying than boys.

Of children covered by the study 75.6 percent answered they liked working, 24.4 percent replied they did not like working. Although there is not much difference with regard to the age and sex, the share of children aged 6-11 who did not like working was lower than that of other groups.

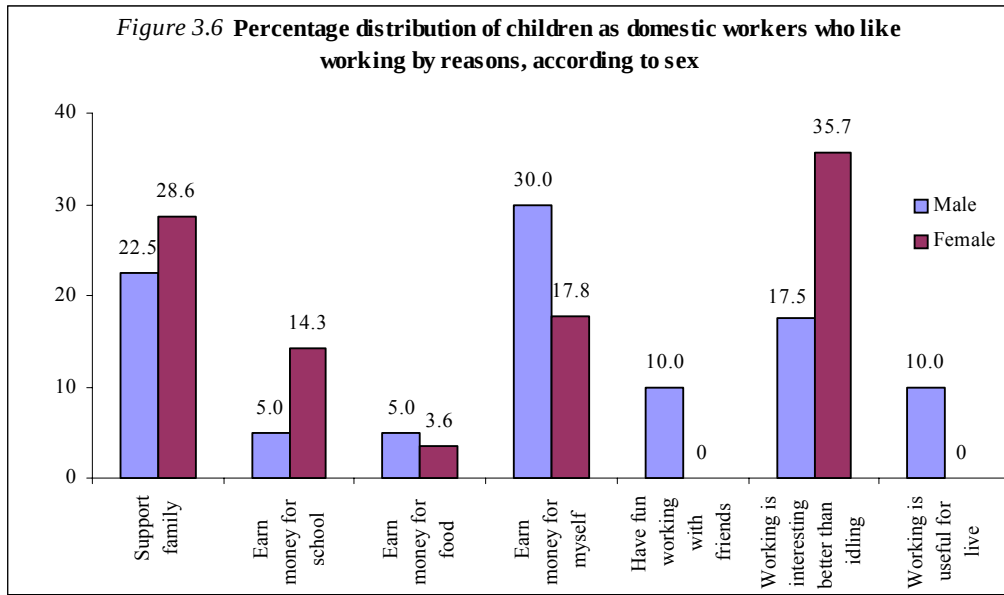
Table 3.32. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by their choice for future, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Choice for future		Total	Number of CDW's
	To study	To work		
Age				
6-11	100.0	-	100.0	15
12-14	90.7	9.3	100.0	43
15-17	75.0	25.0	100.0	32
Sex				
Male	62.4	17.6	100.0	51
Female	92.3	7.7	100.0	39
Whether live with parents/father/mother				
Live with	82.2	17.8	100.0	45
Doesn't live with/Orphan	91.1	8.9	100.0	45
Migration status				
Migrant	94.7	5.3	100.0	19
Non-migrant	84.5	15.5	100.0	71
Total	86.7	13.3	100.0	90

Figure 3.6. shows the reasons why children like working.

When children who liked working were asked about reasons for that, boys mostly listed such reasons as earning money (30.0 percent), supporting their families (22.5 percent), working is interesting, better than idling (17.5 percent), while girls mostly answered that working was interesting, better than idling (35.7 percent), they supported their families (28.6 percent), they earned their own money (17.8 percent). By age groups, children of 6-11 years old selected the answer “because I support my family” (40.0 percent), children of 12-14 years old – “because working is interesting, better than idling” (29.5 percent), children aged 15-17 answered “because I earn my own money” (33.3 percent). When the main three reasons for children to like working were ranked, the answers of boys and girls had different ranks, but boys and girls alike selected similar three reasons. The main reasons selected by the children of different age groups were again the same reasons. The interesting fact is that depending on needs and psychological peculiarities of children of different ages, the reasons are placed

differently. For instance, while younger children are more interested in helping their families, older children put a goal to meet their own needs.



Now let us look at reasons of children who answered they did not like working (Table 3.33). Of children who answered they did not like working 18.2 percent replied “because I do not study at school”, 36.4 percent- “because I am not interested in this work”, 45.4 percent- “because I am very tired”. The answers do not differ by sex, but by age groups, as children get older, the answer “I do not like working because I do not study at school” is given by more children. Another concern is that the percentage of children aged 6-11, who reported unwillingness to work because they tire very much, is high. The inference can be made that in the case of younger children working as domestic help, the working conditions are not appropriate to their age and physical development .

Table 3.33. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers who do not like working by reasons, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Reasons			Total	Nubmer of CDW's who do not like working
	Can't go to school	Don't like this type of work	Too tired		
Age					
6-11	-	40.0	60.0	100.0	5
12-14	11.2	44.4	44.4	100.0	9
15-17	37.5	25.0	37.5	100.0	8
Sex					
Male	18.2	36.4	45.4	100.0	11
Female	18.2	36.4	45.4	100.0	11
Total	18.2	36.4	45.4	100.0	22

Table 3.34. shows attitudes of child domestic workers towards employment by selected indicators.

When asked if their present work negatively affects their health, 26.7 percent of children covered by the survey answered positively and 73.3 percent negatively. The number of respondents who gave positive answers increases with the age of respondents, and the percentage of boys, who chose that answer, is lower than that of girls by 7.3 points.

Table 3.34. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by attitudes to employment, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether agree with “work negatively affects one’s health”		Whether know “child should be at school rather than work”		Total	Number of CDW’s
	Agree	Disagree	Know	Do not know		
Age						
6-11	13.3	86.7	53.3	46.7	100.0	15
12-14	23.3	76.7	76.7	23.3	100.0	43
15-17	37.5	62.5	68.8	31.3	100.0	32
Sex						
Male	23.5	76.5	68.6	31.4	100.0	51
Female	30.8	69.2	71.8	28.2	100.0	39
Total	26.7	73.3	70.0	30.0	100.0	90

When asked if they knew that children should study at school, not work, 70.0 percent of total children gave a positive answer. The share of children aged 6-11 who gave a positive answer is lower than that of other age groups.

In order to examine whether children have knowledge of the age limit for child labor indicated in the Labor Law, a question on this issue was introduced in the questionnaire (Table 3.35).

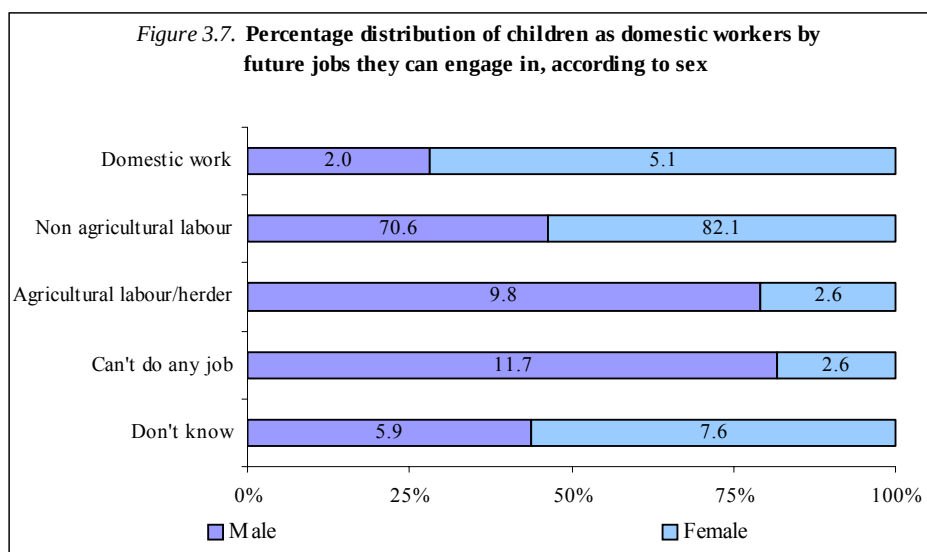
Table 3.35. Percentage distribution of children as domestic workers by how they determined the age for legal employment, according to sex

How they determined the age for legal employment	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
8 or less	9.8	10.3	10.0
9-13	17.7	2.6	11.1
14-15	5.9	2.6	4.4
16	25.5	15.4	21.1
17 or more	15.6	43.5	27.8
Don’t know	25.5	25.6	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of CDW’s	51	39	90

In total, 25.6 percent of children answered they did not know, 10 percent thought it was 8 and below it, 11.1 percent thought it was 9-13 years old, 4.0 percent answered 14-15, 21.1 percent replied 16, 27.8 percent answered that 17 and older is the age limit for children to work. It shows that children have very unsatisfactory knowledge of the labor age limit. There were also cases when children confused the minimum age limit for labor with the age for army service, election or marriage, which is 18 years old, for instance, among girls such cases were quite numerous (35.9 percent). Only one in four boys and one in six girls gave the correct answer. Therefore, there is a need to develop an appropriate program in order to improve legal knowledge of children in the frame of formal and informal education. In this case children will know their rights and responsibilities.

Asked what kind of work they can engage in the future for living, the majority of child domestic workers or 75.6 percent replied that they could work in any sector other than agricultural. Some children (7.7 percent) answered that they could not engage in any work (Figure 3.7).

When asked if they will suggest working as a domestic help to their brothers or sisters or friends, 23.3 percent of them answered positively. The share of girls who answered positively was higher than that of boys by 4 points. On average, 63.3 percent of children (60.8 percent of boys and 66.7 percent of girls) interested in working as domestic helps in the future. Most children could not say specifically how long they were going to be domestic workers, some of them answered “until I finish school”, “until I grow up”, “all my life”. The majority of children who did not wish to continue working as domestic workers answered they will study.



When asked what kind of work they will do when they grow up, 6.7 percent wanted to become law makers, officials in state or non-government organizations, managers; 42.2 percent specialists/experts, 7.8 percent engineers and technical workers, 8.9 percent service sector workers, 6.7 percent specialized agricultural workers, 12.2 percent machinery/equipment operators, assemblers, 12.2 percent want to have a simple work or profession, 3.3 percent wanted to engage in any work that paid.

For boys the most frequent answers were machinery/ equipment operators or simple work, while girls chose work that requires higher education.

Of 90 children covered by the urban survey 31 receive certain assistance from a non-government organization.

In total, 91.1 percent of children participated in such kind of survey for the first time.

CHAPTER FOUR. CHILDREN HERDING LIVESTOCK AND ASDOMESTIC WORKERS FOR OTHER FAMILIES IN RURAL AREAS

This chapter examines the realities of child domestic workers (CDWs) in rural areas. It is recognized that the realities of CDWs in rural areas differ from the realities faced by CDWs in urban areas. In the rural aimags of Mongolia, animal husbandry is the predominant activity. The children are mainly engaged in herding activities and the domestic work in the *gers* is a *relatively* marginal part of their daily routine. This combination of herding livestock and domestic work is applicable whether the children are working in their own households or whether they are working for someone else.

The survey of CDWs in rural areas was conducted in the 3 selected rural aimags of Uvurkhangai, Khovd and Khuvsgul. The survey collects data on the characteristics of the children herding livestock for other families, time spent on housework in addition to herding livestock, their working conditions, wages, their health and educations issues.

4.1 The characteristics of children herding livestock for other families

4.1.1. Demographic characteristics

Of total 270 children covered by the survey, who herd livestock for other families in selected 3 aimags (Uvurkhangai, Khovd, Khuvsgul), 64.4 percent are boys while, 35.6 percent are girls. As for age groups, 21.5 percent are aged 6-11, 36.7 percent are aged 12-14, 41.9 percent are in age group of 15-17.

The majority of these children (99 percent) work in their native aimags, but 28.5 percent live and work in other than the place of their birth soum.

Of total 270 children covered by the survey only 8 boys (or 3 percent) lived in the previous 5 years in a place other than the present area of residence. Children participated in migration following their parents or grandparents (only 3 children migrated on their own) in order to be closer to their relatives (4 children), to work (3 children).

Of children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey 30 percent work for their grandparents, brothers or sisters, 41.9 percent for other relatives and 28.1 percent for non-relatives. In terms of age group, younger children aged 6-11 work for their grandparents or older siblings (43.1 percent), children aged 12-14 work for non-relatives (34.3 percent), children aged 15-17 work for other relatives and this is the highest percentage.

4.1.2. Caregivers' supervision and guidance

For children working for other families, parents' supervision and guidance is very important, as children work for other families have to live there for certain time and they are not monitored and cared for by their parents. Furthermore, as orphans working for other families have no parents, the issue of monitoring by the employer and protecting child rights is challenging. It cannot be denied that children working for other families and living with the employer's are in a dependency situation that makes them vulnerable to others' influence. Table 4.1. clarifies the status of the parents of the children, in terms of whether they are alive or not.

76.7 percent of children surveyed reported that their parents are alive, 17.8 percent have only one parent alive, and 5.6 percent are orphans. It means that one in four children covered by the study is an orphan⁸. Among children with one parent a share of children whose father died (15.6 percent) and a share of girls with a single parent are relatively high. As the household bread winner dies and an orphan works for another family, it can make these children more dependent, more vulnerable and put them in more difficult conditions.

Table 4.1 Percentage distribution of the children herders, by parents status according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Both parents alive	Orphan			Total	Number of children herders
		Both parents dead	Father dead	Mother dead		
Age						
6-11	91.4	3.4	5.2	-	100.0	58
12-14	75.8	9.1	14.1	1.0	100.0	99
15-17	69.9	3.5	22.1	4.5	100.0	113
Sex						
Male	78.2	5.8	12.6	3.4	100.0	174
Female	74.0	5.2	20.8	-	100.0	96
Total	76.7	5.6	15.6	2.2	100.0	270

As children herding livestock for other families grow older, the share of orphans increases. In other words, as orphans grow older, their level of participation in economic activities or their economic contribution to their household increases as the survey results show. For instance, while 91.4 percent of children aged 6-11 have both parents alive, less than 70 percent of children aged 15-17 have both parents alive. Younger children work for their grandparents or for neighbors, but older children work for other than relatives' families. Table 4.2 shows whether the children lived with their parents even if they herd livestock for other families.

Table 4.2 Percentage distribution of the child herders who have both parents/single parent, in terms of whether they live with them, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Live with both parents/single parent or not						Total	Number of children herders who have both parents/single parent
	Live with both parents	Live with mother	Live with father	Live with mother & step father	Live with father & step mother	Did not live with both parents/single parent		
Age								
6-11	51.8	7.1	3.6	-	1.8	35.7	100.0	56
12-14	44.4	14.5	1.1	1.1	-	38.9	100.0	90
15-17	41.3	14.7	1.8	-	-	42.2	100.0	109
Sex								
Male	45.1	12.2	2.4	-	0.6	39.6	100.0	164
Female	44.0	14.3	1.1	1.1	-	39.5	100.0	91
Total	44.7	12.9	2.0	0.4	0.4	39.6	100.0	255

⁸ Children whose father or mother or both parents died were defined in the survey as orphans/semi-orphans.

Of children herding livestock for other families 44.7 percent live with both parents, 14.9 percent live with one of their parents. About 40 percent of children answered they did not live with their parents/single parent although they are not orphans. It means that one in 5 children herding livestock for other families is out of reach from everyday supervision of a caregiver or their parents.

Of total 270 children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey 116 or 43 percent reported not living with their parents at their home. Of these children 94 percent live at their employer's and 6 percent live in the school dormitory (Table 4.3). There are no special differences by the age groups, but it is quite different by the sex. For instance, nearly all boys (99 percent) live at their employer's, but 85 percent of girls live at their employer's and 15 percent live in the dormitory.

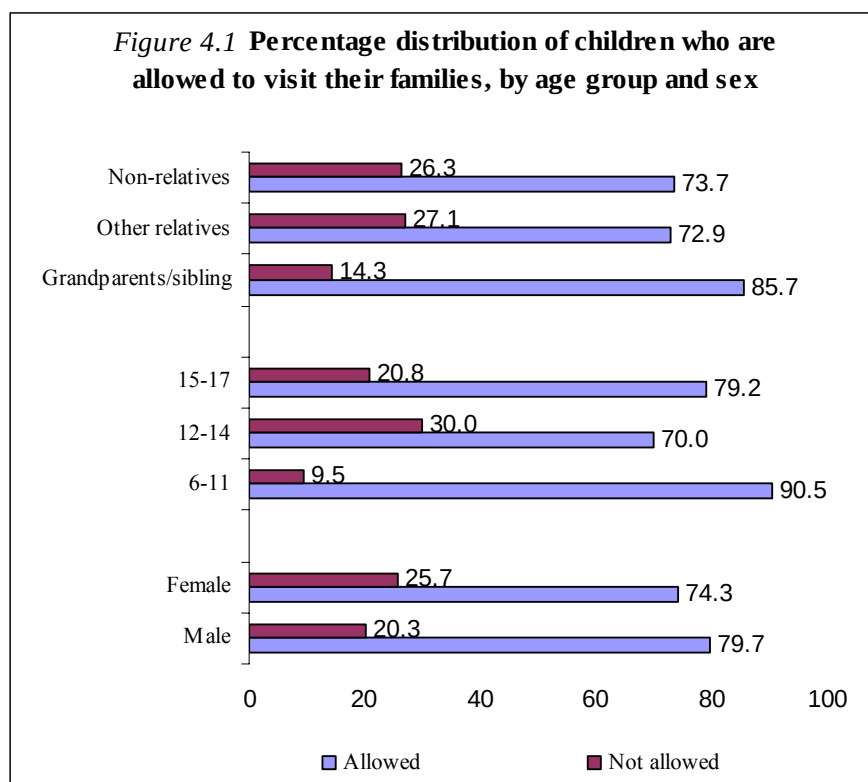
Table 4.3 Percentage distribution of the children herders who did not live with both parents/single parent by living arrangement, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Living arrangement		Total	Number of children herders who did not live with parents
	Employer's home	Dormitory		
Age				
6-11	95.5	4.5	100.0	22
12-14	90.9	9.1	100.0	44
15-17	96.0	4.0	100.0	50
Sex				
Male	98.7	1.3	100.0	75
Female	85.4	14.6	100.0	41
Total	94.0	6.0	100.0	116

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of children living at their employer's who are allowed to visit their families, by age groups, sex and relationship with employer.

Of total children herding livestock for other families 78 percent reported that their employers allow them to visit their family. Of girls 74 percent are given permission to visit a family, which is 6 points lower than boys. Since girls herding livestock for other families as well as women herders play a major role in everyday livestock production activities or because the girls' participation in everyday housework and livestock production activities is quite important, girls are given permission to visit their families less often compared to boys. The data shows that children who work for close relatives (such as grandparents or older siblings), have a higher possibility to visit their families compared to children who work for non-relatives.

In terms of age groups, 90 percent of younger children (below 12 years old) replied their employers permitted them to visit their families. This can be explained by the fact that most younger children have both their parents alive (Table 4.1) and they live together (Table 4.2), so they are able to visit their families. However, for children older than 12 years of age the situation is quite different. Permission to visit home is given to 70 percent of children aged 12-14, which is 9 points lower than that of children aged 15-17.



When frequency of home visits is examined, the share of children who visit home once a month (27.1 percent) is the highest. The share of children who reported a weekly visit home (18.8 percent), and one visit in 2 weeks (16.5 percent) is relatively higher than other. Also, 3.5 percent of children answered that they do not visit home, even if their employers give them such permission.

One third of children living at their employer's answered their employers did not give them permission to visit home as they are orphans (15 out of 24 children).

Children herding livestock for other families work for families living at an average distance of 14 km from their home. Inquiring with child respondents about indicators such as distance is notorious therefore readers are cautioned to interpret distance variables as approximate. As children working for other families grow older, a trend is observed for them to work for families far from their home.

4.1.3. Citizenship documentation, coverage by health insurance

The survey studied existence of citizenship documents and opportunities to access health and education services for children living in rural areas. Results are shown by age groups in Table 4.4.

Of total children covered by the study, who herd livestock for other families, 82.6 percent reported having a birth certificate/ID, and 78.5 percent reported having medical insurance.

Although the “Law on Health Insurance of Mongolia”⁹ states that all children up to 16 years old (if they study in secondary schools, up to 18 years old) should have compulsory medical insurance, parents and caregivers do not fulfill their responsibilities and children are not covered by the insurance. Children who do not have health insurance documents cannot access medical services free of charge.

Table 4.4 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by age, according to opportunity to access social services and a birth certificate/ID

Documents	Age			Total
	6-11	12-14	15-17	
A birth certificate/ID*				
Have	81.0	81.8	84.1	82.6
Don't have	5.3	10.1	11.5	9.6
Don't know	13.7	8.1	4.4	7.8
Health insurance				
Have	79.3	79.8	77.0	78.5
Don't have	8.6	9.1	16.8	12.2
Don't know	12.1	11.1	6.2	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of herding children	58	99	113	270

Note: * We asked that does children aged 16 and above have ID.

As children working for other families are older, the share of children without a birth certificate/ID or without medical insurance increases, which can limit not only their opportunity to access social services, but also limit their basic civil rights (for instance, children of 16 years old are not able to participate in election without an ID).

Notice from Table 4.4 that a higher percentage of younger children (compared to older children) report “don’t know” as to whether they have birth ID or health insurance. Interestingly, a higher percentage of the older children report “don’t have” versus “don’t know” when it comes to the same question.

4.1.4. Literacy and school attendance level

One third of children herding livestock for other families reported they could not read or write (32.6 percent can not read, 33.7 percent can not write). Although children aged 6, 7, 8 were covered by the study, a fact that children enroll at the secondary school at the age of seven and according to the curriculum learn to read and write in the first term of the first year should be taken into account. Therefore, adjusting the literacy rate for school-age children is shown in Table 4.5 by age groups and sex.

Of children herding livestock for other families aged 6-11, 55.2 percent could not read and write, which can be on the one hand, explained by a fact that children aged 6-7 have not yet mastered these skills, but the number of these respondents was relatively small (13 children or 4.8 percent). However, a fact that one in four children aged 12 or over is illiterate, presents a clear evidence of high school drop-out rate among children herding livestock.

⁹ Law on Health Insurance of Mongolia , Chapter 3, 7.1.

Table 4.5 Percent and number of illiterate children herding livestock for other families, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Can not read		Can not write	
	Total	Number of children who can't read	Total	Number of children who can't write
Age				
6-11	55.2	32	56.9	33
12-14	27.3	27	29.3	29
15-17	25.7	29	25.7	29
Sex				
Male	34.5	60	36.2	63
Female	29.2	28	29.2	28
Aimag				
Uvurkhangai	36.7	33	38.9	35
Khovd	53.3	48	54.4	49
Khuvsgul	7.8	7	7.8	7
Total	32.6	88	33.7	91

As for sex of children, the results are consistent with official statistics and other survey results. In fact, a share of illiterate boys is 5-7 points higher than that of girls (34.5 percent and 36.2 percent respectively). Although since the late 1990's an informal education program is being implemented at national level, education level of children herding livestock, especially boys' level is still lower than that of girls. Of 3 aimags covered by the survey this indicator is the highest in Khovd aimag on the west of Mongolia and Uvurkhangai aimag is on the second place.

Article 32 of the UN Child Rights Convention states the right to be protected from work causing an obstacle to education of children. Does work of children herding livestock for other families interfere with their opportunity to study at school? The answer to this question is in Table 4.6, which shows school attendance of children herding livestock for other families.

Of children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey 43.3 percent attend formal, 1.5 percent informal education. In other words, over half of children herding livestock for other families have dropped out of school. The school drop-out rate is quite high among children aged 15-17 (67.2 percent) and boys (60.9 percent). One issue that attracts the most attention is that the majority of children (91.1 percent) covered by the study in Khovd aimag, which is located at western boarder of our country and is the center of Western region, do not attend school. Of children surveyed aged 7-15, who qualify for compulsory basic education, 47.4 percent do not attend school. They work for other families, herding their livestock, which is of concern.

Table 4.6 Percentage distribution of the children herding livestock for other families by school attendance according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	School attendance			Total	Number of children herders
	Studying /formal	Studying /informal	Didn't study		
Age					
6-11	44.8	-	55.2	100.0	58
12-14	56.6	2.0	41.4	100.0	99
15-17	31.0	1.8	67.2	100.0	113
Sex					
Male	37.4	1.7	60.9	100.0	174
Female	54.2	1.0	44.8	100.0	96
Aimag					
Uvurkhangai	41.1	2.2	56.7	100.0	90
Khovd	6.7	2.2	91.1	100.0	90
Khuvsgul	82.2	-	17.8	100.0	90
Relationship with employer					
Grandparents/siblings	49.4	1.3	49.3	100.0	81
Other relatives	45.1	1.8	53.1	100.0	113
Non-relatives	34.2	13	64.5	100.0	76
Total	43.3	1.5	55.2	100.0	270

Note: * the age of compulsory basic education

School enrollment rate is relatively low among children working for non-relatives. As we previously mentioned, the share of children aged 12-14 herding livestock for non-relatives is the highest among other age groups, so it can be said that among children of the age, when they should get compulsory basic education, who herd livestock instead, the school drop out rate is high.

Combining work with studying at school may have a negative effect on preparing homework, revising for classes, especially for secondary school students. Children herding livestock for other families covered by the study spend on average 2 hours per day on doing their homework. In total, 35.5 percent of children answered they spent 3 hours, 29.8 percent in average 2 hours, 19 percent in average 1 hour on doing their homework per day, and these answers have the highest share among total answers. In the last academic year (the year before the survey) of children herding livestock 67.8 percent studied with A, B grades, 28.9 percent had C grades. The quality of education in rural schools should be taken here into consideration here while interpreting this statement.

Of children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey 55.2 percent (149 out of 270 children) reported that they not currently attending any formal or informal education. Main reasons for children to not study at school are shown in Table 4.7 by age groups and sex.

Such reasons as family problems (38.9 percent), employment (14.1 percent), lack of interest in studies (13.4 percent), health problems (10.1 percent) feature prominently among a list of other reasons.

For younger children aged 6-11 the main reasons for not studying at school are family problems and remoteness of their home from school. In other words, family problems and

inaccessibility to schools limit possibilities of children to enroll at school at the legal age for study. If we look at this age group in more detail, percentage of children aged 6-7, who answered that it is early for them to enroll in school, and those aged 8-11, who replied that it is late for them to enroll is quite high (15.6 percent). However, for children older than 12 apart from family problems such reasons as lack of interest in studies, employment are the main reason.

Table 4.7 Percentage distribution of the children herders, who are not studying at school by main reasons, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Reasons for not studying at school									Total	Number of children, who are not studying at school
	Learning unsuccessfully	Because of work	Domestic problems	School is too far	Health problems	Lack of income/money	Too old	Not interested	Parents do not allowed		
Age											
6-11	-	9.4	31.3	18.6	6.3	9.4	15.6	3.1	6.3	100.0	32
12-14	4.9	17.1	31.7	2.4	9.8	4.9	-	26.8	2.4	100.0	41
15-17	5.3	14.5	46.1	6.6	11.8	3.9	-	10.5	1.3	100.0	76
Sex											
Male	3.8	15.1	40.6	6.6	7.5	4.7	1.9	16.0	3.8	100.0	106
Female	4.7	11.6	34.8	11.6	16.3	7.0	7.0	7.0	-	100.0	43
Total	4.0	14.1	38.9	8.1	10.1	5.4	3.4	13.4	2.7	100.0	149

Such reason as “lack of interest in studying” is higher by 9 points among boys compared to girls, while a reason “health problems” is, on the contrary, higher by 9 points among girls compared to boys. It can be seen that academic and pedagogical (i.e. teaching methods) issues of the secondary school have an important effect on increasing interest of boys for further studies. The poor economy also contributes to school drop-out as children are interested in participating in economic activities more than studying.

4.2. Past and present employment of children herding livestock for other families

4.2.1. Past employment

The age when children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey, started their first job is shown in Table 4.8 by their present age groups.

The mean age of starting work is 9.6. While the mean age of starting work among children aged at present 6-11, was 6.6, for children aged 15-17 it was 11.7. That the age of working children is getting younger is clearly seen from the age average calculated by the present age groups (notice percentages calculated in the table).

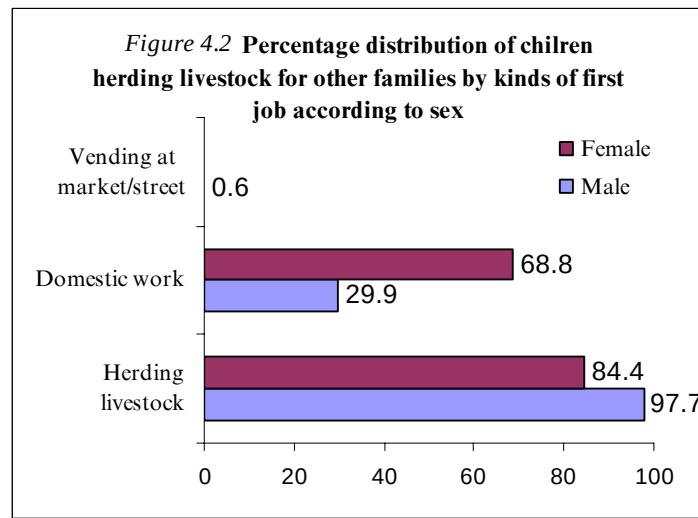
Of children herding livestock for families covered by the survey 93 percent first started working by herding livestock, 43.7 percent started working as domestic workers.

Table 4.8 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by current age, according to age of starting a first job

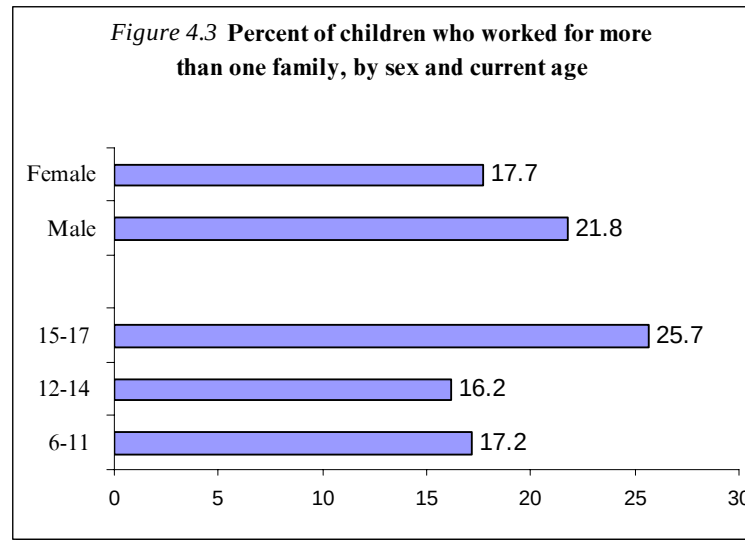
Age of starting a first job	Current age			Total
	6-11	12-14	15-17	
5	22.4	3.0	0.9	6.3
6	24.2	11.1	2.6	10.4
7	36.2	9.1	7.1	14.1
8	8.6	16.2	8.0	11.1
9	6.9	12.1	6.2	8.5
10	1.7	17.2	13.3	12.2
11	-	14.1	6.2	7.8
12	-	12.1	14.2	10.4
13	-	4.1	15.9	8.1
14	-	1.0	10.6	4.8
15	-	-	10.6	4.4
16	-	-	3.5	1.5
17	-	-	0.9	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean age of starting work	6.6	9.2	11.5	9.6
Number of herding children	58	99	113	270

Figure 4.2 shows the kinds of first jobs of children by sex.

97.7 percent of the boys and 84.4 percent of the girls first started working by herding livestock, while of girls 68.8 percent and of boys 29.9 percent started working as domestic help. Boys participated more in livestock breeding activities than compared to girls and on the contrary, girls were involved more in housework than boys.



Of children herding livestock for other families covered by the survey 20.4 percent (of boys 21.8 percent, of girls 17.7 percent) have worked previously for other families (Figure 4.3). By age groups, one in four children aged 15-17 (25.7 percent) worked previously for other families. It can be seen that children herding livestock do not work for one family as they get older and change a number of families.



29.3 percent of children surveyed dropped out of school before they started working for a family. However, 10 percent of children left school in order to start working. Boys compared to girls dropped out of school before start working and nearly two times more boys than girls left school in order to work. The survey results confirm again that in rural areas boys were often taken out from school in order to make them herd livestock.

Survey results show that 37 percent of the children themselves first initiated work. One third of children reported that their parents suggested to them to start working, 18 percent reported that the employer family themselves suggested children to work for them. For younger children aged below 12 mostly their parents suggested them to start working (53.4 percent), but for children aged over 12 most children took the initiative to start working (41 percent).

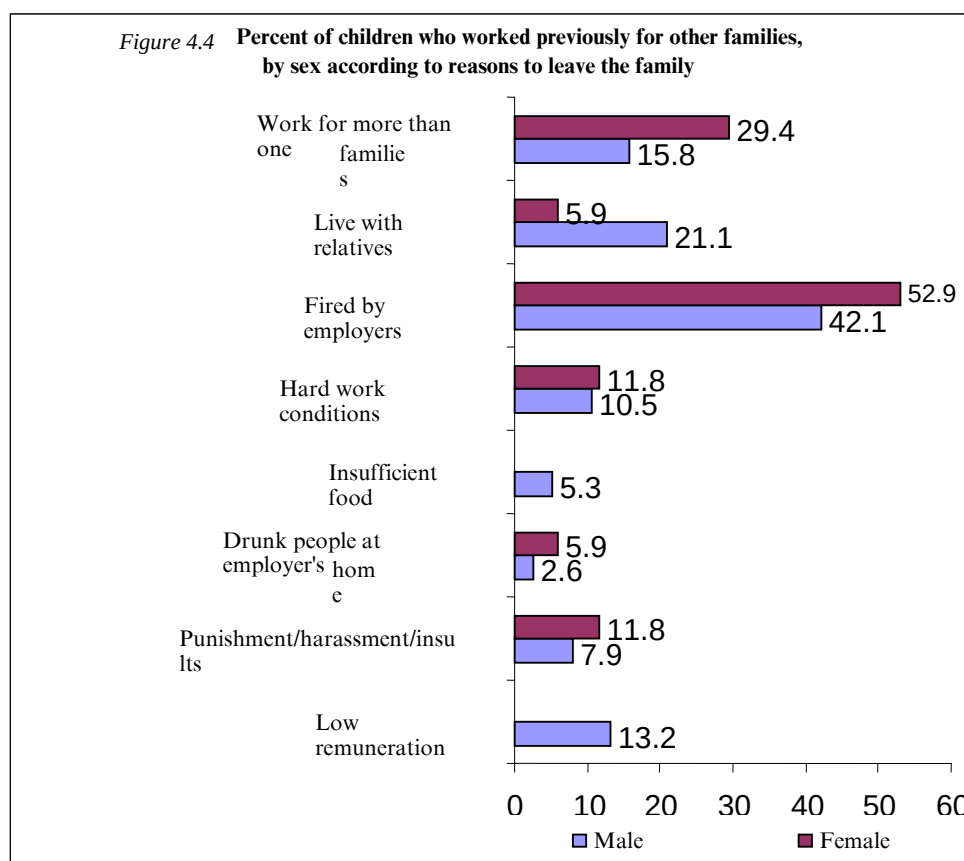
Such reasons as “to increase the household income” (34.8 percent), “by request of parents” (26.7 percent), “unemployed parents” (23 percent) have been cited among reasons reported by children for starting employment. It can be seen that low income of households, unemployment, poverty contribute to child labor. From detailed interviews with children we could also observe a trend when parents force children to start working as they themselves were unemployed. As for age groups, younger children aged 6-11 started working as parents insisted on them working (41.4 percent), but for older children aged over 12 dropping out of school became the main reason for starting work (15 percent-18 percent).

50 percent of children surveyed started working 2 years ago. If the average duration of herding livestock for other families is calculated, it equals 2 years 6 months and the average duration of work is similar for boys and girls alike.

In total, 20 percent of children worked previously for other families and of those children 50 percent have worked for more than 2 families. A child who has worked for the most number of families was a boy who has worked for 5 families.

Figure 4.4 shows reasons for changing employer’s by sex of child. Among reasons for changing the employer’s family are such reasons as the employer’s family themselves refused children’s services (45.5 percent), as work for several families at once (20.0 percent), as decision to work for relatives (16.4 percent) have the highest share.

Apart from the above mentioned 3 reasons, more boys than girls cited that they were hungry and their wages were low, while more girls than boys cited that “the family members drink and punish me”.



Note: Calculation was based on the multiple response-questions

4.2.2. Present employment

Of children herding livestock for other families for 79.6 percent of them, it was their first job.

The mean age of starting work for the present family is 11.8, but it is 11.4 for boys and 12.8 for girls (Table 4.9). It can be seen that boys start participating in economic activities earlier than girls.

Answers that the present job was first suggested by parents, by the employer, or that children initiated it themselves have the equal share of 32.7 percent each. The type of persons, who suggested the present employment to their child, varies by the sex of children. For instance, while 47.1 percent of girls initiated the present employment themselves, 36.8 percent of the boys answered that the job was suggested by their parents or the employer.

For children herding livestock for other families it is important to separate their participation in livestock breeding activities from their work as domestic help for the household. The reality is that there is considerable overlap between the children's animal herding activities and performance of household domestic chores and the distinction in terms of time allocation is not always clear. Thus, a child's activities may not be confined to herding even if they have

been hired explicitly as a herder. According to our survey, the distribution of work carried out by children herding livestock for other families is as follows (Table 4.9).

When type of work carried out by children is analyzed, the incidence and distribution of children doing housework is much higher than their work related to agricultural activities. The survey results show that over half of children herding livestock for other families have to do the same chores as a domestic help such as carrying drinking water for the family, carrying and splitting firewood, cleaning the house, doing the laundry, cooking daily meals, looking after small children and elderly.

As for children who answered they were involved only in livestock breeding, their work distribution shows a different picture. Children are mobilized to clean animal pens, livestock dung. This kind of work is similar to cleaning yards for families who live in the cities or in ger districts. In Mongolia where pastoral livestock breeding is traditional, livestock breeding is dependent on weather and climatic conditions and is highly risky, so children are mostly assigned work close to home such as milking, shearing wool (not taking into account herding and bringing livestock home). Labor of children working in livestock breeding sector should not be underestimated as children working as herders also double as domestic worker as the survey results show.

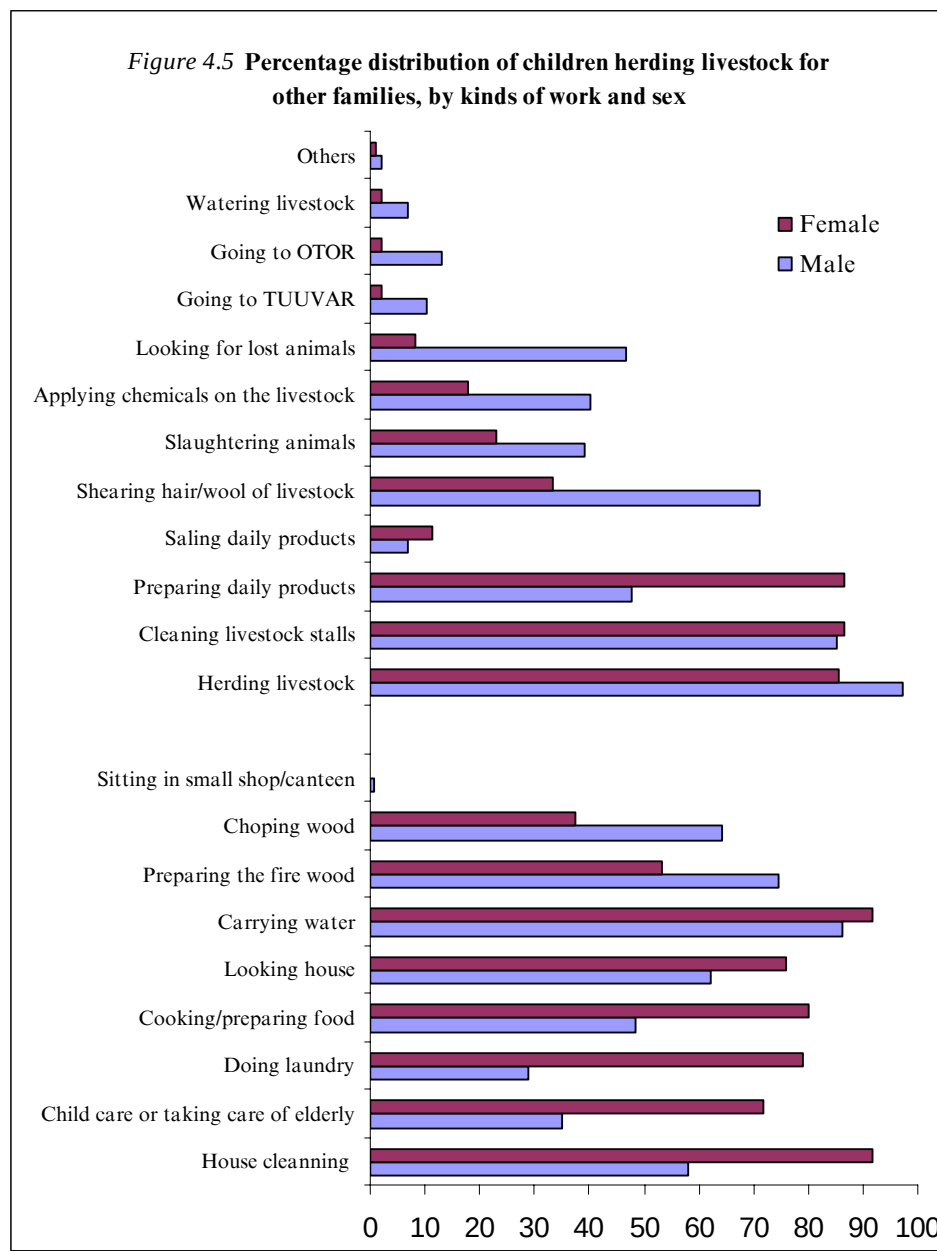
Table 4.9 Percent of children herding livestock for other families, by housework and agricultural works

Housework	Percent	Agricultural works	Percent
Carrying water	88.1	Herding livestock	93.0
Cleaning house	70.4	Cleaning livestock stalls	85.6
Looking house	67.0	Preparing daily products	61.5
Preparing the firewood	67.0	Shearing hair/wool of livestock	57.8
Cooking/preparing food	59.6	Slaughtering animals	33.3
Choping wood	54.8	Looking for lost animal	33.0
Taking care of child or elderly	48.1	Applying chemicals on the livestock	32.2
Doing laundry	46.7	Going to OTOR	9.3
Sitting in small shop/canteen	0.4	Saling daily products	8.5
		Going to TUUVAR	7.4
		Watering livestock	5.2
		Others*	1.5
Total	270		270

Note: Calculation was based on the multiple response-questions

* Rearing young animals, haymaking were included in the "Others" category.

Furthermore, division of labor for boys and girls working for a herder household is very different as can be seen from Figure 4.5.



Girls do all work which can be considered housework. They are involved in a limited way in agricultural works and these are also of domestic kind such as cleaning animal pens, preparing dairy products etc. As for boys, they are involved in such outdoor activities as carrying water, preparing firewood and agricultural activities such as herding livestock, shearing wool, looking for lost livestock.

Below is a description of a working day of a girl and a boy herding livestock for a herder household on the basis of a detailed interview.

I get up at 7 am, make beds, lit the fire and cook the tea. Then I go outside to watch the cattle and bring the firewood. After breakfast I milk the cows from 8 am to 9 am. Then I drive the cows to the pasture. After doing the washing up I clean the house. Then I put the young animals to the pen and milk sheep and goats. After that I drive all the livestock to the pasture. At home I have to carry water and sometimes split the

firewood. In the afternoon I cook and then it is time to tie the calves and put the young animals in the pen. After the dinner I go to the neighbors' to watch some TV. I prepare beds for the family. After 10 pm I lit the oil lamp, make an offering of milk to Seven Gods and my work for a day is finished, so I go to bed.

(B.O, female, 14 years old, dropped out of school, Uvurkhangai, Taragt soum)

I get up at seven am and at 8 am I milk the cows. Then I drive cows and sheep to the pasture. After that I clean the animal pens, after the breakfast I do the washing up, clean the house, then I saw and split the firewood. Then I bring the water. In the evening I round up the sheep and cows and also bring the horses closer to home. In the late evening I put the calves into the pen and give them some hay. After bringing the sheep in the pen my daily work is over.

(Ts.M, male, 16 years old, school drop out, Zuun Bayan, Ulaan soum, Uvurkhangai aimag)

Tables 4.10 and 4.11 show the distribution of children who carry water and prepare firewood by age groups and sex.

Table 4.10 Percentage distribution of children herders carrying water, by means of transportation and selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Means of transportation					Total	Number of children herders who carry water
	By cart	By carrying yoke	By draft animals	By hand	Car/motocycle		
Age							
6-11	12.0	2.0	8.0	76.0	2.0	100.0	50
12-14	10.1	1.1	10.1	77.6	1.1	100.0	89
15-17	14.1	-	16.2	67.7	2.0	100.0	99
Sex							
Male	15.3	0.7	14.0	68.7	1.3	100.0	150
Female	6.8	1.1	9.1	80.7	20.3	100.0	88
Distance							
Less than 501 meters	13.9	-	4.4	81.7	-	100.0	115
501-1000 meters	11.1	2.8	9.7	72.2	4.2	100.0	72
More than 1001 meters	9.8	-	33.3	54.9	2.0	100.0	51
Total	12.2	0.8	12.2	73.1	1.7	100.0	238

Children carry water from an average distance of 1 km, and the closest distance from the water source was reported to be 5 meters and the farthest was 15 km. 73.1 percent of children reported carrying water manually and the share of girls (80.7 percent) and younger children aged 6-11 (76 percent) was relatively high.

The firewood for the employer's family is carried by most children manually (70.2 percent) on the back. The firewood is prepared and carried for an average distance of 2.7 km. The closest distance was reported to be 1 km and the farthest place was 40 km from the house. The share of girls (92.2 percent) and younger children (84.4 percent) who prepare and carry the firewood as well as the drinking water was the highest.

Table 4.11. Percentage distribution of children who prepare the firewood by means of transportation and selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Means of transportation				Total	Number of children herders who prepare the firewood
	By cart	By draft animals	On the back	Car/motocycle		
Age						
6-11	6.7	8.9	84.4	-	100.0	45
12-14	4.8	22.6	69.4	3.2	100.0	62
15-17	13.4	20.3	62.2	4.1	100.0	74
Sex						
Male	9.3	25.4	61.5	3.8	100.0	130
Female	7.8	-	92.2	-	100.0	51
Distance						
Less than 501 meters	15.9	9.1	75.0	-	100.0	44
501-1000 meters	6.9	13.8	79.3	-	100.0	58
More than 1001 meters	6.3	26.6	60.8	6.3	100.0	79
Total	8.8	18.2	70.2	2.8	100.0	181

Looking for lost animals and going to remote free-range pastures for many days is one of the most difficult tasks of an adult herder in pastoral livestock breeding. Apart from heat in summer, severe cold in winter, danger of being lost, being frozen to death, it is very risky to be far from home for many days and live in the wilderness, following the livestock. This work which is usually carried out by adult herders, is also implemented by children herding livestock for other families. Of these children 33 percent look after lost animals, 16.7 percent go to remote pastures and herd livestock, spending on average 2.5 days looking for lost animals and 20.7 days going to remote pastures and herding livestock.

Riding racehorses is risky, especially for younger children. Of children herding livestock for other families 16.3 percent reported riding racehorses in winter and 38.5 percent in summer (Table 4.12). Mostly boys ride racehorses and as for age group, the share of children aged 12-14 is relatively high.

Table 4.12. Percent and number of children riding race horses, by seasons and selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Winter		Summer	
	Riding racehorses	Number	Riding racehorses	Number
Age				
6-11	12.1	7	24.1	14
12-14	22.2	22	46.5	46
15-17	13.3	15	38.9	44
Sex				
Male	25.3	44	55.2	96
Female	-	-	8.3	8
Total	16.3	44	38.5	104

4.2.3 Distribution of working hours

As Table 4.13 shows distribution of working hours of children herding livestock for other families by sex. The work day of children starts in mean at 8am and finishes in the evening at 8pm. Time of starting and finishing work is quite different with regard to the sex of children. In fact, girls start their work 1 hour earlier than boys and finish in the evening 40 minutes later. Since the load of everyday activities of a herder household is carried out mostly by the wife or the female members of the household, the same attitude is observed towards girls herding livestock for other families.

Table 4.13 Percentage distribution of the children herding livestock for other families by allocation of working hours, according to sex

Allocation of working hours	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Time of starting work			
Before 8.00 A.M	31.0	62.5	42.2
8.00-9.00 A.M	55.7	30.2	46.7
10.00 A.M	13.3	7.3	11.1
Time of finishing work			
5.00 P.M or before	12.1	9.4	11.1
6.00-7.00 P.M	31.6	20.8	27.8
8.00 P.M or after	56.3	69.8	61.1
Hours of work per day			
3 or less hours	0.6	2.1	1.1
4-6 hours	18.4	14.5	17.0
7-8 hours	24.1	11.5	19.6
9 or more hours	56.9	71.9	62.3
Days of work a week			
1-2 days	6.9	9.4	7.8
3-5 days	12.1	9.4	11.1
6 days	1.7	0.0	1.1
7 days	79.3	81.3	80.0
Months of work a year			
1-4	31.6	38.5	34.1
5-8	4.6	8.3	5.9
9 or more hours	63.8	53.2	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of children herding livestock for other families	174	96	270

Duration of a work day is on mean 9 hours and 40 minutes, which is longer than the working hours stipulated in the Labor Law¹¹ by 1 hour 40 minutes and is twice as long than working hours allowed for a child (law provisions allowing up to 30 working hours a week for a 14-15 year-old worker and up to 36 working hours a week for a 16-17 year-old worker are violated). Duration of a girl's day is longer than that of boys by one hour.

Although the Labor Law of Mongolia formally proclaimed a five working days a week and two days off, in reality children herding livestock for other families work 6.5 days a week.

¹¹ Labor Law, Chapter 5, articles 70, 71.

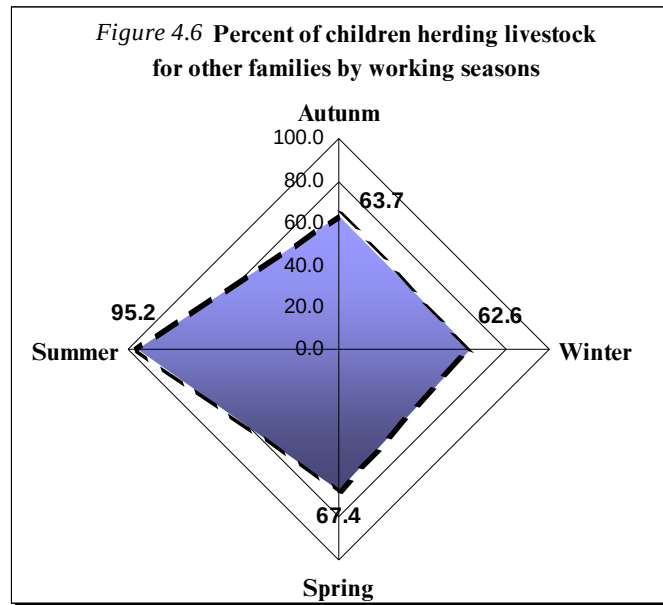
Nearly 80 percent of children herding livestock for other families reported working all seven days a week.

The number of workdays per week is nearly the same for children of either sex.

Children herd livestock for an mean of 8.3 months a year and the number of working months for boys is longer (8.6 months) compared to girls (7.9 months).

Of children covered by the study nearly 70 percent herd livestock all year long (Figure 4.6), so there is a risk of them to drop out of school or lag behind/ miss the classes.

As children work all year around, it may influence their interest in participating in economic activities rather than studying. On the other hand, especially in seasons when classes start, children miss classes for short or long periods, which could affect their drop out from school.



Food and rest

65.2 percent of children surveyed reported having one hot meal a day, 28.9 percent reported having two hot meals a day and 5.2 percent reported having 3 hot meals a day. The majority of children (96.6 percent) answered that they are satisfied by the amount of food, which is good. However, the frequency of daily meals is different for boys and girls. Although working hours of girls are longer than those of boys, girls eat less often and less amount of food than boys. Not one boy reported lack of hot meals while 2 girls gave such answer.

In total, 14 children answered they did not have a hot meal at least one day in the previous week, which constitutes 5.2 percent of total children covered by the study. A percent of younger children and boys, who gave such answer is slightly higher. The average period without a daily hot meal was 2.6 days and the longest period was a week (reported by 2 children).

Herder households in the countryside mostly have a spare ger, in which they prepare dairy products, keep different stuff and sometimes keep young animals. We asked if children herding livestock for other families sleep in spare gers, but there were no such cases. The majority of children (98.9 percent) sleep at their employer's ger or at home, which shows that they get rest in safe, warm place. 88.9 percent of children have their own blankets and

mattresses, but 22 children or 8.1 percent reported lack of bedding. The share of girls, who do not have their own blanket and mattress (11.5 percent) is higher than that of boys by 5 points.

Children herding livestock for other families sleep in average 9.4 hours a night. There are very small differences between sexes.

21.5 percent of children surveyed reported that their employers make them work at night in addition to working at day. As children are older, the share of those who reported working at night increases. The share of boys working at night (33.4 percent) is higher than that of girls by 15.7 percentage points. At night 63.8 percent children mostly guard livestock, 62.1 percent assist in lambing, and 5.2 percent carry out small housework (such as pacifying young children). Children work in average 2.5 hours at night. As children are older, the number of work hours at night increases and boys work at night on average by 1.4 hours longer than girls.

Table 4.14 shows whether children herding livestock for other families are able to get rest at weekends and during public holidays, by sex and age groups.

Table 4.14 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by whether they get leave during public holidays and weekends, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether get leave during public holidays and weekends				Total	Number of children herders
	Get a day off	Yes, during public holiday only	Yes, during weekends only	No, I work		
Age						
6-11	22.4	31.0	1.8	44.8	100.0	58
12-14	28.3	39.4	2.0	30.3	100.0	99
15-17	19.5	32.7	1.8	46.0	100.0	113
Sex						
Male	23.0	36.2	1.1	39.7	100.0	174
Female	24.0	32.3	3.1	40.6	100.0	96
Whether live with parents/father/mother						
Live with	24.0	39.6	1.3	35.1	100.0	154
Doesn't live with/Orphan	22.4	28.4	2.6	46.6	100.0	116
Relationship with employer						
Grandparents/siblings	17.3	44.4	1.3	37.0	100.0	81
Other relatives	27.4	31.0	2.7	38.9	100.0	113
Non-relatives	23.7	30.3	1.3	44.7	100.0	76
Total	23.3	34.8	1.9	40.0	100.0	270

Of children herding livestock for other families 23.3 percent have days off during public holidays (Lunar New Year, Naadam etc.) and at weekends, 34.8 percent have days off only during public holidays, 1.9 percent only at weekends. In total, 40 percent of children answered they did not get days off during holidays. The share of younger children aged 6-11, older children aged 15-17 (44.8 percent and 46 percent respectively), orphans or children not living with their parents (46.6 percent), who cannot get days off during holidays is higher than among other groups of children, thus confirming their vulnerability and subsequent exploitation.

Of children herding livestock for non-relatives, 44.7 percent reported not having a rest during holidays, which is higher than that of children working for their close and distant relatives by 6-8 points.

42.6 percent of children surveyed reported increased workload during public holidays. The share of girls (53.8 percent) and younger children aged 6-15, who reported the same is higher than boys and older children. It shows that girls and younger children herding livestock for other families are involved more in housework and preparation for holidays.

Of children herding livestock for other families 81.9 percent replied that their employers allow them to visit their families during holidays and days off and 11.7 percent answered they are allowed to visit sometimes.

4.2.4. Labor relations and their coordination

Labor contracts

The employer and employee should make an official labor agreement between two sides, which will coordinate their labor relations. Although the Labor Law states that in case a labor contract is not made in writing, the employer cannot request from the employee implementation of work or other responsibilities. No one from herders- employers and children herding livestock for other families has a written labor contract. It can be explained by the fact that these children are not of age to establish labor relations and on the other hand, a certain part of children works for their close or distant relatives. A few agreements were only oral and only 12 percent or 33 children reported making an oral agreement with their employer. An oral contract is difficult to prove, easy to distort and mis-interpret and difficult to control the implementation of. The share of boys, who made an oral agreement with the employer (14.4 percent) is higher than that of girls by 6 points. As children get older, frequency of making oral agreements seems to increase.

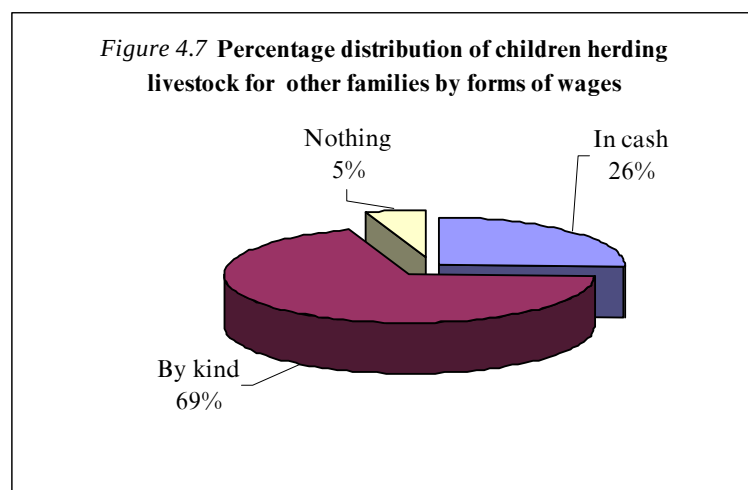
Wages and its expenditure

Children told us that the main issue of an oral agreement is the payment of wages in cash on specified days and change of the amount of payment with regard to the quality of work.

The Labor Law of Mongolia states that workers under 18 years old should be paid their wages per hour or per implementation. However, of children herding livestock for families covered by the study 25 percent receives their wages in cash, 69.3 percent receive their payment in non-cash form. Also, 5.2 percent reported not receiving any wages at all (Figure 4.7).

The form of payment has no differences with regard to the age and sex of children.

It is quite difficult to calculate/estimate herder households' income and wages in cash. Wages of children herding livestock for other families are quite low in comparison to wages of child domestic workers in the city (see Table 3.21. in Chapter 3). It can be explained broadly by lack of cash in rural areas and relatively small need for cash in the countryside.



The mean amount of annual wages of children herding livestock for other families is examined in 4 categories and the distribution is equal and even in relation to groups. The average annual wages of boys are in general lower than that of girls (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families who get payment in cash by amount of wages in past 12 months, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Amount of wages in past 12 months (tugrug)				Total
	10,000 or less	10,001-20000	20,001-40,000	More than 40,000	
Sex					
Male	31.1	26.7	20.0	22.2	100.0
Female	25.0	25.0	25.0	25.0	100.0
Age					
6-11	8.3	25.0	41.7	25.0	100.0
12-14	38.7	29.0	9.7	22.6	100.0
15-17	26.9	23.1	26.9	23.1	100.0
Whether live with parents/father/mother					
Live with	25.5	29.8	25.5	19.1	100.0
Doesn't live with/Orphan	36.4	18.2	13.6	31.8	100.0
Total	29.0	26.1	21.7	23.2	100.0
Number of children herders who get payment in cash	20	18	15	16	66

Children herding livestock for other families received on average 37,039 tugrugs a year, the lowest amount was 5,000 tugrugs and the highest amount was 180,000 tugrugs.

Wages of children working for their grandparents are relatively high. It is interesting that of 6 children herding livestock for their older siblings, covered by the survey, nobody received their wages in cash. As for children working for distant relatives, their wages are in general low.

Children give their wages to the parents and family (55.9 percent), spend them on purchase of clothes for themselves (44.1 percent), on pocket money and purchase of small items for themselves (35.3 percent).

Employers, who give children their wages in non-cash form, buy them clothes (84.5 percent), food stuffs (65.2 percent), give them livestock (31 percent).

One third of children herding livestock for other families (32 percent) give money and other income earned by herding to their family. For instance, 22.4 percent of children give up to 25 percent of their earned income to the family, 39.1 percent of children give them 25-50 percent of their income, 14.9 percent 50-75 percent of their income, 23.6 percent of children give 75-100 percent of all earned income to their family, thus contributing to the household economy and helping their parents.

Of children 50.4 percent reported that they received their wages in cash or non-cash form quarterly, 21.5 percent of children receive their wages monthly. The above mentioned results of the study on wages of children herding livestock for other families show that wages of children who do all domestic chores at the herder household along with herding livestock (especially girls) do not correspond with their working hours, kinds of work implemented and workload.

Relationships between the employer and the children

The majority of children covered by the study (92.6 percent) reported good relationships with their employer. Of children 74.4 percent evaluated their employer as being good to them because they fed them well, 11.6 percent of children- because the employer gave them clothing. The share of girls who reported bad attitude of employers (12.5 percent) is higher compared to boys by 4 points. During detailed interviews children determined bad attitudes of employers as scolding them, beating or threatening them.

Although children herd employer's livestock and help in housework and livestock production activities, 3.7 percent of children covered by the study are indebted to the employer. The figure may seem small, but children may be dependent on others and have to pay their debt by their wages.

4.2.5. Distribution of children herding livestock for other families

Although the survey covered a few soums of only 3 aimags, we aimed to determine how widespread is the phenomenon of children herding livestock for other families by asking children covered by the survey if they knew other children like them. The results are shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock by whether they know about other children work as herders for other families according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether they know		Total	Number of children herders
	Yes	No		
Sex				
Male	39.7	60.3	100.0	174
Female	27.1	72.9	100.0	96
Age				
6-11	25.9	74.1	100.0	58
12-14	37.4	62.6	100.0	99
15-17	38.1	61.9	100.0	113
Total	35.2	64.8	100.0	270

Of children covered by the survey, 35.2 percent replied they knew other children who like them, herd livestock for other families. Of boys nearly 40 percent answered positively to the question. In rural areas boys mostly work in livestock breeding, their school drop- out rate is quite high and boys know more of other children herding livestock like them. As children get older the share of answers that they knew of other children in the same situation increases.

Table 4.17 shows in detail answers of children to the question about other children herding livestock for other families.

Table 4.17. Percentage distribution of children who know about other children herding livestock for other families, data about the number of such children by selected characteristics

<i>Selected characteristics</i>	Data about number of children herding livestock for other families						Total	Number of answered children
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Age								
6-11	53.3	13.3	6.7	6.7	13.3	6.7	100.0	15
12-14	48.6	29.7	13.5	2.7	5.5	-	100.0	37
15-17	46.5	25.5	14.0	7.0	4.7	2.3	100.0	43
Sex								
Male	49.4	24.6	13.0	5.8	4.3	2.9	100.0	69
Female	46.3	26.9	11.5	3.8	11.5	-	100.0	26
Total	48.4	25.3	12.6	5.3	6.3	2.1	100.0	95

One child covered by the survey knows on average 2 other children herding livestock for other families; at the most one knew 7 other children. Over 50 percent of children knew more than one child herder. The survey results show how widespread child labor in livestock breeding sector is and the market valuation of labor of child herders can be one of the topics of further research.

Additional employment

Of 270 children covered by the study 18 or 6.7 percent reported being engaged in some additional work other than herding. They herd livestock for yet another family, work as domestic help, pick up berries and nuts to sell them, prepare firewood all year long. They spend on average 4 days a week, 11 hours a week on such activities.

4.3. Health status and labor protection

4.3.1. Health status and medical assistance and services

Of children herding livestock for other families 25.6 percent fell ill while working. The general health condition of children covered by the study is shown in Table 4.18 by sex and age groups. There is no substantial difference between the health status of boys and girls but by age groups younger children aged 6-11 fell ill more often than children of other age groups.

Table 4.18 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by whether he/she get ill while working according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether he/she get ill while working		Total	Number of children herders
	Yes	No		
Sex				
Male	26.4	73.6	100.0	174
Female	24.0	76.0	100.0	96
Age				
6-11	31.0	69.0	100.0	58
12-14	27.3	72.7	100.0	99
15-17	21.2	78.8	100.0	113
Total	25.6	74.4	100.0	270

Notice that the health status of children is not checked up at health clinics, but is only described by children themselves. Of children who reported falling ill while working 37.7 percent were still ill at the time of the survey. The share of girls and older children (above 12 years old) who reported themselves to be ill was higher by 12 points compared to the share of boys and younger children.

Herders engaged in pastoral livestock breeding work outdoors in heat, cold in severe weather conditions of Mongolia, so herders are vulnerable to such illnesses as joint pains and aches, sore throat, cough and cold. Among children who reported illness, the share of children with a cold, a headache, a sore throat, a backache, joint pain was the highest. 43.5 percent of children (30 children) got medical assistance and advice from doctors or medical workers. It is good that the children could get assistance from family doctors or specialist doctors. In total, 53.3 percent of children had to pay for visits and the payment was made by their parents or employers.

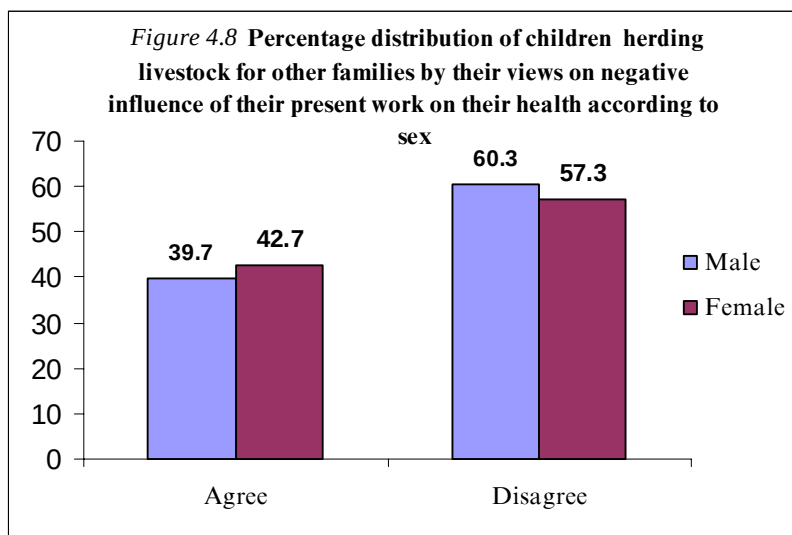
In total, 39 children reported not getting any medical assistance while being ill. The main reason cited was remoteness of the health clinic and their own lack of interest to have a medical check-up. It is likely that inaccessibility to clinic acts as a deterrent for them to get a check up.

Table 4.19 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by whether he/she is still sick according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether he/she is still sick		Total	Number of children who get ill while working
	Yes	No		
Sex				
Male	32.6	67.4	100.0	46
Female	47.8	52.2	100.0	23
Age				
6-11	27.8	82.2	100.0	18
12-14	37.0	63.0	100.0	27
15-17	45.8	54.2	100.0	24
Total	37.7	62.3	100.0	69

Children's views on health

Although it is clear that engaging in safe work appropriate to their own age and physical development plays an important role in education of a child, the harsh Mongolian landscape and conditions associated with pastoral livestock breeding such as long work outdoors in the cold, working alone in wilderness, can negatively affect children's health, and moreover, probability of accidents is high. Figure 4.8 shows children's views on negative influence of their present work on their health, by sex.



Of children herders 40.7 percent evaluate that their present work has negative effect on their health. The share of girls who answered that it has negative effect on their health (42.7 percent) is higher than that of boys by 3 points.

Labor protection

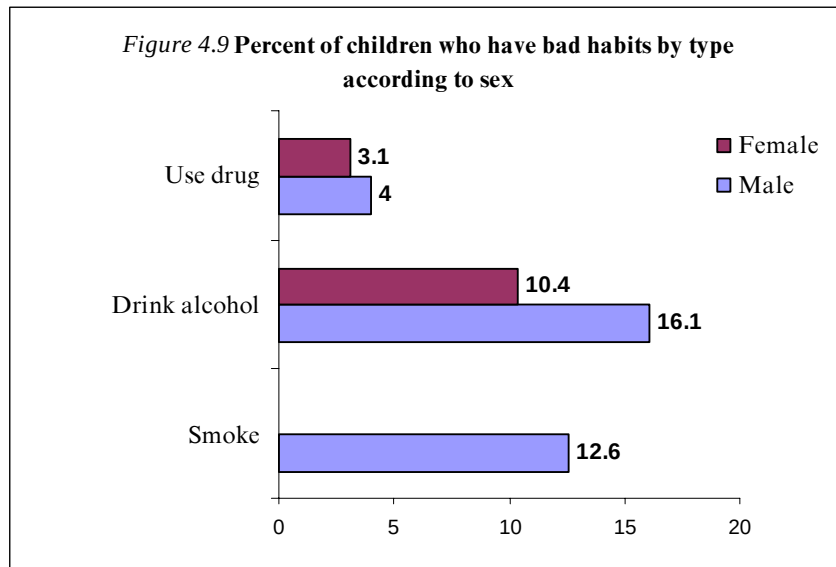
When working, 71.9 percent of children wear protective clothes, warm boots, clothes, and wear old worn out clothes when they milk cows. Although children are not engaged in industrial work or in mining, they constantly work outdoors with livestock, so children need special protective clothing suited to their job specifics, such as warm clothing for winter, gloves, hats, raincoats, hats etc. Of 3 children 2 answered they had reasonable working clothes, which is an unsatisfactory indicator.

Bad habits and children's upbringing

Of boys herding livestock for other families 12.6 percent smoke, 16.1 percent drink alcoholic beverages. Of girls 10.4 percent reported drinking alcoholic beverages (Figure 4.9). The average age of starting to smoke is 12.9, while the average age of starting to drink alcoholic beverages is 2 years earlier or 10.9. The minimum age of starting smoking or drinking is 5 years old, the maximum age is 16 (for each of bad habits).

Some children herding livestock for other families reported use of narcotic substances. It seems that among adolescents in rural areas consumption of narcotic substances is widespread among boys and girls.

Of 5 boys herders aged 12-17, 3 were interrogated by police for theft and hooliganism and 2- for rape.



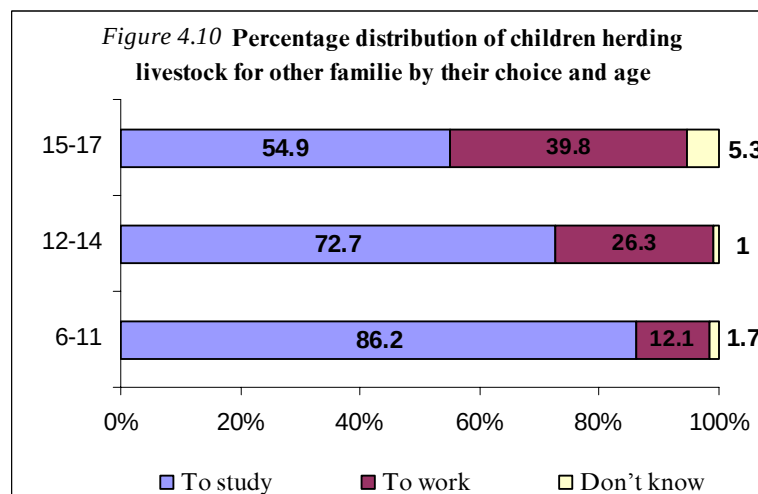
4.4. Leisure time and aspirations

Children's leisure time

Of children herding livestock for other families 70 percent spent their leisure time at home, 17 percent at their grandparents' or friends'. They spend their free time at the above places because they can revise for classes (46 percent), help their family (40 percent), play with other children (25 percent). The most popular hobbies of children herders are singing and dancing (27 percent), sports (16 percent), and developing games (18 percent).

Desire to work

In order to determine desire of children to work or to study we asked children covered by the study which of the opportunities they would choose- an opportunity to study or to work? Figure 4.10. shows the results by age groups.



68.1 percent chose an opportunity to study and 28.9 percent selected an opportunity to work. By age groups over half of younger children chose the opportunity to study, but over 80 percent of children aged 15-17 chose an opportunity to work. In other words, as children get older, they refuse the opportunity to study in favor of an opportunity to work. A few children answered they could not make their choice because of their low self-confidence. The share of children who gave this answer is relatively high among older children.

In total, 74.7 percent of children agreed that at their age they should study at school to get a compulsory basic education instead of working at someone's family.

Table 4.20. shows whether children herding livestock for other families in general like working.

Table 4.20 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families by whether they like working or not as herders according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether they like working or not		Total	Number of children holders
	Yes	No		
Sex				
Male	92.5	7.5	100.0	174
Female	84.4	15.6	100.0	96
Age				
6-11	81.0	19.0	100.0	58
12-14	89.9	10.1	100.0	99
15-17	93.8	6.2	100.0	113
Whether live with parents/father/mother				
Live with	92.2	7.8	100.0	154
Doesn't live with/Orphan	86.2	13.8	100.0	116
Total	89.6	10.4	100.0	270

The majority of children covered by the study (89.6 percent) are interested in working. Especially among boys (92.5 percent), 15-17 year olds (93.8 percent), and children living with their parents (92.2 percent) this attitude is quite widespread. The main reason which encourages interest to work is that they can help their family, as over half of the children replied (Table 4.21). Results of other surveys also show that poverty of households adds to the interest of children to work.¹²

¹² Social Development Center, 2001. 'Profile of children herding livestock for other families', Survey report, Ulaanbaatar

Table 4.21 Percentage distribution of children herding livestock for other families who like working by sex, according to reasons

Reasons	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Support family	55,3	59,3	56,6
Earn money for schooling	3,7	2,5	3,4
Earn money for food	2,5	2,5	2,5
Earn money for myself	7,5	7,4	7,4
Have fun with friends	4,3	4,9	4,5
Need to survive	7,5	11,1	8,7
Better to do something	12,4	3,7	9,5
It's need for future life	6,8	8,6	7,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number of children who like working	161	81	242

Table 4.22 shows reasons for disliking herding livestock, by sex. The main reason for children to dislike work is that they are not interested in herding livestock. Also inability to study at school is a reason cited especially by boys (30.8 percent).

Table 4.22 Percent of children who dislike work by sex, according to reasons

Reasons	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Work hazards take me sick	-	20.0	10.7
Can't go to school	30.8	20.0	25.0
Don't interest this kind of work	53.8	53.3	53.6
Too tired	15.4	6.7	10.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of children who dislike work	13	15	28

When children herding livestock for other families surveyed were asked about their future jobs, 53.3 percent view that they can work in non-agricultural sector and 34.8 percent at agricultural sector.

Problems faced while working

Many difficulties such as insults (27 percent), threats (14.4 percent), low wages or lack of payment (12-13 percent) are faced by children herding livestock for other families (Table 4.23). The percent of boys beaten by the employer and the percent of girls insulted and scolded by them is quite high. During detailed interviews such trends were also observed.

Children said that if someone will relate to them in such ways while they were herding livestock or doing house work in the employer family, they would first of all tell their parents or older siblings (70 percent).

Of children herding livestock for other families 29 percent knew correctly the legal age for children to be employed. The percentage of children who demonstrated awareness of the correct legal age increases as the children are older.

Table 4.23 Percent of children herding livestock for other families by sex, according to difficulties faced for them

Difficulties	Sex		Total	Number
	Male	Female		
Scolded/beaten by master	12.1	3.1	8.9	24
Sexual abuse	1.7	2.1	1.9	5
Verbal abuse	24.7	31.3	27.0	73
Treatened	14.9	13.5	14.4	39
Given little or no food	5.2	3.1	4.4	12
Paid low wage/salary	12.1	12.5	12.2	33
Never paid any wage/salary	13.8	13.5	13.7	37

Note: Multiple answers

Of total children herding livestock for other families covered by the study 14.1 percent (17.2 percent of boys and 8.3 percent of girls respectively) knew of children who previously herd livestock for other families. As they report, most of the children who stopped working, now are studying.

Of total children herders 73 percent would not recommend their brothers or sisters to herd livestock for other families. More girls (82.3 percent) than boys (67.3 percent) gave this answer as girls have heavier workloads. However, 60 percent of children are inclined to continue working for the families. The share of boys who wish to continue herding (67.2 percent) is higher than that of girls by 22 points. Children consider working for an average further 10 years for other families and boys wish to work further for a twice longer period than girls (11 and 6 years respectively). This shows again that the majority of boys are not interested in studying.

Of children who are not interested in continuing herding livestock for other families over 70 percent plan to study. As children are younger, the share of those who wish to study increases. Over 10 percent of children wish to take any job, which will be paid.

Of child herders 36.3 percent wish to obtain a profession, 25.6 percent want to become an agricultural worker/ farmer, over 10 percent are interested in working in services sector, and these professions have the highest shares among other professional groups.

Of children 18.1 percent get assistance from some non-government organization. The share of girls who get assistance from an NGO (22 percent) is 6 points higher than that of boys. Of children covered by the study 96.7 percent have never previously participated in such kind of study.

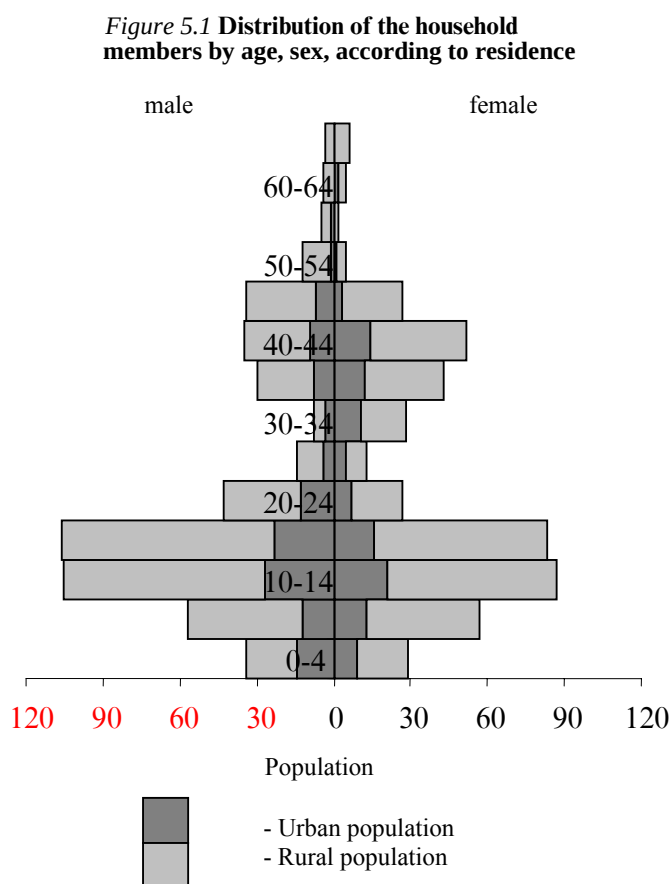
CHAPTER FIVE. PARENTS OF CHILDDOMESTIC WORKERS AND CHILDREN HERDING LIVESTOCK FOR OTHER FAMILIES

This chapter discusses survey results on the profile of the household of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families, the profile of household members, their parents' views about the working conditions of children and the future of their children.

5.1 Profile of parents and household members covered by the study

5.1.1 Profile of household members of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families

A total of 168 parents (44 urban and 124 rural parents) of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families were covered by the survey. The age and sex distribution of their household members are shown in the Figure 5.1 by their residence.



Although sex ratio of survey participants is in general balanced in urban as well as rural areas, there are two points to note: (i) the males for those aged below 20 years old is higher than the females in the same age category; (ii) the females are higher (for those older than 30 years old) than the males. As for the age structure, the population younger than 20 is higher

than that of other age groups, which could be illustrating the high birth rate of population aged 35-49.

If the median age is examined (Table 5.1), over half of total population covered by the survey is younger than 17 years old, and it is the same for urban as well as rural areas. In general, the labor age population constitutes nearly two third of total population, so the number of non-labor age persons per 100 persons of labor age or the age dependency ratio is not very high (71 in cities, 67.4 in the rural).

Table 5.1 Percentage distribution of the household members covered by the survey by education and employment status, according to residence

Selected characteristics	Residence		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Highest education level			
Non educated	23.6	33.2	31.0
Primary	23.2	34.0	31.4
Incompleted secondary	26.1	19.6	21.1
Completed secondary	19.2	9.5	11.8
Vocational/Uncompleted high	5.9	3.4	4.0
Higher/Post graduated	2.0	0.3	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of population aged 7 or older	203	653	856
Employment status			
Employed/Self-employed	26.2	9.5	13.4
Herder	1.5	20.6	16.1
Student	19.4	22.8	22.0
Retired	1.0	2.5	2.2
Disabled	4.9	1.0	1.9
Homemaker	2.9	7.4	6.4
Child as domestic worker	23.8	21.9	22.3
Unemployed	16.5	10.1	11.6
At home	3.8	4.2	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of population aged 6 or older	206	672	878
Age group			
0-14	40.7	38.0	38.7
15-59	58.5	59.8	59.4
60 or more	0.8	2.2	1.9
<i>Age-Dependency Ratio</i>	<i>71.0</i>	<i>67.4</i>	<i>68.3</i>
<i>Median age</i>	<i>17.0</i>	<i>17.0</i>	<i>17.0</i>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of total population	236	718	954

As for the education status of the household members of children working for other families, 73.0 percent of urban population aged 7 or older and 86.8 percent of rural population have incomplete secondary education or lower. In terms of economic activity, in the urban areas population working for different institutions or self-employed (26.2 percent) have a high share as do herders in the rural areas (20.6 percent).

5.1.2 Profile of parents of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families

In terms of characteristics of parents of child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families, their mean age is 38.6 in the urban and 42.7 in the rural areas. Parents in the age category 25-54 make up the majority with 97.7 percent in urban areas and 92 percent in rural areas. As for the sex, 86.4 percent of urban parents and 61.3 percent of rural parents are female (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of the parents covered by the survey by demographic characteristics, according to residence

Demographic characteristics	Residence		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Age group			
Under 25	2.3	0.8	1.2
25-34	27.3	9.7	14.3
35-44	56.8	57.3	57.1
45-54	13.6	25.0	22.0
55-64	0.0	5.6	4.2
65 or more	0.0	1.6	1.2
Mean age	38.6	42.7	41.6
Sex			
Male	13.6	38.7	32.1
Female	86.4	61.3	67.9
Number of people in the household			
1-3	18.2	13.7	14.9
4-5	36.4	33.9	34.5
6 or more	45.4	52.4	50.6
Mean number	5.4	5.8	5.7
Highest education level			
Non educated	4.5	9.7	8.3
Primary	4.5	25.0	19.6
Incompleted secondary	43.3	35.4	37.6
Completed secondary	29.5	20.2	22.6
Vocational/Uncompleted high	15.9	9.7	11.3
Higher/Post graduated	2.3	0.0	0.6
Employment status			
Employed/Self-employed	47.7	22.6	29.2
Herder	0.0	37.1	27.4
Retired	0.0	4.8	3.6
Disabled	11.4	2.5	4.7
Homemaker	11.4	14.5	13.7
Unemployed	29.5	18.5	21.4
Migration status			
Migrant	22.7	0.8	6.5
Non-migrant	77.3	99.2	93.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of parents covered by the survey	44	124	168

Of total parents, half of them live in households with six or more members, i.e. in quite large families. Households of rural parents of children working for other families have more members than those of urban parents' households. For instance, 45.4 percent of urban parents live in households with six and more members, while for rural parents this indicator is 52.4

percent. The average household size in urban areas is 5.4 members and the average household size for rural households is 5.8 members.

In terms of education level attained by parents of children working for other families, 60.2 percent responded that they have incomplete or completed secondary education. However, the number of persons with higher than completed secondary education level (11.9 percent) is 2.3 times smaller than the number of non-educated or persons with primary education. This trend is more obvious when looked by residence. For instance, in the rural compared to the urban areas the number of non-educated parents (9.7 percent) is twice larger and the number of parents with primary education (25 percent) is six times larger, while the number of parents with higher than secondary education (9.7 percent) is almost twice smaller.

Of urban parents covered by the survey, almost half percent are economically active (work for some organization/ are self-employed). Among rural parents, herders account for 37.1 percent of livelihoods, employed account for 22.6 percent and unemployed account for 18.5 percent. There were also some homemakers among the parents (in the urban 11.4 percent, in the rural 14.5 percent).

If migration status of parents is considered, 6.5 percent or in total 11 persons moved from other aimags to the aimags where the survey was conducted in the last 5 years. Of them, 10 were urban and 1 was a rural respondent. 45.5 percent of migrants came from the Tuv aimag, and one person came from each of Govi-Altai, Arkhangai, Uvurkhanga, Selenge, Dornod, Sukhbaatar aimags. Migrants moved to this area to improve their livelihood (63.6 percent), to be closer to relatives (27.3 percent) and because of ecologic conditions (9.1 percent).

5.2 Living conditions of survey parents

The fact that parents let their children work for other families is perhaps due to their meager living conditions and livelihood. Therefore, some data was collected in order to clarify the living conditions of parents and the results are shown in Table 5.3.

Over four-fifths of parents whose children work for other families live in gers and the others live in conventional houses or in apartment buildings. 65.9 percent of urban parents of child domestic workers own their dwelling, 18.2 percent live in the friend's/relative's/acquaintance's places. Of rural parents nearly all (95.2 percent) live in their own dwelling and only 2.4 percent live in friend's/relative's/acquaintance's places. 6.8 percent of urban parents and 2.4 percent of rural parents answered that they lived at their employer's for free.

12.5 percent of parents live in their dwelling together with persons who are non-family members and this indicator is higher for urban parents (18.2 percent) than that of rural ones by 7.7 points.

The majority of parents (86.4 percent of urban parents, 80.6 percent of rural parents) evaluate their dwelling to be in poor or average state with regard to its safety, roof, space, privacy, and walls etc.

There are substantial differences on drinking water sources by the residence. The majority of rural households or 87.9 percent use drinking water from sources not meeting sanitary requirements, while the same indicator for urban households is relatively low at 15.9 percent. If the main energy source is examined, the most widely used fuel in the urban areas is firewood (45.5 percent) and coal (34.1 percent), while in the rural it is animal dung (53.2

percent) and wood (44.4 percent), which could be related directly to the fact that the majority of total households live in gers.

From the above description it could be seen that living conditions of parents whose children work for other families are quite unsatisfactory, especially in the rural areas.

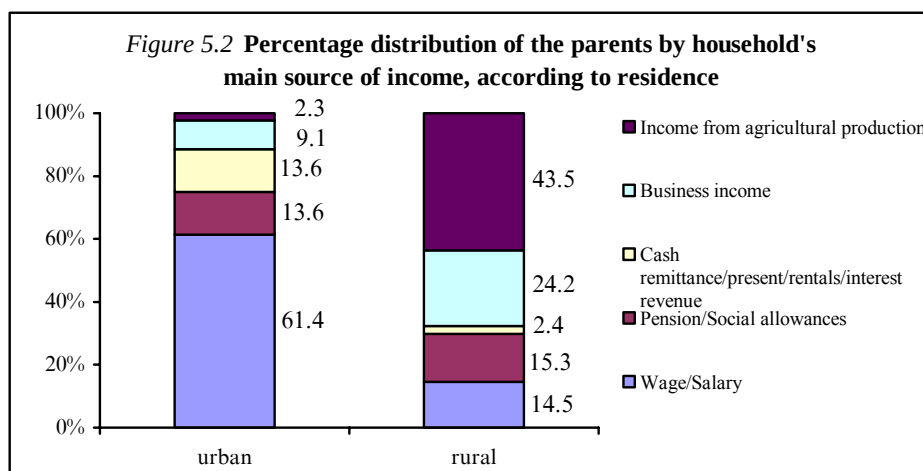
Table 5.3 Percentage distribution of the parents by indicators of living conditions, according to residence

Indicators of living conditions	Residence		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Type of living quarters			
Ger	61.4	88.7	81.6
House	36.4	11.3	17.8
Apartment	2.2	0.0	0.6
Type of ownership of living quarter			
Own	65.9	95.2	87.5
Not own:			
Rented	9.1	0.0	2.4
Employer provides free	6.8	2.4	3.6
Relatives/Friends provide free	18.2	2.4	6.5
Whether shareliving quarter			
Yes	18.2	10.5	12.5
No	81.8	89.5	87.5
Evaluation of the living quarter			
Poor	29.6	19.4	22.0
Fair	56.8	61.2	60.1
Good	13.6	19.4	17.9
Main source of drinking water			
Centralized hot and cold water	2.3	0.0	0.6
Protected well	81.8	12.1	30.4
Unprotected well	9.1	22.6	19.0
Creek/stream	6.8	13.7	11.9
River	0.0	51.6	38.1
Main source of fuel for cooking			
Electriurban	18.2	2.4	6.5
Wood	45.5	44.4	44.7
Coal	34.1	0.0	8.9
Dung	2.2	53.2	39.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of parents	44	124	168

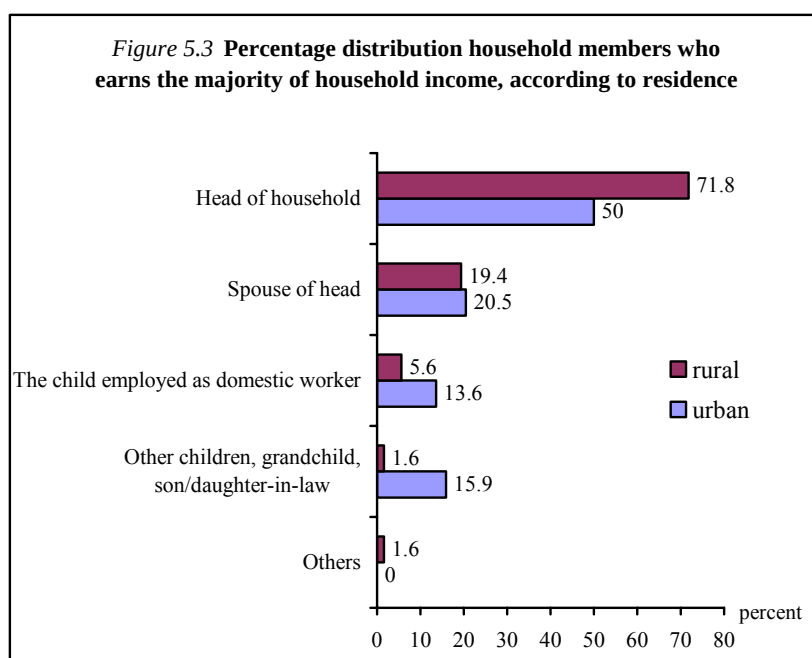
5.3 Income of parents

Figure 5.2 shows the data regarding main source of income and which household members contribute to household income.

Nearly two third of urban parents of child domestic workers named their salary as the main source of household income, whereas 43.5 percent of rural parents of children herding livestock for other families view income from livestock production as their main source of income. While urban parents listed pensions/allowances (13.6 percent), cash remittance/present/rentals/dividend from savings (13.6 percent) as components of household income, in rural areas household production and services income (24.2 percent), and pensions/allowances (15.3 percent) were mentioned as composing rural household income.

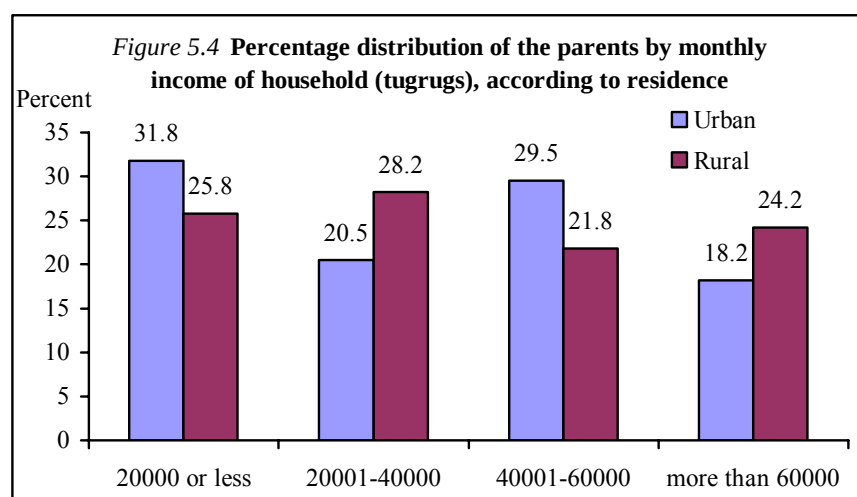


In terms of who generates the majority of household income, 50 percent of urban and 71.8 percent of rural parents answered it was the head of household (Figure 5.3).



The response of “the spouse of the household head” takes the second place (in the urban-20.5 percent, in the rural-19.4 percent). In addition, 13.6 percent of parents of child domestic workers and 5.6 percent of parents of children herding livestock for other families answered that income earned by their children who are working for other families makes up the majority of their household income. It can be concluded that there are certain households, which sustain their livelihood with assistance of income earned by their children working for other families and the number of such households is larger in the urban compared to the rural areas.

The average monthly income of households of children working for other families is examined by parents, it is 45,250 tgs. If this income is divided by number of household members it could be seen that households whose children work for other families have a very low living standards (according to the sample survey by the NSO on 2003-2004, the poverty line per capita is 24,743 tgs¹⁸). Oral reports of household income are notorious for their unreliability and therefore the figure below (Figure 5.4) should be treated with appropriate caution. By residence, 52.3 percent of urban and 54.0 percent of rural parents reported their monthly income as lower than 40,000 tgs.



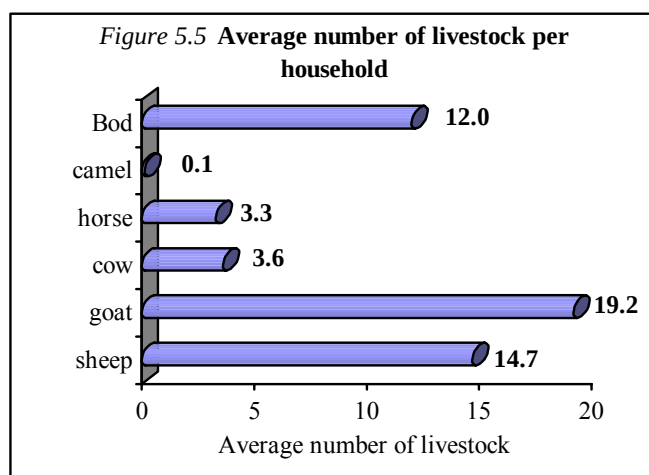
Note: 1 U.S.\$= 1,219 tugrugs (Rate on 20.11.2004)

In determining the household livelihood, it is important to take in to account not only monetary income, but also capital assets. Especially for rural households the number of livestock, ownership of livestock etc. can be a safety net in the time of financial difficulties and other risks. For instance, if any financial problem occurs, the household can use their livestock to meet their consumption by slaughtering it for sale, using as collateral to get a loan etc.

Of total parents covered by the survey 53 percent have private livestock and they are all rural households. When 5 kinds of livestock were transferred into “bod” measure¹⁹ in order to calculate total number of livestock in same measure, the average number of livestock per household for total households was 12 bod (Figure 5.5). For households with livestock, the average number of livestock per household was 22,7 bod. Therefore, households covered by the survey may have insufficient cash income, but have certain capital assets.

¹⁸ The National Statistical Office, World Bank, UNDP “Poverty line”, *The basic report of a sample survey on household income, expenditure, living standards*, UB, 2004, p. 84

¹⁹ A coefficient for transferring livestock into “bod” was used to calculate the total livestock in same measure.
1 bod = 1 horse = 1 cow = 0.67 camel = 6 sheep = 8 goats



The kinds of animals in the households are mostly goats and sheep, so the number of bog (small livestock, such as goat and sheep) is greater than other kinds.

Table 5.4 Percentage distribution of households in terms of their sufficiency of household income, according to parents's selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Sufficiency of household income			Total	Number of parents
	Sufficient	Moderate	Not sufficient		
Residence					
Urban	2.3	6.8	90.9	100.0	44
Rural	2.4	23.4	74.2	100.0	124
Respondent's migration status					
Migrant	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	11
Non-migrant	2.5	20.4	77.1	100.0	157
Number of people in the household					
1-3	16.0	4.0	80.0	100.0	25
4-5	0.0	29.3	70.7	100.0	58
6 or more	0.0	16.5	83.5	100.0	85
Respondent's employment status					
Employed/Self-employed	2.0	24.5	73.5	100.0	49
Herder	2.2	21.7	76.1	100.0	46
Retired	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	6
Disabled	0.0	12.5	87.5	100.0	8
Homemaker	8.7	21.7	69.6	100.0	23
Unemployed	0.0	11.1	88.9	100.0	36
Household's average income per month (tugrug)					
20000 or less	0.0	8.7	91.3	100.0	46
20001-40000	4.5	15.9	79.5	100.0	44
40001-60000	2.5	22.5	75.0	100.0	40
More than 60000	2.6	31.6	65.8	100.0	38
Total	2.4	19.0	78.6	100.0	168

Table 5.4 shows sufficiency of the household's monthly cash and non-cash income (as reported by the parents) for its livelihood by the characteristics of the parents.

90.9 percent of the parents of the children working as domestic help in the urban, and 74.2 percent of the parents of the children engaged in herding other family's livestock in the rural areas responded that their household monthly income was not adequate for their livelihood.

There were very few parents who said that the income was sufficiently adequate (2.3 and 2.4 percent).

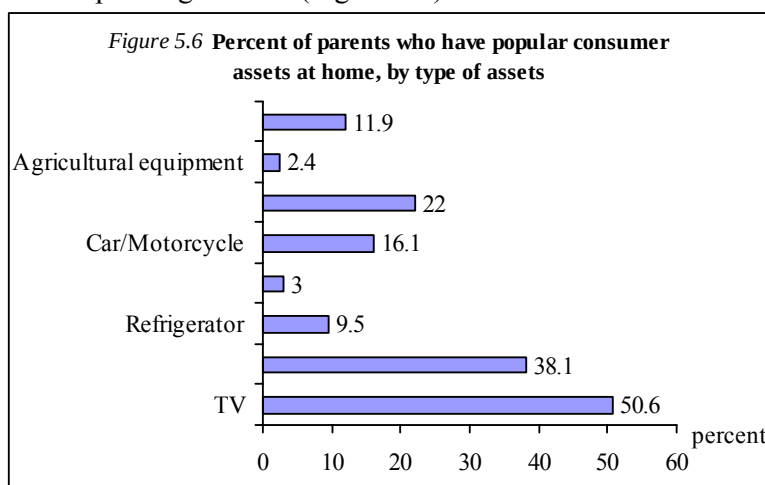
All migrant parents concluded that their income was not adequate for their household livelihood, which is 23 points higher than the percentage of non-migrant parents, who gave the same answer.

In terms of the correlation between income sufficiency and household size, survey results show that the percentage of the parents who said that their income was not sufficiently adequate is high (70.7 -83.5 percent) regardless of the household size. Also data shows that there are no households with over 3 members who responded that their income was adequate.

As for the employment status of the parents who stated that their income was insufficient, 100 percent were pensioners, 87.5 percent were disabled and 88.9 were unemployed. The percentage of parents who stated that their income was sufficient is relatively high among people employed in different organizations, engaged in private business, as well as herders.

Survey data show that for example, 91.3 percent of the households with the income of 20,000 tgs or less per month responded that their income was insufficient, whereas 75 percent of the households with income of 40,000-60,000 tgs per month and 66 percent of the households with income of above 60,000 tgs per month gave that answer.

We asked by the questionnaire if the households possessed popular consumer items, such as a TV set, a radio, a refrigerator, a car/motorcycle, a power generator, agricultural equipment, etc. Consumption of those items is an alternative indicator of household welfare and it reveals whether they have access to information and opportunities to improve their livelihood. In terms of possession of assets, 50.6 percent of parents have a TV set, 38.1 percent have a radio and 22 percent have a power generator (Figure 5.6).



5.4 Access to the social services

The survey asked some questions in order to clarify the level of access to health and selected social services by the members of the households.

Majority or 76.2 percent of the parents responded that when a household member was sick, they went to the family/household doctor, 8.9 percent went to the health center and 3 percent

went to the pharmacy. In addition to that, 3 percent responded that they had no access to the health services; and 8.9 percent responded that although they had access to the health services, they treated the illness themselves. The responses did not differ much by parents' characteristics, such as urban versus rural residence, migration status, etc.

Table 5.5 illustrates the opportunity for households, who have their children working for other families, to improve their livelihoods through access to some important social services.

Table 5.5 Percent of parents who have access to some social services, by residence

Residence	Social services				Number of parents
	Micro credit	Community savings program	Project/Program on Employment promotion	Agricultural project/program	
Urban	43.2	15.9	36.4	27.3	44
Rural	25.8	10.5	24.2	30.6	124
Total	30.4	11.9	27.4	29.8	168

Participants of the survey stated that access to loans, savings and other programs and projects, which are in high demand by public, is relatively limited for the families with children working for other households. For example, parents, who responded that their families have access to the above mentioned services, constitute less than 1/3 of the parents. Survey data shows that especially for the rural parents, compared to the urban parents, the opportunities for access to small loans and savings, employment projects and programs are relatively low. However, survey data also shows that there are slightly better opportunities for the rural people (30.6 percent) to be involved in the agricultural and animal husbandry projects and programs, as compared to the urban people (27.3 percent).

5.5 Opinions of the parents on working conditions of their children

In order to have a better understanding of the attitudes and opinions of the parents on their children's working environment, conditions etc., we asked some questions about their perceptions.

Survey results show that, there is a tendency, both in the urban and in the rural areas, for some children, working as a domestic help, or herding other families' livestock to live separately from their parents during the employment period. 18.2 percent of urban parents, 15.3 percent of rural parents reported that their children, working for other families, lived in places other than their home. Children that live separately from their parents (27 children) all live with the employer household during the employment period. Figure 5.7 shows who the employers are.

Upon clarification of how often the children living with other families visit their homes during their employment period, 37 percent of the parents responded that the children came home once a week or in less periods, 22.2 percent -once in 14 days, 22.2 percent - once a month, and the remaining 18.6 percent responded that their children came home after a period of over one month.

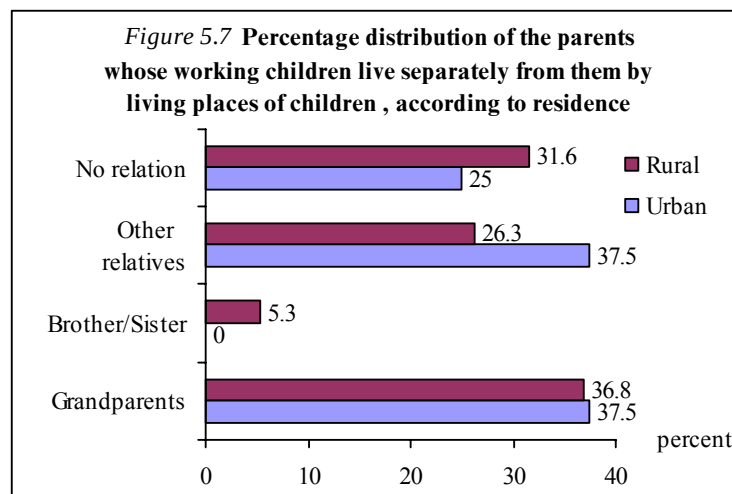


Table 5.6 shows how parents evaluate/perceive the working environment and working conditions of their children employed by other families. In terms of the parent's understanding of the availability of short breaks for their children during the work day to have some rest, only 27.3 percent of the parents of the children working as domestic help in the urban responded that their children had sufficient opportunities for break time, and 11.3 percent of the parents had no idea, or did not pay attention to that issue. 34.7 percent of the parents of the children herding other families livestock in the rural responded that their children had enough break time, 7.3 percent - did not know, and the rest responded that the children did not have a break and had limited opportunities for one.

Percentage of urban parents (22.8 percent), who are of the impression that their children don't have the possibility to drink or eat something during the day, is 4 times higher than that of rural parents. What is interesting is that, although rural children work in more difficult conditions, the percent of rural parents, who consider the working conditions of their children as poor, is 2 times lower than that of urban parents (22.7 percent). Alternatively, 40.3 percent of rural parents had a positive perception of the working conditions of their children which is almost 2 times higher than that of urban parents.

As for the number of hours worked by children, 47.7 percent of urban parents have the perception that their children work 1-5 hours a day as domestic workers. Among rural parents, 42 percent of them have the perception that their children work 9 hours a day or more as herders. It can be seen, that the parents consider the working conditions of the children working as domestic help as less labor and time intensive than that of herding other families' livestock.

As for their perception of the daily work load of their children, almost 2/3 of the urban parents considered it to be moderate. 1/3 of the rural parents considered the daily workload of their children as too heavy/excess, half of the parents considered it to be moderate, and the remaining thought it to be low, or responded that they did not know. Also, among urban parents 38.6 percent have the perception that the children are not very tired by working at other families; among rural parents', however, 32.3 percent of them have the perception that their children get very tired. Again survey results confirm the differential perception of parents in terms of the working conditions of domestic work versus herding where the former is viewed as less demanding than livestock rearing and animal husbandry.

Table 5.6 Percentage distribution of the parents by opinions on working conditions of children, according to residence

Parents' opinions on working conditions of working children	Residence		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Whether child has opportunity to rest during the work a day			
Do not get	15.9	16.1	16.1
Fair	45.5	41.9	42.9
Good	27.3	34.7	32.7
Do not know	11.3	7.3	8.3
Whether drinking water is available during child's work a day			
Yes	72.7	91.1	86.3
No	22.8	5.7	10.1
Do not know	4.5	3.2	3.6
Whether food is available during child's work a day			
Yes	72.7	91.9	86.9
No	22.8	5.7	10.1
Do not know	4.5	2.4	3.0
Conditions of work place			
Bad	22.7	12.9	15.5
Fair	52.3	44.4	46.4
Good	22.7	40.3	35.7
Do not know	2.3	2.4	2.4
Working hours a day			
1-5 hours	47.7	18.5	26.2
6-8 hours	25.0	34.7	32.1
9 or more	15.9	42.0	35.2
Do not know	11.4	4.8	6.5
Working load a day			
Excess	22.7	32.3	29.8
Moderate	61.4	49.2	52.4
Low	13.6	15.3	14.9
Do not know	2.3	3.2	3.0
Whether child tired due to work			
Very tired	25.0	32.3	30.4
Moderate tired	27.3	30.6	29.8
Not very tired	38.6	29.8	32.1
Do not know/Do not observe	9.1	7.3	7.7
Employer's relation with working child			
Harsh	6.8	0.8	2.4
Moderate	38.6	16.2	22.0
Good	52.3	80.6	73.2
Do not know	2.3	2.4	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of parents	44	124	168

Finally, as for the parent's perception of the employer's relations with the children, 52.3 percent of the urban parents and 80.6 percent of the rural parents considered them to be good. There are more parents in the urban, than in the rural areas, that perceives this relationship as moderate or harsh.

Table 5.7 shows the parent's perceptions/responses of the cash and non-cash reimbursement the children receive.

Table 5.7 Percentage distribution of the parents by opinion on reimbursement (monetary and non-monetary) of the working child, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Opinion on reimbursement of the working child			Total	Number of parents
	Low	Moderate	High		
Respondent's sex					
Male	13.0	68.5	18.5	100.0	54
Female	30.7	46.5	22.8	100.0	114
Respondent's age group					
Under 35	30.8	46.1	23.1	100.0	26
35-44	26.0	46.9	27.1	100.0	96
45 or older	19.6	71.7	8.7	100.0	46
Respondent's education					
Non-educated/Primary	25.5	59.6	14.9	100.0	47
Incompleted secondary	20.6	55.6	23.8	100.0	63
Completed secondary or higher	29.3	46.6	24.1	100.0	58
Household's average income per month (tugrug)					
20000 or less	32.6	47.8	19.6	100.0	46
20001-40000	15.9	61.4	22.7	100.0	44
40001-60000	30.0	47.5	22.5	100.0	40
More than 60000	21.1	57.8	21.1	100.0	38
Total	25.0	53.6	21.4	100.0	168

25 percent of all parents consider their children's salaries to be low, 53.6 percent consider it to be moderate; remaining 21.4 percent view it as high. It could be seen from the table that parents' evaluation does not depend upon their age and level of monthly income.

As for the sex, percentage of men considering the pay to be low (30.7 percent) is 2.4 times higher than that of women, whereas the percentage of women who evaluate their children's earnings to be high (22.8 percent) is higher by 4.3 points than that of men.

As for the education level of parents who evaluated the children's pay to be high, their proportion increases with the increase of their education level. For example, only 14.9 percent of parents with no education or with primary education evaluated the children's wages as high, whereas 23.8 percent of parents with incomplete secondary education, and 24.1 percent of parents with completed secondary or higher education responded the same way.

Table 5.8 illustrates by respondent characteristics the parent's evaluation of probable risks to children's health due to work. More women and younger parents consider the probable risks to children due to work as high. For example, the percentage of men considering this risk to be low (50 percent) is 10 points higher than that of women, and the percentage of women, who consider the risk to be high (24.6 percent) is higher by 10 points than that of men. A higher proportion of parents under 35 years old, consider the health risks faced by their children due to work as high compared to parents in other age categories.

Table 5.8 Percentage distribution of the parents by opinion on health risks which may be faced by child due to work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Opinion on health risks which may be faced by child due to work			Total	Number of parents
	Low	Moderate	High		
Respondent's sex					
Male	50.0	35.2	14.8	100.0	54
Female	40.4	35.1	24.6	100.0	114
Respondent's age group					
Under 35	34.6	34.6	30.8	100.0	26
35-44	42.7	36.5	20.8	100.0	96
45 or older	50.0	32.6	17.4	100.0	46
Total	43.5	35.1	21.4	100.0	168

5.6 Parents' thoughts on the future of their children

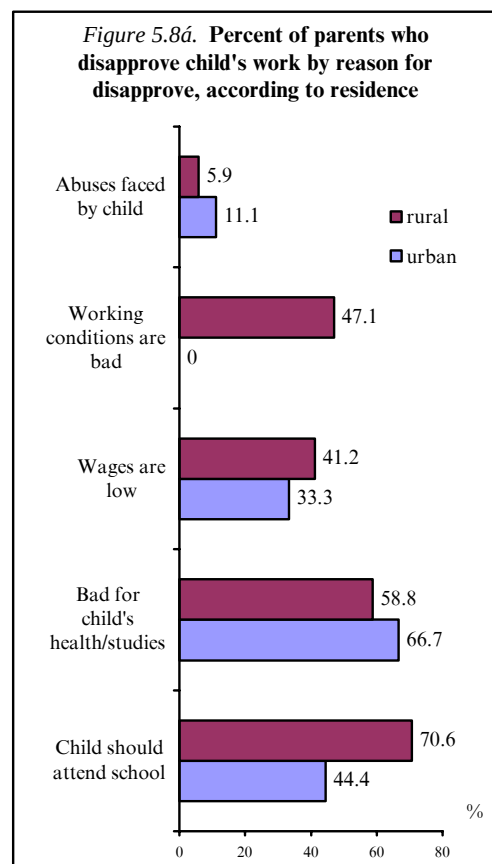
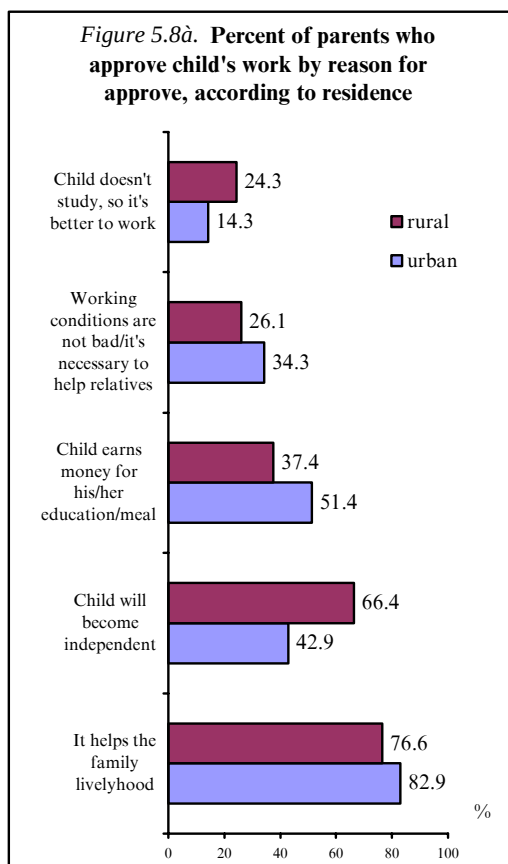
It is obvious that approval of parents, of their children's work at other households, will have a certain impact on the child's future attachment to that particular job. Table 5.9 illustrates parents' attitude towards this issue.

Table 5.9 Percentage distribution of the parents by approval of children's work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Whether approve child's current job		Total	Number of parents
	Yes	No		
Residence				
Urban	79.5	20.5	100.0	44
Rural	86.3	13.7	100.0	124
Respondent's sex				
Male	90.7	9.3	100.0	54
Female	81.6	18.4	100.0	114
Respondent's age group				
Under 35	73.1	26.9	100.0	26
35-44	85.4	14.6	100.0	96
45 or older	89.1	10.9	100.0	46
Respondent's education				
Non-educated/Primary	91.5	8.5	100.0	47
Uncompleted secondary	84.1	15.9	100.0	63
Completed secondary or higher	79.3	20.7	100.0	58
Total	84.5	15.5	100.0	168

84.5 percent of all parents approve the current job their children are doing. This attitude is higher in the rural, among the parents of the children engaged in herding other family's livestock (86.3 percent), than among the parents of the children working as domestic help (79.5 percent). This attitude was also highly prevalent among male, elder parents and people with lower education level.

Reasons for which parents approve or disapprove of children's work at other families are shown in Figure 5.8a and in Figure 5.8b by residence.



Note: Answers are multiple

82.9 percent of urban parents and 76.6 percent of rural parents approved their children's work because they deemed it useful to the family livelihood. 42.9 percent of urban parents and 66.4 percent of rural parents approved because according to them children get work experience and will become independent.

Among the reasons for disapproval of their child working 44.4 percent of parents in the urban areas and 70.6 percent of parents in the rural areas said that children should only study. 66.7 percent of parents in the urban areas and 58.8 percent of parents in the rural areas responded that work has a bad impact on the child's health and study. In addition, almost half of the rural parents responded that the reason they do not allow their children to work is difficult working conditions.

Table 5.10 shows the distribution of responses from parents in terms of their view about what circumstances or conditions are needed to be created in order to stop employment of their children.

Conditions, which parents would like to provide in order to stop their children's labor, include: making the household income adequate/sufficient; having enough money for children's education and health; children becoming more independent; having their home closer to schools and many others. Out of the above, the condition, which parents named most often, was the economic reason or having enough/sufficient household income (48.2 percent). It was followed by the response that child could stop working should the child wish to do so (28 percent). Also, an interesting result of this survey was that 6 percent of parents

responded that discontinuing their children's work is unnecessary. There were no parents among urban respondents, who considered discontinuing their children's work as unnecessary.

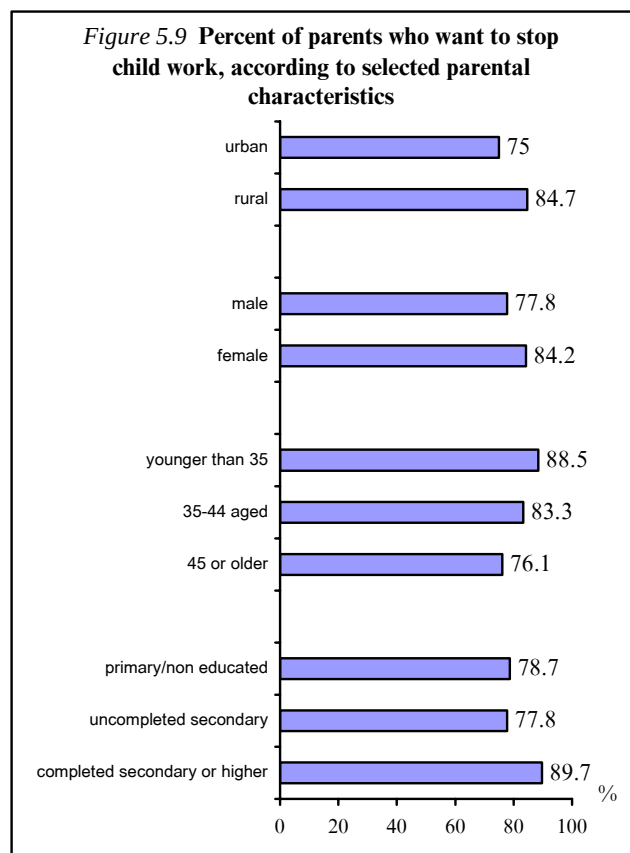
Table 5.10 Percentage distribution of the parents by conditions to stop child work, according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Conditions to stop child work						Total	Number of parents
	Enough income/ livestock for family	Enough money for child's education, health	If child wants to stop working	If child become independent	Schools closer to home/ workplace	Not necessary /If employer stop working		
Residence								
Urban	61.4	2.2	36.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	44
Rural	43.5	9.7	25.0	9.7	4.0	8.1	100.0	124
Number of people in the household								
1-3	40.0	16.0	24.0	4.0	4.0	12.0	100.0	25
4-5	51.7	5.2	27.6	8.6	0.0	6.9	100.0	58
6 or more	48.2	7.1	29.4	7.1	4.7	3.5	100.0	85
Main source of household income								
Wage/Salary	55.6	2.2	33.3	6.7	0.0	2.2	100.0	45
Pension/Allowances/cash remittance/ rentals/ present/interest revenue	67.6	6.0	20.6	0.0	2.9	2.9	100.0	34
Business income	38.2	2.9	35.3	11.8	2.9	8.8	100.0	34
Income from agricultural production	36.4	16.4	23.6	9.1	5.5	9.1	100.0	55
Total	48.2	7.7	28.0	7.1	3.0	6.0	100.0	168

With the increase of the household size there is a decreasing tendency to name the economic related conditions. For example, 16 percent of the parents with 1-3 members in a household responded that they would discontinue their children's employment when they have sufficient money for the child's education and health. But only 5.2 percent of the parents with 4-5 members and 7.1 percent of the parents with 6 or more members gave that answer.

What is interesting from Table 5.11 is that no matter what the source and composition of household income, at least 20-35 percent of parents feel that children can stop working if they want. Other than the households who view child labor as a consequence of poverty, there is a substantial 20-35 percent of households where there is child labor perhaps due to a lack of awareness.

Although parents named specific conditions under which they would stop their children's employment, we asked through survey if the children's work would be stopped should the conditions for school enrollment or continuation of studies be created. Figure 5.9 illustrates the results of the above by selected characteristics.

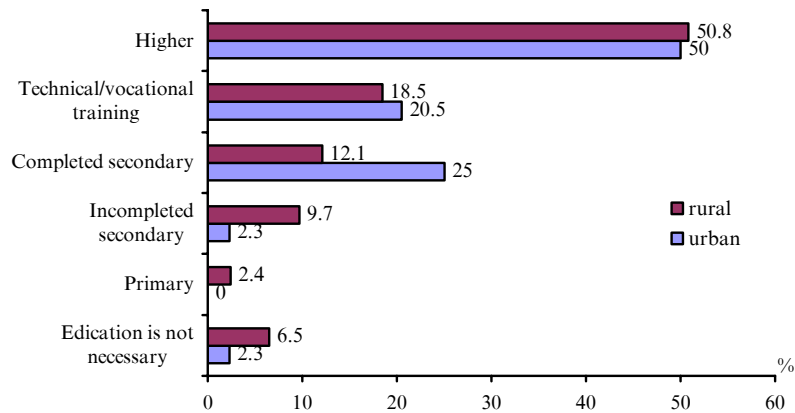


82.1 percent of all parents answered that they would stop the children's work if opportunities for school enrollment, or continuation of the studies would arise. As for the characteristics of the parents who endorsed this response, 84.7 percent of the rural parents gave that answer, which is higher by 9.7 points than that of the urban parents. This insightful survey result establishes that the non-availability and or non-accessibility of schooling opportunities in the rural areas perhaps lead to child labor. The percentage of women who answered the same (84.2 percent) is 6.4 points higher than that of men, percentage of parents 35 years old and younger who had the same response (88.5 percent) is higher by 12.4 points than that of the parents 45 years old and older; and the proportion of responses of people with completed secondary or higher education (89.7 percent) is higher by 11 points than the percentage of people with no education or with primary education level.

As for the parent's interest on what education they would want their children, working for other families, to have (Figure 5.10), it can be seen that both rural and urban parents want their children to get good education. Half of the parents want their children to get university education.

From figure 5.10, it can be seen that 2.3 percent of the urban parents and 6.5 percent of the rural parents or in total 9 parents considered that it was unnecessary to have children attend the compulsory formal educational institutions (schools). When those parents were asked what type of informal training program, or courses they would like to have their children enrolled in, 4 parents answered there was no need for any courses or training programs, 3 answered that they did not know, and 2 chose driving courses.

Figure 5.10 Percentage distribution of the parents by interest on what education they would want for their children, according to residence



CHAPTER SIX. EMPLOYERS OF THE CHILD DOMESTIC WORKERS AND CHILDREN HERDING LIVESTOCK FOR OTHER FAMILIES

This chapter will introduce the profile of the employers and their household members, who employ child domestic help and to herd their livestock. The profile of the employers including the employer's perceptions about child labor and their valuation is discussed.

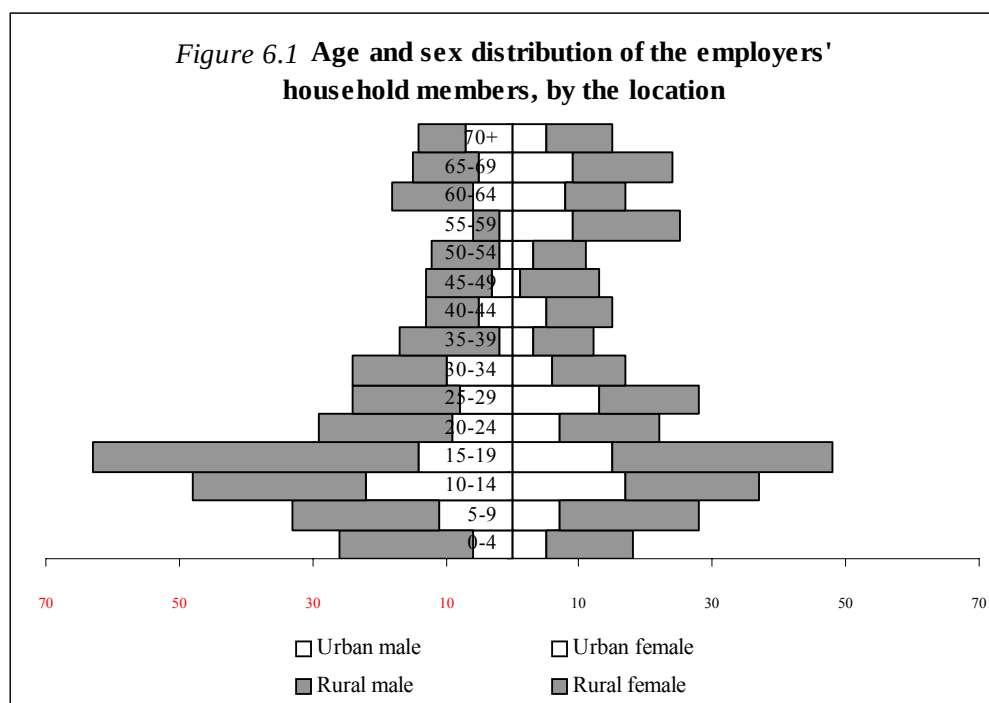
6.1 Profile of the employers and household members of the employers

6.1.1 Profile of the employer's household members

A total of 166 employers or 46 percent of the child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families were covered by the survey. From the survey of employers it was found that there were 685 household members in the employers' families. In terms of the distribution, 32.8 percent of the employers' household members reside in Ulaanbaatar city (*hereinafter referred to as the urban*), and 67.2 percent in the rural areas (21.2 percent in Uvurkhangai aimag, 26 percent in Khovd aimag, and 20 percent in Khuvsgul aimag)

Totally, in 91 employers' households out of 166, there is living child domestic workers and children herding livestock.

Figure 6.1 illustrates the age and sex structure of the employers' household members by the location.



27.7 percent of employers' household members are children under 15 years, 62.4 percent are population between 15 and 64, and 9.9 percent are elders of 65 years and more. The process of fertility decline that took place from the 1980s is reflected in the narrow base of the pyramid. With increases of age of the employers' household members from age group of 21-

24 to age of 55 there is a decrease in number of population. However there is a slight increase in number of population from age of 55 upwards. For the elder population, the reality is that their children live separately and therefore they often have children from other families helping them with their daily works (see chapter 6.1.2).

Although sex ratio of the employers' household members is generally balanced in urban and rural areas, of the employers' household members 51.4 percent are male and 48.6 percent are female. The age group with the most differential sex ratio was 55-59 both urban and rural. No major difference in the sex ratio was observed among the age groups of 0-4 and 60-64.

Table 6.1. Percentage distribution of the household members of the employers by education and employment, according to location

education and employment, according to location			
Education and Employment	Location		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Education			
Uneducated	18.3	24.1	22.1
Primary	21.2	29.7	26.8
Incompleted secondary	22.1	24.8	23.9
Completed secondary	19.7	9.6	13.1
Vocational/ Uncompleted high	7.2	7.9	7.6
Higher/Post graduate	11.5	3.9	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of people aged 7 and over	407	208	615
Employment			
Employed/Self employed	24.6	8.9	14.2
Herder	0.5	35.4	23.7
Student (Includeng kindergarden)	19.0	17.7	18.1
Retired	22.3	11.0	14.8
Disabled	4.3	0.5	1.7
Homemaker	1.4	7.2	5.2
Child as Domestic Worker	19.4	13.8	15.7
Unemployed	7.6	1.4	3.5
At home	0.9	4.1	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of people aged 6 and over	418	211	629

As can be seen from the Table 6.1 there is a clear distinction/difference in the education level of the employers' household members based on their location. For example, 11.5 percent of urban employers' household members have a higher education compared to 3.9 percent of the rural-based employers. Unsurprisingly, a lower proportion of urban employers' household members claim to be uneducated than their rural counterparts. There seems to be no significant difference in the attainment of specialized vocational educations by location.

Survey results show that 3-4 out of 10 employers' household members in the rural are herding livestock. The share of people reported to be employed/self employed (24.3 percent) in the urban areas is higher than the share of people in the other employment categories.

6.1.2 The profile of the employers

The characteristics of the employer is shown in the Table 6.2

Table 6.2. **Percentage distribution of the employers by demographic characteristics, according to location**

Demographic characteristics	Location		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Age			
Less than 34	26.0	20.7	22.3
35-44	14.0	18.1	16.8
45-54	8.0	18.1	15.1
55-64	24.0	19.8	21.1
65 and over	28.0	23.3	24.7
Sex			
Male	34.0	42.2	39.8
Female	66.0	57.8	60.2
Marital status			
Single	8.0	1.7	3.6
Married/Living together	74.0	69.0	70.5
Divorced/Widowed/Separeted	18.0	29.3	25.9
Ethnic group			
Khalkh	88.0	64.7	71.7
Others	12.0	35.3	28.3
Education			
Uneducated	10.0	45.7	34.9
Primary	28.0	25.8	26.5
Uncompleted secondary	26.0	9.5	14.5
Completed secondary	18.0	14.7	15.7
Special Vocational/Diploma	18.0	4.3	8.4
Employment			
Employed/Self employed	30.0	11.2	16.9
Herder	-	51.7	36.1
Student	6.0	0.9	2.4
Retired	48.0	22.4	30.1
Disabled	4.0	0.9	1.8
Homemaker	2.0	12.9	9.6
Unemployed	10.0	-	3.1
Number of working children for one HH			
1	72.0	73.3	72.9
2	18.0	22.4	21.1
3 and more	10.0	4.3	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of employers	50	116	166

Median age of the employers is 56.4, that shows majority of elders have children from other families helping them with their domestic work and herding livestock. No significant difference in median age by location (in urban 56.5 years and in the rural aimags 56.3 years) is seen. As can see from Table 6.2, for rural, there is no dramatic difference in age categories in the sense that all age categories are consistently distributed. But a remarkable result is that the proportion of employers in the 45-54 age bracket is lowest in urban.

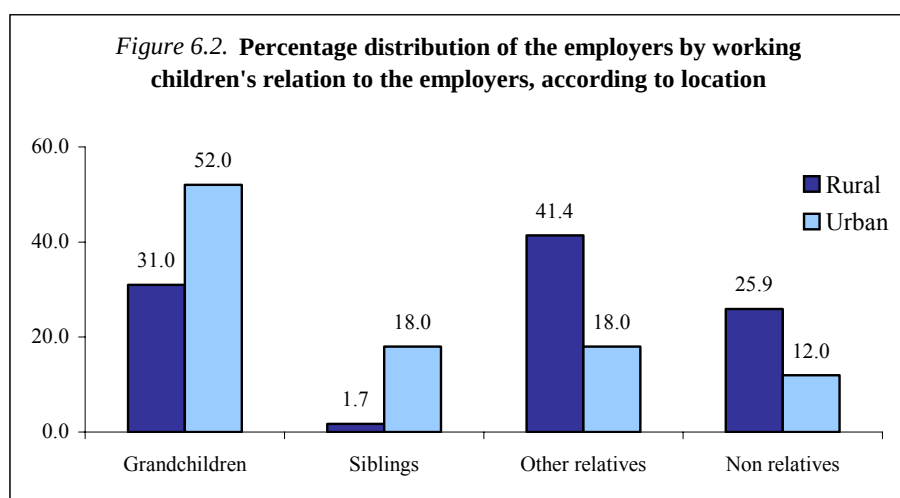
Of the employers respondents of the survey 6-7 out of each 10 are women, this trend is the same both in the urban and in the rural. That female-employers make up 66 percent of the total population in the urban is higher by 8.2 points than in the rural.

A significant difference in the educational levels of the employers based on the location could be observed. In total, 45.7 percent of the rural employers have no education compared with 10 percent of the urban employers who have no education.

In terms of their employment status, over half of the rural employers are herdsmen, and no employer reported being unemployed in the rural aimags. In the urban areas however, 10 percent of employers reported being unemployed and almost half reported being retired.

72.9 percent of employers employ one child from another family, which is 3.5 times higher than employers of 2 children, and 12.2 times higher than employers of 3 or more children.

Figure 6.2 shows the working children's relation to the employers by the location of the households.

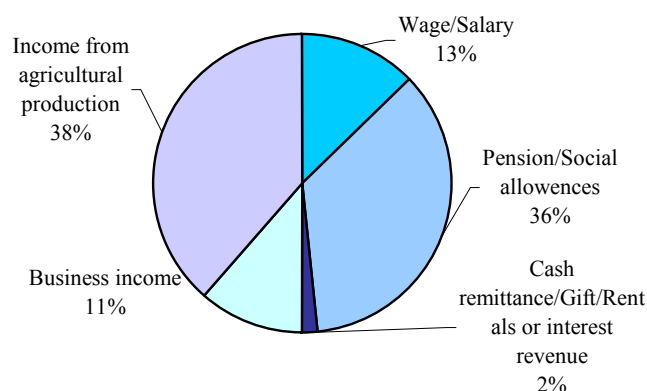


37.3 percent of the employers employ their grandchildren, 34.3 percent employ other relatives, 21.7 percent non-relatives and 6.7 percent employ siblings for their everyday activities. Due to older age distribution of the employers, the share of employers who employ their siblings is the lowest. Percentage of employers who employ their grandchildren for herding is the highest in the rural areas, while percentage of employers, who employ their other relatives for domestic work, is the highest in the urban.

Figure 6.3 shows the main income source of the employers.

38.6 percent of the employer respondents reported that their main source of household income is from the agricultural production, whereas 35.5 percent said that their main source of income is pensions and other welfare money. The percentage of the employers who replied that the majority of their income consists of monetary assistance/rent/gift/saving interest was the lowest at 2 percent.

Figure 6.3. Percentage distribution of the employers by main source of income



Variation in main income source by locations can be seen from the Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Percentage distribution of the employers by main source of income, according to location

Location	Main source of income					Total	Number of employers
	Wage/Salary	Pension/Social allowances	Cash remittance/Gift/Rentals or interest revenue	Business income	Income from agricultural production		
Urban	24.0	58.0	6.0	12.0	-	100.0	50
Rural	7.8	25.8	-	11.2	55.2	100.0	116
Total	12.7	35.5	1.8	11.4	38.6	100.0	166

55.2 percent of the rural employers get their income from agricultural production, as almost every rural household owns livestock (96.6 percent) and the majority of the population is engaged in livestock breeding. Not surprisingly, the percentage of the employers, whose main income source is in the form of the pensions and other welfare money, is the highest in the urban given that most of the employers in the urban reported being retired. Due to the higher employment rate in the urban than in the rural, 24 percent of the urban employers of CDWs report their main income to be their salary. Monetary assistance/rent/gift/interest income are the main income sources for 6 percent of the urban employers, whereas in the rural there are no employers or households with that income source. This is may be explained by the higher opportunities of renting apartments and getting money transfers in the urban, rather than in the rural.

Table 6.4 shows relation of the number of children employed to certain indicators of the household, which employs them.

Table 6.4 Percentage distribution of the employers by number of working children, according to the selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Number of working children			Total	Number of employers
	1	2	3 and over		
Number of people living in the employers' HH					
1-3	82.3	14.5	3.2	100.0	62
4-5	70.7	24.0	5.3	100.0	75
6 and over	58.6	27.6	13.8	100.0	29
Working children's relation to the employers					
Grandchildren	71.0	24.2	4.8	100.0	62
Siblings	63.6	27.3	9.1	100.0	11
Other relatives	70.2	22.8	7.0	100.0	57
Non relatives	83.3	11.1	5.6	100.0	36
Whether children live with employers					
Yes	73.6	22.0	4.4	100.0	91
No	72.0	20.0	8.0	100.0	75
Average livestock*	147.0	177.8	224.16		
Total	72.9	21.1	6.0	100.0	166

*Note- Calculated from HHs with livestock only

A direct relation between the average number of livestock, which is main indicator to define economic opportunity of the households in rural areas and the number of children employed in the household is observed. In other words, there is a tendency to employ more children with the increase of livestock number.

6.2 Valuation of child labour from the employer's perspective

6.2.1 Child labor remuneration

23.5 percent of the employers surveyed, pay children in cash; 74.7 percent pay in non-cash and 1.8 percent (n=3) of the employers do not pay any remuneration to the children. 2/3 of the employers responded that they did not pay the children due to their insolvency, and 1/3 responded they did not see it necessary to pay.

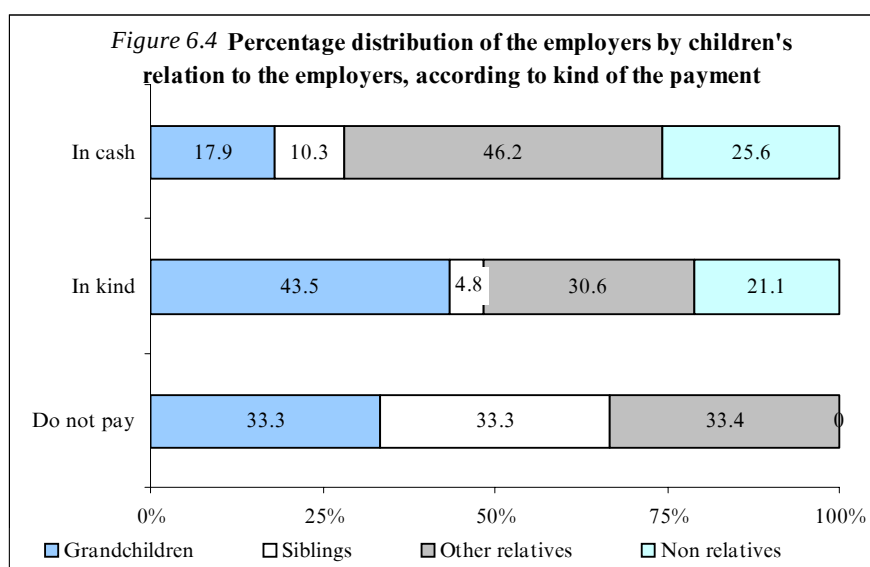
From the Table 6.5, percentage of the employers paying children in cash is higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas by 6.4 points. Not surprisingly, percentage of the rural employers paying in non-cash form is higher than the urban counterparts by 6.7 points. Compared to urban employers, rural employers do not have permanent cash income, and therefore they might prefer to pay remuneration in non-cash form, such as food, clothes, livestock. There is no significant difference by locations in terms of employers who do not pay children.

As for the employers, who employ 3 and more children, percentage of the employers paying children in cash is the highest.

Table 6.5 Percentage distribution of the employers by kind of the payment according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Kind of the payment			Total	Number of employers
	In cash	In kind	Do not pay		
Location					
Urba	28.0	70.0	2.0	100.0	50
Rural	21.6	76.7	1.7	100.0	116
Number of working children					
1	24.8	72.7	2.5	100.0	121
2	22.9	77.1	-	100.0	35
3 and more	10.0	90.0	-	100.0	10
Whether children live with employers					
Yes	22.0	74.7	3.3	100.0	91
No	25.3	74.7	-	100.0	75
Total	23.5	74.7	1.8	100.0	166

Figure 6.4 illustrates children's relation to the employers by kind of the payment.



43.5 percent of the employers, who pay in kind employ their grandchildren. As for employers employing non relatives, there are no cases of not paying.

Table 6.6 shows the cross tabulation of profile of employer and type of remuneration paid to the children. There is difference in kind of payment by demographic characteristics of the employers.

There is some difference in type of payment by demographic characteristics of the employers. The highest share of employers, who pay children in cash, is in the age group of people below 34, and between 55 and 64. Survey results also show that a higher proportion of women employers remunerate children in cash than male employers. In terms of education level of employers, it can be inferred that higher the education level, higher the probability that employers will remunerate child workers in cash.

Table 6.6 Percent distribution of the employers, by type of payment and selected demographic characteristics

Demographic characteristics of the employers	Kind of the payment		Total
	In cash	In kind	
Age			
Less than 34	23.1	22.5	22.3
35-44	17.9	16.2	16.9
45-54	15.4	14.5	15.1
55-64	30.8	17.7	21.1
65 and over	12.8	29.1	24.6
Sex			
Male	38.5	39.5	39.8
Female	61.5	60.5	60.2
Education			
Uneducated	5.2	8.9	8.4
Less than incomplete secondary	61.5	69.3	67.5
Higher than completed secondary	33.3	21.8	24.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of employers, who give payment	39	124	163

As for the money equivalent of the in-kind remuneration paid by the employer to the child, 23.1 percent of all employers surveyed pay monthly wages/allowance equivalent to 8,000 tgs; 28.2 percent - 8,001-12,000 tgs, 25.6 percent - 12,001-20,000 tgs, and 23.1 percent - 20,001 and more tgs (Table 6.7)

Table 6.7 Percentage distribution of the employers, who pay in cash by payment per month, according to selected household characteristics

Selected household characteristics	Payment per month /tugrugs/				Total	Number of the employers, who pay in cash
	Less than 8000	8001-12000	12001-20000	20001 and over		
Number of employed children in a household						
1	23.3	23.3	33.4	20.0	100.0	30
2 and over	22.2	44.4	-	33.3	100.0	9
Location						
Urban	14.3	21.4	28.6	35.7	100.0	14
Rural	28.0	32.0	24.0	16.0	100.0	25
Average livestock	164.8	164.0	178.7	199.3		
Total	23.1	28.2	25.6	23.1	100.0	39

Survey data in the above table shows that valuation of children's work in the rural areas is lower than in the urban. In total, 64.3 percent of urban employers pay a monthly remuneration of 12,000 tgs to the working children, whereas 60 percent of rural employers pay less than 12,000 tgs monthly salary.

With the increase of the average number of livestock per household there is an increase in children's pay as it can be assumed that number of livestock is an indicator of economic welfare of the rural household.

The employers surveyed pay an average of 18,321 tgs per month to the children from other families for getting their help in daily work and life.

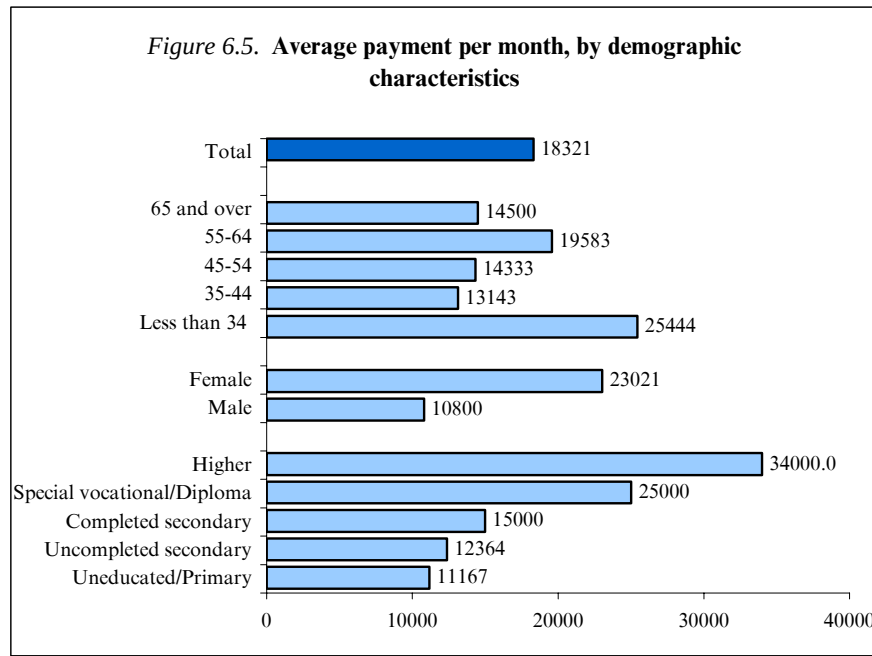


Figure 6.5 shows that women employers pay more remuneration to the children than men employers. Men employers pay working children an average of 10,800 tgs a month, which is 2.1 times lower than the salary/remuneration paid by women employers to the children.

With the increase of the education level of employers there is an increase in the amount of salary paid to the children. It seems that more educated employers value the labor of children more highly. Employers with the higher education pay the children on average 34,000 tgs, which is 3 times higher than the salary paid by employers with no education or primary education; and 1.6 times higher than the amount paid by an average employer.

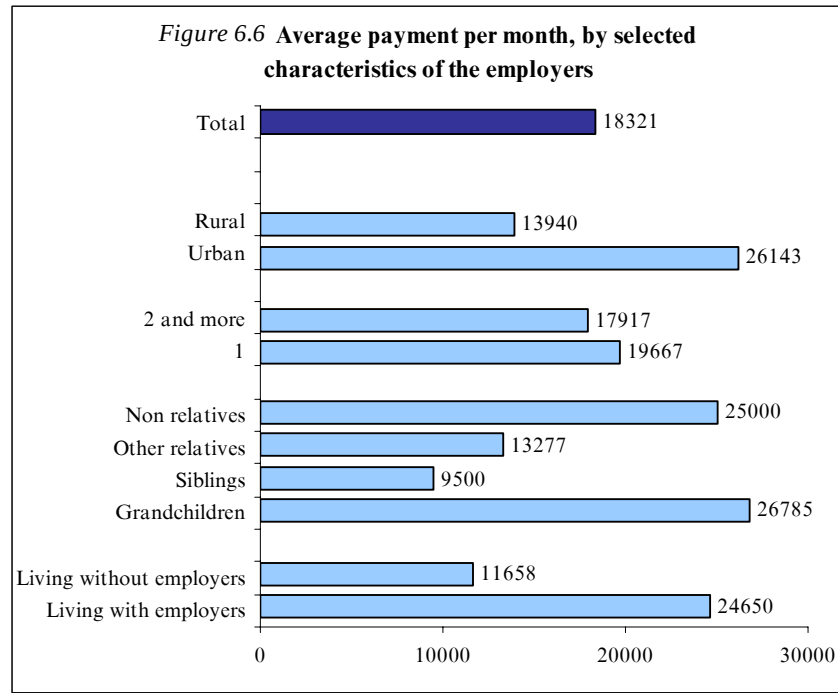
Figure 6.6 shows the differences of the average monthly remuneration paid to the child by the employer, conditional on the selected characteristics.

Employers who hire one child to get help in daily work pay him 17,917 tgs, whereas employers of 2 and more children pay an average of 19,667 tgs a month as a monthly pay to a child. Therefore, the conclusion can be made that the wealthier households are interested to employ more children, and they also have higher valuation of the children's labor.

As mentioned earlier, a fact that rural employers have lower valuation of children's labor is confirmed by Figure 6.6. Urban employers pay an average of 26,143 tgs a month to a working child, whereas the rural employers pay almost two times less.

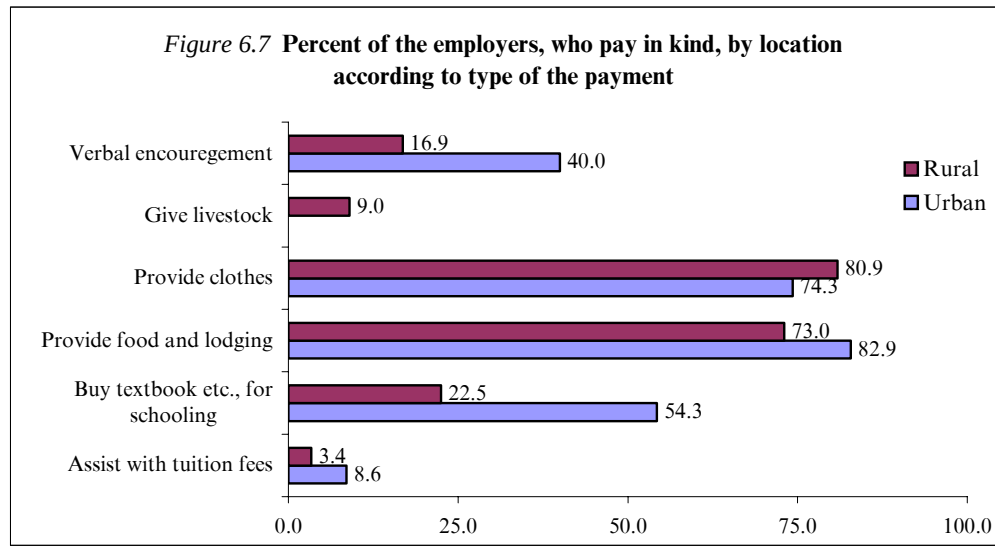
The survey data shows that grandparents and non relatives value the labor of the child more highly than does siblings and other relatives who employ children. Survey data also shows that remuneration of working children who live with their employers and help with their

domestic work and herding is higher than that of working children who don't live with their employers.



It was mentioned earlier that 74.7 percent of the employers surveyed pay children in a non-cash form. When paying in a non-cash form, the most popular form is payment by food items and clothes (79 and 75.8 percent respectively); whereas payment in the form of giving livestock or paying the tuition fees is the lowest (6.5 and 4.8 percent respectively). This is because payment in livestock or tuition fees is considered to be a relatively expensive form of indirect non-monetary payment.

Figure 6.7 shows the types of non-cash payments by locations.



Note: Total percent is more than 100 because of multiple responses.

Percentage of the employers who remunerate children by paying for their school items is 2.4 times higher in the urban than in the rural areas. This can be explained by the fact that most

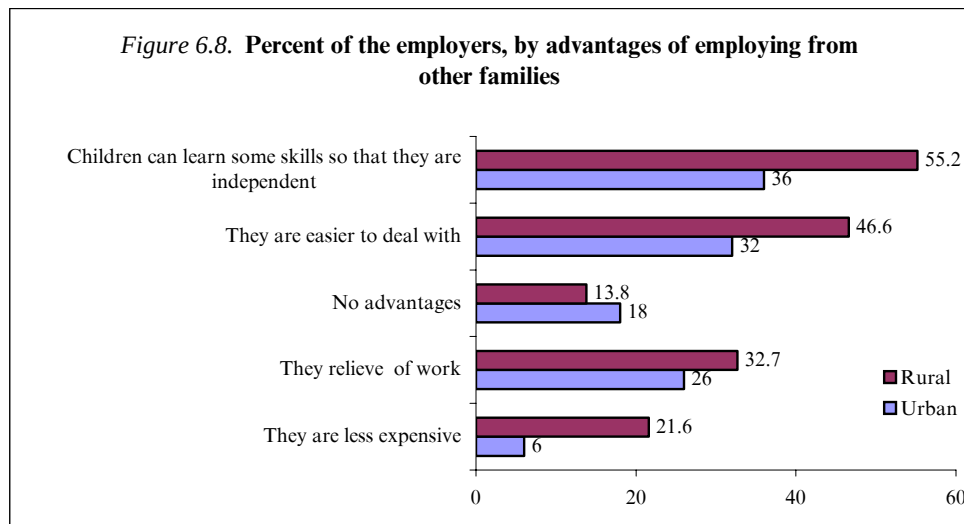
of the children herding livestock in the rural are either school drop-outs, or children that do not go to school.

In terms of timing and frequency of remuneration to children, over half of all employers (54.6 percent) pay within a month, and the rest pays the children in the periods over one month. Among employers, who pay the children in cash, 46.2 percent of them adhere to monthly payments. But the employers, who pay in non-cash for 45.2 percent of them pay every quarter. About 2 in every 3 (62.4 percent) of the employers, who employ grandchildren pay within a month. But over half percent (57.2 percent) of the employers, who provide work for other relatives pay over one month.

6.2.2 Valuation of the working children's issues

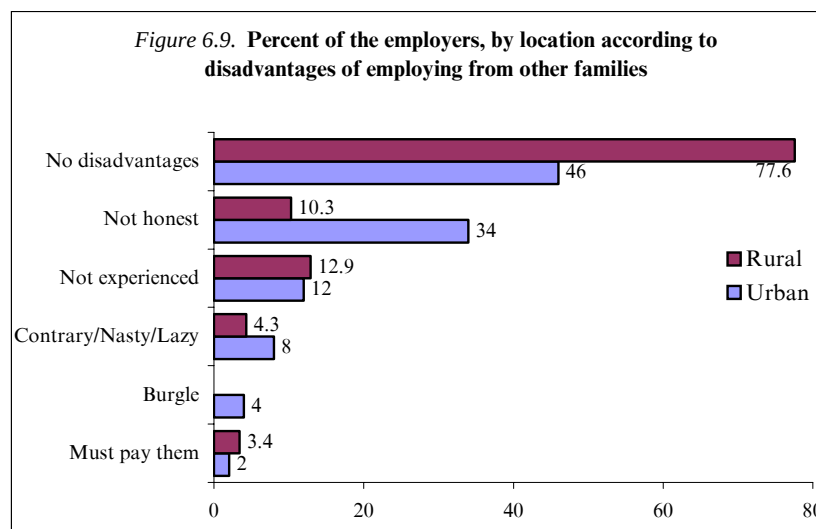
In order to better understand to what degree the employers might be concerned about the health issues of the children working in their households, the following question was included in the survey: "What measures do you take when a child working at your household gets sick?" The survey results show that 31.3 percent of all employers surveyed responded that children working at their households never got sick during the employment period. When a child, working at the employer's household got sick, 99.4 percent of the employers took some kind of measures. Among measures taken, the highest percentage goes to such measures as buying pills (30.1 percent), taking the child to a doctor (34.9 percent).

Employers identified the following advantages and disadvantages of having children from other families helping out in their daily activities (Figures 6.8 and 6.9)



Note: Total percent is more than 100 because of multiple responses

Figure 6.8 shows the responses of employers by urban and rural. It can be seen that 55.2 percent of rural employers responded that the advantage of employing children from other families was for children to learn life skills and become independent. An average of 37.4 percent of all employers responded that one of the important advantages of employing children was that they were more obedient than adults.



Note: Total percent is more than 100 because of multiple responses

An average of 68.1 percent of employers surveyed, responded there were no disadvantages of employing children from other families to have them helping out in their household activities. As Figure 6.9 shows more rural employers (77.6 percent) than urban employers (46 percent) responded that there were no disadvantages in employing children from other families. In terms of perceived disadvantages, urban employers responded that children from other families do not approach the job as if it is their own, and rural employers responded that the children lacked experience.

The awareness level of employers on issues of child labor was evaluated based on their awareness of legal age when children are allowed to enter labor force. According to the Mongolian labour law it is legal for children aged 16 and over to enter the labor force. Table 6.8 illustrates the level of awareness on the part of the employers in terms of legal age of entry into workforce.

On average, 31.9 percent of all employers surveyed, correctly identified the legal age of entry by the children into the workforce as 16 years. What is disquieting is that four out of ten employers responded inaccurately in terms of the legal age of entry into workforce and the remaining ¼ of the employers responded that they did not know what age children are allowed to start working in Mongolia. The survey data thus confirms the prevailing lack of awareness amongst employers' in terms of their knowledge of child labor issues.

Table 6.8. Percentage distribution of the employers, in terms of their awareness of the legal age of children to start working according to selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	Definition of the legal age of children to start working			Total	Number of employers
	Correct	Incorrect	Don't know		
Age of the employer					
Less than 34	37.8	32.5	29.7	100.0	37
35-44	25.0	57.1	17.9	100.0	28
45-54	44.0	32.0	24.0	100.0	25
55-64	31.4	31.4	37.2	100.0	35
65 and over	24.4	43.9	31.7	100.0	41
Sex of the employer					
Male	24.2	45.5	30.3	100.0	66
Female	37.0	35.0	28.0	100.0	100
Education					
Uneducated/Primary	19.0	37.9	43.1	100.0	58
Uncompleted secondary	34.1	40.9	25.0	100.0	44
Secondary	37.5	45.8	16.7	100.0	24
Special vocational/Diploma	38.4	30.8	30.8	100.0	26
Higher	57.1	42.9	-	100.0	14
Location					
Urban	42.0	34.0	24.0	100.0	50
Rural	27.6	41.4	31.0	100.0	116
Total	31.9	39.2	28.9	100.0	166

In terms of the link between awareness of legal age of entry into workforce and age, sex and location of employers, 44 percent of employers aged 45-54 correctly identified the legal age of children to start working, which is much higher than that of other age groups, especially people of 65 and older. Legal knowledge of women employers is higher compared to men employers, and of urban employers compared to rural employers. Survey results also show that higher the employers' education level, higher their awareness level regarding legal age of entry into workforce by children.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The “Baseline survey of child domestic workers” reveals the incidence, distribution, profile, and working conditions, faced by child domestic workers and children herding livestock for other families. It also examines positions and attitudes of parents and employers on child labor issues.

The following key findings and recommendations have resulted from the survey:

1. The research conducted in 2001²⁰ revealed that 20 percent of all the children are herding livestock in non relative HHs. However, this most recent survey conducted in 2004 found that 30 percent are working in non relative HHs, which demonstrates that the percentage of children doing remunerated work for unrelated people has increased. There has been no decrease in the percentage of households living below the poverty line in the past few years, and if the current poverty level persists, the tendency for children to work for other households for money will increase.
2. The Baseline survey data confirmed that children who are herding livestock spend substantial time doing domestic work, and this is of concern as it can be considered that these children are doing double work. There is scope and need to research further the *non-economic activities* of the children as in the Mongolian context, although rural parents consider herding as a traditional activity, in contemporary Mongolia this is misleading as the children are denied of essential education and therefore essential economic opportunities to improve their future.
3. The conditions of children aged 6-11 that are doing domestic work are of the most interest compared to other age group children. Young children should be under the care and protection of their parents. It is more likely for these children to be under the control of their employers when working, or living and working for other households. It has been found that most often children of this age are not always aware of their right to go to school; are often required by their parents to work, and they get exhausted due to their workload, get sick, do not take in enough food and nutrients, receive the lowest pay, and do not have warm clothes. It can be concluded that the intolerable conditions of labour exist for child domestic workers of this age group. As the Labour Law and legislations forbid children of young age to take up remunerated employment, this issue should be considered within the framework of its implementation and monitoring. It is necessary to focus on preventing and withdrawing young children from child labour, and this can be coordinated with the efforts and activities of local governments aimed at mandatory enrolment of children in schools.
4. The survey findings also reveal that child domestic workers often encounter challenges such as being verbally and physically abused by the head or master of the household, and getting exhausted due to work. Girls are especially exposed to risks such as sexual abuse, as the men pressurize them and try to make unwanted contacts when drunk.

²⁰ The status and working conditions of children herding livestock for other households, 2001, Social development center (The aimags Uburkhangaigai and Khovd have been covered)

5. One half of the child domestic servants in the city, and 30 percent of the child domestic workers in rural areas work for their grandparents and older siblings. However, most of those aged 15-17, both in urban and rural areas work for households other than their close relatives’.

Convention No.138 of the International Labour Organization on the Lowest Age Limit states that the lowest limit does not apply for those children working for their own households. Mongolian Family Law states that the term "family" implies members of a family established by marriage, bound by the property and other rights and duties, and who live together; "family members" are the married couple, plus their own born, step and adopted children, and other relatives living with them. It can be inferred from here that the relatives who live separately cannot be considered family members. In this sense, children working for their siblings, grandparents and other relatives can be seen as working for households other than their own. Nevertheless, those children helping their siblings, and grandparents, such as for example herding their own animals under the care of their siblings at the countryside cannot be considered as entering labour relations, and their siblings and grandparents cannot be considered employers because it contradicts the popularly accepted customs and traditional practices.

However, if children are working when they should be studying at school, both international and domestic legislations state that irrespective of the place, such work should be considered as an infringement of children’s rights, and that their right to study should be exercised. The study on the fulfillment status of the right to study for compulsory basic education that 80 percent of the children work for their siblings and grandparents in the city while, 50 percent of the children work for their siblings and grandparents in the rural go to school. Thus, the issue of children not being able to go to school in order to help their siblings and grandparents, especially prevalent at the countryside should necessarily be addressed within the framework to eliminate child labour. Consequently, future research on the issues of child domestic servants should also include the children working for their siblings and grandparents.

6. Those people employing children from other households for domestic service and herding livestock, excluding the children’s own siblings and grandparents should be considered as employers. It is recommended that the employers be prescribed specific duties and responsibilities such as not employing young children, to make contracts, to remunerate the children on the basis of the work done in compliance with the relevant legislations, to recognize the child’s right to acquire an education, to safeguard their health, and to protect them from physical and sexual abuse.
7. Most children, especially adolescents are interested in continuing their domestic service and herding livestock in the future. Although research has not yet been conducted on adults working as domestic servants and livestock herders for wage, the increasing tendency to take up such types of paid work should be put under surveillance to ensure the enforcement of labour law and legislations. These should include:
 - a. Refinement of the legal environment for entering into labour relations in connection with taking up paid domestic service, for making contracts and assuming rights and duties;

- b. The demands and supply of domestic service and livestock herding should be included within the framework of labour procurement services. That would improve the control aimed at eliminating paid domestic service by young children, excepting those helping their siblings and grandparents with housework;
 - c. Child domestic workers should be registered, the social workers in the relevant khoroo and soum should pay more attention to these children and the employers' duty of ensuring children's rights should be better supervised;
 - d. Furthermore, the involvement of NGOs in monitoring the fulfillment of the rights of children working as domestic workers should be increased, and initiatives in this respect should be encouraged and supported;
 - e. Trainings on children's rights and the relevant legislations should be conducted for children, parents and employers;
 - f. The initiatives aimed at improving the monitoring of the child domestic workers's situation by the public or the local community, the neighbours and children themselves should be encouraged and supported;
8. The school enrolment of child domestic workers of 7-15 years of age, especially for those in the countryside is very low compared to the national average, and the percentage of illiterate children is particularly high in rural areas. One half of the migrant children do not enroll in schools. The right to basic education of child domestic workers is not being fulfilled. Hence, it is necessary for soum and district educational institutions to expand the scope of its re-training measures for out-of-school children, to direct attention towards including child labourers in it, to determine the out-of-school children in collaboration with the social workers of soums and khoros and provide them re-training, and to improve the work coordination between the officers in charge of non-formal education and social workers.
 9. The government regulations on providing allowances for poor families that have 3 or more children has a provision on preventing children from taking up the intolerable forms of labour. The requirements to detach from domestic service the school drop-outs, children working for households other than their siblings' and grandparents', and to enroll them in schools need to be established and implemented.
 10. One in ten child domestic workers, irrespective of his/her working in the city or countryside, does not have identity documentation, and their social insurance coverage rate decreases as their age increases. As identity documentation are important prerequisites for receiving social services, the soum and district administration should check the completeness of the identity papers of working children and of children in other difficult situations. Further, they should not only take measures for providing them with the relevant documentation in collaboration with their parents, but also extend the support and assistance necessary for the children and their parents.
 11. It is essential to conduct advocacy activities aimed at raising public awareness of the issues surrounding child domestic workers and herders, and to improve the public's knowledge of the legal aspects concerning this hidden form of child labour.

