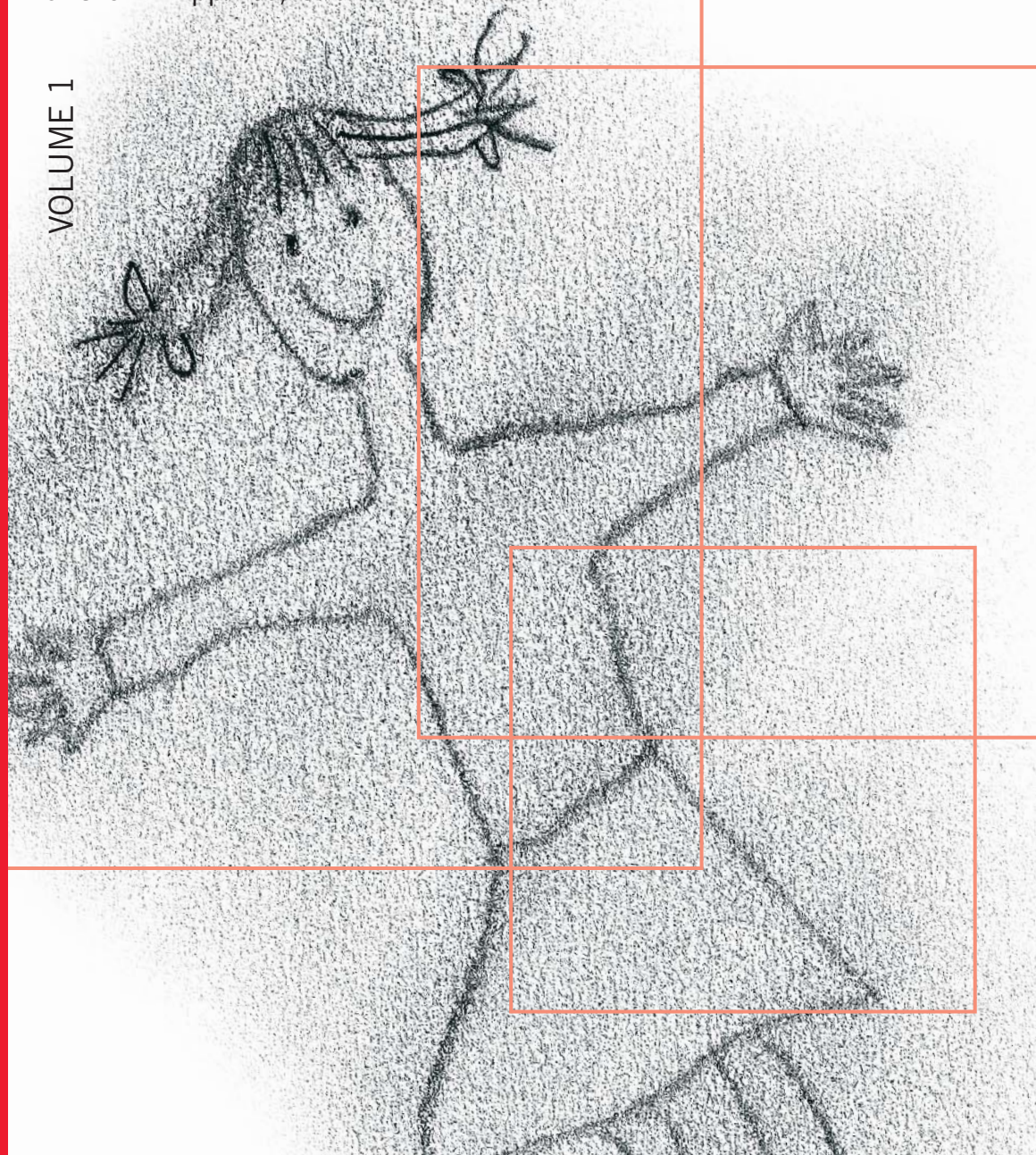
Girl Child Labour in Agriculture, Domestic Work and Sexual Exploitation

Rapid assessments on the cases of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador

VOLUME 1



International Labour Office

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Volume Nº 1	**Girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: rapid assessments on the cases of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador**
Volume Nº 2	A comparative analysis: girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: the cases of Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines
Volume Nº 3	Global child labour data review: a gender perspective
Volume Nº 4	A selected annotated bibliography on girl child labour: a gender perspective

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Girl child labour studies volume Nº 1

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Foreword

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

Glimpses of the number of working girl children in agriculture, domestic work and the personal services sector can be discerned from quantitative and qualitative statistics. The statistical figures, however, can only be useful to the extent of raising awareness on the degree of participation of girls in the world of work and in the preparation of concrete programmes and policies targeted therein. Disaggregating the numbers according to sex and dissecting them across industry and geographic locations can be used as means to pinpoint the general concentration of girls, and the differences in tasks, working hours and occupations *vis-à-vis* boys. The need for studies focusing on the girl child stemmed from calls from all ILO-IPEC's stakeholders, and the particular mandate given by Convention Nº 182 on the worst forms of child labour. In formulating policies and programmes to address the special needs of the working girl child, constant updating of information is required. In sectors where the girls are in workplaces that are not easily visible, as for instance in domestic work, employment agreements are generally casual and informal, making the girls isolated, invisible, separated from their families and difficult to reach.

These reports, containing three Rapid Assessment Studies on girl-child labour in commercial agriculture, domestic service and commercial sexual exploitation in the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador, were prepared by the Institute for Labour Studies and the Visayan Forum Foundation in Manila, Castelnuovo and Associates in Quito, and W.A.A.F and Research International in Accra, in collaboration with the International Labour Organization. This was undertaken as part of the technical cooperation programme on improving data collection, analysis and dissemination of information and research on child labour, especially in its worst forms.

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

- to assess the local magnitude of girl children in the three target sectors;
- to describe the work processes, conditions and arrangements involved in the sectors;

- to identify policies, programmes or initiatives that address the concerns of working girl-children; and
- to recommend directions toward the formulation of appropriate policies and programmes.

In the process of undertaking the assessment studies, several outputs were produced. These include modular questionnaires for parents and children for the three target sectors, inputs for an annotated bibliography, and country background information and literature review[1]. This work is the **first volume** of a series of girl child studies which include **a comparative analysis of all the rapid assessments** undertaken in three countries in the fields of CDW, CSEC and agriculture, a data review of existing child labour data from a gender perspective (mainly SIMPOC, LSMS, and MICS), as well as **an annotated bibliography** on girl child labour from a gender perspective.

This volume examines **girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation through rapid assessments in the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador.** The economic and social background of each country is fully documented, with descriptions of the infrastructure and legal framework relevant to each sector of work. The results of interviews with the children involved, and with parents and employers where applicable, are analysed in detail. This volume ends with closely reasoned conclusions and recommendations which may, with obvious reservations, be extrapolated to comparable situations in other countries of the world.

The Rapid Assessment Methodology[2]

The International Labour Organization (ILO), through the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), has made a major commitment to the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In what has been considered to be one of the greatest successes of IPEC, the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182), together with Recommendation 190, was unanimously adopted by the ILO Conference in June 1999. To date, 132 countries, including the Philippines, have already ratified the Convention.

The mandate of Convention No. 182 is clear. It requires ratifying countries to "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency." Recommendation 190 states that "detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency."

Rapid Assessments are uniquely suited to meet these objectives. Balancing statistical precision with qualitative analysis, rapid assessments provide policy makers with insights into the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the worst forms of child labour quickly and cheaply. These insights can then be used

[1] Modified and finalized from the template Interview Guide developed and provided by ILO.

[2] www.ilo.org/child labour

to determine strategic objectives for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in each country or region, to design and target policy packages, and to implement, monitor and evaluate those programmes.

Alice Ouédraogo
Director for Policy Development and Advocacy
IPEC

Abbreviations

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

Executive summary

Agriculture

In 2002, three Rapid Assessments (RA) on child labour in agriculture took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. This report presents a comparative analysis of these findings. A large sample of children was interviewed in Ghana, of whom over 72 per cent were girls engaged in agriculture. In the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) of the Philippines, over 60 per cent of the sample were also girls engaged in agriculture. However, the sample size from the region studied in Manabí, Ecuador, was very small and the majority were boys. Due to the small numbers of girls in agriculture in that region, and to the difficulty of reaching them, the researchers also contacted girl child domestic workers to obtain information on the latter.

Quite different situations of child labour in agriculture were presented in each of the RA reports, with child labourers from Ghana migrating and working mainly on plantations, the respondents from the Philippines chiefly working on small neighbouring farms or family farms, and the respondents from Ecuador primarily toiling on lands belonging to large landowners. Across the regions in each country there was often a disparity between the working conditions of the children in one area in comparison to another. The more poverty-stricken the target area, the poorer the working conditions of the child labourers. This was particularly striking in two regions of the CAR in the Philippines and also across some regions of Ghana. In order to improve the conditions for child labour in agriculture, an improvement to the overall economic situation of the agricultural areas should be a foremost concern.

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

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

the land for planting. On the whole, a higher percentage of child respondents from the regions assessed in Ghana have never been to school. Nearly all of the child respondents who have dropped out of school in both Ecuador and the Philippines stated that they would like to complete their education.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Domestic Work

Between mid-2002 and early 2003 three Rapid Assessments (RA) on **girl child domestic work** took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. The neglect of the issue of child domestic work (CDW) as a labour issue arises from the long-standing non-acceptance of the child domestic worker as a serious worker in all three countries studied. Girls in particular become formally and informally involved in domestic work and this is seen as a natural extension of preparation for motherhood. Girls are frequently sent to work or live with relatives or acquaintances. The practice of sending a daughter to the household of another person to work with the hope that they may be given a better start in life or access to schooling is very common in the communities studied. Fewer girl respondents lived with their employers in Ecuador than the respondents from the other two countries. Girls are also sent into domestic service in order to contribute to the family income back home. For instance in Ecuador, about 70 per cent of the wages earned as a CDW contribute to the household income, either directly or because they represent a savings in other expenses. Formalized recruitment procedures exist in the Philippine and Ecuador, although they were not mentioned by the researchers from Ghana. In all three countries, the CDWs were between the ages of 9 and 18 years. The sample size of respondents in the Philippines was older than the other two countries. The youngest respondents came from Ecuador. All the RAs also included the opinions of older domestic workers or former domestic workers who had begun such work while young.

In all regions of the three countries studied, economic reasons such as the desire to supplement the family income were key factors for girls to begin work as domestic workers. Nearly all of the CDWs come from very low-income families. Some are using money to pay for their education. In the regions assessed in the Philippines, parental expectations are a driving force influencing girls to start work. Likewise, in Ecuador a third of the respondents said they were influenced by their parents to begin work, and only a fifth decided themselves. Again in Ghana, mothers or female relatives had strong influences on the girl respondents taking up CDW. In all cases, recruitment is aided by contacts such as brothers, sisters, cousins, town-mates or relatives who have already migrated to the city. Regardless of how girls end up as domestic workers, allowing children to migrate to work in the domestic sphere, or to spend long hours in another person's house each day, leaves the child completely under the control of the employer or relative, who does not necessarily serve the child's best interests.

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

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

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

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

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

The link between CDW and other worst forms of child labour was not explicitly outlined in any of the three reports, although it was mentioned that agents often promise domestic work but girls end up being sexually exploited in brothels. In general, the major types of potential hazards that girls face in domestic work include long working hours, heavy physical work, physical and mental abuse or humiliation, sexual abuse, poor living conditions, low or no wages, lack of educational opportunities and lack of emotional and social development[3].

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

The policy recommendations from both the Philippines and Ghana researchers call for a multi-stakeholder process for protecting CDWs. The recommendations from both Ecuador and the Philippines call for the current situation of girl now working as CDWs to be improved, although they recognize that changing attitudes is the answer in the long run. In the Philippines, an approach that encourages employers themselves to improve the working conditions of their employees is put forward. The recommendations from Ghana emphasize formalizing the recruitment process for CDWs. Changing attitudes at the community level is stressed in Ecuador and the Philippines. On the whole, it is strongly recommended that the myths associated with domestic work be dispelled and that the low status attached to such work be challenged.

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

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

Between mid-2002 and early 2003 three Rapid Assessments (RAs) on the girl child in prostitution took place in specific regions of the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. It is therefore important to highlight the qualitative nature of the research and the fact that it is not possible to draw generalizations for each of the three countries at large.

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

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

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

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

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

At least 70 per cent (or more) of the respondents across the three countries and regions do not attend school. When working, girls often fall below the average in school, and repeating a grade is not really an option, as they fear they will be

ridiculed at school. A very high percentage of girls, nearly two-thirds of respondents from the Philippines and Ghana, expressed an interest in going back to school. Yet a lack of interest in schooling by some girls coupled with the influence of friends often leads girls to become engaged in prostitution as a way to earn easy money.

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

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

The main situations that trigger child labour in prostitution in the three countries were found to be: poverty; dysfunctional families; the lure of city life; the lack of schooling; social obligations to make money to contribute to the family household; the influence of friends; social unrest and upheaval leading to economic hardship and migration; the value attributed to girls in society; the trafficking of children; and obviously the demand for young children for sex. Finally, as is mentioned in the preface, the current report is organized by country (and not by topic), since it contains the edited versions of the Rapid Assessments undertaken in the three countries. Therefore in each part of the publication the reader will find a section on domestic work, agriculture and sexual exploitation, following the results of the field research carried out in 2002 and early 2003 in the Philippines, Ghana and Ecuador. In Volume number 2 of the current child labour studies can be found a comparative analysis of the work done and the field research undertaken.

1

PART I

Girl child labour in domestic work, sexual exploitation and agriculture in the Philippines

SECTION A

Girl child labour in the Philippines

1

1. Background and context

Research efforts that seek to understand the phenomenon of child labour in the Philippines are not new. Attempts have been made not only to identify the cause of the child labour phenomenon but also to answer the question "why" some children become labourers. Results of these early researches led to a prevailing thinking that "poverty, previously thought as the sole cause of child labour, is merely symptomatic of larger societal problems – an effect rather than a cause". Thus, in looking at the social effect which is child labour, the perspective underlines that societal conditions (macro factors) and personal and household circumstances of the child (micro factors) need to be considered[4].

Comprising the macroscopic milieu of child labour in the Philippines are global conditions, national policies, economic and socio-cultural conditions. These factors are said to contribute to the probability that a Filipino child is likely to get involved in work.

Historico-cultural Roots

Work participation of children in pre-Hispanic colonial times can most likely be found in cases of children who inherit indebtedness or punishments of their parents. The bond of labour that was not fulfilled by erring parents was passed on to their children.

During the Hispanic Colonial Period, historical narratives attest to the existence of working children. Children worked in farms with their tenant families. When earnings from tillage were not sufficient, children were sent by their parents to work in the household of the landlords as servants. Often, the children served as pawns of parents who were compelled to further borrow from the landlords, or were never released from servitude because the food and clothing provided to the children were considered as additional debt of the tenants which needed to be paid.

Girls, in particular, were not spared from this kind of servitude as they were made to work by cleaning church premises or in friar lands by threshing rice. Abuses of girls working for friars became so widespread to the extent that the Spanish government issued an edict outlawing child labour in the church, as early as 1642.

Despite the prohibition of child labour in the Spanish Era, evidence showed that incidences of child labour and abuse continued in the American colonial period during the early half of the 20th Century. For example, the trafficking, sale, and slavery of tribal children to lowland settlers made by "dealers" who raided tribes for

[4] ILS, 1994, citing Rodgers and Standing, 1981.

children and later sold them as slaves became so notorious that legislation prohibiting slaveholding and slave hunting was passed[5].

In recent times, children can be found working in both rural and urban set-ups, either in fields, factories or streets. Typically, they come from households with low accumulation of skills, assets and other means of production. In simpler terms, they belong to families without stable sources of livelihood.

Economic forces and underdevelopment

The development of economy in the Philippines can primarily be described as that which follows the boom-bust cycle. The significant economic gains in the early 1970s were followed by a retrogressive situation characterized by capital flight, shutdowns, layoffs and worker displacements, exodus of skilled workers to foreign destinations and negative balance of payments in the national accounts. During this period, the internal economic climate was marked by corruption, militarization, insurgency and receding export gains. The situation was made worse by external factors during the period, which included increases in the price of oil, refusal of foreign creditors to lend to the Marcos government, trade policies of developed economies imposing high tariff rates which were prejudicial to Philippine exports, and tough competition from other industrializing countries in Asia.

In 1986, a people's uprising overthrew the Marcos regime, giving way to the Aquino administration. Major policy shifts were made by the administration, with efforts focused primarily on the privatization, liberalization and decentralization of services. Positive and significant impacts of these policy shifts peaked during the Ramos presidency, which reverberated into the economic front. By the mid-90s, the economic indicators had gained for the Philippines the title of a "tiger cub", an allusion to the label "tiger economies" of industrialized countries in Asia.

The economic growth, however, was again retarded by the shocks of the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the abnormal climatic conditions during the 1998 El Niño phenomenon. Together, the shocks contributed to a weakened currency and agricultural sector.

In all these developments, the potential of the rural economy in contributing to national development has not been fully realized. The slow implementation of land reform was instrumental in maintaining landless families which continued to hire out their labour, including that of their children, to big landowners. Economic development plans also failed to attract investments in areas outside large cities due to the inadequacy of accessibility infrastructure. Thus, the countryside remained underdeveloped, offering scant employment and basic services to the population. As a result, significant portions of the workforce, minors and adults alike, were pushed out of rural communities to seek gainful activities in urban growth areas.

Globalization of Capital and Labour

Structural adjustments in the face of global integration of economies have led to a change in investment practices and employment arrangements.

[5] *Ibid.*, citing Camagay, 1988.

An example is when a principal enterprise farms out production to most cost-efficient establishments that it can tap across open economies. As a result, production establishments in several open economies, the Philippines included, compete for prices, making their systems more flexible to cutting down on costs. Production units for example, trim their production through subcontracting, hence hiring workers in arrangements highly contingent on production needs and where conditions of work become less compliant with standards since production can be based at home.

Subcontracting arrangements, especially those based at home, can very well serve as a venue for children to work. In the company of their family and having easy access to economic activities, they are predisposed to work either after school hours, on a piece-rate basis, on daily basis or full time. Clearly, children's pay rates are cheaper than adults', thus providing a further "competitive edge" for a low-capital formation economy such as the Philippines in the global market. Industries such as garments, furniture, footwear and handicrafts are but some of the hosts to this kind of work arrangement.

Other Factors

Other macro factors, which are elsewhere discussed in this Assessment, are pointed out as conditioning factors in the formation of environments that lead children towards undertaking jobs. Some of these are the composition of the population as a whole; the characteristics of the labour market; and policies, institutions and programmes in the delivery of basic services.

Meanwhile, at the microscopic level, the immediate environment of the child also leads him or her to work. The *family's resources*, for one thing, put pressure on the child to seek income, no matter how meagre, to be able to contribute to the survival of the family. When members of the family or the community are engaged in a kind of work that is accessible, the children may also learn the ropes and eventually participate as workers through *socialization*. The families introduce children into work, while *work opportunities in the community* facilitate their absorption into the labour market.

In some instances, the socialization process not only prepares the child to perform heavy work, but family expectations also lead children to form the view that they are expected to contribute to the family coffers. Work values imparted by older members of the family, plus situations where children are directed to work rather than study or play, make children internalize that everyone must pitch in to the family income.

Peer influence can also be a deciding factor for the child to work. Non-working children imbibe the work routines that they see from working siblings or playmates as they play or tag along with them. Seeing little distinction between work and play, chances are high that these children will take on the same work.

Educational aspirations form another factor that can play a part in pushing children towards work. Work is widely "perceived as a means to move up in the social ladder because it can help educate them for future jobs". Some children work in order to support their studies. Others stop attending schooling in order to work full time, with the intention of saving up for schooling needs for the next term or so[6].

[6] Op. cit., pp.8 to 13 and 14 to 22.

General Statistics[7]

Table 1: Children Aged 5 to 17 Years in the Philippines

Total Philippines	10,513,000	Male (% Distribution)	Female (% Distribution)
NCR	2,536,000	50.8	49.2
CAR	422,000	50.4	49.6
Region 1	1,300,000	52.1	47.9
Region 2	928,000	50.7	49.3
Region 3	2,295,000	52.8	47.2
Region 4	3,000,000	51.0	49.0
Region 5	1,700,000	50.9	49.1
Region 6	2,154,000	51.7	48.3
Region 7	1,600,000	54.6	48.4
Region 8	1,231,000	52.2	47.8
Region 9	921,000	51.9	48.1
Region 10	834,000	52.0	48.0
Region 11	1,400,000	50.7	49.3
Region 12	734,000	52.6	47.4
CARAGA	702,000	52.3	47.7
ARMM	649,000	49.8	50.2

Table 2: Working Children in the Philippines

Total Philippines	3,577,363	Male (%) 65.12%	Female (%) 34.88%
NCR	118,000	42.4	57.6
CAR	86,000	57.8	42.2
Region 1	253,000	65.5	34.5
Region 2	232,000	63.4	36.6
Region 3	266,000	66.2	33.8
Region 4	448,000	62.7	37.3
Region 5	292,000	67.8	32.2
Region 6	422,000	61.8	38.2
Region 7	203,000	66.6	33.4
Region 8	219,000	72.6	27.4
Region 9	188,000	66.7	33.3
Region 10	111,000	72.6	27.4
Region 11	314,000	64.0	36.0
Region 12	177,000	69.5	30.5
CARAGA	162,000	66.7	33.3
ARMM	86,000	79.7	20.3

[7] Unless specified, the data source of figures is the 1995 NSO-ILO Survey of Working Children.

Table 3: Children in Agriculture and Services, 1995

Occupation	Age Group			
	All Ages	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 17
Total Philippines	3,577,363	215,000	1,600,000	1,762,000
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry & Forestry Workers, Fishermen	2,682,750	173,720	1,286,400	1,222,828
Service Workers	339,815	7,310	100,800	230,822

Table 4: Children in Agriculture and Services who Live Away from Home, 1999 by Age Group[8]

Occupation	Age Group		
	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 17
(All Industries = 1,188,000)	–	–	–
Agriculture (Total = 151,000)	19,000	46,000	86,000
Services (Total = 814,000)	164,000	317,000	333,000

Table 5: Children in Agriculture and Services who Live Away from Home, 1999 by Sex[9]

Occupation	Sex	
	Male	Female
Agriculture	81,000	70,000
Services	337,000	477,000

[8] From the UNICEF MICS Survey on Women and Children, 1999.

[9] Ibid.

a) Farming

Table 6: Regional Figures, 1995

Total Philippines	**2,056,983**	**Male (%) 72.75%**	**Female (%) 27.25%**
NCR	354	100.0	0
CAR	63,812	57.4	42.6
Region 1	179,124	69.8	30.2
Region 2	190,704	66.2	33.8
Region 3	112,784	81.4	17.7
Region 4	208,320	77.2	22.8
Region 5	163,228	77.0	23.0
Region 6	248,136	65.2	34.8
Region 7	116,928	73.5	26.5
Region 8	113,004	77.5	22.5
Region 9	120,320	70.0	30.0
Region 10	132,756	81.0	19.0
Region 11	210,028	75.5	24.5
Region 12	138,945	71.9	28.1
CARAGA	89,000	74.3	25.7
ARMM	57,964	82.2	17.8

Table 7: *Incidences*[10]

Region	**Localities**	**Plantation Type**	**Documented Incidences Child Workers**
Cordillera Administrative Region	Mountain Province	Upland Agriculture	2,380
	Benguet	-do-	7,619
	Apayao	-do-	3,826
	Kalinga	-do-	3,826
Region 5	Sorsogon	(not specified)	785
Region 8	Northern Samar	(not specified)	3,158
	Eastern Samar	(not specified)	2,203
	Sta. Fe and Ormoc, Leyter[11]	Sugarcane and Rice Plantations	50 (Male: 33 and Female: 17)
Region 10	Bukidnon	Fruit and Sugarcane	1,968
Region 11	Compostela Valley	Banana	20
Region 12	Aleosan, North Cotabato	(not specified)	509
	SNA, Sultan Kudarat	(not specified)	451
	Isulan, Sultan Kudarat	(not specified)	189
	Magpet, North Cotabato	(not specified)	96

[10] Unless indicated otherwise, data are culled from DOLE-BWYW Regional Mapping Document 1.4.8, 1996. While Regional statistics are agricultural sector-dominated, it should be noted that the numbers of children in agriculture are lumped with other occupations (handicrafts, vending, etc.) in their respective localities.

[11] From de Vries et al., ILS, 2001.

b) Domestic Work

Table 8: Regional Figures, 1995

Total Philippines	268,302	Male (%) 27.28%	Female (%) 72.72%
NCR	31,270	17.9	82.1
CAR	5,160	35.7	64.3
Region 1	11,891	28.4	71.6
Region 2	8,584	19.3	80.7
Region 3	19,950	40.0	60.0
Region 4	39,424	32.7	67.3
Region 5	18,396	22.2	77.8
Region 6	37,980	23.2	76.8
Region 7	14,616	40.0	60.0
Region 8	20,148	22.4	77.6
Region 9	12,220	15.8	84.2
Region 10	18,204	39.8	60.2
Region 11	23,660	24.9	75.1
Region 12	5,841	43.1	56.9
CARAGA	14,000	31.3	68.7
ARMM	516	0	100.0

Table 9: Estimates by Locality[12]

Locality/Region	Estimate Count of Child Domestic Workers
Manila (NCR)	(Well-cited destination, but no estimate placed)
Batangas City (Region 4)	20,000
Bacolod City (Region 6)	15,000
Cebu City (Region 7)	(Well-cited destination, but no estimate placed)
Davao City (Region 11)	30,000

A more comprehensive data review of the three countries may be found in Volume 3 of the current series on girl child studies done by Ms Tetyana Kolomiyets; it is also attached as an annex to the Comparative Analysis of all the Rapid Assessments (Volume 2 of the current publication).

[12] Pacis, ILO-IPEC-TBP Cursory Assessment Report, Child Domestic Workers, 2001.

c) Commercial Sexual Exploitation

National Estimate

In 1998, the Department of Social Welfare and Development and UNICEF, made a national estimate by quoting a series of different estimates, from sources as varied as hygiene clinics and NGOs, of the number of child victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the country.

A figure of 40,000 prostituted children in the Philippines in 1992 was attributed to ECPAT, rising to between 60,000 and 100,000 in 1997. The Department of Social Welfare and Development also quotes the ECPAT figures, so presumably there is no major disagreement on the part of this government department.

A 1997 University of the Philippines study also quotes a figure of 100,000 for 1997, 5,000 of these prostituted children being in Metro Manila. The same report estimated that 3,266 children between seven and 15 years of age entered the sex trade each year – clearly an extrapolated figure, since it is unusually unrounded. These figures, in fact:

> *«…were drawn primarily from the approximate number of street children all over the country. Figures were largely derived from records of centres or institutions catering to this group of children. This must be considered with caution since there was high probability of double or triple counting, as street children tended to go from one centre to another for services.»*

A further extrapolated figure is derived from local studies of prostitution in general: in 1993 this placed the number of prostituted people (not disaggregated) as between 400,000 and 500,000. Since a number of different sources give the proportion of minors in prostitution as 18 per cent of the total, on this basis the number of under-18s in prostitution would be between 72,000 and 90,000.

In short, all the figures quoted are in the same general range, and 100,000 does not seem an exaggerated figure. Nevertheless this example clearly illustrates the many different approaches taken to the gathering of statistics and the caution that is necessary when data are quoted[13].

[13] "Facts and Figures:…," Briefing Note for the 2nd World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, www.focalpointngo.org/ngonews/facts_and_figures

Table 10: Commercial Sexual Exploitation: Incidences, by Locality[14]

Region	Cities/Localities	Observed/Documented Cases of Children in Commercial Sexual Exploitation
National Capital Region	Manila, Caloocan, Quezon, Pasig and Parañaque Cities	340
Region 1	La Union, Baguio City	35
Region 3	Pampanga (Angeles City and San Fernando), Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Zambales (Olongapo City)	69
	Pampanga[15]	13 (2 male; 11 female)
Region 4	Batangas, Laguna, Palawan, Romblon	44
Region 5[16]	Camarines Sur, Albay, Masbate	4,612
Region 6[17]	Bacolod City	10 (1 male; 9 female)
Region 7	Cebu, Lapu-lapu, and Mandaue Cities	135
	Cebu City[18]	13 (all female)
Region 11	Davao City, Cagayan de Oro, General Santos Cities	200
	Davao City[19]	7 (1 male; 6 female)

[14] Unless otherwise indicated, figures cited are from Van Gestel et al. ILO-IPEC-TBP Cursory Assessment Report, Children in Prostitution, 2001.

[15] NUWHRAIN-APL-IUF-ILO, 2001. Children work either as guest relations officers, dancers or sex workers. Other child worker cases in Pampanga's entertainment industry such as waiters and bartenders were not included in this count.

[16] Op. cit., DOLE-BWYW 1996. Note also that the number of child-commercial sexual workers are lumped with other occupations in their respective localities.

[17] NUWHRAIN-APL-IUF-ILO, 2001. Waiters, dishwashers, errand boys were not included in this count.

[18] Ibid.

[19] ibid.

Table 11: Distribution of Sexual Abuses Against Children by Region, 1999[20]

Offense	Total	NCR	CAR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	CARAGA	ARMM
Rape	2,329	240	86	99	102	234	220	197	201	166	148	64	90	212	222	43	5
Incest Rape	272	17	18	10	1	16	28	15	63	14	7	3	8	26	43	2	1
Attempted Rape	210	13	10	12	6	9	17	9	13	26	16	7	9	17	43	3	-
Acts of Lasciviousness	780	182	28	34	18	91	36	51	77	54	26	22	31	55	70	5	-
Prostitution	30	3	3	-	1	1	1	3	12	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1
	3,621	455	145	155	128	351	302	275	366	260	198	96	140	312	378	53	7

[20] Philippine Statistical Yearbook 2001, p.12-17.

2. Population and Human Capital

Demographic Structure

The Philippines has consistently maintained a huge portion of young people in its population. By linking this to trends in population growth, women's fertility rate, the share of surviving females up the age ladder, and where people tend to settle, one could broadly surmise the supply and quality of the country's labour market. Vis-à-vis trends in family planning and contraceptive use, little change is expected over the next several years to the general demographic landscape of the country and, consequently, to the composition of its labour force.

Total Population. As of May 2000, the Philippines had a population of 76,498,735 individuals, equivalent to an 11.5 per cent (7.88 million) increase over the total population figure of 68,616,536 in 1995.

These figures reflect an annual population growth of 2.36 per cent over the last five years (1995 to 2000), higher than the population growth rate during the first half of the nineties (1990 to 1994), which was 2.32 per cent, and for the entire eighties (1980 to 1989), which was 2.35 per cent[21].

Using the most recent population growth rate (2.36%), the population for 2001 can be placed at around 78,304,105 individuals.

Total Fertility Rate

The latest total fertility rate was registered at 0.7. This means that Filipino women within the age range of 15 to 49 years old would probably have about 3 to 4 children before the end of their reproductive years[22]. This is a continuation of the steady decline in the country's total fertility rates across time, from the 6.0 rate in the 1968 to 1972 period, to a 5.1 rate in 1978 to 1982 and to a 4.1 rate in 1990 to 1992. Age-specific fertility rates (per one thousand women who actually gave birth) meanwhile show that women aged 15 to 19 years old had fertility rates of 46. These ascended steeply in the older five-year age groups: 177 among 20 to 24 years; 210 among 30 to 34 years; declined to 156 among 30 to 34 years; 111 among 35 to 39 years; 40 among 40 to 44 years and 7 among 45 to 49 years old. As the number of children actually born are cumulatively plotted across women's age, it can be said that that on the average, from 1995 to 1997, Filipino women have given birth to almost two children in their late 20s, almost four children in their late 30s and almost five as they reach their 40s.

[21] NSO, 2000 Census of Population and Housing.

[22] DOH, 1998 National Demographics and Health Survey. The fertility rate is calculated from the pregnancy history data along with the mean number of children actually born, with a periodicity of three years (1995 to 1997) prior to the year of the survey.

Percentage of Working Minors.

Except in special circumstances, children under Philippine laws are defined as those individuals below 18 years of age. As of October 2001, there were about 24,850,943 children in the country, about 2.5 million (or 11 per cent) more than the total number of children five years earlier[23].

Of the 78,304,105 total population count in 2001, children make up about 31.74 per cent[24]. Generally, the Philippine population is made up of one child for every two Filipino adults. Filipino children's population is almost equally divided among 12,830,232 (or about 51.63 per cent) boys and 12,020,711(about 48.37 per cent) girls. Of these, a total of 4,017,886 are said to be working, 36.59 per cent (1,470,220) of them are girls and 63.41 per cent (2,547,666) are boys. The total number of working children is roughly equivalent to 16 per cent of the total population of children. For every three working children, one is a girl-child.

In a similar manner, where Filipino children tend to get involved in economic activities early in their lives, a significant number of senior citizens stay in employment beyond their supposed retirement years. Recent age-disaggregated data is unavailable, but previous census data place the total population of individuals aged 60 years and over at about 3,736,622, which is equivalent to about 5.44 per cent of the entire population.

As illustrated in Table 12, the Philippines has a broad-based population pyramid, with a tapering apex. There are slightly more baby and toddler boys than girls, and slightly more females in their teens and early 20s (15 to 24 years old). Between ages 25 and 29, a certain equilibrium between the sexes is achieved, followed by a slight outnumbering of men aged 30 to 49 years over women. At early middle-age, the population achieves a second state of near-equilibrium, with women gradually outliving the men towards their senior years.

The country has a very young population base, with almost half of the entire population accounted for by individuals aged 19 years and below. Those who are in their prime (20 to 49 years) have a share to the total population of about 40 per cent. The middle- aged consist of about 5.5 per cent of the population, while sexagenarians and senior citizens aged up to over 85 years old comprise the remaining almost 4 per cent of the population.

Concentration of population in some areas suggests movement into areas where there are possibilities for economic growth. In the highlights of the 2000 Census for example, the percentage distribution of population revealed that more than half (56.0 per cent) of the Philippine population reside in Luzon. The remainder is almost equally distributed between Mindanao (23.7 per cent) and Visayas islands (20.3 per cent).

The National Capital Region (NCR), seat of the country's political and economic capital, is the most populated region with 15,617 persons occupying a square kilometre of land, 61 times more dense than the national average of 255 persons per square kilometre. The other five most densely populated regions in the country are Central Luzon (Region 3) with a population density of 441; Central Visayas (Region 7) with 381; Ilocos (Region 1) with 327; Western Visayas (Region 6) with 307; and Bicol (Region 5) with 265 – all above the national average. In the NCR, the three

[23] NSO, 2001 Survey on Children.

[24] Based on an assumption that the 2000 population grew at a rate of 2.36 per cent in 2001. See discussion on "Total Population".

most dense cities in terms of inhabitants are Navotas with a density of 88,617 per square kilometre; Manila with 41,282 and Pasig City with 38,851. Among the provinces, Cavite and Rizal, home of industries, processing zones and employment opportunities, are the most densely populated, with 1,602 and 1,304 person per square kilometre density respectively.

Outside the NCR, the only highly urbanized city which surpasses the 1 million-count in terms of population is Davao City. The fastest-growing cities outside the NCR are Mandaue, General Santos and Zamboanga.

Contraceptive Prevalence Rate and Family Planning Efforts

Contraceptive use is a component of the array of family planning services being provided by the Department of Health (DOH). The contraceptive prevalence rate, or proportion of women aged 15 to 49 reporting current use of contraceptives, dropped to 47 per cent from the 49.3 per cent in 1999. This trend is a continuation of a downward decline from the 1995 rate of 50.7 per cent, the 1996 rate of a 48.1 per cent and the 1997 rate of 47.0 per cent[25]. The decline is primarily due to the decrease in couples practising traditional methods such as withdrawal, without any significant increase in the use of modern methods. More importantly, it must be noted that half of the total proportion of women remain non-users of any conceptive method. The public sector remains the dominant source of major contraceptive methods and supplies, with 3 out of every 5 women who use contraceptives using the services and supplies from government hospitals, rural health units and barangay health stations. But while the government continues to subsidize contraception efforts, access to family planning services appears to be lower among women from poor households than among women from non-poor households. Comparison of households with women who practise family planning showed that 5 out of 10 women in non-poor households use a family planning method as compared to only 4 out of 10 women in poor households[26].

3. Health

Life Expectancy

Spread over a 5-year period (1997 to 2001), the average projected life expectancy, or the longest possible time when one is expected to survive, is 71.28 years among Filipino females and 66.03 years among males. As illustrated in the population pyramid, women have the ability to live longer than their male counterparts, especially as they surpass their teens to the early twenties stage[27].

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[25] NSO-DOH, 2000 Family Planning Survey.

[26] Proxy indicators, such as the existence of home convenience apparatus (phone lines, electricity, vehicles, etc.) were used by the NSO and DOH in the 2000 Family Planning Survey to differentiate “poor” from “non-poor” respondents.

[27] NSCB 2001 Statistical Yearbook.

Infant Livebirths, Health, and Mortality Rate

In 1998, there were 1,632,859 total livebirths in the country. Except for the NCR which has the highest contribution to the count, Regions 4, 3, 7, 5 and 6 respectively were the top five regions with the most number of babies born[28].

In 2000, the Philippines had a high full immunization rate of infants aged 9 to 11 months, averaging 86.4 per cent. The delivery of this health service to the Western Visayas is needed, as it registered the lowest percentage of fully immunized infants, at 78 per cent. Vitamin A supplementation programmes for children from 9 to 59 months appear to be becoming almost universal in reach as the national figure exceeded target deliveries (101.2 per cent). But still further improvement in bringing this programme to children and infants must be given to the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), as it registered a relatively low implementation rate (80.9 per cent). Providing treatment to pneumonia contracted by children is high (93.9 per cent). However, efforts must be sustained and intensified as this, incidentally, remains one of the leading causes of child mortality.

Across the regions, there are indications that health services to children such as the administration of hepatitis B vaccines, particularly the third dose (national average of 6.27 per cent) and giving oral rehydration salts (national average of 24.1 per cent among diarrhoea cases) need further bolstering, as the numbers of reported recipients are noticeably low. The infant mortality rate meanwhile is at 17.3 per 1,000 livebirths, which is equivalent to 19,067 deaths. Respiratory conditions, pneumonia and congenital anomalies are the top three leading causes of infant death. Among children aged 0 to 14 years, pneumonia is the leading culprit in the top leading cause of deaths across sexes. In the 10 leading causes of death among children, boys had more share of mortality, except for dengue hemorrhagic fever, to which girls appear to be more vulnerable.

Adult Mortality

Based on preliminary reports, there were about 308,634 total deaths in 2000. More males than females have died, with the former registering a mortality share of 56.41 per cent. Western Visayas had an average death rate higher than the national average. The CAR on the other hand had deaths slightly lower than the national average.

A related report states that the leading cause of mortality among adults is diseases of the heart, among men and women alike, with a mortality rate of about 76.3 per 100,000 population. Following closely are diseases involving organs of the vascular system other than the heart, with a mortality rate of 56.6 for every 100,000 Filipinos. Other diseases to which most Filipinos succumb are pneumonia, malignant neoplasm, accidents, tuberculosis, chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases, diabetes mellitus, other respiratory diseases, and nephritis and its allied conditions.

[28] DOH, Field Health Service Information System, 2000 Mortality Report, retrieved from http://www.doh.gov.ph

Health Programmes for the Family and of Special Populations

As the National Objectives for Health[29] best puts it, the Filipino family is the basic unit of the Philippine society and the "demographic, social and economic changes have brought variations in family composition and structure. There are more challenges that create stressful situations affecting the family's ability to nurture and care, especially of the children." It observes that rapid urbanization and migration, high unemployment rates, continuing peace-and-order instability, natural disasters and overseas employment have contributed to family disorganization and instability. These changes lead to social consequences such as juvenile crimes, street children, substance abuse, prostitution and violence with children as victims.

As such, the report stressed the need for a wide range of programmes to help families discharge their economic and social functions and cope with pressures. In approaching the family, services have been patterned after the human life cycle – from the womb to becoming an old person. Several packages of services target specific age groups, which are seen to produce direct or indirect positive effects on the younger members of the population.

For the *mother and the unborn*, safe motherhood and reduced low birth weight are targeted, along with objectives of increased percentages of women having prenatal visits and initial breastfeeding. For *newborns and infants*, infant mortality is hopefully to be reduced, with objectives of increasing percentages of infants who are fully immunized, exclusively breastfed until six months, given proper complementary feeding and protected from neonatal tetanus, along with increased knowledge among parents and caregivers on common childhood illnesses. In *early childhood*, or the first 6 years of life, the reduction of child mortality is of prime concern. For children in *middle childhood*, or those who are 6 to 9 years old, the greatest need of children is development. Aside from continued school-based nutrition and education services for children, parents are being urged to increase their health care-seeking behaviours to answer their children's needs.

For the *adolescents and youth*, health objectives are set at reducing the mortality rate among adolescents, along with increasing their health care-seeking behaviour, reducing the proportion of teenage pregnancy, and increasing the knowledge and awareness levels on fertility, on sexuality and sexual health, and on accident and injury prevention.

The DOH has also set objectives for *children in need of special protection*, who include working children, sexually exploited and abused children, children in situations of armed conflict, children in conflict with the law, and the girl child, among others. To improve the health status of these children, DOH aims to reduce their morbidity and mortality rates. This is complemented by a risk-reduction objective which is projected to increase the awareness of families, communities and other health stakeholders to the needs of children belonging to these groups.

Health Expenditures

From 1991 to 1999, health expenditures grew at an average annual rate of 14.8 per cent at current prices. In the same period, the share of health expenditures in the Gross National Product (GNP) ranged from 2.86 to 3.43 per cent. However, an

[29] DOH, 1999-2004 National Objectives for Health.

examination of the actual amounts of expenditure, their sources (whether public, insurance or private) and how eventually they get spent, provides an indication that health programmes in the country can only go so far in terms of reach and depth.

In 1999, for example, the total health expenditure of 108.3 billion pesos translated to a less than 500 pesos per capita expenditure at constant price. This was shouldered by the government (37.91 per cent), social insurance institutions (4.86 per cent) and private sources (57.23 per cent). For that year, the patients themselves paid 46.26 per cent of the total medical bills spent in the country.

In the same year, for every peso spent for health expenditures, 76.33 centavos went to personal expenses (doctors' salaries), 12.30 centavos to the public (programmes) and 11.37 centavos to other expenses (administrative).

4. Education

Literacy Rate

Statistical sources in the Philippines differentiate simple and functional literacy, where *simple literacy* means the ability to read and write and understand a simple message in a given language or dialect, and where *functional literacy* stands for one's ability to compute and possession of numeracy skills in addition to his or her ability to read and write.

In 1994, out of the country's 48.0 million population of individuals aged 10 to 64 years old, about 4.6 million were simple literate, while 40.2 million persons were functionally literate. While the figures were significantly higher than the previous literacy survey, they still meant that one in every nine Filipinos who can read and write cannot compute or is deficient in number skills.[30] Urban dwellers were more functionally literate than the rural folks. High disparities between urban and rural functional literacy were very much pronounced in island-group or mountainous provinces where physical access to education posed difficulties, such as in Western Mindanao (Region 9, where there existed an 18.0 percentage point-difference between urban and rural areas, CAR, (with 12.1 percentage point-disparity) and Southern Mindanao (Region 11, with a 10.2 percentage point-disparity).

This can perhaps be related to the number of available schools offering educational instruction. Western Visayas consistently ranked sixth among regions in terms of the number of its schools where children can access education (elementary, secondary and tertiary). The CAR, meanwhile, consistently ranked fifteenth. Between the sexes, there were more functionally literate females than males, with a difference of about 1.7 percentage points. Except in Central Mindanao (Region 12), the NCR and Central Luzon (Region 3), females led over males in terms of numerical proficiency. Their lead was most observable in Bicol (Region 5) and Western Visayas (Region 6).

School Enrolment Rates

Over the past decade (SY 1990-91 to 2000-01), the participation rate of *elementary* school-age children in both public and private elementary schools averaged 91.40 per cent[31]. Roughly nine in every 10 children were able to go to school, with trends generally increasing in every succeeding year, except for the school year 2000-01 when a slight decrease of enrolment was observed[32].

At the regional level, the study sites covered in the Assessments ranked seventh (CAR) and eighth (Western Visayas or Region 7) among the country's 16 regions in terms of highest elementary school participation rates over the same period. During the same period, the average national cohort survival rate[33] in elementary schools

[30] NSO-DECS 1994 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey (FLEMMS).

[31] The participation rate is the ratio between the enrolment for the age group corresponding to the official school age at a certain level in a given year to the population of the official age group at that level.

[32] NSCB 2001 Philippine Statistical Yearbook.

[33] Cohort survival rate is the proportion of enrolees at the beginning grade or year level who reach the final grade or year level at the end of the required number of years of study. This is a proxy indicator of the holding capacity of schools to maintain their students.

was lower, at a rate of 68.11 per cent. This generally means that, of the nine children who were able to enrol together for the past ten years, two were either left behind or dropped out of school. Of the 16 regions, CAR ranked eighth in terms of survival rate at 64.85 per cent and Region 7 ranked ninth at 64.45 per cent.

Meanwhile, the average national participation rate in public and private *secondary* schools over the last ten years is 62.08 per cent. At this trend, of the seven children who complete elementary education, only six are able to enrol in high school. At the regional level, the probability of children furthering their elementary education toward high school in the areas covered by the Assessments appears to be better, since they registered rates above the national average. High schools in Western Visayas ranked fifth (66.01 per cent) while those in the CAR ranked sixth (65.55 per cent). Among those who were able to reach high school, the cohort survival rate was 73 per cent. To some degree, this is an indication of a relatively stronger capacity of secondary schools for keeping students in schools. This observation also holds true for the cohort survival rate of high schools in the Assessment's study areas, since high schools in CAR and Western Visayas had relatively higher survival rates than elementary schools.

Enrolment figures at *tertiary level*, from the academic years 1990-1991 to 2000-2001, meanwhile, show an increasing trend. The first half of the previous decade was characterized by slow increase, becoming more significant from academic years 1994-1995 to 2000-2001, with a raw average of about 2.1 million co-eds, representing an annual growth of 7 per cent. Most recent figures indicate that higher learning is accessed primarily through private higher education institutions (HEIs), with a share of 73.11 per cent. The remaining 26.89 per cent college students are enrolled in public HEIs. For the academic year 2000-2001, the most popular courses were business administration and related programmes; education and teacher training; engineering and technology; and mathematics and information technology[34].

Data from the Department of Education (formerly the Department of Education, Culture and Sports) indicate that girls have higher completion rates in both elementary and secondary schools. This is also consistent with the proportion of enrolment and completion rates among female students in higher education[35].

Costs of Attending School

One of the most important considerations on the issue of equal opportunity and access to education is cost. In the Philippines, tuition fees for public elementary and secondary schools are free. But aside from tuition fees, other expenses must be shelled out of the family coffers in order to send a child to school. A sociological study, containing illustrative cases on the cost of elementary education in the Philippines, showed that each child has to spend a minimum of about 4,100 pesos per academic year in a public elementary school. This is inclusive of school supplies, uniforms, school contributions, transport and bare subsistence allowances[36]. Costs become greater determinants as to whether or not children would continue school

[34] Retrieved from http://www.ched.gov.ph

[35] Retrieved from http://www.nscb.gov.ph/stats/wmfact.htm

[36] Porio et al., Ateneo de Manila University, 2002.

attendance as they reach collegiate age. One study observed that colleges and universities offering high quality education draw heavily from the most educated sectors of the society and that students' choices of tertiary schools are constrained by financial resources. Depending on the type of the institution (private or state-subsidized) or the correlated quality of instruction that it purports to extend, higher education in the Philippines can cost about 5,000 pesos to 100,000 pesos per year. Each academic unit can range from 8 pesos to 1,000 pesos. Other student fees cost about 1,000 to 45,000 pesos per year[37].

Gross Teacher-Pupil Ratio

Among elementary schools, the gross teacher-pupil ratio[38] averaged 1:34 in the academic years 1992-1993 to 1999-2000. Over the same period, the teacher-student ratio among secondary schools was slightly higher at 1:35[39]. Among tertiary schools, latest figures approximate faculty-student ratio to 1:28.

Number of Schools

Latest figures for learning institutions in the country show decreasing numbers as the level of education requirement ascends. Similarly, the proportion of public schools to the total number of schools decreases (and inversely, the share of private schools increases) as the educational ladder goes up. During the academic year 2000-2001, the total number of schools (public and private) offering elementary education was 40,284, secondary schools 7,509 and tertiary schools, 1,603. Averaging the figures across 16 administrative regions, there would be 2,508 elementary schools, 469 secondary schools and 100 tertiary schools per region.

Government Expenditure on Education

Budgetary appropriations for the Philippine educational system are being utilized by various government agencies. The three focal agencies implementing the country's educational policies are the Department of Education (DepEd) for basic (elementary and secondary) education, the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) for technical and vocational education, and the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) for collegiate and higher learning.

Over the past five years, there have been modest increases in the budgetary outlay for education. During the fiscal year 2001, the total budget for education amounted to around 109 billion pesos. Basic education utilized 91.04 per cent of the total budget for education, amounting to about 99 billion. Technical and vocational training had a 2.83 per cent share (about 3.08 billion) and higher education had a 1.65 per cent (1.79 billion) share.

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[37] Bernardo, PASCN, 2001.

[38] Gross teacher-pupil/student ratio is the proportion of the enrolment at a certain level of education in a given academic year to the number of authorized positions for teachers at the same level in the same school year.

[39] Retrieved from http://stednet.dost.gov.ph/surveys

5. Economy

Inflation, GNP and GDP

Based on a 1994 constant price, the average consumer price index for the year 2001 was 161.60, with cost of living about a peso cheaper in areas outside Metro Manila. The average inflation rate for the same year was 6.1 per cent. Again, areas outside the nation's capital experienced considerably lower inflation.

Despite the global economic slowdown and the worldwide impact of the terrorist attacks of September 2001, the Philippines showed considerable resiliency as the GNP managed to slightly grow by 3.7 per cent, though lower than the 4.5 growth rate posted in 2000. The GDP, meanwhile, grew at a slower pace of 3.4 per cent in 2001, dipping from a 4.0 per cent growth the previous year. In actual amounts, the per capita GDP averaged 31,100 pesos over the last decade[40].

Sectoral Performance

The services sector remains the major contributor to the growth, as it expanded by 4.3 per cent in 2001, decreasing slightly from a 4.4 per cent growth in 2000. Agriculture, meanwhile, registered a similar development as its 3.0 per cent growth in 2001 was a decline from a 3.3 per cent growth in 2000. The industry sector significantly felt the impact of global recession, as growth slowed down from 3.9 per cent in 2000 to 1.9 per cent in 2001.

Poverty, Income gap and Inequality

The country's annual per capita poverty threshold is 13,823 pesos, increasing by 22.1 per cent from the 1997 estimate of 11,319 pesos. All over the country, poverty threshold estimates increased, from 10.9 per cent to 26.9 per cent. The study sites were among the regions which registered large increases in poverty lines.

The number of families below the poverty line also grew from 31.8 per cent in 1997 to 33.7 per cent in 2000, increasing by 1.9 in percentage points. When poverty incidence is compared against population figures across time, incidence increased from 36.8 per cent in 1997 to 39.4 per cent in 2000. In absolute numbers, this is equivalent to about 5.1 million poor families. There were more incidences of falling below the poverty line in the rural areas than in the urban areas[41].

The income gap in the country averaged 31.8 per cent, which is a 0.2 percentage point higher than the percentage point in the 1997 estimate. This means that the income of those below the poverty threshold needs to be raised by as much as 31.8 per cent in order to go above the poverty line.

As in other countries, the distribution of income in the Philippines is more unequal than the distribution of consumption. This is due to the higher tendency

[40] From the economic account data and press releases of the National Statistical Coordination Board, posted at http://www.nscb.gov.ph

[41] NSO, "2000 Family Income and Expenditures Survey, Final Release," retrieved from http://www.census.gov.ph

among poor people to generally consume a greater proportion of their income than among rich people. Overall, the country has a Gini index of 46.2, where the value of 0 represents perfect equality and the value of 100 is perfect inequality[42].

Unemployment Rates

In July 2002, the unemployment rate was 11.2 per cent, increasing from the 10.1 figure in the second quarter of 2001. At 60.4 per cent, men had a greater share of the total unemployment than women. Members of the labour force who were 15 to 24 years of age had the biggest unemployment share of total unemployment at 48.1 per cent. On the whole, the current state of unemployment is a consequence of more people entering the labour market than those who are able to find jobs.

In terms of trends, employment has not experienced positive breakthroughs in the past decade or so. While the economy looked good in 2000 (around 4.0 per cent growth), employment shrank by 1.0 per cent, similar to what happened to the employment landscape in 1985 when the economy was at rock-bottom. Employment in agriculture continues to shed jobs, along with industries and services. From 7.4 per cent in 1990, the unemployment rate increased to 10.9 per cent in 2000.

The majority of the unemployed persons were male, and their percentage share of the total unemployment figure rose from 54.6 per cent in 1990 to 61.1 per cent in 2000. Trends also indicated that, in terms of educational attainment, about one-third (31.83 average per cent) of the unemployed had a college education while one-fourth (23.43 average per cent) had only primary school. Most of them are in the urban areas and about half are in the 15 – 24 age bracket.

While the male-female unemployment rate has narrowed through the years, the unemployment rate for women was higher than for men, with more younger women becoming more active in the workforce. There were also more working women who had tertiary education than those who had fewer years of schooling; and more can be found in the urban than in the rural areas[43].

Expenditures and Investments

Fiscal discipline and low revenues forced the government to further reduce its spending from a 1.1 per cent growth in 2000 to a 0.10 per cent growth in the year 2001. On the other hand, private consumption expenditure (PCE) and investments helped to see the economy through as PCEs experienced just a slight decline from 3.5 per cent growth in 2000 to 3.4 per cent in 2001. In addition, investments experienced a relatively better performance as they grew to 4.3 per cent.

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[42] From http://stednet.sei.dost.gov.ph citing data retrieved from http://www.undp.org/hdr2001

[43] Analysis of employment and unemployment taken from Soriano and Imperial, "Philippine Labor Market Trends," 2001.

6. Political Background

Under the Administrative Code of 1978, the Government of the Philippines is defined as "the corporate governmental entity through which the functions of the government are exercised throughout the Philippines, including, save as the contrary appears from the context, the various arms through which political authority is made effective in the Philippines, whether pertaining to the provincial, city, municipal, or *barangay* subdivisions or other form of local government."

In other words, the Government of the Philippines is a representative democracy, a unitary and presidential form of government with separation of powers. Just like any other democratic republic, these powers are lodged at three inter-dependent branches, namely the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary.

Executive Branch

The Executive Branch is headed by the President, who is elected by the people for a period of six years without re-election. The Vice President, who is mandated by law to assist the President in taking charge of the affairs of the administration, is also duly elected by the people in a national election. Unlike the President, the Vice President is allowed by law to serve for a maximum of two terms. The powers of the President include: to enforce and administer laws; appoint officials in the executive branch; power of control; military powers; pardoning power; borrowing power; budgetary power; informing power; power to generally supervise local governments and autonomous regions, among others.

Legislative Branch

The powers of the Legislative Branch include, among others, general legislative power, appropriation, taxation, legislative investigation, power to interpolate executive officials during Congress, war powers, power to act as Board of Canvassers for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections, concur in presidential amnesties, impeachment, and to propose amendments to the constitution. It is divided between the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate is composed of 24 Senators elected by the people at large. For each term of office, they serve for a period of six years. The Senate is headed by a Senate President who is elected by his fellow senators. Candidates for Senate Presidency must come from a political party comprising the majority of the senators.

The House of Representatives, on the other hand, is composed of not more than 250 Members or Congressmen and is presided over by a Speaker who is also elected by his fellow representatives. In the Philippines, there are three modes to which one can be elected as a Representative. He or she can be *District Representative*, who is elected from legislative districts apportioned among the provinces, cities and the Metropolitan Manila area. He or she can also be a *Party-List Representative*, or one who represents a registered national, regional and sectoral party or organizations which constitute twenty per cent of the total number of representatives elected through a party-list system. After the ratification of the 1987 Constitution, *Sectoral Representatives* are selected, progressively filling up half of the seats

allocated for Party-List Representatives, as provided by law, by selection or election from labour, peasant, urban or indigenous cultural communities, women and youth, among others, except the religious sector.

Judicial Branch

The Judiciary distinguishes itself as the bastion of the rights and liberties of the people. The Constitution expressly stated that judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such lower courts as may be established by law[44]. According to Black, judicial power is the power to apply the laws to contests or disputes concerning legally recognized rights or duties between the State and the private persons, or between individual litigants in cases properly brought before the judicial tribunals[45].

The scope of judicial power is divided into three. One is adjudicatory power, which is the power of the courts of justice to hear and decide actual controversies involving rights that are legally demandable and enforceable. Another is judicial review, which includes the power to pass upon the validity of statutes and acts of other departments of the government. The third is incidental powers, which are necessary for the effective discharge of judicial functions, including the power to punish persons adjudged in contempt. The Philippine judicial system consists of a hierarchy of courts resembling a pyramid. The Supreme Court occupies the topmost or the apex, while lower courts occupy the next lower level and so forth. Only the Supreme Court is created by the Constitution. Other courts are created by legislative acts.

Safeguards

To preserve its independence from the two other branches, several safeguards have been built into the Constitution. The Supreme Court is guaranteed of being a constitutional body, which may not be abolished by the legislature. Other equally important safeguards secure that its Justices may be removable only by impeachment, and guarantee its exercise of administrative supervision over all inferior courts, including personnel; its exclusive power to discipline judges or justices of inferior courts; that it cannot be deprived of its minimum original and appellate jurisdiction; that appellate jurisdiction may not be increased without its advice or concurrence; that it solely has the right to initiate the Rules of Court; and that it can appoint all officials and employees of the judiciary, among others[46].

Voting Rights and Qualifications

The Philippines takes pride in being one of the most gender-sensitive countries in Asia. No less than its Constitution declared the fundamental equality before the law of women and men[47]. It also stated that in no case shall any Filipino citizen be

[44] The Judiciary Reorganization Act of 1980, Article VIII, Section 1.

[45] Black, Constitutional Law, 2nd Ed., p. 82.

[46] The Judiciary Reorganization Act, Art. VIII, Sections 4 (1); 2; 6; 11; 5 (5) and 5 (6).

[47] The 1987 Constitution Art. II, Section 14.

prohibited from exercising the right to suffrage, provided he/she satisfies all of the following requirements:

a. At least 18 years of age on the day of the election[48];
b. Resident of the Philippines for at least one year and in the place where he proposes to vote for at least six months immediately preceding the election, and not otherwise disqualified by law[49];
c. No literacy, property or other substantive requirement shall be imposed on the exercise of the right to suffrage; and
d. Any person who transfers residence to another city, municipality or country solely by reason of his occupation, profession or employment in private or public service, education, etc., shall not be deemed to have lost his original residence[50].

7. Legal Framework

It is both natural and instinctive for any parent to protect his or her child from whatever harm that may threaten the latter's safety. This is true too for the State which, under the principle of *parens patriae*, is bound by duty to protect its constituents who are unable to defend themselves.

The Philippine Constitution recognizes the rights of the children to be assisted and to be protected from all forms of neglect, abuse, cruelty, exploitation and other conditions prejudicial to their development[51]. It also mandates the establishment and maintenance of a system of free public education at both elementary and high school levels, as well as compelling all parents to equip their children with at least elementary education[52]. There are also several statutes which provide protection to children.

Child-Relevant Laws

International Standards

There are at least three (3) corollary international instruments concerning child protection and welfare from which the laws in the Philippines draw standards. These are covenants of the United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) which were ratified by the country.

U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child enshrines the universally accepted standards on human rights of children. It was ratified by the Philippine Government

[48] Art. V, Section 1.
[49] Op. cit.
[50] Batas Pambansa 881, Sec. 17.
[51] Op cit., Art. XV, Section 3 (2).
[52] Art. XIV, Section 2 (2).

in 1990. It signifies not only the State's recognition of the child's right to be protected against any gainful undertaking that threatens the child's health, education and development but also appreciates the States' obligation to regulate work conditions and set a minimum age for employment.

Article 32 of the Convention upholds the right of the child "to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual and social development".

Ratification of ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182

The Convention No. 138, on the minimum age for admission to employment, was ratified by the Philippines in June 1998. It establishes the minimum age of employment in all economic sectors, whether or not under the contract of employment. Accordingly, such age must not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling nor in any case shall it be less than 15 years.

ILO's Convention No. 182 on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour was ratified in November 2000. It lists four categories of the worst forms of child labour which require immediate elimination, and obliges the ratifying country to put up strategies that would eliminate these worst forms of child labour within a specific period of time.

National Legislation

At the national level, laws have been laid down in order to uphold its national interest and in order to comply with international commitments. They reflect the country's stance and conviction on the issue of child rights, protection and welfare in general, and the issue of child labour in particular.

The 1987 Constitution

Ensured in the fundamental law is the right of children to assistance and protection from neglect, abuse, cruelty, exploitation and other conditions prejudicial to their development. It also tasks the State with recognizing the vital role of the youth in nation-building; promoting and protecting their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual and social well-being; and inculcating in the youth patriotism and nationalism, and encouraging their involvement in public and civic affairs[53].

The Labour Code of the Philippines

The Labour Code provides special provisions for children, particularly apprentices and learners. The Code also sets the minimum employable age, as well as prohibiting child discrimination. It also regulates the employment of children by mandating employers to guarantee the provision of a non-hazardous environment and non-deleterious working conditions for child workers.

[53] 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Code also allows children under 18 years of age to work as household help, provided that their employer gives them opportunity for at least an elementary education, the cost of which shall be part of the helper's compensation, unless otherwise stipulated[54].

Republic Act 7610 as amended by Republic Act 7658

This act is known as the Special Protection of Children Against Abuse, Exploitation, and Discrimination Act, and serves as the country's premier statute against child abuse, trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, among others.

It provides that children below 15 years of age should not to be engaged in employment, except when a child works directly under the sole responsibility of his parents or legal guardian and where only members of the employer's family are employed, or where a child's employment or participation in public entertainment or information is essential.

Presidential Decree No. 603

This Decree, otherwise known as the Child, Youth and Welfare Code, allows children below 16 years of age to be employed provided that they perform only light work, which is not harmful to their safety, health or normal development and is not prejudicial to their studies[55]. It also empowers children by allowing them to join unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. The Code also enjoins the community to take part in the efforts that promote child and youth welfare through the creation of Local Councils for the Protection of Children[56].

The Civil Code

The Civil Code provides for several rights of the child, particularly the provisions on Persons, particularly on the acquisition of personality; *Wills and Successions*, with regard to the child's successionary rights and shares in the *legitime*; and *Obligations and Contracts*, which concerns the rights or possibility of an incapacitated minor to enter into agreements or contracts[57].

The Family Code

The Family Code sets the rules concerning the child's paternity and filiation, support, and when exercise of parental authority starts and under what circumstances it can be revoked[58].

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[54] Presidential Decree 442 as Amended, Articles 59 to 72; 73 to 77; 139 and 140.

[55] Presidential Decree 603, Art. 107.

[56] Art. 111.

[57] The Civil Code, Articles 40-42; 960- 1105; 1305- 1439 and 1156 – 2235.

[58] The Family Code, Articles 163–193, 194-208 and 209-233.

Republic Act 7160

Known as the 1991 Local Government Code, this Act requires every *barangay* to promote and protect the well-being and development of every child within their jurisdiction, and to adopt measures to prevent growth of drug and child abuse cases.

The Revised Penal Code

The Revised Penal Code imposes sanctions such as fine and/or imprisonment (and even death on exceptional circumstances cited under Republic Act 7659) or both to any person who has committed certain acts and practices, which are criminalized under the Code not only because they threaten the safety and future of the children but also because these acts are considered inimical to the child's well-being.

These acts include: rape, qualified seduction, simple seduction, corruption of minors, acts of lasciviousness, white slave trade, forcible abduction, consented abduction, kidnapping and failure to return a minor, inducing a minor to abandon his or her home, slavery, exploitation of child labour, services rendered under compulsion in payment of debt, abandoning a minor, abandonment of a minor by a person entrusted with his or her custody, indifference of parents, and exploitation of minors.

Special Issuances

Other than the legislative machinery, others rules originating from other branches of government have made contributions to the enabling environment in the fight against child labour. The Rule on the Examination of Child Witnesses was made effective on December 2000 by the Supreme Court. It has the objective of creating and maintaining "an environment that will allow children to give reliable and complete evidence, minimize trauma to children, encourage children to testify in legal proceedings, and facilitate the ascertainment of truth"[59].

The rule makes testifying in court for children less stressful as it allows the presence of a guardian *ad litem* (person appointed by the court to protect the best interest of the child), an interpreter, a facilitator and support persons for a child as well as a controlled courtroom environment. The use of visual devices and aids can also be allowed during testimony of a child witness or victim.

Child 21, Philippine National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, 2000-2025. This document provides the framework and outlines the general thrust for planning programmes and interventions for children. It broadly spells out the long-term vision of promoting and safeguarding the rights of Filipino children until the year 2025. It puts together the various commitments put forth by social partners thought to give a better quality of life for Filipino children.

DOLE Order 4, Series of 1999. This is an issuance from the DOLE Secretary, enlisting the Hazardous Work and Activities to Persons Below 18 Years of Age. It provided a foresight to the prohibitions laid down by ILO Convention 182 (ratified by the Philippines in November 2000) and its accompanying Recommendation 190.

[59] Rule on Examination of a Child Witness, Section 2.

8. Programmes on and knowledge about Child Labour in the Philippines

Review of the Literature

From a modest start of generating data and information on child labour, significant strides have already been achieved in the area of research, databasing and documentation of child labour in the Philippines. Present publications on child labour have grown in bulk and quality. Research studies are initiated by various stakeholders from government, academe, trade unions, employers, non-government organizations, and locally-based international organizations. According to methodologies, efforts have also become varied: either as surveys, bibliographic or documentary analyses, action-based or sociological researches, case studies or in-depth studies. Approaches to the studies have also ranged according to researcher's perspectives or specialization – geographic, thematic or issues-based[60].

Some notable documentation efforts in the country are those from which several other programme actions and researches have stemmed. The following are examples of this effort.

The *1995 and 2001 Surveys on Children*. In 1994, the National Statistics Office and ILO-IPEC embarked on a groundbreaking endeavour of taking a comprehensive account of the country's children and their involvement at work. The results of the earlier survey were presented in a national seminar, disseminating information to regions with high incidence and serving as precursor to mini-programmes instituted at the grassroots.

Comparative results of the two surveys revealed that there was an increase of about 11.0 per cent in the number of working children 5 to 17 years old between 1995 and 2001. In terms of proportion of working children to the total children population, there was also an observed increase of 16.2 per cent over the 1995 (3.6 million) and 2001 (about 4.0 million) figures. However, little has changed in the general characteristics of children who work. A Filipino working child is still most likely to be male, an elementary grader, aged between 10 and 17 years, rural-based, unskilled, seasonally engaged in agriculture, and unpaid.

The two data sets are harmonious in indicating that the farming, trading and services sector (specifically, services for private households) are the sectors generating employment for children. In some aspects concerning working conditions, virtually little improvement is being suggested by the national figures. Further, the two surveys do not provide the total estimate of children exposed to hazardous conditions while working. Still, it can be inferred from the statistics that about 60 per cent of the working children are exposed to a hazardous environment[61]. Due to some modification in the instruments, the more recent data set has added features on night-work, work perceptions and access to education.

Comprehensive Study on Child Labour in the Philippines. Published in 1994, the Institute for Labour Studies undertook an in-depth study on the definition of child labour, its nature, causes, incidence, working conditions, and the programmes and legislation in place for them. The study forwarded several recommendations for

[60] See separate bibliographic study, *An Annotated Bibliography on Girl Child Workers in the Philippines.*

[61] NSO and ILO, 1995 and 2001 Survey on Children Fact Sheets and Press Releases.

consideration in the formulation of a national programme of action on child labour. One significant recommendation is the need to beef up the knowledge base on child labour. Other "policy needs" put forward by the study were: to reorient the policy and legal framework to focus on child work below 15 years of age and those in agriculture, small industries and domestic work settings and other hazardous occupations; more concrete legislative policies and implementation guidelines toward the eventual abolition of child labour and the immediate protection of children employed in hazardous industries; as well as the strengthening of policies for full, free and compulsory basic education of children. In other spheres of concern, it also recommended more active advocacy and information campaigns on child labour, to pursue and strengthen community-based strategies, and to set up a multi-agency committee to oversee the implementation of an action plan on child labour.

Opening Doors, A Presentation of Laws Protecting Filipino Child Workers. As a contribution towards enlightening advocates, policy makers and members of the judiciary on the laws protecting child workers, the Ateneo Human Rights Centre published the first edition of the book in 1996. As the title suggests, it provided salient provisions of child labour-related conventions, national laws, rules and regulations as well as other policy issuances.

The book has three parts. Part One is a discussion of the definition, situation, reasons of child labour and the strategies for addressing child labour. Part Two traces the evolution of child labour laws as it surveys and cites pertinent provisions which concern general policy considerations; age of employment; rights and privileges; and remedies against abuse exploitation and discrimination. Part Three is a presentation of legal procedures for the enforcement of rights, including detecting and reporting; information verification; rescue operation; custody and rehabilitation; recovery of wages and other monetary benefits; administrative sanctions; and criminal prosecution.

History of Child Labour Across Selected Studies. As part of the national venture of keeping tabs on what has been known so far on the plight of child labourers in the Philippines, the *Child Labour in the Philippines, Review of Selected Studies and Policy Papers* was undertaken and published[62].

The book is both a bibliographic work and an intensive assessment of selected titles on the subject of child labour in the Philippines, covering 49 titles of published and unpublished materials from 1986 to 1995. It analyses the significance of published works, using the issue of child labour as its contextual frame. More importantly, it traces the history of the stories and experiences of child labourers, their communities and the service providers interacting with them.

The National Programme Against Child Labour (NPACL)

The programme saw its beginning in February 1995 after the signing of a Memorandum of Agreement for the Intensified, Sustained and Unified Implementation of the National Programme Against Child Labour in the country. Under the Agreement, the DOLE is tasked to spearhead the Programme. It also involves the active participation of the DSWD, DepEd, DOH, DILG, Department of Justice DOJ, CWC, NEDA, and PIA. Partners outside government initially include the TUCP, LACC, ECOP, and the National Council of Social Development Foundation, Inc. (NSCD).

[62] Del Rosario and Bonga, 2000.

Since then, the Programme has evolved into a concerted, national effort of programmes at varying levels and scales, encompassing a broad sweep of service providers, both within and outside government. In 2000, after a series of assessments and multi-sectoral consultations, The National Programme Against Child Labour Framework 2000-2004 was approved. Under its Framework, the Programme has earmarked its goals. For the subsequent years, the Programme is set to improve the visibility of child labourers; broaden and strengthen alliances with social partners; focus advocacy and action for child labourers, their families and communities; expand educational opportunities for child labourers; improve the quality of caregiving; increase access to economic opportunities; improve the quality of service delivery and improve other frontiers which can bring qualitative changes to the lives of child labourers.

The Philippine Time-Bound Programme (PTBP)

On June 28, 2002, the Philippine Time-Bound Programme was launched. Utilizing the NPACL as a context and vehicle, the Philippines is shifting to higher gear in the fight against child labour. The PTBP is a new ILO modality designed to extend assistance to countries in eliminating child labour in its worst forms, within the shortest possible time. It has specific aims of helping countries to develop policies, programmes and projects that have a demonstrable impact on the worst forms of child labour.

Already, preparatory activities have been concluded, such as soliciting partners' commitment, organizing an implementation team, action planning and preparing pertinent documents in line with the implementation of PTBP. Reliable data on the worst forms of child labour have also been established by the 2001 Survey on Working Children and national studies, while sectoral cursory assessments and resource mapping have been undertaken. The final programme document has been completed and submitted to the collaborating-donor agency. A pilot intervention targets the mainstreaming of gender into the TBP Philippines and Indonesia.

9. Good Practices

While several other efforts are in the development stage and others remain undocumented, notably good practices are already being exercised which are regarded as pitching in to the general endeavour of confronting child labour.

The Sagip Batang Manggagawa (SBM) is an inter-agency quick action team developed under the NPACL which is responsible in responding to cases of child labourers in hazardous or exploitative conditions warranting rescue. It detects, monitors and responds to cases of hazardous forms of child labour.

In more specific terms, SBM operates within several objectives. First, it aims to establish community-based mechanisms for detecting, monitoring and reporting most hazardous forms of child labour to the proper authorities, who can either refer cases to appropriate institutions or provide direct assistance. Second, it seeks to effect immediate relief for child labourers in hazardous or exploitative condition

through the conduct of search and rescue operations and other appropriate interventions. Third, it hopes to establish 24-hour Quick Action Team Network Centres to respond to immediate/serious child labour cases.

The team also works towards the provision of appropriate physical, medical, psycho-social and other needed services for the child labour victims; provision of technical assistance for the prosecution of civil and/or criminal cases filed against employers and employment agencies violating laws and standards relative to child labour; and the facilitation of the return of child labourers to parents/guardians or appropriate custodian.

The Advocacy on Child Labour Towards National and Community Ownership and Responsibility is a project of the Department of Tourism which seeks to sensitize hotel and other tourism-related facilities, establishments, professionals and DOT-accredited organizations on child labour issues, such as prostitution.

The Child-Friendly Initiative of the Employers' Confederation of the Philippines is a criteria-based rating mechanism which searches for firms that are child-friendly. Through the search, ECOP hopes to achieve better understanding, increased awareness and improved attitudes and concerns among its member companies on child labour issues.

The Agenda for Working Children, Teacher Training and Curriculum Development of the Department of Education is geared towards the development of integrated policies and programmes for providing quality, relevant and accessible education for all.

The Visayan Forum Foundation (VF), Inc., Ports Project is an effort recognized by the Philippine Ports Authority and accredited by the Department of Social Welfare and Development. It provides temporary shelter to children disembarking at the pier in Manila. Together with the Port Police, the VF staff monitors children disembarking from inter-island vessels as a means to check possible trafficking of children for domestic work or prostitution.

The Fishing Industry Accord between several partners including deep-sea (paaling) fishing operators makes a commitment to work together in monitoring the different stages of off-island fishing operations to prevent children from being engaged in work related to fishing.

10. Overview of RAs

The Rapid Assessment Studies embarked on separate investigations into three different sectors. The following are summarized findings of the assessments.

10.1 Children in Commercial Agriculture.

There were 106 children respondents for this sector, exceeding the projected 95 child interviewees; 44 boys and 62 girls were interviewed. Most children were 14 to 15 years old. The youngest was 9, while the eldest was 17.

Most of the children have always lived in their respective localities. The majority of them came from families with a minimum of 6 members, mostly describing

family relations as "happy". However, there were a considerable number who said that family relations are accompanied by quarrels among parents and/or siblings.

The majority of the children intimated that both of their parents worked, with more girls saying that their mothers were the primary provider than boys admitting that the head of their household was their mothers. But whoever provides for the family primarily, there appears a general observation that the income being earned is "less than sufficient". Income insufficiency results in the need for members of the family to work, tighten spending, have less food, borrow money or forego paying family debts. This is despite the general response that their working fathers or mothers spend their income totally for the family and that brothers and sisters also contribute to the family income.

Most of the children had access to education and attended school. Among the drop-outs, however, there were more boys than girls. The studies of the girls, however, seem to be more affected by the planting or harvesting season as they outnumbered boys in responding "depends on the season" when asked about their frequency of attending school. Many of the children have parents paying for their school needs, but there were a considerable number claiming responsibility, either alone or with their parents, in paying for their school tuition fees.

Among those who stopped schooling, the most common reason was that they "cannot afford" school and have dropped out for about 1 to 2 years. Most of them, when asked if they wanted to go back to school, replied "yes". However, going back to school was difficult because they still "cannot afford" it. The respondents generally believed that there were equal education opportunities for girls and boys in the family.

Most of the children are either unpaid family workers, seasonal wage employees or part-time paid workers (working all year round). There is also a distinct group of children doing unpaid family work and at the same time getting paid from other farms as seasonal or part-time workers. The children commonly worked in farmlands which were either family-owned, owned by relatives, or by landowners who were non-relatives. Since the children worked for several farmlands, it is possible that they have experienced working for farms in one or more of the stated forms of land tenure, at one time or another.

Across sex, the children's primary reasons for starting to work were to supplement family income, pay school fees or help pay family debts. Most were prompted by their own parents to start working, while some voluntarily presented themselves to work in the field. Their work histories varied from about 1 to 9 years, with girls averaging almost the same number of years at work as that of boys.

Most of the children, whether boy or girl, have not been given explanations as to their duties, remuneration, working hours, time for attending school, work location and other perks. This lends a confirming effect to the observation that children vicariously learn the ropes of agricultural work, or get into the routines of farm work by example.

For those who got paid, money was the most common form of payment. There were more boys who tended to receive work that was paid in kind. Girls appear to prefer doing work for money. Wages ranged from P40 to 250 per day, with boys receiving the lowest and the highest rate in the range.

Across gender, the general basis of pay was "per day". There was also a sizeable group of children who were paid on a per contract basis, composed mostly of boys. Among those who received payment in kind, rice or *palay* were the widely

accepted commodities, later used for subsistence or sold to make money. Most of those who are in school spend their earnings by partly giving it to their parents and partly to pay school expenses. Most of those who are out of school give part of their earnings to their parents and allot part of it for savings. In terms of tasks, there were far more children devoted to "crop cultivation only" than those solely devoted to "looking after livestock". However, there is a significant and distinct group of children devoting work time both for crop cultivation and looking after livestock.

Children who performed crop cultivation work were not confined to single tasks. All of them knew and performed several tasks needed to be done along the stages of the crops' life cycles. Aside from spraying pesticides (which was done by the boys), boys and girls alike did soil cultivation, planting, harvesting, weeding and watering tasks. Boys in crop cultivation complained mostly of body or muscular pains, while the girls frequently complained about the prolonged exposure to solar heat.

For children who did livestock work, tasks included bringing animals to pasture, feeding animals, fetching water for animals and cleaning animals' barn/pen. In livestock, the problem commonly cited by boys was in cleaning the animals pens while the girls complained mostly about the difficulty of fetching water for the animals.

The children, either boys or girls, generally perform work either "all year long" or "seasonally," putting in about 4 to 11 hours of work. Their working days start around 6 in the morning and extend to about 4 in the afternoon. The most common means of going to work is by walking.

Most children are allowed to take breaks for lunch. Some have morning and afternoon snacks. After a day's work, most said they feel tired, have body pains or headache. Some children said they were aware of the hazards that they face at work and got such information from their parents or teachers. Most of the children believed that the information given them was not adequate. For those who said they observe safety precautions, most put on long-sleeved clothing and hat. The personal protective equipment they use, however, does not appear to match the protection needed in their line of work, as they usually carried heavy loads ranging from 20 to 60 kilograms of either palay, vegetables, manure, chemical fertilizers or pails of water. While most of the boys carried loads, there were also girls who did this perceptibly men's work. Aside from carrying heavy loads, some of the boys reported exposure to agrochemicals when they sprayed pesticides or applied fertilizer. As in carrying of loads, there were also girls who said they experienced exposure by doing similar work. Other hazards at work identified by the children were heat exposure and sustaining cuts. The most common provision given to the children at work is food and water. Rest, medical and transportation services were virtually unheard of. Most children went to a doctor for a check-up only when needed, or when they were already sick. There were several children who had never had a medical check-up in their life. From among those who admitted to having had an accident or illness, most were injured or contracted fever after working.

Even when the children were not working in the fields and were supposed to be at home, they still fetched water for other households and did the laundry. Some said they still had time to rest, play and read. The number of children, whether among boys or girls, who thought it would be difficult to quit their present work was almost equal to the number who thought it would be easy. Those who said it would be difficult to quit explained that they could not stop helping their family or had no other work opportunities. If given a choice, most of the children wanted to study or finish college.

When asked if they had been contacted by either a trade union, an NGO representative, a government official or any other organization, the children's responses indicated a more frequent encounter with government and NGO representatives. The services extended to them were basically in the form of medical and educational assistance.

10.2 Children In Commercial Sexual Exploitation

A total sample population of 44 children aged 17 years old and below was targeted, preferably comprised of 25 per cent boys. This target was met, as the group was able to interview 33 girls and 11 boy-children engaged in commercial sex.

The children in commercial sexual exploitation involved in the study were between 11 and 17 years of age. The youngest girl-child interviewed was 11 years old while the youngest boy interviewed was 13. Most of the children migrated from nearby localities. However, there were also cases where children in prostitution came from as far away as Manila. A considerable number came from broken families, had single or widowed parents, were orphaned, or had escaped from family members who frequently engaged in quarrels, violence or alcoholism.

While working, many of the children lived with persons other than their families or relatives and, depending on their work arrangements, they lived either with their "employers" or "co-workers".

A majority of the children claimed to be their respective families' breadwinners and said that being in the commercial sex sector was their first job.

All of the respondents appeared to be no longer attending school. Most of the children came from families which barely had access to education. Most parents either did not finish high school or went only as far as elementary level of education, while only a few had some college instruction. A good number of the respondents averred that girls and boys had equal educational opportunities in their families.

In many instances, it was their respective pimps who explained the terms of their actual employment. But there were also occasions when it was their friends or co-workers who did the explaining. Most of their clients were local to the city. Income from sex among the children ranged from as low as P50 to as high as P3,000 a day. Most of the children barely received information about prevention and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases.

In many instances, the children in CSEC resort to self-medication to address health concerns such as sexually-transmitted diseases or birth control. Most are at high risk of acquiring and passing on sexually-transmitted diseases as they are not keen on using condoms during intercourse. This practice is further aggravated by the fact that some of them, especially those belonging to gangs, practise "partner-swapping." While check-ups from the Local Health Office are free, the children admitted to not submitting themselves for regular health inspection.

A majority of the children have plans for leaving the industry for good, that is, after they have saved enough money or when they get tired of the job.

Although a number of children noted that they would not have any difficulty leaving their current jobs, a handful have been candid enough to note that getting integrated into the mainstream would be difficult for them for fear of being looked down on, maligned, rejected or ostracized. Almost all of the respondents said that they would prefer not to be involved in this kind of activity if they have been given a

choice. Some said they would like to continue their studies, as others still aspire to having more decent jobs.

10.3 Children in Domestic Labour

Notwithstanding opportunities that are beneficial to them such as free board and lodging, opportunities to go to school and even standard wages that allowed them to contribute to the meagre income of their families, the study further established that children in domestic work are vulnerable to the worst forms of child labour.

Responses from 36 child domestic workers showed that the desire to supplement family income is among the primary reasons of working as a domestic helper. Although fast turnover of employers was noted, most of the respondents preferred to work as a domestic for lack of skills and of alternative employment for their families.

The study found that domestic work demands a lot of time from children. Work hours ranged from 5 to 16 hours. Some 83.3 per cent of the respondents experienced work-related illnesses due to exhaustion. Physical and verbal abuses were common. There were unclear terms of work since the onset of employment. Others were deprived of opportunities to go to school. Given the nature of their workplace where they are vulnerable to sexual abuse, children in domestic work are practically out of reach for intervention. In cases of abuse, children in domestic work would rather tolerate the difficulties they face than be out of work.

While females constituted 88.9 per cent of the respondents, the gender dimension of child domestic work in terms of stereotyping girls into domestic work has yet to be established in future studies. The study however found that parents expect their daughters to help in household chores while young, making these their initial training prior to entering domestic work. The study further found that boys are least likely to be expected to take part in household chores.

Tracking back factors that drove children to enter domestic work, the study found a flourishing market for younger domestic workers who command a lower pay than older and seasoned ones. There are also unregulated recruitment processes that encourage the proliferation of illegal trafficking of children.

Key informants in the study saw the need for a clear policy on children in domestic work. This would entail resolving the issue whether domestic work is a worst form of child labour. Policies that are geared toward improving the working conditions in domestic work should also be pushed, as well as improving networks that would help to institutionalize girls' participation in advocacy efforts for their protection. Mobilizing communities and installing support mechanisms that would sustain the income of families to prevent the entry of children into domestic work were recommended.

10.4 Justification of Targets of the Rapid Assessments

Sector-wise, the Philippine Rapid Assessments of Girl Children in Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Agriculture and Domestic Labour were initiated out of pre-determined targets set by the International Labour Organization.

The assessment sites, however, were determined through a process which approximated the concentration of existing child labourers in certain localities. Relying

on available data and reports, statistics on the national, regional and provincial or city levels were culled, paying special attention to sex-disaggregated data whenever available. Localities reported to be host to the target sectors were included in a short list and, in consultation with government agencies and, whenever possible, non-government organizations based in the localities, final sites were selected.

While the populations for all of the Assessments are cost-based and are thus purposive, the method of engaging parents and child participants was random. Key informants were invited to participate in focus group discussions (FGD) to complement findings from individual child and parent participants. The names of prospective FGD participants were drawn from a prepared listing of programme implementers and service providers based in the target localities. Attendance at the actual FGDs, however, was dependent on the availability of the invited participants.

SECTION B

1

Girl child Labour in Domestic Service in the Philippines: a rapid assessment in Metro Manila and Bacolod City[63]

1. Introduction: Child Domestic Workers

Child "domestics" or domestic workers are children under the age of 18 who work in other people's households, doing domestic chores, caring for children and running errands, among other tasks. The focus of concern is often on "live-in" child domestics, that is, children who work full time in exchange for room, board, care and sometimes remuneration.

Domestic service is one of the world's oldest occupations, and one in which children, particularly girls, have traditionally played a part. A study in the Philippines stated that as early as the pre-Hispanic times, children as well as women were already used to pay for the debts of the household, and that children, in addition to doing chores for the household, became part of the household's agricultural labour force[64].

Although the existence of child domestic workers is often acknowledged, children in this work have remained fairly invisible in employment statistics, because the nature of their job is not valued. One author cites 80 million working children aged 10-14 years in 1990, of whom 33 million were girls, with the actual number being much higher. This research concludes that the proportion of working girls as compared with boys was higher amongst the younger age groups and that relatively more of them were engaged in unpaid family occupations, including as domestic servants of guardians[65].

Children's work is seen primarily as an extension of their duties, even though children, particularly girls, are actually hired to do domestic work. In fact, how girls are hired for domestic work is often closely linked with issues of trafficking for other forms of child labour, such as prostitution. Young girls from rural areas fall prey to promises of illegal recruiters to become a domestic worker in another locations. This is viewed as a safe option by both their parents and girls themselves. However, once in transit, young recruits are often lured into prostitution, forced to work in factories

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[63] By Roland Pacis, Principal Writer, Visayan Forum (VF) Foundation, Inc., Levinson Alcantara; Gloria Elena Labrador, Institute For Labour Studies, Department of Labour and Employment, Manila, Philippines

[64] Amparita S.-M. et al. (2001) in Pflug, Bharati On Overview of Child Domestic Workers in Asia, ILO.

[65] Salter, W. D. (1993). "The Forgotten Children, children in domestic service", draft document produced for IPEC/ILO Geneva.

in unfair conditions, or end up completely isolated from family and friends with unknown employers in distant cities.

Even when young girls are recruited and end up as actual domestic workers, or when they volunteer themselves or find work themselves, they suffer many discriminatory practices. The girl child is completely under the control of the employer, who does not necessarily serve the child's best interests. Many CDWs work under very informal and often just verbal contract arrangements. They are amongst the lowest paid workers, receiving an average of Philippine pesos 800 (US $16) a month — if paid at all. The average salary of a public servant or bank clerk in the Philippines is about 5000-6000 pesos upwards per month (US $100). (100 pesos = US $1.87).

Too often CDWs endure inhumane treatment. They suffer verbal insults on a daily basis. Employers call them stupid, lazy, careless, illiterate, rude, liars and other derogatory names. Freedom of movement of child domestics is also often limited. They are often not even allowed to venture beyond their household premises, except when the employer sends them on errands or brings them along when their services are needed. The practice of discrimination and abuse is very common, and some child domestic workers themselves even accept abuses as just part of the job.

Child domestic workers, and girls in particular, are frequently sexually molested and are powerless to prove such attacks because of their situation and their isolation. Unfortunately, CDWs have nowhere to run to in times of crisis and fall into prostitution because they often prefer to survive in their new location than face the humiliation of going home empty-handed, and being perceived as a failure in their attempts to earn money or gain an education. Although, some CDWs are allowed to go to school, they have difficulties adjusting to their heavy workload and long work hours. In school, most curricula are not well tailored to their special needs.

Poverty is a major root cause of CDW and the major push factor. In the Philippines, other research found that the increasing need for both men and women in the household to go outside the home to work means that an increasing number of CDWs are pulled into the workforce[66].

Despite emerging information about child domestic work (CDW), there is still a lack of understanding about the peculiarity of the issue from a girl child labour perspective. Informational gaps hamper effective action and policy-making at all levels. The research that is described in this report is part of the process of documenting a more complete picture on the reality of CDWs situation. A rapid assessment (RA) was undertaken in two regions of the Philippines to obtain qualitative data on specific CDWs situation.

2. Profile of the surveyed areas

The researchers for this RA on child domestic workers gathered data in two locations: Manila the capital city, and Bacolod City in the Negros province. One-third of the sampled population came from Manila and the other two-thirds from Negros.

[66] Crawford, S.; Poulson, B (2002). Thematic Evaluation on Child Domestic Workers. ILO/IPEC.

2.1 Metro Manila

Manila is an important destination for children in search of work, with many young girls who venture to main cities like Manila coming from poor provinces such as Negros Occidental. Some of this migrant workforce is composed of child domestic workers. According to the 2001 NSO Survey on Working Children 5-17 years old, about 9 per cent of the estimated 300,000 children working in private households are found in Manila. There are many factors leading to this trend:

- Manila households offer higher salaries to domestic workers;
- Most of the siblings, relatives and town friends are already well-established in the city;
- Young people have a desire to see the big city;
- There are more opportunities for work in the main capital and domestic labour is seen as a stepping-stone towards other opportunities.

Of the 4 million ferry passengers passing through the Manila North Harbour, according to the Filipino NGO Visayan Forum Foundation, about 2.5 million are girls and women hoping to find work. They are very young, mostly between 14-22 years from poor regions in the south. Many are recruited as domestic workers. Based on a study by the Visayan Forum[67], 65 per cent travel to their destinations without any information about their destination, work and employers.

2.2 Bacolod City

The Negros province is known to be among the largest source of child domestic workers trafficked to the nation's capital and other cities. Its urbanized centres, especially Bacolod, are also a major destination of young countryside girls looking for work.

Bacolod is the capital of the province of Negros Occidental, the fourth largest island in the Philippines. Two-thirds of people in Negros Occidental live in rural areas. Negros is historically considered as the Philippine's sugar belt. Its long-standing history echoes the old feudal system that earned its profits from slavery. Before a crisis in the sugar industry in the last decade or so, half of the cultivated land was devoted to sugar production. Nine of the 23 richest families in the country have direct roots or ties with the Negros' elite families, who own thousands of hectares of plantations. In many cases, having a girl working for the landlords' family was part of the tradition of these plantations. The recent slump of the sugar industry means poverty is more rampant in the region. According to National Statistics Office figures, Negros Occidental now has the poorest families in the country. Former sugar workers had to migrate into the city without having prospective job-offers.

[67] Flores-Oeobanda, C. (2001). Paper Presented for the ILO/Japan Asian Meeting on the Trafficking of Children for Labour & Sexual Exploitation held at Westin Philippine Plaza, Manila, in October 11, 2001) Internal Trafficking of Children: The Continuing Experience at the Manila North Harbour. Flores-Oebanda C. *Visayan Forum Foundation, Inc.* http://www.childprotection.org.ph/monthlyfeatures/dec2k1b.rtf

3. General methodology

The research that took place utilized structured questionnaires and focused group discussions with CDWs. Such qualitative information was integrated with background research to obtain information on the girl child working in domestic work, an often hidden and invisible form of child labour. This study is descriptive as it seeks to describe the phenomenon of CDWs and fill in some of the gaps about this sector.

Sampling frame

The unit of the study were children under 18 years of age who work as domestic helpers. Thirty-six CDW respondents were interviewed in total, comprising 32 girls and 4 boys. The respondents were located in Bacolod City (24) and Metro Manila (12). Respondents from Bacolod mainly came from the park, school or from community outreach of the regional office of the Visayan Forum, an NGO focusing on migrant working child, especially those in the invisible and informal sector. In Metro Manila, the respondents were located by members of the Association and Linkage of Household Helpers in the Philippines or (SUMAPI).

The research only reached 13 parents. While this number is below the targeted number of parent/guardian respondents, the 13 parents gave similar responses to the CDWs. It could be thus assumed that the information provided by the 36 CDW respondents was fairly reliable.

Research methods

The primary data was obtained by structured interviews developed by the Institute for Labour Studies (ILS), The Philippines. Each interview was done individually with each respondent. Some respondents were pre-selected by the local staff of the Visayan Forum. The respondents were available only during their days off.

The research team

The research team was helped by four local staff of the Visayan Forum-Bacolod office who were briefed on the research design and observed by initial animators from ILS and the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE).

Limitations / problems

Eight domestic workers who were above 18 years took part in the interviews. Even though they are not considered minors anymore, they had already been domestic workers when they were under 18 years of age. They were requested to recount a specific stage in their working life to give relevance to the questionnaires.

The original research design targeted that at least one-third of the respondents should be males. This was not met. Most are girls. This is consistent with existing estimates that assess that around 90 per cent of these CDWs are female. Never-

theless, to account for such limitation of boys interviewed, this study emphasized the results of the focused group discussion with boys interviewed.

Most children were relatively open during the interviews because of the presence of NGO staff who were familiar with their situation. Some children were interviewed in their own homes. They had worked as CDWs before but decided to return to their families. No child was interviewed inside their employers' households. Information gathered when employers are present is usually not very accurate because they can easily intimidate the CDW.

4. Survey findings

4.1 Profile and working conditions of CDW respondents

Demographic profile

Of the 36 respondents, 32 were female and 4 were male. The mean age was 17½ years, where the youngest was 13 and the oldest was 23.

Two-thirds of the respondents were based in Bacolod while a third were based in the Manila and Quezon City. Some were born in Bacolod City itself because their parents have already migrated into Bacolod's slum areas. About a quarter came directly come from adjacent towns and cities. Most of the respondents were living away from home with their employers. About half changed their residence to one where they could find work. Three respondents are living with their relatives, who are also their employers.

While the main reason for changing residence is to work, other reasons given included:

- The possibility to work close to home;
- The chance to help other siblings who are in the same city;
- The ability to combine work and schooling because school is available in the city;
- The whole family moved to the city (migration from the countryside); and
- The mother asked them to come to the city (the mother was also a domestic worker).

The respondents variously described their relationship with parents. Nearly a third said that in general their parents relate harmoniously with the siblings. However, such harmony could be disturbed by frequent quarrels among parents (5 respondents), father's alcoholism (4 respondents), separation (3 respondents) and parental strictness (one respondent). Five respondents were already orphans; one was abandoned. Four respondents left home and, sad to say, adoptive employers were maltreating another respondent.

Socio-economic status

Most describe their homes as privately owned (30 respondents), constructed from bamboo and light materials with one or two rooms. Eight CDWs live in concrete houses.

Their basic facilities include electricity and potable water supply from communal deep wells. A quarter come from remote villages with none of these infrastructures. Some who consider their employers' home as second home say they only now have access to these facilities, including a telephone. Most did not respond when asked if they had access to other home facilities such as radio and TV.

Three-fourths have working parents who are mostly subsistence farmers. Half of the respondents said that their aggregate family income is less than sufficient. A quarter said it is not sufficient at all, with even fewer claiming it was sufficient.

To keep income from falling short of expenses, more than one-fifth resort to borrowing money from neighbours, friends and/or loan sharks. Families are actually dependent on the cash they remit from a portion or total of their salaries as child domestic workers. Such remittances are also prioritized for the education of siblings and for other medical emergencies.

Compared to fathers, more mothers devote their entire income to their family maintenance. Several respondents had siblings who are also involved in child domestic work.

Educational profile

Of the 36 respondents, only two never attended school. Half have left school while the remaining respondents are still attending. Except for one, all the respondents in Manila are no longer studying, while a majority of those who said they are still in school are actually working in Negros. They attend school everyday because most CDW respondents from Bacolod are studying at the Negros Occidental High School (NOHS), which offers night classes during weekdays.

According to other ILO/IPEC research on CDWs in the Philippines[68], a very high value is placed on education. In remote rural areas with few opportunities for secondary schooling, children leave home to go into domestic service with the hope that they will be given free time to continue their studies. Some children get their first domestic work with their teachers, or with members of their extended family already living in town.

More than half of the parents who responded said that their daughters have reached secondary level. However, only two said they were sure their children attended schooling every day.

About half of the children interviewed cannot afford their schooling and as a result have been out of school for an average of more than 3 years. Over two-thirds of respondents want to go back to school, but did not state if it would specifically be to a formal or vocational set-up. The most common reason for not returning to school is that they simply cannot afford to, respondents need to work for wages, and some were too old to go back to primary school. Parents also recognized similar hindrances to education. Two parents reported that their children were ashamed to go back and that they fear their family income will decrease.

During the interviews, many CDWs declared that they also found it hard to attempt to negotiate with employers about work arrangements, and their employers do not allow them to combine work and schooling.

Most of their parents are also poorly educated. In general, over half of the respondents had both parents who dropped out of school.

[68] Crawford, S.; Poulson, B. (2002). Thematic Evaluation on Child Domestic Workers. ILO/IPEC.

Opportunities for boys and girls

Less than half of the respondents felt there were equal educational opportunities for girls and boys. A quarter explicitly felt that boys have greater opportunities; 3 respondents felt the education system favoured for girls and 6 respondents were not so sure.

Probing deeper during a separate FGD with boy CDWs, several male respondents said that they could be more competitive and aggressive in school than their female counterparts. It was also reported that girl CDWs are expected to perform a wider range of tasks in the employers' home. Boys have more definite tasks such as gardening and running some errands. Girls are commonly all-around workers. Employers give boys more freedom while girls are more restricted in terms of rules for social and school activities.

The common perspectives that the interviews yielded from parents regarding education were that: parents expected girls to devote more time to housework than boys; boys can take more risks than girls and have less to lose; it is more difficult for girls to find work after graduation. In general the researchers concluded that parents do not give much support to girls' schooling.

Reasons for working

Nine respondents (or a quarter) cited the desire to supplement family income as the main reason to engage in domestic work. They supply regular cash remittances to their parents. Others are extremely driven by the desire to become economically independent. Five CDWs worked to be able to pay school fees, as their employers allow them to combine work and schooling. Three respondents said they wanted to leave their families, but only one explicitly said she wanted to escape from family problems.

Responses of parents indicate that more than half of the parents reported that nobody persuaded their children to begin work. The remaining parents believed that it was their relatives and other people who convinced the children to work.

Most CDWs ultimately seek the consent of their parents before making such choices about their lives. Approval by parents lends a sense of safety and legitimacy even to potentially illegal recruitment processes. Nevertheless, some CDWs interviewed do not seek permission from their parents. Other research on CDWs[69] undertaken by ILO/IPEC reported that parents often condone CDW, as the parents themselves were employed in the same way once, and because CDW is considered to be easier than agricultural work.

Work history

The CDW respondents had already worked for between 4 to 11 years under different employers. The shortest period working for one employer was given as one week. About a fifth have been working for one year or less. The first year is a period when most of the expectations in the employer-employee relationship are clarified. Often most of the abuses occur as early as within a year, so many CDWs seek other opportunities. But if girls do not find a better type of job, they would just tend to transfer to another employer.

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[69] Crawford, S.; Poulson, B. (2002). Thematic Evaluation on Child Domestic Workers. ILO/IPEC Annex 3: The Philippines.

A small portion of the respondents had been working for six years and beyond, to now reach an age when they are no longer minors. This implies that the domestics started working at a very young age. In fact, many of the respondents started to work in somebody else's home at the age of 14. Two of the parents said their children started to work when they were 13 years old. The earliest reported age of entry to domestic work was seven years old, usually for relatives in nearby towns.

Recruitment process

A quarter of the CDWs interviewed were recruited directly by employers. This was usually prompted by a request from the employers through their CDWs to reach potential CDWs in the provinces. Over a third of the respondents entered domestic work through the recommendation of friends and relatives. Where the informal referral mechanism is not at play, there are individual agents or recruiters, (also called facilitators) who recruit CDWs. These recruitment patterns – whether formal or informal – are enhanced by the presence of this intricate web of contacts such as brothers, sisters, town mates or relatives who earlier migrated into the city. Such processes encourage children to venture into urban employment.

Working conditions of CDWs

Relation to employers

CDWs reported that their relationship with their employers is primarily as workers and only secondarily as children. The chance of schooling may be negotiated later on, when the girl worker is in a position to bargain. How the employer defines the relationship with the child worker is not totally in line with the need for rest time nor is it done in accordance with decent benefits such as social security, days off and health considerations. Upon entry to work, parents did not really expect that such additional benefits and time for attending school would actually be discussed.

According to the researchers, it seems that upon entry to work most CDWs were told quite clearly of their duties and salaries, whereas other aspects of the agreement are more ambiguous and not discussed. Issues not explicitly discussed include hours of work and rest, time availability for schooling, and access to social benefits and facilities.

There is a fast turnover within the domestic workers' sector due to conditions at work and relations with their employers. More than half of the respondents had previous employers. About a third say domestic work is their first job. Despite potential or actual work-related abuses, most of them said during the FGDs that they preferred to stay as domestic workers primarily because of their lack of skills and alternative employment available to them. Most would not like to return to the province for fear of stigmatism or absence of work opportunities there.

Nevertheless, domestic workers do not normally change job or employer for just one single reason or abuse. They seem to tolerate the difficulties they face at work. Four only changed jobs when they experienced a combination of low pay, punishment, harassment and/or denial of educational opportunities. Physical or mental punishment may also be a strong reason to leave, but then again the absence

of alternatives or support mechanisms becomes a hindrance to leave (even if asked by their families to come home). Only one respondent said she left because of low pay.

Such abusive treatment is often unknown to their parents, and the parents of the children continue to allow younger siblings to engage in CDW. Ten of the respondents have family members below 18 years of age working as CDWs. These siblings are mostly girls working for other employers.

Accommodation and food arrangements

For many CDWs, working away from home gives them a chance to enjoy free food and a roof. Most employers prefer stay-in domestic workers. Having food available may be a reason why domestic work salaries are relatively low. For the respondents, two in three consider their food better than at home. A quarter are given either remaining or wasted food, and three said that their employers required them to cook a different set of food for themselves than the other household members.

Of the 36 respondents, all but four live in their employers' home. Yet just over half have their own bed. The others sleep on the sofa, on the floor, share a bed with a fellow domestic, or sleep with their wards. Close to half share a room with two or three other domestic workers. During the interviews, some respondents confided that they actually sleep in a stock room or a guardhouse. These conditions make it even more difficult for CDWs to study or to concentrate on their homework.

Terms and hours of work

Most CDWs are all-around workers. On a typical working day, employers require their CDWs to be always on call, with half of the respondents reporting that they always need to be available for whatever instructions their employers give. Doing work that is routine, repetitious, stressful and tiring is considered by the CDW as part of the job. They have to regularly clean the house, in combination with going to the market, dish washing, laundering, ironing clothes and looking after pets. About two-fifths are hired specifically for child minding. Others are also shuffled to unpaid work such as tending their employers' store or serving as extra food waitresses.

Domestic work demands a lot of time from these children. Work periods range from 5 hours to 16 hours, depending on employers. One in three of the respondents have a workload of an average of 11-13 hours a day. However, it was not clear whether this included rest hours in between. They also did not indicate what time they had to start in the morning and to retire in the evening. Such length of working day must take into consideration that most of the respondents are actually studying at the same time. Student CDWs in Negros normally attend school from 4 pm until 9 pm. They still have to work upon their return to compensate for the lost time. Most are too tired to study their lessons and to complete their assignments given such limited time.

Leisure time

Half of the respondents feel that they are sometimes tired because of their work; slightly fewer than half said that they consider their work as always tiring. Less than half of the parents are aware that their children get tired in work. This may support the general observation by the researchers that more parents view domestic work as light work. This perception exists despite parents awareness that their children

perform supplementary work in addition to specific tasks such as house cleaning, child minding and laundry work.

Eight CDW respondents said that resting time is spent sleeping, given the very physical nature of the job. Fourteen CDWs report that they watch TV although this is in combination with resting/sleeping, reading, studying and more often doing light work. Some are also able to study, while a few go to church, to the park or to play. There are some who receive no break at all.

Twenty-five out of the 36 CDWs are allowed days off although more than half did not ascertain any regularity in days off allowed. The frequency of days off is curtailed by how permissive their employers could be, the CDWs' own decision on how to spend their break, and their knowledge of recreational opportunities in the city. It is also apparent that for many of the respondents, being allowed to go to school at night or weekends is in itself a day off.

Safety and health problems

While half of the respondents said they were never injured in carrying out their jobs, 14 CDWs said they suffered mainly burns and cuts, attributed to cooking and food preparation. Two respondents disclosed they were severely beaten and punished.

Most fell sick while working, suffering cough, colds, fever and headache. The respondents did not elaborate how frequent these problems occurred or were a direct result of the nature of their work. If they get sick, half of the respondents say their employers cover the expenses, otherwise they pay for their own medication.

Most CDWs are not registered for social security and health benefits, and if the illness requires hospitalization or very expensive medicine they had to advance their salaries from their employers. Some employers who pay for medical expenses deduct from the domestic workers' future salary. Most are not forced to work when they get sick, but eight respondents said they still had to work.

Occupation problems, hazards and dangers

- Electric shock from operating appliances they are not initially familiar with.
- Allergies to soap and other materials.
- Working for long indefinite hours, often at night.
- Exposure to insecticides and other insect repellents.
- Exposure to sun or extreme heat during laundry.
- Carrying water, firewood, etc. more than their weight as children.
- Of the 36 respondents, half consider work overload and working for long hours as a foremost problem.
- Over a quarter said they were not given enough time to rest or play. Taken as a whole, three in four CDWs find domestic work to be an exhausting as well as a demanding occupation. Only 15 per cent of parents view this as a problem.
- Verbal abuse is a common problem as well as being often reprimanded. Almost two-thirds of the total respondents said their employers reprimanded them by way of verbal admonition or reminders. Some of them said their employers often use derogatory language and labels, such as "stupid, careless, hard-headed, etc." The distinction between verbal abuse and being reprimanded becomes more obscure if their employer is a relative.

- Salary delays are also common problems. Four of the CDWs said they were not being paid at all.
- Having some opportunities to study and read their lessons is also an issue for some of the respondents. This implies that, based on the amount of time devoted for work and study, the latter becomes secondary.
- Most parents are also concerned about the fact that the children are not given time to pray.
- Seven CDWs said they were physically beaten. Only one parent was aware of it. Some of the CDWs respondents specifically stated during the FGDs that they do not find such punishments unjustifiable. Others lamented it is just part of the job, especially as they are still children who should be corrected by their "second parents."

Sexual exploitation

Three respondents out of 36 directly told of attempts of sexual harassment by their employers' or other household members. The degree of protection a girl domestic worker enjoys from all forms of exploitation depends on the employer. Other studies from the Philippines[70] have shown that co-worker violence is also prevalent, including sexual harassment from male co-workers. If a girl is in a powerless position and abused, she often has no means of redress other than to leave.

Despite the occupation problems, hazards and realities of sexual abuse, most parents said that their children did not suffer at all at work. Only two parents were aware that the children felt sick while working.

Remuneration

A majority of the respondents are paid workers. Three-quarters are paid in cash, but they did not indicate whether they receive payments irregularly or not. The remaining receive their allowances as school expenses or gifts during December.

A fifth of those CDWs that are paid receive exactly P 1,000 a month. This indicates that domestic work is among the lowest paid work reflective of the low regard given to the occupation. Such marginal salaries also take into account the food and lodging the domestics consume. Other unpublished research on domestic work established that the salaries of live-out domestics are comparably higher at around P200-P300 a day. According to other published research[71], a large number of CDWs get wages of about 500 pesos (around US$9.50) per month, though this may be withheld or paid late.

Even with such a meagre salary, over half of the CDWs remit the money to their parents. Some spend their salaries to pay for school fees and materials. Most CDWs have no other sources of income. There is an undocumented large number of CDWs who had to render services to their employers in exchange for cash advances.

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[70] Child Workers in Asia, CWA Newsletter. Child Domestic Workers, Philippines,vol. 12. No. 3 July-September 1996 at: http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/v12-3/voll6n23.htm (January 1999). In Innocenti Digest Child Domestic Work UNICEF.

[71] Crawford, S.; Poulson, B. (2002). Thematic Evaluation on Child Domestic Workers. ILO/IPEC.

CDW perceptions about work

Two out of three respondents believe that they are better off working in somebody else's home than in their own homes. They stated they are better off because they are exposed to city life, they get free food, they can buy new clothes, get a chance at education and can go to popular leisure places (such as malls and parks). While for them, domestic work is obviously a necessity and can offer a better life, they experience many difficulties at work. There are inherent challenges that come from working with the different whims of their employers.

While many CDWs feel they are better off than at home, most think of changing their jobs. Domestic work is seen as a means to obtaining education or stepping towards better paying jobs.

Most parents interviewed believe that their children can easily quit their job. In reality, children cannot even look for other opportunities of work because many CDWs are not even allowed to venture outside their employers' house. They are often isolated except when allowed days off or to attend regular classes at night or in the weekends. Such isolation from the outside world is reinforced by their inability to visit their families. A few go home two to five times a year. A little over a third of the children were allowed to visit their family back home about once a year, but only when they were able to save money for transport did they decide to go home.

Lack of opportunities and the difficulties they encounter due to domestic work conditions reinforce the CDWs' low regard for their work. Three out of four of the respondents would not even encourage a sister or other siblings to enter similar work. They distinctively cited the difficulties in domestic work as reasons to discourage family members. Moreover, they strongly felt that isolation in combination with other abuses would make others very vulnerable at a young age.

According to parents, only a few can take advantage of services by NGOs, women's groups, religious groups, government and trade unions. They mainly rely on their own efforts, while five say that family members were able to contact their children.

5. Analysis of pathway towards CDW

Desire for education

The vast majority of child domestic workers come from poor communities where options are few. The choice for girls is between ending their schooling to work full time with their families as tenant farmers or in fishing, or to take up domestic work in a nearby town, which carries with it the possibility of being able to continue with their education. This possibility is likely to increase when working for relatives. Having a benevolent employer supportive of her desire to go to school is considered good luck.

However, the CDWs' work situation does not necessarily mean continued classroom education. With few educational institutions that offer alternative learning schemes, many CDWs find it hard to combine work and schooling. For example, CDWs are still expected to perform their chores even after attending night classes, so

often they hardly have the energy to do their homework. Others cannot concentrate in class due to exhaustion. Others have employers who consider school attendance to be a rest day for the domestics.

Market/employers' demand for young female domestic workers

Household work remains stereotyped as women's work, so many employers continue to prefer girls for domestic work. Household work is seen as a dirty and inferior job. Because of the early training girls receive in their homes, they are seen as best fitted for the demands of the work.

As there are also risks in employing a stranger, most employers prefer young girls because they are more obedient and willing to be trained. There are also specific tasks considered to be best suited to the nurturing capacity of these girls, babysitting for example. Young provincial girls in search of experience and contacts in cities cannot demand higher pay as compared to older domestic workers. Such a large demand for young and inexperienced girls seems to perpetuate the low status, hence the meagre salaries.

Trouble-free, unregulated recruitment processes

It only takes quick referral by friends and relatives for many girls to be admitted to a potential employer's household. As many parents believe that domestic work is safest for their daughters, they would accept the recruiters' offer despite the lack of guarantees for safety. They genuinely believe that their daughters will be adequately cared for and educated in a safe environment. Most parents also feel that the facilitation is safer where their daughters go with friends and relatives, even when grouped with boys. The presence of recruitment mechanisms at the grassroots remains a constant pulling mechanism for girls. The lack of proper licensing and monitoring of recruitment agencies makes them invisible.

Informal networks silently siphon young girls into domestic work, in an unregulated way. The existence of friends, relatives and town mates networks is difficult to fully document in the context of migration and trafficking, at least not in statistical terms.

Lack of alternatives

Domestic work is an occupation with a low and marginal status. Few efforts have ever been successful in professionalizing the industry despite repeated calls from various sectors. Many young girls without the necessary experience for formal urban employment initially venture out as child domestic workers. With proper recommendations and contacts, the girls themselves do not even need to submit bio data, grades or work permits.

The lack of alternatives to domestic work may trap these girls into endless changes of employers and city destinations. In order to continue schooling, many CDWs also keep up with the whims of different employers. They would also rather stay in the city for a while, following an attempt to flee from abusive employers, than go home empty-handed. Some are prone to slide into prostitution.

Other factors

The research also suggests that there are other factors that contribute to children submitting themselves to domestic work, including:

- The child's desire to see the city;
- The lack of support systems for working mothers (i.e. child care facilities);
- The CDW is perceived to guarantee the food, clothing, shelter and, sometimes, education, which parents cannot provide;
- The chance to work in the city raises the family's status in the community;
- The child's services are payment of parent's debts.

6. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Child domestic work: Why it is one of the worst forms of child labour?

The very nature of domestic work and the arbitrary treatment by employers of CDWs makes the distinction between acceptable working conditions and hazardous working conditions very tricky. Some children are given free food and lodging, an opportunity for schooling, and even decent remuneration. Two out of three respondents in this research believe that they are better off working in somebody else's home rather than in their own homes.

However, the working conditions of domestic workers can quickly become dangerous. Employers' moods can swing to extremes as the child begins to fall short of expectations. Unfortunately, most CDWs have no control over choosing their employers because they are informally recruited in the first place. In many instances, it is only when the parents report to local authorities that the full implications of allowing children to be recruited by unmonitored and informal agencies are realized. Unfortunately it is too late once they come to suspect that something might have happened to their child working away from home.

For young girls any support network is mainly informal and cannot easily penetrate the privacy of the employers' home. Most CDWs also do not have enough time to compare their conditions with other girls because they are always on call and may only have the weekends for days off. They are hardly reached by institutions from government, trade unions, or religious and women's institutions. However, several institutions are starting to get in touch with them; a quarter of the respondents have contacts with local NGOs working with children.

The results of this RA research indicate that child domestic work, while beneficial to some extent, can sometimes be a worst form of child labour. Based on the RA and the opinions of the CDWs interviewed, the reasons why the working conditions of CDWs can sometimes be considered abusive are outlined in the following paragraphs.

a) Working heavily all-around for long and indefinite hours, even at night

- Many child domestic workers surveyed are all-around workers;

- A third of those surveyed had an average work-load of 11-13 hours a day;
- Over half of CDWs feel that they are sometimes tired because of their work, 15 out of 26 consider their work as always tiring. About half of them perceived work overloading for long hours as a foremost problem;
- Fourteen said they suffered mainly of burns and cuts;
- Twenty-nine fell sick while working;
- Ten said they were not given enough time to rest or play;
- Three-quarters of the CDWs surveyed find domestic work a heavy and demanding occupation.

b) Physical and verbal abuse most common, including the use of derogatory labels

- Fourteen out of 36 CDWs perceive verbal abuse as the most prevalent problem;
- Seven CDWs have experienced physical beatings as a form of punishment;
- Twenty-two out of 36 said their employers have reprimanded them by way of verbal admonition or reminders. It was not clear to them if the use of abusive verbal language should have been part of the disciplinary method. Some said their employers often use derogatory language.

c) Illegal recruitment and trafficking, including unclear terms of work since the onset of employment

- Five out of 36 of respondents were facilitated by individual agents or recruiters;
- Thirteen of the respondents entered domestic work through the recommendation of friends and relatives;
- While most parents said that on entering work the children were informed about their duties, salary and working hours, most did not expect that additional benefits and time for attending school would actually be discussed. This supports the children's claim that only 14 out of 36 knew of expected working hours, 15 knew whether they could attend school, and 11 if they would receive additional benefits.

d) Sacrificing education and other alternative opportunities

- While there are opportunities in smaller cities such as Negros to take advantage of alternative education, CDWs faced difficulties related to combining work and schooling, such as the long working hours and the lack of resources for schooling;
- Seven CDWs reported having a hard time doing their school assignments because they still have to work.

e) Isolation from their families and other support networks

- Nine out of the 13 parents interviewed were not aware that their children did suffer occupational risks at work;
- Only one parent was aware of the verbal abuse and reprimands suffered by their children at work and only one knew that their child was being physically mistreated.

f) Vulnerability to sexual abuses

- Three of the 36 respondents directly spoke of horrifying attempts of sexual harassment by their employers' or by other household members.

Gender dimensions

Researching the gender dimensions in parental expectations of their children provides interesting insights into child labour issues. There is an underlying cultural expectation for daughters to be dutiful and obedient by taking on household chores. Boys are less expected to help in household tasks. In the same manner as mothers traditionally nurture the family, daughters are also expected to give the same nurturing to brothers and other siblings. As soon as girls are old enough to work for other households, they seek remunerative work outside the home and the community. In contrast to male siblings who have wider leeway in finding jobs, female siblings are more prone and vulnerable to traditional work than males. Parents allow their daughter to serve in other households because it is believed to be the safest work around for girls.

In general, the results of this research show that daughters working as child domestic workers are expected to help their family financially, especially when they are working away from home. While male heads of the household are the primary sources of financial support, the family expects the children to remit much-needed cash to support the family. Because these girl workers are seen to be enjoying free food and lodging, so they are expected to remit part or all of their salaries home. They are also seen as an opportunity for immediate access to emergency cash through advances and loans from their employers. As the debts accumulate, these girls find it hard to look for another employer or for work opportunities other than domestic work.

Other research on Filipino child-rearing practices as they relate to the development of children's gender identity and roles have described Filipino child-rearing practices in terms of explicit and implicit differential socialization for boys and girls. Specific expectations and feminine behaviours exist in the Philippine society. Gender behaviour is mirrored and perpetuated in the family through the process of socialization. For example, what parents expect of their daughters contrasts sharply with what they expect of their sons, and families tend to invest their resources unequally in their daughters and their sons[72].

Reference can also be made to studies that have explicitly concentrated on the plight of Filipina girls from the point of view of the girls themselves and of those living in difficult circumstances such as child abuse, sexual exploitation, prostitution and child labour[73].

[72] Liwag, E.; Concepcion, D. et al. *How We Raise our Daughters and Sons: Child-Rearing and Gender Socialisation in the Philippines*, Ateneo Wellness Center with publication assistance from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 1999.

[73] Ortega, S. et al. *A Policy and Action Research on Filipino Female Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances*, University of the Philippines Center of Women Studies, Diliman, Quezon City, December 1998.

Policy proposals

In general, any policy proposal dealing with child domestic work must recognize first and foremost the productive contributions of the sector to the national income and productivity. CDWs act as labour multipliers by freeing other women to seek remunerative work. They secure the home, nourish family members and even exercise nurturing responsibilities on the employers of child domestic workers.

On the other hand without some standards or policy for the sector there is a danger that girl CDWs will be denied acquiring life skills, technical competence and personal growth, leaving a career in domestic work a low paying, dead-end and peripheral job.

The need for a multi-stakeholder framework for action

The first step is to address the lack of national and institutional policies to combat child domestic work. To develop a policy, it is not only necessary to set up a governmental framework for action, but also to involve a wide range of stakeholders in the policy-making process. There are groups and organizations already aware of and concerned about the issue of CDW, yet they remain unclear about how to act coherently. Developing a framework for action triggers actions and participation of others too.

Regardless of whether a policy exists, it must be remembered that structural difficulties in the implementation of any policy recommendations will be encountered. Often the lack of networking, advocacy and information dissemination are attributed to the lack of research and quality data on the area of CDW. A National NGO *Consultation on Child Domestic Workers in the Philippines in 1996*[74] called for the media to consistently inform the public of non-partisan positions and negative opinions about domestic helpers. International agencies including the business sector were also called on to strengthen linkages between groups, set up support mechanisms for CDW, and raise the consciousness of their circles on the issues of CDWs.

Examples of difficulties in policy implementation exist at many levels. Participants for this research lamented that action on child domestic work in Negros is hampered by lack of regional resources and mechanisms. Labour inspectors acknowledge the difficulties faced in reaching CDWs scattered in the informal sector. Aside from limited manpower, there are no specific procedures and tools to effectively deal with the informality of the sector. Labour inspectors rely mostly on the reports of NGOs and other groups, and act according to their capacity.

Related to the policy problem is the ambiguous definition of treating the girl CDWs as part of the family. If CDWs are working for relatives and family members there can be implications for policy-making, as it will be very difficult to formalize standards in the domestic workers' sector because the employer-employee relationship is foremost, although not quite in practice, a familial relationship. The Philippines social welfare department acknowledges that its centres are geared towards child abuse problems in general. In respect to cases of reported abuse, the problem arising is that children's status is not clearly defined, as they cannot be considered to be either members of the employers' family or workers.

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[74] Visayan Forum, Inc. *National NGO Consultation on Child Domestic Workers in the Philippines, Consultation Proceedings* conducted in cooperation with ILO-IPEC and Terre des Hommes, Asia Office, Quezon City, August 1996.

Policy development is already in process with the *Batas Kasambahay*, which sets minimum standards for the recruitment and treatment of domestic workers, including those younger than 18 years. Widespread acknowledgement of its provisions is already providing a framework for action in targeting employers, and also serves to clarify much of the ambiguity that exists around the working children's status in the household of their employers.

Improve working conditions

Minimum standards by way of legislation must be set on an industry-wide scale in order to make a significant impact on CDWs. Employers must be made to realize the benefits of heeding proposed minimum standards because they play a large part in influencing the conditions of these working children.

Girls working as CDWs must be reached out to and informed about their rights and entitlements, otherwise they will not speak out about abusive actions suffered in the sphere of their employer's guardianship. The government must clearly give a mandate to an agency which can act as a third party apart from the employers' interests, in order to secure the rights of CDWs. Crisis and hotline centres will be very important to cater to the specific needs of victims and runaways in order to give rise to a *formal* support network.

Any legislation to address the issue of child domestic work must at least address the following concerns:

- Setting the minimum wage levels;
- Proposing mechanisms to ensure CDW rights to the wages they earn;
- Limiting normal hours of work to 10 hours;
- Prohibiting night work;
- Regularizing days off and vacation leave;
- Illegalizing and criminalizing hazardous work, activities and working conditions;
- Penalizing trafficking for child domestic work;
- Prohibiting the hiring of children below 15 years of age;
- Making emergency services more accessible to CDWs;
- Making educational opportunities more accessible and affordable;
- Increasing resources for repatriation;
- Mandating institutions that can exercise custody over abused CDWs.

Influence attitudes and gender norms

Social norms and attitudes that hide the actual nature of malpractices against girl CDWs must be confronted. Improving employer-employee relationship is a key objective. There are many issues that must be clarified with respect to employer-employee relationships. For example, unclear terms of employer guardianship, non-recognition of gender dimensions/expectations of employing CDWs, approaching girl CDWs with adult expectations, disregarding their rights to education, leisure-time and socialization, and taking advantage of the girls' vulnerability due to the lack of alternatives and support networks.

Addressing parental perceptions of their daughters is also crucial, as many parents are convinced that domestic work is safest for their daughters. Parents must be clearly informed of the problems intrinsic to domestic work. Their perceptions are often clouded by the prospects of having a daughter to remit money home.

Any form of information dissemination must constantly target CDWs themselves. It must be recognized that they can assert their capacity to make informed choices about their lives. Assistance could include increasing their awareness of their basic rights, clarifying perceptions about work conditions, and supplying contact details of institutions that are adapted to their special needs. The research clearly indicates that without such information, most girl CDWs can only depend on their friends and families, who have limited capacity to handle such problems.

The patterns of leisure that girl CDWs enjoy (if at all) can provide potential for designing programmes on outreach and advocacy. It is worth remembering that girls and boys have different leisure patterns. Television seems be a powerful media to inform girl CDWs of their rights. Outreach activities in parks, schools and churches are important to make contact with girl CDWs.

Build relationships between CDWs and their employers

Improving the relationship between employer and employee lies at the heart of improving the situation of CDWs, bearing in mind, of course, that the ultimate goal is the elimination of domestic labour of girls and boys. Employers must understand the importance of the role that the girl domestic worker plays in their family life. Thus advocacy with employers is a key strategy to reduce abusive child domestic work. Conversely, girl CDWs must recognize their value and assert their rights. Such empowerment cannot be forced and can only gradually emerge, through raising the profile of their work and their contribution to the economy.

It would be more effective to mediate between the employer and girl child domestic worker to seek an understanding through which the interests of both sides are met, rather than to straightforwardly confront and blame employers. Obviously, if a girl is being abused there is an urgent need to intervene on behalf of the child. In the absence of better alternatives, and if initial abuses are not extreme, it may be practical to look for a more sustainable arrangement – even if sometimes this might mean that the girl still stays with an employer – as long as the girl is not subject to similar exploitation as before.

Improve educational opportunities

A major concern is to help girl CDWs attain a balance between work and school. Schools are openings for CDWs who are isolated from the outside world. Lack of employers' support, on top of the inflexibility of many formal curricula, makes school another burden for CDWs that proves too difficult to persevere with. CDWs need help in coping with the difficulties they encounter in attending school, particularly with regard to their low status and self-esteem. NGOs could provide direct assistance with regard to tuition fees and school-related expenses, but there are limits to this kind of support.

Teachers and other officials have to be encouraged to be more supportive by adopting and implementing curriculum and teaching methods sensitive to the hours and situation of CDWs. More importantly, there is a need to coordinate with school officials to develop gender-sensitive methods to make children more aware of possible abuses at work. It should be emphasized that such abuses are violations of girls' rights and should not be considered part of the job as a domestic worker. School officials can also dialogue with employers to become more supportive of the school activities of girls and understand the particular problems that girl CDWs face.

Institutionalize participation in group activities

Being part of a group or network formalizes and regularizes CDWs' contact outside their employers' home. This is a crucial lifeline and support through difficult times. Groups and networks also facilitate CDWs' access to alternative options once they decide to quit domestic work. NGOs can provide personal and resiliency trainings, improving the girl CDW's understanding of her rights and entitlements. They may also help to decrease the CDWs' vulnerability as a girl child.

A good example of an NGO providing services is the Visayan Forum, which concentrates specifically on the protection of children in or entering domestic service, runs a programme to identify and receive these vulnerable children, and provides them with basic information that will reduce their vulnerability about accommodation, available services and their rights, as well as offering access to social services if they need them[75].

Even if girl CDWs do not directly participate in organized activities, they can still be reached in other ways. For example, they could be encouraged to register with the social security system. Policies that ensure all girl CDWs can be traced from job to job with a master list of registered CDWs could be put in place. Group activities could also be organized around gender-sensitivity awareness, reflection sessions and skills-enhancing trainings.

Mobilize communities to the dangers of CDW

The CDW phenomenon does not exist in isolation from the multiplying problems of families and communities. While allowing children to work brings economic benefits, it also entails latent social costs. In this context, families or source communities should be given sustainable alternatives to decrease the factors driving children into domestic work. In addition, these communities need to develop pro-active approaches in preventing illegal recruitment. Such strategies include setting up community-child watch systems, monitoring recruitment activities, and integrating children's agenda in over-all developmental programmes. Such child-watch networks are also reflective of the approach by the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC).

The perceptions of parents need to be addressed. Without their vigilance, illegal recruitment remains rampant in source areas. It would also be difficult to trace and rescue CDWs at risk if parents only complain once they suspect their daughter to be in danger, or when they stop remitting the money. Parents should be able to insist on their custodial rights to remove their daughters from abusive environments.

Enhance tri-partite networking on the special needs of CDWs

The issue of CDWs still has to be thoroughly introduced into the programmes and strategies of tri-partite and other social partners. Lack of extensively documentation of CDW hinders many organizations from embarking on programmes because they believe they do not have enough understanding of the intricacies of the issue. Furthermore, these girl child workers are often not considered priority, are very scattered and are most difficult to protect.

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[75] ILO/IPEC (June 2001). Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are. An evaluation of ILO-IPEC programmes in a number of countries, including the Philippines.

Some suggestions for moving forward include:

- Increasing focus on local media and their responsibility to raise the issue of CDW as one of the worst forms of child labour, using case studies of girl child workers to illustrate their plight;
- Exploring ways to raise the issue of CDWs in terms of a gender equality issue;
- Increasing the number of community-based efforts focused on children's problems, and ensuring they concentrate on prevention issues and how to set up alternative programmes for the families of children at risk.

Difficulties in networking

Difficulties in coherent networking and negotiating on behalf of CDWs were reported by the researchers to exist in Negros Occidental for the following reasons:

- No institution has been able to establish a lead and unite the efforts of other institutions with different mandates. The efforts of child labour focal persons in the labour department are diverted to other concerns due to lack of funds.
- There is a lack of capacity to build crisis centres to accommodate child labour cases. Legal bureaus and service providers are unable to cope with the increasing number of reported girl-child victims.
- Local advocacy is reactive to children's concerns. Efforts to preventively inform parents and communities of the issues relating to gender, work and migration have not yet been developed. Most efforts are centered in the destination city of Bacolod rather than in source communities in remote towns.
- There are very few crisis centres that can specifically accommodate girl-child cases. Most girls are mixed with other victims, including boys and even adults. Further, very few caregivers can recognize the special demands of managing cases of abused CDWs. CDWs tend to be more shy and reserved than street children.
- Few alternatives and livelihood programmes are directly connected with girls at risk of becoming CDWs. Few programmes address gender issues.
- There are few efforts to work directly with employers of girl children in the informal sector.

Follow-up with more research

Finally, the following suggestions were made by the researchers for focusing more research into the area of CDWs:

a. Mechanisms to evaluate the salary levels of domestic workers.
b. The links between child domestic work and other worst forms of child labour, particularly prostitution.
c. The perceptions of teachers dealing with the working girl child.
d. Case studies of employers of CDWs to understand their positions.

SECTION C

1

Commercial sexual exploitation of children in Bacolod City in the Philippines: a special focus on girls[76]

1. Introduction

The scale of children involved in prostitution in the Philippines has increased to such an extent that the sexual exploitation business involving children has already assumed the proportion of an industry directly or indirectly contributing to the employment, family income and overall growth of the country. Often the perception of children in prostitution is blurred due to misreporting, miscounting, denying and ignoring. For example, officials frequently mask the scale of the problem. Often it is not just the individual child who is involved in prostitution but also their families who rely on their earnings. The low status of girls and women in society often permits and perpetuates their exploitation[77].

This Rapid Assessment (RA) sheds light on the work situation of girls and boys engaged in prostitution in one specific urban centre in the Philippines. This report highlights the work processes of and conditions experienced by children, especially girls, in commercial sexual exploitation (CSEC) and the factors or pathways that led them to succumb to such activity. It also provides possible policy and programme measures/interventions that can be implemented to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

The Rapid Assessment indicated that prostitution in Bacolod City was openly carried out in two places, namely: (i) the City's Public Plaza and (ii) the Golden Fields Complex. In general, workers in the sex sector, especially boys and girls in prostitution, remain invisible. Although, the researchers were able to locate both boys and girls engaged in prostitution, these children's general invisibility has largely been attributed to the illegal nature of their activities. Prostitution was deemed a criminal act under the Revised Penal Code. The fear of arrest by the police or of being ostracized or ridiculed by the community, forced these workers to ply their trade covertly.

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[77] Arcilla, N., *The Filipino Children in Prostitution, A Worst Form of Child Labor*, Migrante-Anak-Pamilya (MAP) Foundation, Inc. for ILO-IPEC, December 2001.

2. Profile of the surveyed area

Bacolod City is located in the north-western part of the Province of Negro Occidental, on the Visayan Islands in the Philippines. The city is composed of 61 barangays (*villages*) and 639 puroks (*smaller village comprising the barangay*).

Economy

The annual per capita poverty threshold or the amount required to satisfy food and non-food basic needs reached $199 (or P11,605) in 2000, an 18 per cent increase over the 1997 threshold of $169 (or P9,843). Thus, a family of five members should have a monthly income of $83 (or P4,835) to meet their food and non-food basic needs[78]. In comparison to the rest of the Philippines, the lowest poverty threshold in the country in 2000 was in Negros Oriental, at $154 (or P8,940). It had stood at $136 (or P7,924) in 1997.

Bacolod City has suffered from an economic downturn since the mid-1980s, caused by the area's struggling sugar industry. In the old days, sugar production meant great wealth and power for the city, but now the local economy is devastated. The Asian financial crisis in the 1990s has only exacerbated the hard times that linger. As a result, lack of work, seasonal or otherwise, has left many families in Bacolod City without resources for basic needs.

Labour force participation

The labour force includes individuals aged 15 to 64. The employed population includes those who are at present working and earning, while the unemployed are those who are willing to work but are unable to find work. In 2000, the household population aged 15 years and over was 258,000 in Bacolod City. Of this, 180,600 or 74 per cent were in the labour force. Of the 180,600, the actual number of employed was 87 per cent while 22,936 or 13 per cent were unemployed. However, it is important to keep in mind that, official figures do not include those involved in commercial sex.

Health and sanitation

Bacolod City offers one of the most comprehensive health programme packages in the Philippines, set up by the city government. It has its own maternal care, childcare and an expanded programme on immunization, with other disease controls including controls for sexually transmitted diseases.

[78] http://serp-p.pids.gov.ph/details.php3?tid=2149

Schools

Primary education in the Philippines is compulsory between the ages of 6 to 12. Public educational institutions offer primary and secondary education free of charge. Primary education is from the age level 6 to 10, intermediate school is from age 10 to 12 and secondary school is from 12 to 16 years.

Municipal services and decrees

From 1986 to 1999, the City Council of Bacolod passed 14 resolutions upholding and institutionalizing the protection of children. However, only one (Resolution No. 312, Series of 1996) has direct reference to girl children driven into prostitution due to incestuous relationships. Resolution 312 merely called for a committee review on the situation of these children and requested the attendance of other local government officials involved in social welfare and health services, including Barangay officials, in the committee review. Since then, no traces of documents were found pertaining to the status of such a committee or showing updates on the progress of its activities.

Another resolution that has direct bearing on the plight of girl and boy children in commercial sex is Resolution No. 978, Series of 1997, which called for the allocation of 500 square meters of land within the Philippine National Police (PNP) Compound "as the site of the (proposed) *Street Children Nutrition and Education Project (SCNEP) Social Development Centre (SDC)*". While the SDC was originally intended for street children and not for children engaged in commercial prostitution, the police utilize the facility to house and provide assistance to children engaged in prostitution. This occurred after authorities realized that such children have no place to go and that there is no institution catering to their needs. Henceforth, the SDC became the sole institution providing rehabilitation and care for children involved in prostitution. Unfortunately, the Centre is very ill-equipped and poorly budgeted, which greatly hampers the delivery of its services.

Altogether there were five identified non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within the city limits that provide sanctuary to abused children. None of these institutions cater to children involved in commercial sex. Two Catholic schools provide intermittent counselling to children in prostitution and occasionally distribute used clothing and food.

3. General methodology

Sampling

The study made use of purposive sampling that allows the selection of a sample population that fits the pre-defined group, in this case boys and girls engaged in prostitution.

Initially, a mapping of available statistics on children in prostitution, from national to regional down to provincial level, was done. Independent surveys/studies

on children in prostitution were also obtained to supplement existing statistics. The process, however, failed to produce reliable estimates, given the paucity of quantitative information available on the sector. In the light of this, a purposive sampling was undertaken in which the characteristics of the sample respondents were predetermined. The number of the sample respondents was arrived at on the basis of cost in conducting the interviews.

Sex sample distribution

Forty-four children participated in the survey. The male/female sample distribution was arbitrarily determined, taking into consideration the objectives of the study:

- to closely look into the working conditions of the girl-child labourers, which is the main focus of the study;
- and secondly, to a certain extent compare the situation of girls engaged in prostitution to their male counterparts.

Interviews were conducted with 33 girls and 11 boys aged 17 and below who were engaged in prostitution. In addition, parents of 10 of these children and other key informants, such as local government officials, were also included in the list of interviewees.

Methods of data collection

Several methods of data collection were utilized. These included conducting one-on-one interviews with the child-respondents, parents and some key informants using a structured questionnaire provided by ILO-IPEC, and the wording was adapted to the Filipino context.

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) with local government officials (including Barangay or village officials), health workers, social workers, employers/managers, and police officers were also conducted to verify/validate and compare information provided by the children and their parents.

The sites visited

The research team[79] visited the Bacolod City Public Plaza and the Golden Fields District, including some establishments and rented houses near both locations. Other sites visited included the residences of the 10 respondents' parents, the local health centre, and the four NGOs listed as institutions providing care to abused children in the directory of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW).

[79] The research team was composed of four technical personnel, all skilled communicators and researchers. The data-gathering occurred from 10 to 17 March 2002.

Location of children engaged in prostitution

The City's Public Plaza can be found at the heart of the city. It is a known rendezvous for cheap and unprotected sex. It is where juvenile gangs congregate, mostly of street children who are allegedly engaged in prostitution, unsafe sex practices and substance abuse. Blue-collar workers, gays, students and sometimes foreigners frequent the site. Children who have pimps are located in one corner of the Plaza. Plaza-based children in prostitution usually serve their customers in nearby areas that are dark, muddy, putrid, infested with pests and lacking any facilities.

Commercial sexual activity in the Golden Fields Complex is a lot more organized, primarily because it is a first-class recreation centre. Boys and girls engaged in prostitution in the Complex do not roam the streets. The Golden Fields Complex thus caters to those who are better off. Free-lancers can be found mingling with potential customers in disco houses while those who have pimps stay in one place, usually aboard parked Asian Utility Vehicles (AUV). Children here are well dressed and groomed, unlike their Plaza counterparts. Young girls mostly aged 15 to 17 were made up not only to enhance their beauty but also to camouflage their age. Most of them were pink cardholders. This card certifies that they were physically examined and were STD-free. This also serves as a work permit from the local government. Clients are "serviced" at the nearby hotels/motels where their customers are billed.

The Plaza-based children in prostitution may be mistaken either for street urchins engaged in petty crimes or for children from poor districts merely resting or just playing within the Plaza confines. Nearly all the children engaged in prostitution at the Golden Fields Complex could be mistaken for young professionals.

Location of interviews

Arrangements were made with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) officials to facilitate the interview of 10 children who have been involved in prostitution prior to their confinement in a government-run institution. Eleven boys and ten girls were interviewed and provided with food at popular eating outlets near the City Plaza, an area where children are sexually exploited. The interviews were facilitated by a government social worker who was known and trusted by the respondents.

Health workers arranged interviews with the girls' and boys' pimps at the Golden Fields. Such interviews were conducted on the spot. The good rapport of the city health officers with the owners of the entertainment establishments and pimps/handlers of the children contributed to the success in reaching out to the respondents and in conducting the interviews. Twenty-one girls participated in the activity.

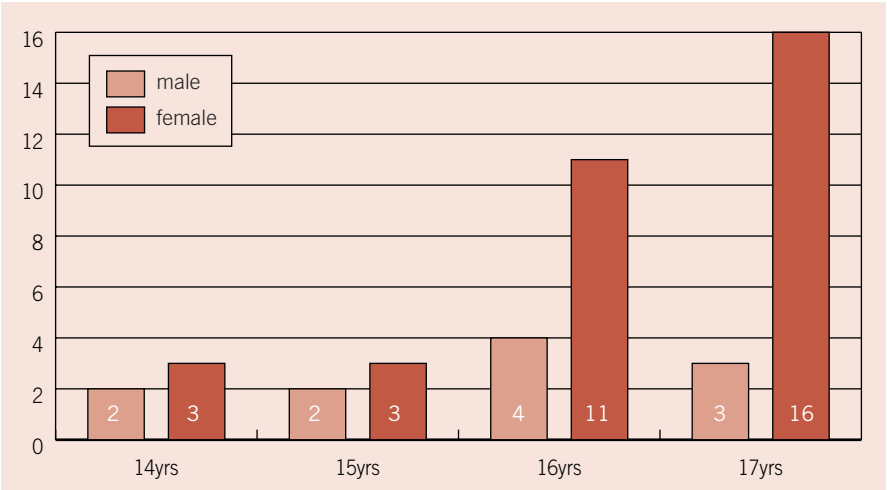
4. Survey findings

4.1 Profile of the Children

Age profile

The majority of the girl respondents were 17 years old, while most of the boys were 16 years old. Only a handful of either sex were 14 and 15 years of age.

Table 12: By Sex and Age Group



Status of residence

Over half of these children were born in Bacolod City (52.3% or 23 persons). Some were born in nearby provinces and cities like Cadiz City, Murcia, Victoria City, Silay City, among others, and migrated to Bacolod City. The trend to migrate into the city is attributed to several factors other than familial roots. Economic factors include poverty, lack of access to job opportunities, training opportunities, and the retrenchment of the sugar industry.

One of the key informants from the employers' sector revealed that they actually preferred hiring migrant entertainers rather than locals. This was mainly because the migrants were easier to manage and were more compliant compared to their local counterparts, who have a tendency to develop a negative attitude. An example of a negative attitude was given as leaving the establishment whenever they want on very short notice or with no notice at all. The same informant also said that, in one establishment he managed, most of the workers came from Cebu and Davao Cities.

Proximity of the place of work to the child's residence was reported as an important factor. When scolded, locals can just leave work, go home or hide in their relatives' homes, whereas migrant workers have fewer places to go, thus making them more vulnerable to abuses and exploitation, given the absence of social support and the distance that separates them from their family.

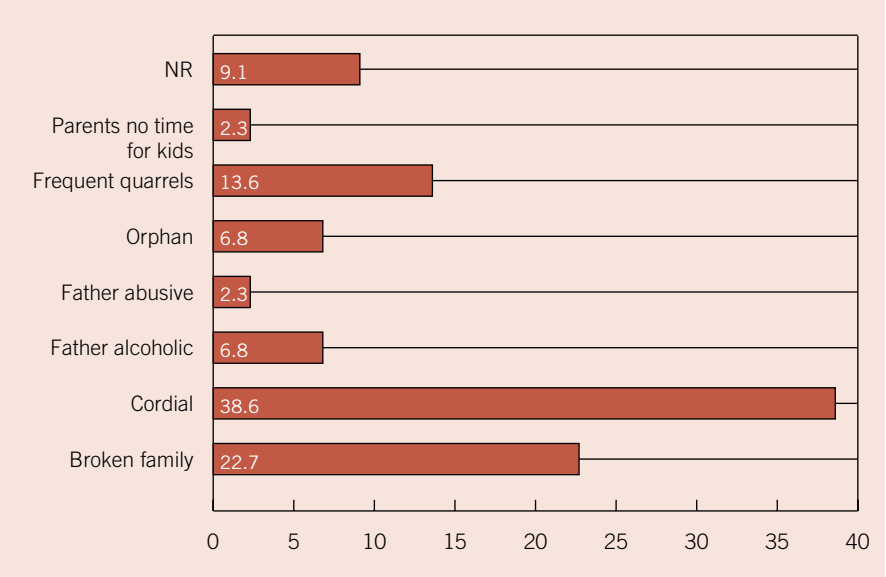
Close to three-fifths of the respondents still live with their respective family members while the remaining two-fifths had run away from home and are living with their friends/gang mates, co-workers or handlers/pimps.

Family relationships

A little more than one-third of the children enjoy a cordial relationship with their families, while 10 come from broken families. Six children (1 boy and 5 girls) said that their family relationship is far from perfect, with frequent quarrels due to financial difficulties and vices (e.g. alcoholism, drugs, womanizing).

There was only one case of child beating, with the respondent admitting his father always beat him up, even for no apparent reason. This caused him to run away from home.

Table 13: Parental Relationships



Literacy level

All of the respondents could read and write fairly well in both English and Filipino. However, lapses in spelling in these languages were observed. The parents were unanimous in saying that they neither forced nor requested their children to work. In fact, they wanted their children to focus their attention on their studies. The parents believed that education could help their children secure a better future. Five of the respondents, all based in the Golden Field Complex, were fairly proficient in English.

For the boys, the highest educational attainment recorded was 3rd year high school while the lowest was 3rd grade in the elementary. For the girls, the recorded highest educational attainment was high school graduate while the lowest was grade 5. Thus it would appear that the girls in prostitution interviewed had reached a higher educational level than the boys interviewed.

School attendance

Forty-one out of the 44 respondents have stopped going to school. All of the boys had quit school. However, there were also more girls who have been out of school for longer periods than the boys. Despite free primary and secondary education offered by the government, half of the children – 18 girls and 4 boys – said their respective families could not afford to send them to school due to the high cost of school supplies, uniforms and transport fares, among other reasons.

Seven children, mostly girls, gave up their schooling to help in the household chores while six children did so because they feared being ridiculed at or even ostracized in school. The fears stemmed from the inability to cope with school lessons or to pass school exams or from giving birth (5 respondents had given birth). One girl stated that she became a mother at the very young age of 14 and gave up school because of this.

Four girls and one male cited the absence of interest in studying as a primary cause for abandoning their studies. The loss of interest can be partly attributed to peers who have persuaded the respondents to quit school and join them in their activities around the city.

Three children indicated giving up school to work for wages in order to help augment family income. Other individual reasons for quitting school included running away from home to be away from an abusive father, involvement in gangs, or to take care of an ailing parent. Almost two-thirds of the respondents, 9 boys and 17 girls, expressed their desire to go back to school. However, eight girls had no more intention of going back to school, while four girls and one boy could not tell whether or not they would still like to go back to school.

4.2 Profile of the parents

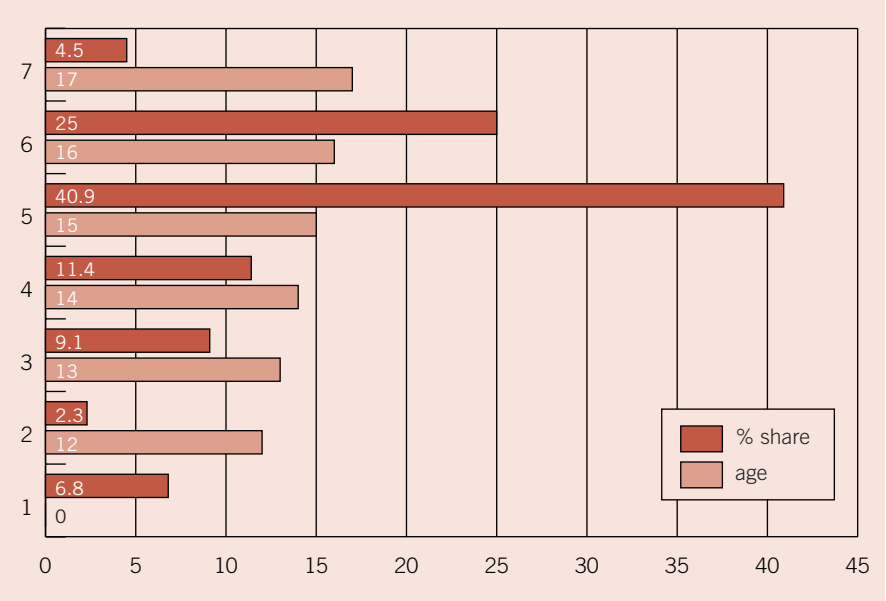
Only 10 parents accepted the group's request for interviews, all of them parents of Plaza-based workers. These parents admitted that their children were into some kind of trouble since the majority of them had stopped attending school, rarely came home and had been hanging-out at the Plaza. However, they denied any knowledge of their children's involvement in commercial sexual exploitation. The researchers concluded that nearly all parents did not know about their children's engagement in prostitution (or did not want to admit it). Six out of ten of the parents blamed peer influences on their children dropping out of school. Eight of the ten parents worked in the informal sector, mostly as vendors and manual labourers. The remaining two were employees of a private enterprise and an NGO, respectively. All ten parents interviewed knew how to read and write.

4.3 Working situation of children

Age started

The girls generally started working in prostitution at the age of 15. Two girls reported that they got involved in prostitution when they were ten years old. Among the male respondents, the distribution as far as "initiation" was concerned was a little more varied. Most boys already engaged in prostitution when they were 13 years old.

Table 14: Age started working



Work path

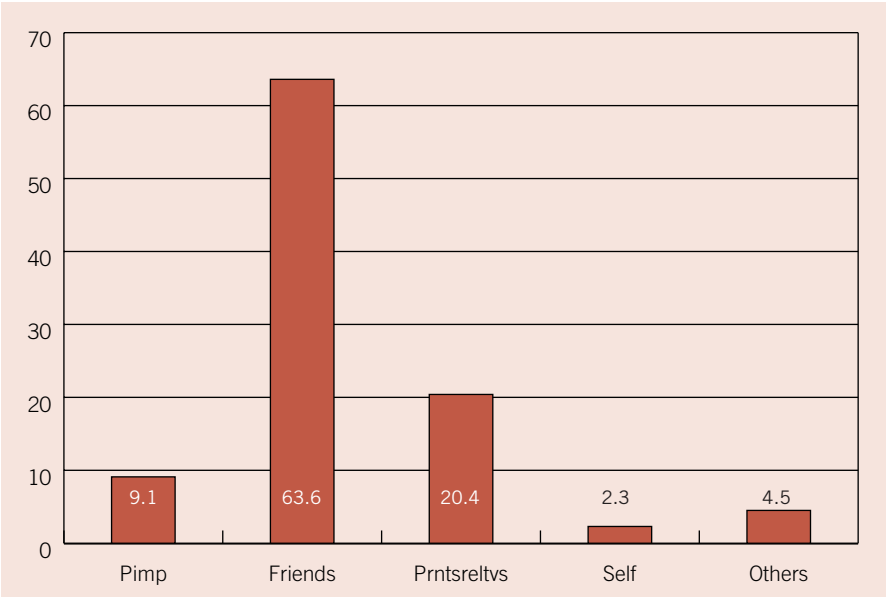
The first work experience of 7 boy and 31 girl respondents was with prostitution. Only six children had been previously engaged in jobs such as freelance manicurist, nanny, waiter, parking attendant, driving a bicycle with side-carriage, car driver and car washing.

Peer influence seems to be the main driving factor why these children got involved in commercial sex. Twenty-one girls and 7 boys were prompted by their friends to be involved in prostitution. The majority of them were part-timers or intermittently engaged in prostitution to fend for their personal needs, e.g. to afford drugs or other substances that produce narcotic effects when sniffed. Only a few worked full-time. The full-time workers were the ones who lost contact with their families or relatives or guardians and were fending for themselves and/or family to survive.

Almost one-fifth of the respondents entered the "sex sector" voluntarily. Making "easy money" was frequently cited as a reason for being involved. Those who were driven into prostitution by pimps accounted for only 4 children interviewed. According to one of the respondents, she was forced to enter prostitution when her father died, compelling her to work to be able to support her mother and siblings. In fact nearly half the respondents said they needed to work to supplement their families' incomes.

Two-thirds of the children were already aware of the demands of prostitution, including the risks and hazards accompanying it, even before entering this work. They were either taught by their co-workers and managers or learnt about it as they got into it. Only three children said that they had no idea what they were getting into, while a quarter of the respondents gave no response.

Table 15: Person/s who prompted them to work as prostitutes



Wages

The primary incentive to engage in sexual services was money. Usually, each customer is charged for the specific period. Pick-up points were a major factor in the determination of the fees charged. Children in prostitution based in the Golden Fields command higher fees compared to the meagre fees charged by their Plaza-based counterparts.

Rates charged are linked with maintenance costs. The majority of the children engaged in prostitution in the Golden Fields were managed, housed and groomed by their respective managers/pimps. As such, handlers/pimps get a sizeable portion of the service fees that the child workers received from their clients. Very few operate in the Golden Fields as freelancers, and even then they charge higher fees, as they have to factor in pay-offs to local authorities once caught or to their protectors to allow them to operate in the area.

Plaza-based commercial sexual workers, on the other hand, charged smaller fees. The majority of them were freelancers and not very well groomed. Since police detention of children is against the law, they do not worry about bailing themselves out once arrested by local police, since they will eventually be freed once their parents ask for them or be transferred to temporary shelters for counselling. However, this would imply that some parents do know that their children are involved in prostitution.

The interviews with the key informants, including club managers/owners or talent managers/pimps, revealed that virgins do not command such a high price as might be assumed. Most pimps, in fact, prefer not to hire them because the price attached to their services was most of the time outweighed by the costs of providing physical and emotional assistance. Pimps also had an interest in getting the child in

prostitution back to work as soon as possible. In addition, pimps want to avoid the heavy legal sanctions associated with minors. Overall, inexperienced children in prostitution were viewed as problematic.

Higher fees were usually attached to young children. Young children being managed by pimps received an even higher payment as the pimps were in a better position to negotiate with the client about the price on behalf of the child. However, what the child got was minimal in comparison to the pimps.

Girls tend to charge higher fees than boys. The highest recorded service fee charged by a boy respondent (15 years of age) was $9.40 or P500, while for girls (one 16 year old), it was $94 or P5000. However, one 17-year old girl said that she charges as low as $1.87 or P100 for each sexual intercourse with a customer. Two 14-year old boys also gave the same answer. Hence, it would be inaccurate to conclude that age alone was the only factor for the child's service rate. The difference in fees also depends on demand factors and on who can negotiate for the child.

According to other key informants, a relatively high fee is charged for patrons/customers who avail themselves of their services early in the evening. The fees decrease in the course of the night, due to the lower number of customers demanding their services.

Some child workers receive payment in cash or kind. For example, they receive cell phones, clothes, food, accessories and sometimes jewellery. According to the key informants, regular customers usually give cell phones so that they can easily reach the children by simply calling or sending them text messages.

Among the male children in prostitution, 3 boys out of 11 would accept clothing and food as substitute payment for their services. Girls in prostitution would opt for a cell phone or clothing or jewellery. Thus, it could be inferred that male respondents are into the trade for survival while the girls venture into it for convenience, allowing them to purchase goods and luxuries which are normally beyond their means.

One boy and 9 girls give part of their earnings to their respective parents and another part to their pimps. Two boys and six girls share their earnings with their parents alone. The amount these children share with their parents or pimps varies considerably.

Other sources of income

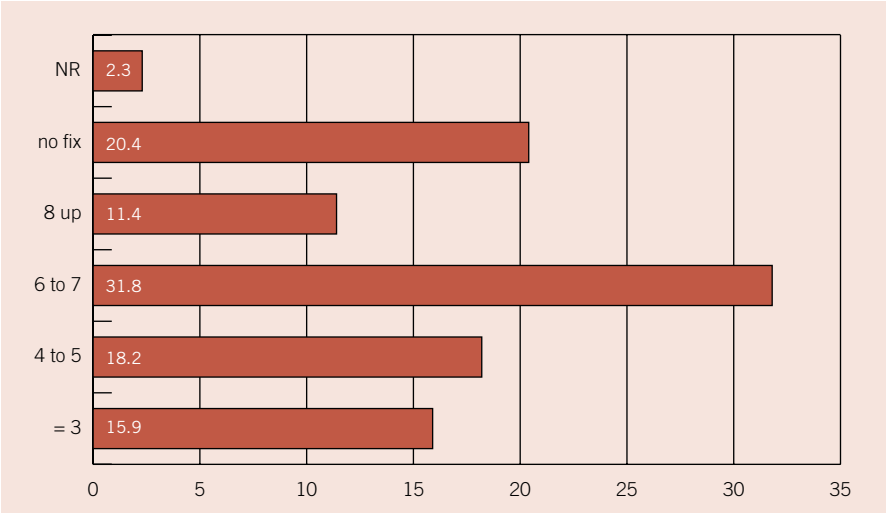
Only 5 children (2 girls and 3 boys) responded positively when asked if they had other sources of income. According to the girls (both aged 14), they receive "contributions" by their respective partners who are also engaged in commercial sex. The contributions vary from $1.87 to $3.74 (or P100 to P200) every day, which they use to buy food, medicine and sometimes drugs.

The boys, on the other hand, also work as dispatcher, parking attendant and driver of pedal cab (bicycle with side-carriage). One admitted he sometimes engages in petty crimes.

Working hours

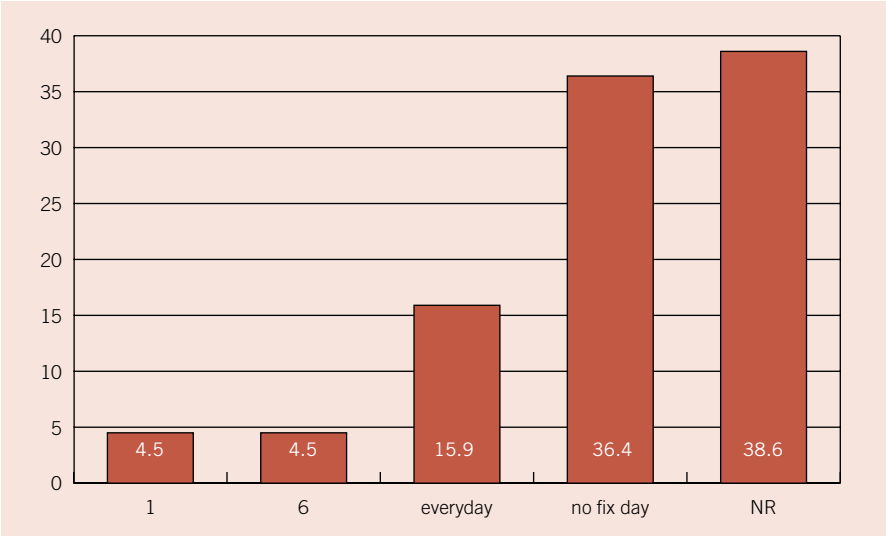
It appears that most of these children have no fixed work time. Nine children have no permanent work hours since most of them are freelancers and are mostly motivated by personal needs. About 8 children spend 6 hours of work a day, while 6 work for 5 hours a day. The longest working day reported in this study was 10 hours while the shortest was less than 3 hours.

Table 16: Average Work Hours



A little more than a third of the respondents have no fixed workdays, and nearly seven children work almost every day and it is their main source of income. Only 2 children work once a week.

Table 17: Average Working Days Per Week[80]



[80] Raw data can be accessed through IPEC on request.

Occupational hazards and dangers

Children cited the following work hazards:

- contempt from their own family (17 children or 40%);
- substance abuse such as solvent and liquor (16 children or 36%);
- humiliation/insults from community/society (16 children or 36%);
- physical abuse from clients (16 children or 36%);
- constant interaction with the police resulting in detention (14 children or 32% – and 7 out of the 11 boys interviewed);
- contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (9 children or 21%);
- being sexually abused by the police (1 child);
- fear of getting infected with HIV/AIDS virus (8 children or 18%);
- fear of accidental impregnation (8 children or 18%); five of the respondents had already given birth;
- being sexually abused or harassed by family members (6 children or 14%);
- work-related sexual abuse by a client (6 children or 14%). More girls consider being physically abused by a client as a setback.

Health controls

Eleven girls undergo physical/medical examination once every week, while ten said that they never had physical or medical check-ups. In all instances, health or medical check-up was only associated with detection and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Those who underwent a physical check-up were those who had been followed up by the local police, among them mostly Plaza-based children in prostitution. Upon their arrest, these children had been sent to the City's Social Development Centre (SDC) for counselling. The social workers in the SDC in turn had referred them to the City Health Centre for physical examination. It was only then that they were detected of having contracted STDs or suffering from an illness.

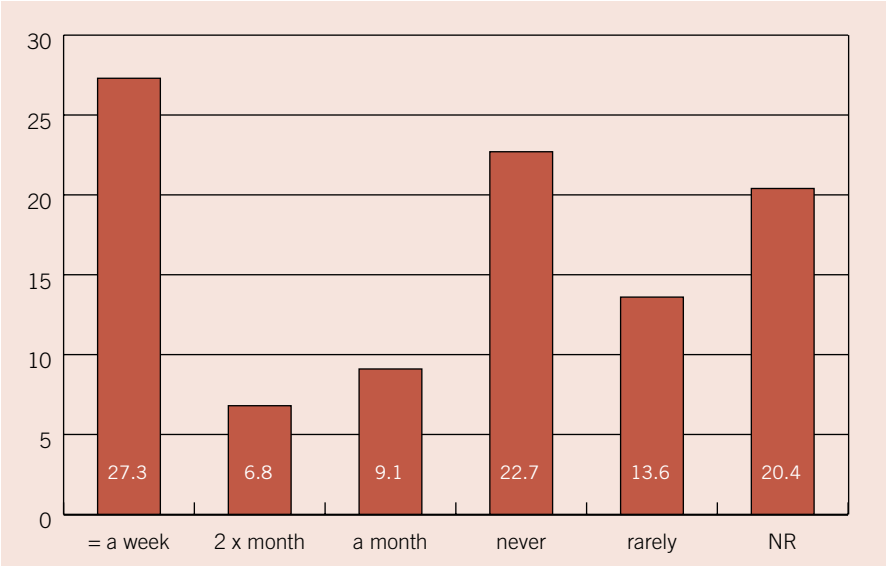
Meanwhile, regular entertainers aged 18 and over who have been working in establishments were required to undergo a physical check-up once a week in order to be issued a pink card, which served as a certification of good health. According to key informants, local customers are now more cautious of their regular contacts for fear of contracting STDs including HIV/AIDS and ask first for a pink slip from the child (in prostitution) to make sure that she/he was free from contagious disease. However, many do not realise that infection cannot be easily detected, especially if this occurred one or two days before the physical examination.

Key informants from the City's Health Office said that the information campaign on STDs and HIV/AIDS in the city has not achieved the intended impact so far. The children in prostitution themselves and owners of night-clubs and entertainment establishments in the area viewed the campaign positively. Constant dialogues over the years between the city health workers and the owners of establishments have helped enormously in tracking down those girls and boys in prostitution who have not been complying with the local health ordinance of submitting themselves to regular physical/medical check-ups.

Such good working relations were curtailed when the city health officials decided to change their approach in addressing the prostitution problem in the city. The new measures included constant crackdowns on establishments and cordoning

of the areas for spot inspections. This approach impaired the good rapport between the parties involved, and the information campaign had lessened in effect.

Table 18: Frequency of Health/Medical Check



From the research, it was not safe to assume that girl-children were more conscious of their health than their male counterparts since most of the boys declined to comment on the issue. The lack of responses on this issue may be partly attributed to the lack of information on the danger such practices pose to their well-being.

5. Analysis of the pathway to engagement in commercial sexual exploitation

Extended poverty

Global recession has gravely affected the local economy. The decrease of economic activities has resulted in further economic and social exclusion of many Filipinos. Recent data on the country's poverty incidence indicate that the proportion of poor families has increased to 33.7 per cent in 2000 from 31.8 per cent in 1997. Poverty prompts children to help to supplement family income. The results of the recent National Survey on Working Children show that the number of working children has increased by 16.2 per cent, or in numbers, by 540,000.

The effects of poverty could be confirmed by the results yielded by this study, as child-respondents said that they stopped schooling in order to work and supple-

ment their respective families' incomes. Even though the parents claimed that they wanted their children to finish their studies, most of them do not earn enough to be able to afford keeping their children in school. In fact, some of the parents revealed that they had asked some of their older children to quit school to work.

Two key informants engaged in managing children in prostitution admitted that they did not have any difficulty in recruiting workers, because often the parents or family members themselves volunteered the services of their children in exchange for regular income. The sexual exploitation of boys and girls will persist wherever there are extreme wealth inequalities and children have no recourse to protection[81].

Lack of employment opportunities/alternative livelihood

The lack of employment opportunities or alternative livelihood for parents/families of the children is also a related factor. While most of the parent-respondents were employed informally, they disclosed that they had to work under miserable work conditions, and did not earn an adequate salary.

Parent-respondents verbalized their disappointment over the insufficiency of government assistance both in terms of social (basic health services), economic (employment and alternative livelihoods) and educational support services. They believed that a considerable increase in the provision of, and improvement in, the implementation of these services could make a significant difference in their lives and those of their children.

Weak family relationships

A weak family support system often led children to turn to the streets. Family problems prompt children to seek emotional and social refuge with their peers/friends. Beliefs, values and practices within families that were contrary to the notion of a nurtured childhood result in the neglect, abuse and exploitation of children. Once on the streets, they became vulnerable to exploitation not only by their peers but also by strangers who capitalize on their weakness and ignorance.

There was strong indication that children who suffered sexual abuse in their homes were more prone to engaging in prostitution. For instance, a relative had raped one of the respondents in the house of her guardian.

Natural and man-made disasters

The Philippines has been exposed to many disasters, both natural (earthquake, drought, typhoons, flood, among others) and man-made (armed conflicts, among others). These disasters have caused the loss of lives and property, thus gravely affecting family structures and the development of children.

In Negros Oriental, the collapse of the sugar industry followed by a prolonged drought forced thousands of sugarcane workers and their families to seek other

[81] Baker, R. (2001). The sexual exploitation of working children: Guidelines for action to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. Paper written for UK DFID February 2001.

sources of income. Some workers migrated to other parts of the country to seek better pay and improved working conditions. Others moved to Bacolod City and were willing to do any kind of a job. Others still opted for staying in the haciendas and tried to find work there.

It was only in the late 1980s that armed conflicts between communist rebels and the Philippine government ended. The lives and future of many children had been gravely affected. Most if not all of them stopped schooling and sought employment to boost their families' earnings.

Peer influence/pressure

A child's need for acceptance and belonging to a peer group often resulted in her/his following the examples and solutions to economic and relationship problems offered by peers. Both boys and girls are very vulnerable during their teenage years to submitting to peer pressure and wish to be accepted to a group of youths around their same age. Most children are afraid of being rejected and excluded from their peers, particularly if they do not have a happy family situation or have no relatives to rely on. Groups or gangs tend to substitute for the feeling of belonging to a family or ethnic group.

When expected to follow the example of their peers, boys and girls learn to be subservient to the wishes of the peer group at large and subservience develops into a habit, and from habit it evolves into a lifestyle. If other children in their peer group are engaged in prostitution, it becomes the norm and sometimes even a stipulation for belonging to a particular peer group.

Curiosity during puberty

Sex is a popular subject matter among grown-ups. To adolescents, sex is something new and exciting. Adolescents are surrounded by advertisements, products, television, movies that all emphasize sex. The proliferation of pornographic materials and their accessibility cause widespread interest amongst teenagers as well as mis-information on sex.

Both boys and girls thus become curious and have a sense of adventure to explore and experiment with sex. If boys and girls are enticed into prostitution through their curiosity about sex, they are in danger of being prematurely exposed to the worst forms of child labour, because the effects of prostitution are eventually more sinister than they first imagined.

Sex tourism

While sex tourism did not surface during the interviews conducted, the probability of Bacolod City being one of the "sex tour" destinations can be presumed. Documented cases of commercial sexual exploitation of children indicate a high incidence of prostitution in areas considered as tourist destinations. Sex tourism is evident as a factor for girls engaging in prostitution in other regions of the Philippines, and in many other Asian countries such as Thailand, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Although in general it is often found that most child sex abusers are local men,

regions well known for sex tourism are also frequent destinations for boys and girls brought in to satisfy foreign tourists, underlining the demand-driven nature of commercial sexual child exploitation[82]. Specific research in the Philippines noted certain areas as centres of paedophiliac tourism and asserted that sex work is performed by an increasing number of girls over the age of 13 who come from destitute rural backgrounds and serve tourists in the cities[83].

Lack of educational opportunities

Although many of the respondents expressed their desire to go back to school, their family's inability to finance the additional costs of schooling such as school uniforms, school projects, supplies, meals and transportation allowances prevented them. Nonetheless a lack of interest in study can also be a factor in getting involved in prostitution. Five respondents confirmed that their lack of interest in studying made them quit school and spend their time on the streets.

Materialism

The desire to possess private belongings or live a lifestyle beyond his/her means can be identified as one of the impelling reasons why some children, particularly girls, engaged in prostitution. A fifth of respondents admitted that they voluntarily entered the trade as they wanted to earn more money and live luxuriously the "fast and easy way."

Demand factors

The belief that if you have a young partner in sex, you will also become young may have also something to do with the demand for children for sexual exploitation. The increase in the sexual exploitation of boys and girls is often blamed on adult customers' fear of acquiring HIV/AIDS from adult prostitutes. Such beliefs were to be considered another factor perpetuating child prostitution.

A study by the Department of Social Welfare and Development and UNICEF in 1998[84] recommends (among other areas) more research into the demand side of CSEC, particularly perpetrators of child abuse and exploitation, in order to provide the other perspective necessary to fully analyse the reasons for committing CSEC.

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[82] ILO/IPEC (2002). Unbearable to the human heart: Child trafficking and action to eliminate it. P. 18.

[83] Bagley, C. «Adolescent prostitution in Canada and the Philippines: Statistical comparisons, an ethnographic account and policy options», in *International Social Work*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1999, pp. 445-454.

[84] Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Philippines: A Situational Analysis*, with publication assistance from United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 1998.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

The RA found that the sexual exploitation of children is evident in two areas of Bacolod City: the City's Public Plaza and the Golden Fields Complex.

Although this study had a special focus on girls in prostitution, because there is no doubt that in general girls are more abused and exploited than boys, this does not suggest in any way that boys should not be similarly protected, treated and supported in recovery and rehabilitation. The situation of boys engaged in prostitution is sometimes overlooked in research. Other studies[85] have shown that boys engaged in prostitution are sometimes even more hidden than girls, as homosexual activity is often more taboo than sex with girls, even sex with girls that are minors. The widespread belief is that boys are better able than are girls to fend for themselves.

Ten girls who based themselves in the Plaza were interviewed as well as 23 girls who were sexually exploited in the Golden Fields Complex. All the boys engaged in prostitution who were interviewed, 11 in total, were located in the Plaza, although the research did not indicate why no boys from the Golden Fields Complex were interviewed. Thus it is unclear whether this was because no boys were engaged in prostitution in the Golden Field Complex or because they were unable to interview boys engaged in prostitution in that area.

Two different conditions for the sexual exploitation of girls emerge, with those girls (and boys) in the Plaza often part of juvenile gangs engaging in cheap and unprotected sex as well as substance abuse. Unlike the "Plaza-based" girls in prostitution, the girls located in the Golden Fields Complex did not roam the streets[86]. These girls were better groomed, and some even had health cards that certified they were free from STDs. They also charged higher prices to those that exploited them, and some, but not all, were managed by pimps who took a high percentage of their earnings.

Thus, the research found that the position of the boys and girls in the Plaza was considerable worse than the girls in the Golden Fields Complex. Plaza-based children in prostitution were sexually exploited in more filthy and unclean premises, without running water and on back streets. These children seemed to have less information about the risks associated with being sexually exploited.

From the report it is difficult to really understand and appreciate how being engaged in prostitution affects the boys and girls in both locations. Other research on child prostitution in the Philippines has attempted to enquire into how girls and boys (separately) deal with their situation and their coping mechanisms. Psychological, health and behavioural impacts of prostitution are examined[87]. Reference was made to substance abuse, with the Plaza-based workers often engaging in prostitution to pay for such substances (see below).

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[85] Rapid Assessments conducted by IPEC in Jamaica, the United Republic of Tanzania and Sri Lanka, among others.

[86] Evidence from NGOs in the Philippines is that new laws relating to trafficking and sexual exploitation in 1996 have reduced the public face of exploitation and driven it underground. For example, in the Philippines brothel-based prostitution of children has been giving way to pimping of children in shopping malls. P. 23 ILO/IPEC (June 2001). *Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are.* An evaluation of ILO-IPEC programmes in a number of countries, including the Philippines.

[87] ILO/IPEC Manila, Philippines (1996). 'The Child's Inner and Outer World: A study of the phenomenology of the child in Prostitution'. A Report on the Action-Research Phase of the project: *An Action-Research and Intervention Programme to create a child-focused environment for children with experiences in prostitution:* International Catholic Child Bureau-Asia.

From the results of this RA research, nevertheless, it could be assumed that the children in prostitution in the Plaza area, and boys in particular, lacked information on the ill effects of engaging in premature and unsafe sexual activity. On the other hand, it could be concluded that the researchers found it difficult to discuss such issues with boys by comparison with girls.

Nearly all boys and girls engaged in prostitution no longer attended school. The results of RA contained in this report showed that those who worked full time in prostitution tended to be completely estranged from their parents. Dysfunctional family relationships and problems often prompt girls and boys to seek emotional and social refuge with their peers and friends who roamed the Plaza area. Such friends often facilitated the boys' and girls' entry into prostitution, being already in prostitution themselves. This is in line with a research survey from UNICEF that found that of the motivating factors underlying the incidence of adolescent girls entering into prostitution in the Philippines, by far the most important factor in the girls' decision was peer influence[88].

Both girls and boys, particularly those from dysfunctional and poor families, are extremely vulnerable to the effects of sexual exploitation. When they engage in prostitution, they are both subject to hazards including HIV and STI infection, but girls are also vulnerable to early pregnancies (as was evident in the results of the RA, with 5 out of the 33 girls already having given birth) and resulting risky abortions, violent and abusive behaviour, not just from clients but also from the police and other members of the community. Interestingly, most of the boys interviewed particularly feared contact with the police. Additionally many boys and girls use drugs, probably to deal with the emotional pain of being sexually exploited and to help them deal with multiple customers per day.

As other ILO/IPEC research has highlighted[89], there is also no doubt that the majority of abusers and exploiters are men, although women are also active as procurers, recruiters, intermediaries, suppliers, heads of needy families and, to a lesser extent, customers. Nevertheless men form the overwhelming majority of customers and greater numbers of girls suffer sexual abuse than boys[90]. On the demand side there is a general belief among men that "younger girls are sweeter". This is also linked to common perceptions of gender roles, which blur the line between child and adult[91]. Adolescent and young girls are not always looked upon as children in regard to sexual relations, especially as they may shoulder adult burdens in their families. In the Philippines, sex with minors is illegal; as a result many of the girls in the Golden Fields Complex engaged in prostitution attempted to camouflage their age with make-up.

Engaging in prostitution for both boys and girls was a means to buy personal items and to afford drugs. However, from the results of the RA, many boys seemed to engage in prostitution for survival, whereas it would appear from the forms of payment that some (but not all) girls were willing to accept, in comparison to boys,

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[88] UNICEF (1998). Programme of co-operation for child survival, protection, development and participation in the Philippines. P. 68.

[89] ILO/IPEC (June 2001). *Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are*. An evaluation of ILO-IPEC programmes in a number of countries, including the Philippines.

[90] Baker, R. (2001). The sexual exploitation of working children: Guidelines for action to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. Paper written for UK DFID February 2001.

[91] NIRAS and ILO/IPEC (2002). Methodological Guidelines for interventions against commercial sexual exploitation of children, under the Time-Bound Programme to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the United Republic of Tanzania.

that girls engaged in prostitution less for survival alone but also to be able to afford nice clothes, cell phones and jewellery. It was also interesting to note that, when paid in kind, girls prefer more expensive items than boys. Thus, although on the whole, poverty is a driving force for engaging in commercial sexual activity, more girls seemed to engage in the activity to make extra or easy money.

Other studies have indicated that girls on the streets of Manila can earn four times as much as prostitutes than as street vendors or begging[92]. Because only seven respondents out of 44 work every day, from this research it can also be concluded that many of the boys and girls interviewed in Bacolod City intermittently engaged in prostitution to fend for their personal needs. However, two respondents worked every day.

The researchers found that the Barangay Councils for the Protection of Children (BCPCs) which are supposed to have jurisdiction over the "pick-up" points for children in prostitution have not been functioning or have not been actively engaged in protecting boys and girls. Very little was currently being done to help either girls or boys who engaged in prostitution, although the city health officials have been successful in keeping an open communication with some groups in the Golden Fields Complex in the course of their advocacy campaign for the prevention of STDs.

Thus at present, the specific needs of both boys and girls in prostitution are currently not addressed. Both boys and girls need protection and intervention, with the specific nature of the action dependent more on the circumstances of the abuse than on the sex of the child. It is interesting to refer here to a paper that looks into the rehabilitation of prostituted children and adversely criticizes Western theories on rehabilitation in the context of the Filipino culture. Western theories, according to the paper, should be adjusted to the local context so as to be able to work with prostituted children at a conceptual level and initiate a helping process. The Philippine culture is neither a direct nor a confrontational type, thus requiring caregivers to find methodologies that are most appropriate. Being both gender and culturally sensitive is required for dealing with prostituted children[93].

Prioritizing girls does not mean neglecting or misunderstanding boys in prostitution. A gender analysis of the situation will highlight boys' and girls' situations in relation to each other. In summary, working to combat children engaged in prostitution requires that "gender dimensions" be reconsidered not in terms of positively targeting girls in need of rehabilitation or at risk, but also in differentiating between the needs of girls and boys engaged in prostitution. There is a need for the child's as well as her family's participation in any healing process[94]. Additionally a gender dimension should considering the role of both men and women as perpetrators of abuse and exploitation[95]. This is because of the evidence that girls already in prostitution lead other girls from their peer group into prostitution.

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[92] Rosario, A. M. del. (1989). *The Street Girls of Metro Manila: Vulnerable Victims of Today's Silent Wars.* A Situation Study on Street Girls done in Collaboration with Childhope, Manila: Childhope, Asia.

[93] Protacio-Marcelino, E. *Filipino Psychology: Theory, Methods and Application in the Issue of Prostituted Children*, End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) – Philippines National Consultation Workshop, *The Challenge: Rehabilitation of Prostituted Children*, Quezon City. 1995.

[94] Hermoso, A. C. *"Treatment and Rehabilitation Work Among Prostituted Children"*, End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) - Philippines National Consultation Workshop, The Challenge: Rehabilitation of Prostituted Children, Quezon City. 1995.

[95] ILO/IPEC (June 2001). *Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are*. An evaluation of ILO-IPEC programmes in a number of countries, including the Philippines.

Policy recommendations

Provide employment assistance to parents

A significant improvement in the economy would have an eventual impact on combating the plight of poor families. While most of the parent-respondents in the study have some sources of employment and income, the terms and conditions of their employment are below standards with low pay, long working hours, and precarious conditions. Given the poor state of their employment, they are often forced to mobilize their children to work in order to augment their family income.

Suggested types of assistance for parents:

- provide a comprehensive package of employment assistance, including skills and entrepreneurship trainings for alternative livelihood;
- provide inputs/incentives for training of parents, such as transport and meal allowances;
- provide credit/capital to set up private businesses and information on markets for their produce.

Increase implementation of social services

Some girl-children in commercial prostitution came from broken families. The lack of time of parents to interact with their children makes children look for other sources of affection and attention. More social work with families whose children are at risk is required. Such interventions must focus on prevention measures.

Despite efforts to improve social services in the country, more efforts and resources are needed particularly at the local level. The Bacolod City's Social Development Centre (SDC) is ill-equipped, lacks sleeping mattresses as well as recreational facilities. Most importantly, the rehabilitation social services it provides are very limited and, hence, very little results are achieved in terms of providing the kind of assistance required by the children. The increasing number of sectors competing for limited resources hinders its improvement.

The SDC caters for street children but not specifically for children in prostitution. Given the escalating incidence of girls in prostitution, it is proposed that a social centre catering to their unique needs to be established. For instance, both girls and boys have different needs, ways and coping mechanisms. Therefore, it may be useful to develop a therapy module that would be responsive to the needs of both girls and boys separately.

Other reports[96] have outlined some pointers for the task of healing and rehabilitating prostituted children. Healing a child is outlined as a multi-dimensional task, requiring an interdisciplinary approach, reforms in the justice and educational systems, and changes in societal values as well as paying attention to the ethnicity and gender of the child. The task of healing a child entails breaking the cycle of abuse and exploitation involving wide participation of the society that created the problem in the first place.

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[96] Abueva, A. V. *Problems in Rehabilitating Prostituted Children*, End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) - Philippines National Consultation Workshop, *The Challenge: Rehabilitation of Prostituted Children*, Quezon City, 1995. Also Hermoso, A. C. *"Treatment and Rehabilitation Work Among Prostituted Children"*, End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) - Philippines National Consultation Workshop, *The Challenge: Rehabilitation of Prostituted Children*, Quezon City, 1995.

Mobilize the councils for the protection of children

Making BCPCs functional could make significant strides in mitigating the prevalence of child abuse in the country, given their grassroots-based operations. The registration of all children and youth in their Barangay is recommended as a way to monitor the number and determine the location of youth.

Work with the police

Many of the boys in prostitution were in fear of being harassed by the police. It is therefore recommended to educate, mobilize and raise the awareness of the police in the city. Other evidence seems to suggest that implementation of a comprehensive set of child protection laws is weak and that corruption is rife[97]. On a positive note, a Special Desk for Women and Children has been established at the Philippine National Police (PNP), and the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) is now run by women. This desk has enhanced the accessibility of police assistance to victims, thus minimizing the inhibitions, apprehensions and fears of victims in reporting physical abuses suffered.

Intensify information campaign on STDs, HIV/AIDS and drug addiction

The lack of information on the grave effects of engaging in premature and unsafe sex practices as well as substance abuse must be addressed. A massive information campaign (using tri-media channels) on the consequences of contracting STDs and HIV/AIDS as well as of addiction to substance abuse would have a major effect on awareness-raising among these children. Any information campaign should disaggregate its target groups, taking into account the gender dimensions and power relations that are evident in prostitution, for instance, how girls can negotiate condom use. The information campaign should again be done in co-operation with the owners of establishments (where boys and girls are available).

Solicit support of and deepen networking with NGOs

Efforts have to be made, particularly at the local levels, to augment government resources for the delivery of basic services. Networking with and soliciting the support of NGOs, particularly in the areas of community organization/mobilization, would be beneficial.

Support stronger legislation and strengthen advocacy

A number of promising innovations have been introduced to the country's existing penal and remedial laws to ensure adequate protection of children from sexual abuse and exploitation. Most notable among these are the following:

1. The upgrading of the crime of Rape from Private Crime to Crime Against Persons (Public Crime) de-limited the right of the State to prosecute the accused; and

[97] ILO/IPEC (June 2001). *Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children: going where the children are*. An evaluation of ILO-IPEC programmes in a number of countries, including the Philippines.

2. The passage and publication of the Rule on Examination of a Child Witness (effective 15 December 2001), which required the courts as well as court officials to be more sensitive to a child witness.

Currently, the Philippine Senate is on its Second Reading regarding the passage of Senate Bill 2125 entitled "A Magna Carta for the Working Child Providing for Stronger Deterrence Against Child Labour." The said bill provides more severe penalties such as "life imprisonment" for unlawful recruitment of children as well as for engaging children in "worst" forms of child labour, including prostitution. Finally, the End-Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT), together with the DOLE and other partner agencies, has initiated the drafting of an Anti-Child Trafficking Bill to further modify the weak provisions of Republic Act 7610 pertaining to child-trafficking. The passage of these bills will help to contribute to the elimination of child prostitution in the Philippines.

SECTION D

1

Girl child labour in agriculture in the Cordillera Administrative Region, the Philippines: results of a rapid assessment[98]

1. Introduction

Work in agriculture is one of the most physically exacting and hazardous economic activities in the Philippines. Many Filipino boys and girls can be found working in this sector. Often, these children are engaged in planting, harvesting, processing, storing and even selling crops, as well as raising livestock. The effects of child labour in agriculture are as many and varied as its causes. Physical changes remain the most perceptible effects on children. Poverty remains the most powerful factor contributing to its continued existence.

The Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is a major agricultural region in the Philippines and is known for having children engaged in agricultural work. In provinces and municipalities throughout the CAR, it is evident that child labour is an accepted way of survival, with local economies rooted in agriculture. A child toiling in the field is nothing extraordinary to the respective communities. Whether it is work in his or her own family's field, part-time work in a neighbour's field, seasonal work in a stranger's field or any other form of work in agriculture, child labour in the CAR region is seen not in terms of a prohibited practice, but as a way of life.

2. Summary findings from the research

General views on child labour

1) Child labour is never a primary concern in the region studied–there is an absence of specific programmes for child labourers due to indifference to the issue.

[98] *The Research Team*, Saul T. de Vries & Arturo Sioson, Jr., Principal Writers, Levinson Alcantara, Josephine Balalitan, Julieta Fojas, Celia Viernes, Veronica Hornilla, Christopher Cruz, Bernard Beltran, Rolando Abadilla. (Institute For Labour Studies, Department of Labour and Employment, Manila, Philippines).

2) Both the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) lack the manpower and monetary capability to tackle the problem of child labour in the region.
3) Local Government is focused on, and only has funding for, the delivery of basic and general services rather than specific programmes for child labour prevention.
4) Although information is available about the health and occupational hazards of child labour in agriculture, the political will to enforce and implement child labour laws is lacking.
5) To date there have been no formal complaints about child labour in all three surveyed municipalities. The prevailing attitude is that child labour is a way of life, a means to survival, a means to attend school, a choice not forced upon a child by someone but a choice obliged by circumstances.

Comparison of municipalities

The living and working conditions of the child labourer from different municipalities varied considerably. For example, the Abra municipalities of Tayum and Dolores were extremely poor in comparison to the living and working conditions of the child labourer from the municipality of Buguias, Benguet. They were moderately poor in comparison to the living and working conditions of the child labourer from the municipality of Bauko, Mountain Province. The girl child labourer from the region of Abra looked poorly and unhealthy in comparison to the girl child labourer from Benguet.

Observations of the girl child labourer by region

Through observation, the research team reported that the girl child labourer from one region, Abra, commonly has a tired and gloomy face without any signs of child-like glee. She is thin and frail. She speaks only her native dialect. She knows little or nothing about the dangers of working in the field.

On the contrary, the girl child labourer from Benguet appeared cheerful, beaming constantly at the sight of something funny and appeared more healthy than the girl child in Abra. She can speak in English, Filipino and her native dialect. She knows that the pesticides being sprayed while she works in the field may be bad for her health.

One reason for the noted differences in the appearance of and conditions for the girl child is the cooler climate of Buguias. In contrast, the climate in the low-lying municipalities of Tayum and Dolores is hot and so humid, making the dust and the afternoon heat almost unbearable. The municipality of Buguias enjoys a year-long harvest, as its vegetables are known to grow throughout the whole year. In contrast, the municipalities of Tayum and Dolores merely enjoy a seasonal harvest of such commodities as palay and corn.

Other possible reasons for these differences may stem from greater and lesser local government participation and national government assistance, geographical

considerations, and whether there are more or less public school facilities and educational programmes.

Differences between girl-child and boy-child labourer

According to the researchers, there was no extreme disparity evident between the 62 girl-child labourers and the 48 boy-child labourers interviewed. Although differences regarding their payment and workloads were found, the researchers claimed that these were seemingly insignificant and were due to reasonable circumstances and not caused by any form of undue bias or prejudice.

In fact, the researchers stated that culture and practice generally accord the young male more strenuous work and responsibility than the young female, although this also corresponds to lower wages for the young female worker. These findings and the evidence for such statements will be explored in more detail throughout this report.

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3. Profile of the surveyed areas

Location of survey

The sites studied in this Rapid Assessment (RA) were municipalities within the three Provinces of Abra, Benguet and the Mountain Province, all of which are situated within the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) in the Philippines.

- *Abra* has an extremely rugged and slightly mountainous terrain but is predominantly composed of low land, and therefore the climate is notably warm, as compared to the other provinces of the region. Most people in Abra are farmers, with the local economy of Abra and Tayum largely dependent upon agriculture.
- *The province of Benguet* is mountainous and surrounded by deep river valleys. The altitude provides a cool temperature that cannot be found in any other part of the country. Benguet is known as the "salad bowl of the Philippines". The Municipality of Buguias is considered the leading highland vegetable producer not only in the province of Benguet but also in the entire country. Vegetable farming is a year-long activity with more economic activity than areas with seasonal harvests.
- *Mountain Province* is situated in the heart of the Cordillera Range and has a rugged terrain with very steep to nearly level slopes and deep ravines. In the municipality of Bauko in Mountain Province the majority of residents are engaged in vegetable farming.

The life quality of people in Buguias seems to have vastly improved in comparison to the lives of their counterparts in Abra, with healthier-looking children, and more children attending school.

The local economy

The performance of the CAR economy has been topsy-turvy in the last few years, with high growth rates one year not sustained in the following year. Although the industry sector continues to drive forward the region's economic growth, about 60 per cent of the working population are still engaged in agricultural activities. Major crops include cabbage, banana, camote, coffee, tomato, mango, cassava, tobacco, pineapple and coconut. The region also serves as host to small numbers of livestock and poultry.

Health and sanitation

In general, the families in the provinces of Abra, Benguet and the Mountain Province region may be healthier than 10 years ago, but the region is still facing the continuous problem of transmissible diseases associated with poverty. The causes of morbidity in the region are still preventable and curable.

The development of health care has been almost stagnant for the past 5 years. Nonetheless, specific projects spearheaded by the national government include family planning, a National Tuberculosis (TB) Programme, and a First Water Supply, Sewerage and Sanitation Services Project (FWSP).

Schools

The conditions of the public schools in CAR were reflective of the general conditions of the nation's public school system. As such, they were observed to be struggling with insufficient educational materials and equipment and poor maintenance of classrooms and facilities. The more economically progressive the municipality was such as Bugiuas, the more improved were the conditions of the public schools.

4. General methodology for the research

A purposive non-probability sampling procedure was employed in the three provinces visited by the researchers. This procedure allowed the researchers to choose from a sample population that aptly matched the desired target sample group of the study. Targeted areas/municipalities were selected on the basis of the occurrence of children in agricultural work and past statistics, which documented the prevalence of child workers.

Quantifiable data were analysed for frequencies and cross-tabulated. Qualitative data such as the results of focused group discussions, interviews with key informants, inquiries and observations of the research team were also integrated.

Methods of data collection

The communities of the target areas within the provinces of Abra, Benguet and the Mountain Province were generally receptive and hospitable to the research team.

The people of Tayum, Abra, however, were initially apprehensive due to the misconception that the purpose of the research team was to enforce child labour laws.

The researchers carried out interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and field observations, and also undertook an analysis of existing studies[99]. They also studied photo documentation of the three provinces visited. The research team assumed that some respondents and key informants tended to conceal the truth about child labour in their respective areas, which could have resulted in inconsistencies in replies. Thus, observations and direct examination of the place of work were made when possible, while the culture, behaviour and attitudes of respondents were fully considered in responses.

A semi-structured questionnaire template provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO) International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) was modified and used.

Proceedings were co-ordinated with the local officials in the given target area. The researchers co-ordinated with the DOLE CAR regional office and municipal social workers to organize the children, parents/guardians and other key informants in the target municipalities.

Local government officials were initially asked for their permission and assistance. Families were then gathered in one location and the purpose of the study was explained. Each member of the team randomly invited a child-respondent to sit down for an interview in a secure area. Each member, again, introduced him/herself to the interviewee, explained the purpose and intent of the research, and asked permission to proceed with the interview. The common method used was to engage respondents in a friendly and casual conversation. In certain instances the local dialect was necessary, with social workers acting as interpreters.

Afterwards, the parents/guardians were invited to sit in for a casual interview using the prepared parent/guardian interview guide, to validate the responses of the children. Among the key informants were the municipal and Barangay officials, the local Philippine national police, women's desk officers from the police, the resident governmental officers, resident social workers and some members of civic organizations.

Observed limitations of the methodology employed

Such a study required more time than allocated for the field researchers to prepare, orient and familiarize themselves. This was not simply with regard to the research framework, but more with respect to becoming familiar with the cultural and social aspects of the study, the local political and economic aspects, and the distinctive manifestation of child labour in each target area.

Composition of the research team

The research team was composed of nine technical personnel (five males and four females) from the Institute for Labour Studies (ILS) with diverse academic

[99] The survey was conducted from March 13 to 21, 2002.

backgrounds and varying degrees of experience. Each also received training in the fields of research, planning, child labour, child rights, industrial relations, labour laws, criminal laws and information technology. Only three members of the team could effectively speak and comprehend the local dialects of the region. A co-ordinating officer from the DOLE CAR Office ably assisted the team.

The children interviewed

The criteria used for choosing the respondents were age and exposure to agricultural work. Only children below eighteen years of age and who were engaged in agricultural work or performing any form of agricultural labour, with the exception of those who work solely in family-owned fields, were interviewed.

The sample size was initially set for 99 children-respondents, yielding a 60:40 per cent ratio in favour of girls. The actual survey, however, yielded a total of 106 children, encompassing 62 girls (58.5%) and 48 boys (41.5%). The mean age of sample children was 13.9 years, the youngest being 9 years of age and the eldest 17.

Summary of children interviewed and their location:

- 54 from Abra province, (with 50 from the locality of Tayum and 4 from Dolores);
- 29 in Benguet (all from Buguias);
- 23 from Mountain Province (21 from Bauko, 1 from Otucan and 1 from Tapapan).

The parents interviewed

A total of 49 purposively selected parent-respondents, (each a parent or a close relative of one of the child labourers) were interviewed. The objective was to validate the information gathered from the boy and girl child respondents. Out of the 49 parent-respondents, 29 of them had daughters who were interviewed; 15 had sons, 2 had a niece, 2 had a grandson and 1 had a nephew. Thus, the corresponding children to the 49 parent-respondents comprised 18 boys and 31 girls.

Sites visited

Work site or field inspection and observation and community visits were all done on a spontaneous one-time basis.

5. Survey findings

Profile of the children

The respondent-children were predominantly residents of the region. They are usually enrolled in school and working in the fields during weekends or during their free time on weekdays. Only a few had dropped out of school completely and most of these were boys who said their families could no longer afford to pay for their schooling. Still, most of the respondent boys and girls favoured staying in school and finishing their studies. It was presumed that most of them know how to read and write.

Age

A total of 106 children were interviewed, 44 boys and 62 girls. Table 1 shows that the children-respondents are between 9 to 17 years old. Their average age is 13.9 years. The girls were a little older with a mean age of 14.11 years compared to the boys' average of 13.59 years. The majority (61 or 57.5%) of the respondents, however, belong to the unemployable age of 9-14 years. The proportion of girls who are in this age group is lower than that of the boys. Around 54.8 per cent of the girls are aged 9-14 years, which is lower than the 61.4 per cent figure for boys. This lower proportion and higher average age record of girls could indicate that they start working a little later than boys, which could also imply that they are less likely to be allowed to work at very young ages.

Table 19: Age Group by Sex

Age Group	Boys		Girls		Both Sexes	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
9-14 years	27	61.4	34	54.8	61	57.5
15-17 years	17	38.6	28	45.2	45	42.5
Total	**44**	**100.0**	**62**	**100.0**	**106**	**100.0**
Mean age	13.59 years		14.11 years		13.90 years	

Educational profile

Despite being engaged in work, the majority of the children are actively attending school. A high rate of educational performance and enrolment in the region can be seen from the results of the survey. Around 90 per cent (95) of children are currently attending school, while 9 per cent (10) are school dropouts. Only one girl never had a formal education. Comparing the sexes, girls have a better record of school attendance, as 59 girls (95.2%) claimed a 'presently enrolled' status. Among the boys, only 36 (81.8% of those interviewed) are reportedly in schools.

Table 20: Schooling Status by Sex

Schooling Status	Boys		Girls		Both Sexes	
	Freq.	percent	Freq.	percent	Freq.	percent
Never attended			1	100.0	1	0.9
Left school	8	18.2	2	3.2	10	9.4
Attending school	36	81.8	59	95.2	95	89.6
Total	**44**	**100.0**	**62**	**100.0**	**106**	**100.0**

The above findings may indicate that the girl child is not left behind in having the right to an education in the region. Contrary to the cultural notion and practice of Filipino families not giving their daughters the privilege of an education and concentrating the family resources on the education of the sons, nowadays girls of the region seem more likely to be in school than their male counterparts. Furthermore, girls reach a higher educational attainment compared to boys.

The results as shown in Table 2 above were supported by the interviews with the parents. Parents revealed that more girls than boys attend school daily, validating the earlier observation that girls, indeed, have better schooling records than their male counterparts.

Reasons for quitting school

Most of the non-enrolees claimed to have left school for economic reasons. Seven said that they quit school because their family could no longer afford their educational expenses. One child informed his interviewer that he was obliged to help in the farm so he quit school. However, a positive indication of going back to school surfaced from the interviews, as nine of the ten children are eager to return to formal education, particularly in the municipality of Buguias, Benguet.

Profile of children's work in agriculture

Age started working

Girl child labourers started working a little later than the boy child labourers. On the average, girls have been engaged in agricultural work for 4.32 years by the time of the survey, which is slightly shorter than the 4.50 years average length for boys. The results of the interview with parents, however, reveal a different picture, as parents reported that girls have worked a little longer than boys, having already toiled for an average of 4.5 years as compared to boys' work experience of 4.0 years. Thus there was a slight discrepancy between the average length of time spent already working in agriculture as reported by the children and by their parents.

A majority of the children began working between the ages of 7-12 years, which are the basic elementary school ages for Filipino children. This finding is similar for both sexes. This seems to indicate that as the children enter school age, families start to depend on them for economic support. It could also imply that by the time children are ready to attend school they are already perceived as quite mature or old enough to be working.

Some children were already working by the ages of 4-6 years. The proportion of girls whose start age for agriculture work falls within this age group is lower than that of the boys (11% and 18% respectively). The least number of children (14 out of 106 children or 13.2%) started working at the oldest start date of 13-16 years. A higher percentage of girl respondents (16.1%) than boys (9.1%) started working between the ages of 13-16 years. On the average, the respondents entered employment at age 9.5 years.

It must also be noted that about a third of parents could not recall the age when their children started working. Physical fitness rather than age is a factor in beginning to work.

Reasons for working

Almost all reasons for working provided by the children were economic in nature, more than half citing the need to supplement family income. Twenty-two children out of 106 (21%) needed an income to keep themselves in school since their parents' earnings could barely support their basic needs. Around 9.4 per cent or 10 children out of 106, said they had to help pay family debts, hence the necessity for working. One out of two respondents among the 106 reported some of the following reasons: they wanted to be economically independent; they wanted to be with friends who are also working; they needed to be able to buy medicine; or they were forced by parents to work. The reasons given for starting work were not separately categorized into those given by boys and girls respondents by the researchers.

The majority of the parent-respondents echoed the economic reasons cited above for their children starting work, with 30 out of 49 reporting the need to supplement family income, 7 reporting the need to gain experience, 8 reporting the need to pay school fees, and 4 stating other reasons.

How children got into work

Nearly half of the children (51 children, 48.1% in total, with 50% of boys and 46.8% of girls) got into agricultural work because their parents or guardians prompted them to work. Others (41 children, 38.7% in total, 27.3% of boys and 46.8% of girls) decided to work by themselves, while the remaining (14 children) were prompted by other relatives, friends, a teacher or by neighbours.

Thus it is evident that there is a higher percentage of girl respondents than boys who decided to work without any prompting from their parents or other people. This may indicate that girls are less likely to be pressured to go into agricultural work compared to their male counterparts. This is perhaps due to the perception of families and relatives that girls are quite physically unfit for agricultural work. On the other hand, this finding could indicate that boys are less likely to take the initiative to work and help the family than girls, and that they would only take on agricultural work with the prodding of their parents, relatives and other people.

Actual work duties

Almost all children (104 out of 106) are engaged in crop cultivation, with 54 of them also spending time looking after livestock. To most of the children, crop work means planting, weeding, harvesting, watering and preparing the land. Twenty-four children out of 104 (23.1%) reported that they were engaged in spraying pesticides, although such duty is generally assigned to adult workers. If ever such duty is

assigned to children, it is usually the boys who do it, even though one incident was reported where a girl child was involved in spraying pesticides. Nevertheless, on the basis of site observation by the researchers, it was deduced that, generally, the child labourer takes on almost the same responsibilities as an adult.

There was also a handful of children who claimed to perform other activities such as uprooting of seedlings, gathering of snails and pests, operation of threshers, mixing of fertilizer and pesticides and hauling of crops. For those with livestock-related work, it meant spending time feeding animals, bringing them to pasture, and fetching water for them. A few children were involved in shearing and barn/pen cleaning.

Workplace and hours worked

Work is normally performed in the open field or farmland. The average normal working hours of the children in the fields or farms is eight hours per working day. The shortest reported number of hours is three while the longest is 12 hours. A total of 63 children toil for eight or less hours per working day (32 for eight hours and 31 for less than eight hours). These children comprise the majority of the respondents. A large number of children work for more than eight hours a day, comprising almost 40 per cent of the total respondents. According to the children, they are ordered to work for more than eight hours especially during the harvest season and other occasions of necessity.

There is little distinction between the average working hours of the girl child and those of her male counterpart. Both engage in work for comparatively the same number of hours per day. What is quite noticeable is that the proportion of girls who work longer than the normal eight working hours a day is higher than that of the boys. Among the girls interviewed, 27 out of 62 (or 43.5%) work between 8½ and 12 hours a day, whereas only 15 out of 44 boys (or 34.1%) work more than 8 hours a day.

The parents on the other hand reported that their children spend 7-8 hours working per day.

As most work in agriculture is seasonal in nature, the days of work per week varied from time to time. There is no fixed schedule. Everything is dependent upon the owner of the field or farm and the harvest cycle of the said field or farm.

There is a standard arrangement in most of the surveyed areas of accepting weekend child labourers in order to accommodate those who are studying during weekdays. However, this arrangement is subject to change should there be a necessity and should the owner of the field or farm insist on more working days. It was noted that whenever harvest on a particular field was due, child workers of that particular field would naturally be required or obliged to report for work more than twice a week and to come to work even on a school day.

For fields or farmland with seasonal crops or produce, there are only certain times of the year when work for children is widespread. There are only two main seasons in a given year: planting season and harvesting season. These seasons vary according to the type of crop being grown and the locality where it is grown. In Buguias, Benguet, there are numerous planting and harvesting seasons throughout a year. This is due to Buguias' assorted vegetable crops and its cool climate, making it possible for the municipality to produce crops throughout the year. Bauko in Mountain Province is similar, albeit to a lesser extent.

Wage status, basis of payment and compensation

Seventy-seven children out of 106 (72.6%) claimed to receive compensation for their work, either in cash, kind or both. The same percentage of both boys and girls reported receiving compensation (72%). However, 27 children (25% of boys and 25.8% of girls) working with their families or working on family farms claimed that they did not receive any payment for their services. In these instances, the work of children is simply considered a part of the work of the whole family and total earnings go directly to the parents.

The usual mode of payment for child labourers is on a per day basis. Among those who receive monetary compensation, 55 out of 66 children or 83 per cent are paid on a daily basis, 8 out of 66 or 12.1 per cent are paid per contract, while three children out of 66 reported being paid either per piece, per week or per hour.

Most of the daily paid children reported earning P100 a day (US$1.87). The average daily wage of all daily paid child labourers, however, is only about P85 (US$1.69). The average daily pay for boys was P97.50 and for girls P77.50 (US$1.45). It was reported that the girl child in certain instances received lower compensation for her work, on the stated basis that her workload is lighter. Importantly, the average daily pay was computed based on the earnings of only 64 child labourers, 24 boys and 40 girls.

Most in kind payments take the form of cereals or eggs, milk, vegetables and fruits. A few reported getting animal products such as leather and wool. A boy said he got school supplies for compensation.

The above findings are also consistent with the claims of the parent-respondents.

Other sources of income

Less than half (41%) of the children have other sources of income. Among such sources of extra income are domestic service, including laundry work, agricultural-related work, vending, car washing, fishing, fetching water and construction work. The payment for the domestic services of the children is more or less P50 per day (US$0.93). Other kinds of payment reportedly are exacted in the forms of animal products, rice and even a tuition fee grant.

Control over earnings

The majority of the children give their parents part if not all of their earnings. Forty-four children out of 75 or 58.7 per cent claimed that part of their income goes to their parents and the rest to school expenses and other personal needs. Nineteen out of 75 or about 25 per cent, on the other hand, stated that none of their earnings go to their parents since all of them are spent on school fees and other personal expenses.

The manner of spending of the girl child remains relatively similar to that of her male counterpart. However, giving her earnings to her parents either completely or in part remains at the top of the average girl child's list of priorities (16.7% of girl respondents reported this in comparison to 12.1% of boys).

Activities outside work

Aside from working in the farm and field, there are also other responsibilities that children undertook. Fifty-seven per cent of children are expected to help in

household chores, including babysitting, whenever they are not working. It is not specified by the researchers however, whether these chores are undertaken mainly by girls, boys or both. Studying (34%), playing with friends (20%) and taking a rest (7%) were other activities mentioned. In addition, a few children, when not working, spend time doing such activities as attending to animals and gardening.

Some children were reluctant to reveal that they play whenever there is no work to be done. They had to be asked about playing repeatedly before they would admit that they do find time for play. It is presumed that their culture of being immersed in work, if not in school, made some of them quite hesitant to reveal this fact to outsiders. Although some respondents may have the occasion to act as normal children, their time for play still remains negligible as compared to that of regular non-working children.

Effects of child labour in agriculture

Occupational hazards and dangers

Eighty-three out of 106 children (or 78.3%) responded to have experienced work-related injuries or illnesses. Those identified according to the highest rate of recurrence were cuts, bruises and wounds, headache and colds, flu, cough and fever.

There is a difference between the proportion of boy respondents who sustained injuries/illnesses and the proportion of girl respondents with the same experience relative to the total respondents under each sex group (81.8% of boys reported that they experienced work related injury and 75.8% of girls).

Other occupational hazards named were occasional snakebites, getting lacerated or cut by the blades of the thresher and other work implements, falling from mountain steeps, and exposure to chemicals (see below) and natural elements such as heat and rain.

Exposure to chemicals

Almost half – 51 out of 106 or 48.1 per cent of the children-respondents – stated that they have been exposed to agrochemicals either directly or indirectly. There was a higher percentage of chemical exposure reported amongst boys than girls. This figure of 48.1 per cent was broken down into 56.8 per cent of boy respondents and 41.9 per cent of girl respondents (25 boys and 26 girls out a total of 44 boys and 62 girls). These children claimed to be exposed to small clouds or mists of vapour, composed of sprayed and prepared pesticides and/or fertilizers. Exposure results from either spraying at the children's workplace while they are still there working or from chemical mists that are blown towards the children's place of work, coming from other nearby fields which conduct their own pesticide and/or chemical spraying. It must be noted that the number of exposed children could be actually higher as some of those who did not report any exposure might not be aware of the presence of chemicals in their workplace.

On the other hand, 37 out of 49 parents (75%) claimed that their children are not made to handle agrochemicals. This, however, does not mean that children are not exposed to these chemicals. While they may not be directly handling such chemicals, they can still be exposed if these chemicals are used while they are working, which is a common scene in the surveyed areas. In fact, some parents who cited

"suffocation due to chemicals" as one of the major hazards their children face at work confirm this point.

Among the 12 parents out of 49 who reported that their children normally handle agrochemicals, only four said that their children have been trained in the proper handling of these chemicals, while eight claimed otherwise.

Ergonomic hazards

When the children were asked whether or not they carry heavy loads, 77 out of 106 or 73 per cent replied positively, carrying an average weight of 33 kilograms of harvested crop, seedlings, sprayer, pails of water, feeds, wood and work implements.

The girl child is generally *not* exempt from carrying heavy loads as part of her regular job. Although there is a lower proportion among girls (67.7%) who carry heavy loads compared to boys (79.5%), their number remains significant enough to deserve attention. On the average, girls had to bear 26.02 kilograms a day while boys carried 39.02 kilograms.

Confirming the claim of the child labourers, 28 out of 49 or 57.1 per cent of the parents said that part of the work of their children involves carrying heavy loads. Twenty out of 49 or 40.8 per cent said that their children do not carry heavy loads.

Use of protective devices

Despite the dangers posed by exposure to agrochemicals and the other hazards of farming and working in the open field, 59 out of 106 or 55.7 per cent of the children-respondents disclosed that they were not provided with any protective mechanisms. For them, protective gear usually means boots, gloves, tools, hats and even ordinary T-shirts to cover their face and nose and provide a little relief from the heat and the chemicals. On the other hand, 41 out of 106 or 38.7 per cent answered that they were offered protective gears like boots, long sleeves and masks. Only 2 respondents out of 106 answered that they were sometimes provided with protective gear. Among those provided with protective gear, 66 per cent were trained on its use, the rest were not.

Children involved in agriculture work often experience chest and back pains, and vomiting as a result of excessive exposure to chemicals. They often have to mix foul smelling chemicals or acid with water without protective masks, and even if they have masks they do not give adequate protection. If masks are available they usually are too big for children, and would fit adult males rather than girls and boys.

Most parents interviewed, however, reported that their children have received information about possible health dangers or diseases they could be exposed to while at work. Unfortunately, even if the children are armed with such information, not all of them observe precautionary measures, as indicated by the parents. Many parents are still ignorant of the health hazards their children face every time they are out in the field, or when near or involved with mixing chemicals.

Medical check-ups

Nearly half of the respondents (50 in total or 47.2%) never had any medical check-up since birth. This suggests that medical care stands at the bottom of priorities of the children and their parents, which could be attributed to the poverty being experienced by them. Medical check-ups are mainly resorted to only in the event of sickness, because they are costly. On the other hand, 14 out of 106 or 12.3 per cent

undergo medical check-ups at least once a year, 13 out of 106 or 12.3 per cent visit the doctor as frequently as necessary and 11 respondents reported that they visit the doctor at least once a month. Five out of 106 respondents had seen a doctor only once since birth. One hundred out of 106 children or 94.3 per cent answered negatively when asked whether medical services are provided in their workplace.

The information provided on the frequency of medical check-ups were not disaggregated by sex, so it is unclear if some medical visits are biologically related or not. Because the research was undertaken in rural areas, the frequency of visits to doctors may be less than in urban areas, where it is easier to access a doctor, with less travel involved. Nevertheless, it is obvious that medical care is not a priority of employers, with such a high number of children reporting that occupational health and safety services are not provided in the workplace. On the whole the children did not report or were not aware of access to first aid facilities in their workplace, even if they are present at all.

Recreation facilities

Employers are unlikely to provide a place for resting during work breaks. However 99 out of 106 children reported that they are generally allowed to take breaks, and only 3 claimed they cannot take breaks, with 2 children reporting that sometimes they are allowed a break. Most of the children hide under the trees or any covered place they can find to take a break. Among those allowed to take breaks, about a third stated that their employers provide lunch breaks only, and 14 per cent answered that they were provided with morning and afternoon breaks.

Potable drinking water, on the other hand, is available in the workplace of two-thirds of the children (71 out of 106 children reported they have access to potable drinking water, 33 stated they did not).

Physical effects of work

Long hours of work, exposure to various occupational hazards, and non-use of personal protective devices could certainly have an impact on the children. This is probably the reason why 102 out of 106 children (96%) said that their work is physically tiring and only 4 children reported otherwise. The parents corroborated this finding. Almost every parent interviewed had heard his/her child complain of fatigue or exhaustion after work.

Often, the reason given by the majority of children for not liking their work is because of finding it tiring, the rules too strict, the wages low or simply because the work is too hard. These reasons tend to be given, rather than reporting work-related hazards such as exposure to chemicals, heat, sun, insect bites etc. This may imply that children are often not aware of hazards associated with agricultural work and can only express the effects of tiredness from long hours spent toiling in the fields.

Work relations

Relationships with employers and co-workers

The trend in the target areas is for a small number of workers to toil in one small field after another. This is in the part due to the seasonal nature of crops and the deficiency in continuous and large-scale commercial farming activities in the target

areas. It is common for the child labourer to work alongside family members and/or peers and/or neighbours. Therefore, there was an assumption on the part of the researchers that the child labourer generally has a good working relationship with his/her fellow worker.

Due to the nature of their work being seasonal and having to transfer from one field to another, there is the assumption that the respondents rarely even know whom their actual employers are. They merely receive payment from the one who oversees their work but rarely have contact with the true landowner. However, more in-depth study into the relationships of child labourers with their employers is required as this question was not fully explored.

Employers' and co-workers' treatment of child labourers

The children-respondents made no mention of any form of physical abuse on the part of their employer or co-worker, so it is presumed by the researchers that child labourers are treated fairly in the region. Conversely, this could lead to the conclusion that either they were all extremely reluctant to reveal situations of abuse in public, or there were indeed no such situations of abuse, according to their own personal perspective.

However, the majority of child labourers are underpaid, receiving only an average daily pay of P41.50[100] or $0.77 cents. They also do not receive other benefits (except for some meal provisions) which, if provided, could compensate for the income gap experienced by them. Such underpayment unaccompanied by benefits certainly manifests unfair treatment.

Living conditions

Type of dwellings

The dwellings of the children indicated the poverty of the people who reside in them. The children interviewed live in typical provincial one-storey houses, either of semi-concrete type, which is built of cheap wood and cement and roofed with galvanised iron sheets, or the nipa house type, which is constructed using bamboo and nipa wood for the wall and dried coconut palms for the roof.

Most houses have no more than two rooms. In many cases, the living room serves as the receiving area during the day and communal bedroom during the night. Generally, the houses are old, poorly maintained and are in bad shape. The information provided on living conditions were the same for boys and girl child labourers.

Facilities

A common picture of rural poverty emerges. Not all households enjoy such basic utilities as electricity and water within their house premises. Only 72 out of 106 children or 71.7 per cent of the children reported having electricity in their house. Sixty out of 106 or 56.6 per cent are fortunate enough to report that they have a water supply at home. Only 6 children reported having a telephone. Out of 106 families, only 6 own a TV set, 10 a radio, 4 a refrigerator and 1 a gas stove.

[100] 100 pesos = US $1.87

Household composition

The children generally live with the members of their immediate family, although there is a relatively sizeable number who reported an extended family structure within their households. The survey method employed by this study did not allow a direct observation of interactions within families/households. There was no marked difference between the situation of the girls and that of the boys insofar as parental companion status was concerned. Thirty-three out of 44 (75%) boys were living with both parents, and 47 out of 62 or 75.8 per cent of girls were in a similar living situation. A slightly higher percentage of boys (11.4%) were living with neither parents (girls 8.1%), but the overall frequency of children not living with parents was only 10 out of 106 or 9.4 per cent. Finally, 16.1 per cent of girls in comparison to 13.5 per cent of boys were living with one of their parents. The overall frequency for living with only one parent was 16 out of 106 or 15.1 per cent.

Parents' educational background and working status

The parents of the children have low educational background, the majority of them never having been to secondary school. Among the parents, mothers appeared to have higher educational attainment. More than three-quarters of the children (83 out of 106) claimed that both of their parents are working. Five out of 106 children (4.7%) claimed that only their father was working, and 14 out of 106 (13.2%) claimed that only their mother was working. Only two children reported having unemployed parents.

Twenty-three out of 106 (21.7%) children placed both parents on equal footing in terms of provider status. Fifty children or 47.2 per cent cited their father as the primary provider, and 23 out of 106 (21.7%) claimed their mother was the primary provider. There was a strong indication that the earnings of the children contribute to the survival of most families. This also validates the finding of previous related studies that blame inadequate family income for the existence of child labour.

Attitudes towards work and school

Children's attitude towards work and schooling

Children work in agriculture as a means to help their families. More than half of them, 63 out of 106 (59%), thought that it would be difficult to leave their job, especially since no other work opportunities in the region are available to them. This sentiment is true for both sexes, with 63.6 per cent of boys and 56.5 per cent of girls reporting it would not be easy to quit their present job. Thus, limited job availability or lack of alternative jobs in the region will keep children engaged in agricultural work, despite the risks and dangers it poses to them.

However, had the children been given a real choice on whether or not they would like to be involved in their present line of work, 73 out of 106 or 68.9 per cent of the child labourers would have chosen to be out of the fields and farms. The percentage of this response was slightly higher for boys, with 72.7 (or 32 out of 44) of boys preferring not to be involved in their present line of work, and 41 out of 62 or 66.1 per cent of girls reporting the same. Forty-six children or 63 per cent would rather concentrate on and finish their studies. This figure was not disaggregated by sex.

Thus education remains highly valued by the children. Almost all of the out-of-school children hope to go back to formal education, and the majority of them would rather concentrate and finish schooling than work. Nevertheless some child labourers interviewed were, in fact, indifferent to education. Such lack of interest in schooling may have stemmed from mere indolence or to being so preoccupied with earning money to survive. Their number however remains insignificant compared to the majority who value schooling.

Parents' attitudes towards work and schooling

There was a general awareness of the significance of schooling among the parents. Twenty-nine out of 49 (59.2%) of the parents would prefer not to have their children working, and would rather see them concentrating on their studies. Unfortunately, poverty gets in their way of realizing this desire. On the other hand, 12 out of 49 parents would like their children to continue to work, while 24.5 per cent of responses and 4 parents would like their children to go to school and to continue working.

6. Analysis of the pathway to child labour in agriculture

Community characteristics emerged as one of the strongest influences on girls and boys engaging in agricultural work. Given that agricultural work is the most easily accessible form of livelihood in the region, coupled with the unavailability of other forms of livelihood or sources of income, girl and boy child labour is prevalent in the region. Field work is considered to be a traditional way of life within the community, so it does not require any extra effort to convince a child to begin an early life of labour in the fields and plantations. It is "normal" for the parents to decide that his/her child should start earning an income to contribute to the overall family income. Some of the concurrent factors that result in girl and boy child labour in agriculture are outlined below.

Poverty

Poverty due to unemployment and underemployment has been the major push factor in the occurrence of child labour. Given the choice and the chance, most children will pick the opportunity to study, to play, to live his/her life like any regular child, rather than to work in the open fields for long hours, under the unwavering heat and glare of the sun.

Need for additional income

Both boys and girls are obligated to work because of the need for additional income. Although the Filipino law states that children aged 6-11 years have the right

to free elementary education, in regions like the CAR there is still a low enrolment rate. Free elementary education only involves a tuition fee. Other school-related expenses like school projects/assignments, lunch/snacks and transportation have to be shouldered by parents. Children are even sometimes asked to contribute to the making of a school bathroom, school gate or fence as well as making class projects like chairs and bookshelves for their classroom, and to pay for books, miscellaneous fees and daily allowances. Parents cannot afford such costs from their family's everyday expenditure and the opportunity costs of their children not working in the fields.

Socio-cultural norms and values

Working in the fields is simply a means to survival, a way of life. The elders of the community, the parents of the girls and boys have all gone through child labour, even as they presently continue to do such tasks themselves. There is that prevailing notion that what has worked and helped the parent to survive will work and help his child to survive. Society and the local community tolerate child labour because it has become ingrained as part of local tradition and culture, and this entrenchment is strengthened by the fact that there are no other viable income-generating options available. Child labour in the fields is considered normal for both boys and girls.

Lack of resolute government implementation of laws

Since the 1920s, laws and policies banning child labour and providing sanctions have been in effect and, despite such laws and the prevalence of child labour, up to the present there have been very few cases of convictions under child labour laws. Although the state has numerous laws which protect the rights and the welfare of the child, the state does not have the sufficient means or instruments or the budget to employ such instruments to fully implement child labour and child labour-related laws.

Indifference of law enforcers and the community

It was a common initial reaction for most of the municipal officers and community members to initially deny the existence of any child labour problem within their area. Questioned if they ever investigated the existence of such problems, they would answer that they did not do so because no one had ever complained, or that they were prioritizing general programmes and had no budget to pursue any other special programmes.

Lack of interventions for the child labourers

A complete deficiency in interventions by both governmental and NGOs existed within the three surveyed areas. A resounding no was given to all questions regarding whether or not trade union officials, government officials or NGO representatives had ever contacted their children to give them possible assistance.

Ignorance

Ignorance also has a hand in making cultural norms regarding child labour prevail over the law and basic scientific-medical fact. The ignorance of both girls and boys could be the reason why they cannot properly protect themselves from the harsh conditions of agricultural work, or wear protective clothing and avoid exposure to chemicals. Unequal power relations and ignorance is also a reason why boys and girls cannot seek to insist that the landowners supply them with the necessary protective gear.

The ignorance of the parents is the reason why they cannot fight for the rights of their child for a safe working environment, and why their boys and girls are forced to work in the first place. The ignorance of the landowner may also be the reason why he does not provide nor prescribe that child labourers in his field wear protective gear. Finally, the ignorance of the municipal officials is the reason why the law is not implemented and the practice of this worst form of child labour is tolerated.

The demand for child labour

Because most of the farming operations were small-scale and were family-owned, a demand for child labour exists because boys and girls are abundant, available and cheap. Children and girls in particular are also meek and mild and easily exploitable, and thus these characteristics make them an attractive workforce.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Despite the many social and economic drawbacks of being engaged in child labour, according to the researchers for this RA, the girl child of the CAR who is engaged in agricultural work is not always in a disadvantaged situation vis-à-vis the situation of her male counterpart. Both young working males and young working females share similar fates and endure similar circumstances when they are out toiling in the fields. There are no significant indications in this research that point to any disproportionate treatment or any extreme disparity between the girl child and the boy child. However, the fact that more girls engage in domestic chores on top of child labour was not factored into the research and could be a considerable extra burden for girls.

In fact, the information gathered indicates that the girl child is given a lighter workload in the fields, in consonance with the traditional notion that the boy or male is the stronger sex. Conversely, a higher percentage of girl children were reported to be working more than 8 hours per day than boys, indicating that even if her workload was considered “lighter”, the girl child is putting in more hours per day. The researchers reported that, despite the treatment of the girl child with regard to her workload, she is not treated like some of her foreign counterparts, who are considered as inferiors, “socialized” to put themselves last and are usually discriminated against.

The girl child of the region is clearly not lacking in self-esteem. Data revealed that there was a larger number of male school dropouts than female. However, fewer

females appeared to reach higher educational attainment levels than males. This revelation is supported by 2001 national statistics, which stated that the proportion of female working children (73% of total female working children) who attend school was higher than that of male working children (62% of total male working children). Statistics also further revealed that the present ratio of male working children to female working children in terms of school dropouts was 2:1. These figures may indicate that the average girl child labourer today possibly perseveres better in school and enjoys more equitable treatment from her local community and society in general.

Majority of child labourers are enrolled in school

The preliminary results of the Philippine Survey on Children 2001 indicate that the majority of child labourers are enrolled in school. Seven in every ten working children attend school. Although the study did not focus on how well they performed in school, the results indicate that there is a high regard for education amongst both boys and girls.

Overall in the Philippines a higher proportion of girls than of boys are in secondary school. Female disadvantage shows up more in tertiary education enrolments. Although in the research conducted for this report, girls appeared to be slightly favoured in education over boys, in general inequity of access to education is more of a pressing concern according to socio-economic background[101]. For example, if families suffer from insecurity of livelihood sources and have large family/household sizes, boys are favoured over girls. Other research has observed that a girl-child's schooling is often postponed, delayed or not addressed because she is needed at home to care for her other siblings or to support the schooling of her younger brother or sister[102].

Regardless of the region under scrutiny for enrolment levels, both working boys and girls often ended out of school due to: tiredness/fatigue because of lack of sleep and long working hours; physical/verbal abuse of teachers and classmates.

A clash of international standards and widely accepted cultural standards

The definition of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) is an all-encompassing definition that tends to clash directly with widely and generally accepted practices. Take the example of the girl child labourer who works partly in their family-owned field and in a neighbour's field in Buguias, Benguet. The girl child labourer does not seem to be abused. She appears physically healthy and seems content with the work she has in the fields. It is simply the life she is accustomed to. She does not receive compensation for work in their family's land but she receives compensation for work in their neighbour's field. She uses the money for her school needs. It is only during the weekends that she works in the fields with her friends and neighbours. Despite

[101] Jones, G. (1999). Education, equity and exuberant expectation: Reflections on South-East Asia. Faculty of Economics and Administration (FEA) Working Paper no. 2000-1. University of Malaya, Malaysia.

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

the seemingly friendly working environment and in the absence of strict safety measures, the girl child is still exposed to extreme temperatures and is from time to time exposed to pesticides. She knows these are health hazards, and yet she continues to have no major qualms about her work.

Under ILO's Convention 182, Article 3(d) on standards, this situation is considered a Worst Form of Child Labour because of its very nature or circumstance, the girl child being usually exposed to heat and chemicals, thus placing her health in undue danger of being harshly affected by such exposure. Taken from the view of the girl child's particular cultural standards, her work is nothing out of the ordinary. To a society accustomed to toiling in the field, this is an honest and decent source of income. Yet by the standards set by the international community and even by national laws it is a prohibited practice, as it is considered a WFCL, a situation which clearly endangers the girl child's health, growth and development. This example shows how difficult it is to tackle the elimination of child labour within particular cultural and traditional contexts.

A thin line between child labour and child work

Because of the seasonal nature and varying characteristics of the child labour situation in the target areas, there are sometimes only small distinctions between being a child labourer (an occupation restricted by law) and a child worker (an occupation permitted by law). National law (R.A. 7658) provides that it shall be considered "child labour" when there is an "illegal employment of children below the age of fifteen (15), where they are not directly under the sole responsibility of their parents or legal guardian, or the latter employs other workers apart from their children who are not members of their families, or their work endangers their life, safety, health and morals or impairs their normal development, including schooling. It also includes the situation of children below eighteen (18) who are employed in hazardous occupations."

There were certain situations in the region where the children were, in one year, both child labourer (as to a neighbour's field) and child worker (as to the family's field). There were also situations where the children's work per se was not hazardous to their health, since incidental pesticide spraying of other neighbouring fields was determined as the main cause of the danger to their health. There were also instances where the implementation of a few protective measures would have spelled the difference between calling such duties in the field a "worst form of child labour" or simply "child labour" or merely "child work".

This is a very delicate and controversial arena, and it is obvious that misconceptions concerning the definition of "child labour" and "child work" abound in the areas where they matter most.

Implementation of laws and regulations a problem

In relation to the above-mentioned confusion between child work, child labour and WFCL, it remains imperative for both national and local governments to provide meaningful laws regarding these issues. Laws, rules and regulations must be drawn up to eventually curb the practice of the worst forms of child labour, and to further delineate the lines between child work, child labour and WFCL.

There are very different situations of child labour across the provinces in the Philippines

The research team discovered that an immense disparity between the working conditions of the children in Buguias, Benguet, and those in Tayum, Abra, existed. The working girl child of highland Benguet was healthy, had good complexion, was well groomed, spoke well and had a pleasing demeanour. She also knew that there were hazards to her health when she worked in the fields. She was educated like any average child. The only thing that made her situation classifiable as a WFCL was the presence of pesticide fumes in her workplace.

By contrast the working girl child of lowland Abra was thin, frail, dressed in old and tattered clothes and could barely understand Filipino and even less English. She hardly understood the dangers she faced at work. Her appearance was enough to make a person reach the conclusion that she was engaged in the WFCL. The intense heat of the low-lying province of Abra is in fact enough to classify any child labour in the field as WFCL, even in the absence of chemical exposure and other health hazards.

It was very evident that the Abra working child was in a more disadvantaged situation in comparison to her Benguet counterpart. The reasons were also very apparent. Aside from the extreme differences in climate, Benguet is economically more active. Even though work in agriculture is hard, there is plenty of work to be found. There is a year-long source of income, and families thus have the money to buy clothes, food and a few little luxuries. By contrast, in Abra work is hard and work is seasonal. People hardly have enough money to buy food for their families.

From the research locations, it would appear that the more poverty-stricken the target area, the poorer the working conditions of the child labourers. The better the economic situation of a certain area, the better the working conditions of the girls and boys engaged in work. It is therefore clear that, in order to totally curb the practice of child labour and eliminate the practice of WFCL, the improvement of the overall economic situation or condition of the affected areas should be a foremost concern.

The issues of child labour are complex

There are so many cultural, social, psychological and even political issues that revolve around the problem of child labour, and many more questions need to be answered. The researchers recommend further study in this area.

Policy recommendations

Enhance national/ local government participation

The national government should identify specific practices of the worst forms of child labour, while the local government should issue regulations to further monitor and subsequently protect child labourers within their respective jurisdictions. More concise and significant legislation is required. The government should not lose sight of the fact that implementation is the key to the success of any law, rule or regulation. There are numerous child labour laws listed in the statute books of the

Philippines and yet none have been effectively implemented in the Cordillera Administrative Region, where child labour for boys and girls is as normal as the sunrise and the sunset.

Local government is in a better position to serve and protect the child worker than any regional or central agency of the national government. They can easily establish a registration programme so that the children and their employers may be identifiable, not only for purposes of facilitating research but for monitoring the withdrawal of children from the WFCL as well. However it is necessary that local government also formally recognizes that girls toil in the field as well as boys. They should subject child labour activities to local government regulation if possible. Local officials should have a clear grasp of what is happening in their own backyard.

Implementation of rural development programmes

Poverty as the foremost factor in the occurrence of child labour in agriculture has to be directly addressed. Poverty has to be countered by the careful preparation of long-term rural development plans.

As a concern of the government, their financial constraints have meant that there are few concrete actions at present. Government allocation and spending have to be strictly reviewed and guarded, in order that priority can be given to more urgent projects in relation to rural development over less urgent projects. The country definitely needs farm-to-market roads more than it needs more basketball courts and waiting sheds. Any planned rural development programme must take into consideration gender roles and relations. Failure to direct information to the man, woman, girl or boy responsible for a given activity may result in no increase – or even a decrease – of productivity and yields.

Minimize work-related protection issues

The inadequacy of protection for children at work is obvious from the data gathered. The need for sufficient protection should still be immediately addressed, especially since in some instances this issue is all that stands between the inclusion as being a worst form of child labour and acceptance as being merely child labour or even a decent form of work. Protective clothing and masks of all sizes are required, and it should be remembered that girls are physically smaller than boys and may require smaller sizes.

In order to minimize work-related protection issues, the first step is to compile a list of hazardous tasks undertaken by both boys and girls (and to remember that both boys and girls should be consulted or some activities may be overlooked). In order to do this, criteria that make the task hazardous must be identified and the general conditions. Consequently, how to protect both boys and girls from such hazards must be decided, and consultation with employers must take place to ensure that both boys and girls are protected from such hazards. Often a balance of both men and women is required to identify the hazards that boys and girls face, since – if there is only one sex identifying such hazards – they may tend to overlook some tasks.

Reinforced information dissemination

The information dissemination programmes of the past concerning child labour have apparently achieved their purpose, according to the observations of the

research team. It is considered to be evident because most of the children interviewed were aware that agrochemicals were hazardous to their health and most parents were initially wary of the research team's purpose, being conscious that child labour is prohibited under the existing laws. There were indications that the school was also a source of information regarding the hazards of child labour.

It is worth remembering that the commercial world disaggregates and targets its information to either sex, strongly believing that men and women, boys and girls require different communication channels and messages. Likewise, any information campaign must disaggregate its target recipients, and develop its messages accordingly.

It is important that the progress in information dissemination has to be continual. There must be an enduring drive to inform the boys and girls and the community of the ill- effects of child labour and what can be done to alleviate, if not end, any harmful child labour situation.

Good practices have emerged from the IPEC advocacy and awareness campaign against child labour in the Philippines[103], which stressed focusing on priority groups and including a broad-based alliance of government, employer, trade union and civil society organizations acting in the process of increasing awareness on child labour.

Change in community values and attitudes

No child labour programmes can take-off without the support of the community where such programmes are to be executed. Communities are made up of men, women, boys, girls, elders, leaders, innovators, employers, and so on. However, it is obvious that most groups in the communities tolerate the persistence of hazardous child work because of traditional values and attitudes toward child labour. Changing traditional values towards boys and girls working in agriculture will be a long and slow process, and different methods are required for different members of the community.

A continuous information campaign targeting an adult audience is required, remembering that adults too are both male and female. Such a campaign could be via the media, (through radio and television), or through a direct community-based information campaign. Such a campaign should concentrate on practical and appropriate means to readjust societal values and attitudes so as to favour the protection of the girl and boy children's health and welfare over the income that they earn from work in a hazardous environment.

Provide solutions to geographical concerns

The surveyed areas in the provinces of Abra, Benguet and the Mountain Province each present different conditions of child labour. Some areas are less accessible because of more rough and treacherous terrain. In addition, some areas hold potential threats by rebels occupying some parts (e.g. Abra) and bandits who are said to block roads in certain parts of Benguet and the Mountain Province.

These problems have stalled or hindered development in the region. Each province should thus be considered in terms of its particular geographical concern.

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[103] Mangahas, A. (2000). *The Philippines: Advocacy and Awareness-raising Campaign Against Child Labour in: Advancing the Global Campaign Against Child Labor; Progress made and future actions.* United States Department of Labor in collaboration with the ILO, 2000.

Likewise each region will have differences in access to and control of assets, such as livestock, income, labour, technology and services by men and women within households, which will affect their priorities.

It is worth remembering that household resources are not always pooled or jointly owned by men and women, and this often varies considerably from region to region, and from one ethnic group to another. For instance, in some groups women control the household income and make decisions regarding how much money is spent on education for their sons and daughters, whereas in other ethnic groups even within the same region men may control the household income. Women and men may have different priorities for their sons and daughters, and this may also vary considerably by region. Factors such as nearness of schools, number of siblings, labour availability and poverty levels will affect any efforts to introduce new ideas and any information-dissemination campaign. Thus such campaigns should reflect the importance assigned by poor households to different types of activities. For example, regional differences regarding women's or men's education levels may be evident and result in different values being placed on the girl or boy child.

Conduct seminars on child labour for local government officials

Local government officials (from the Barangay level to the provincial level) and key officers of the Philippine national police should be required to attend a series of special and mandatory seminars on child labour. Such seminars could cover the definition of child labour, different working conditions for boys and girls, the issues that surround child labour for both boys and girls, the international and local laws that prohibit it and other relevant matters in relation to the enforcement of child labour laws. For example, many international agricultural organizations[104] have conducted studies revealing that efforts to introduce new technology in agriculture, without taking account of and building on male and female (sometimes different) knowledge bases, are unlikely to meet with success. The special seminars could be conducted under the auspices of the DOLE, and could put emphasis on the importance of local government involvement in the initial efforts to regulate, and in subsequent efforts to prohibit, the WFCL.

Provide special privileges for working students in schools

National statistics and the rapid assessment have acknowledged the fact that the majority of boys and girls involved in child labour are working students. Relevant to this is the other finding that, if given a choice, those out-of-school children would prefer to go back to school. With this in mind it is highly recommended that the national government, through the Department of Education (DepEd), spearhead a campaign to keep such children in school. DepEd should identify the problems of these working students and find ways to lessen, if not eradicate, those concerns that make them quit school. Reasons for quitting school may be different for boys than girls, and such a gender analysis should be taken into account when identifying the overall problems of working students.

Specifically, DepEd should orient public school teachers about the concerns regarding child labour. These teachers should be advised to practice leniency in

[104] For example, the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

regard to boys and girls who cannot attend school because of work. Specific privileges could be given to working students to enhance and sustain their interest in school.

Adopt special educational modules

It is recommended that DepEd adopts special educational modules designed to teach those engaged in child labour about the distinctions between child labour and child work, their basic rights as a child labourer, the methods and means to protect themselves from abuse, and preventive measures to protect their health and welfare. Again, such educational modules may be different in some aspects for boys and girls.

Provide enhanced livelihood assistance programmes

An enhanced educational assistance programme that explores livelihood opportunities could be formulated. Such a programme should also offer assistance for tuition fees. Such educational and livelihood programmes could be formulated in co-operation with foreign and local corporations and non-government agencies. It is recommended that more special schemes be generated, such as tax incentives for companies who can employ children in light and non-hazardous situations as approved by the Secretary of Labour, and who can also pay for their education. It would be recommended that any stereotypes regarding boy and girl child labourers be explored in the development of livelihood schemes – for example, employing young women for low paid, repetitive tasks, or concentrating young women in only traditional occupations for women.

Promote child labour ordinances

Child labour is a reality in the country as long as poverty persists. The national laws have limited reach in the parts of the country where their implementation matters most. There is a need for more local regulations that cater to specific situations of child labour. Local legislative bodies should be pushed to formulate ordinances or regulatory measures that protect the rights and the welfare of the child labourer in their respective localities. This will make laws more localized and specialized and will be in line with the need for the local government to take a more active part in the fight against child labour. Such ordinances or regulations will also be easier to implement.

The prescribed ordinances are those that will not completely ban or prohibit child labour per se, but those that will look into the specifics of work, and will prohibit those that can no longer be associated with the good culture and values of their respective localities. Such ordinances must regulate the practice of child work, in order that they may not fall into the definition of child labour or WFCL. A good example of such an ordinance would be the banning of pesticide or chemical spraying whenever boys and girls without protective gear are present within a certain specified distance.

Conduct more in-depth research on the situation

Finally, it is recommended that more studies be conducted. Given the many problems that researchers face because of cultural and social differences, an immersion-type of research and appraisal should be conducted to further enhance the data that has already been gathered, along with the relevant materials that have been

published. For example, many other studies have illustrated that the capacity of poor households to meet labour requirements for their agricultural activities is affected by women's and girls' overall responsibilities within the household, both on- and off-farm. A lack of understanding of the household labour constraints, and particularly of women's and girls' time constraints, may lead to the non-implementation of child labour corrective measures.

PART II

Girl child labour in agriculture, domestic work and sexual exploitation: result from a rapid assessment[105]

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[105] by Castelnuovo & Asociados, Quito, 2002.

SECTION A

Background and context of child labour in Ecuador

1. Socio-Economic and Demographic Background

In the past 20 years, the Ecuadorian population has grown by approximately 50 per cent, even though the inter-census growth rate decreased by 2.2 per cent[106] between 1982 and 1990 and by 1.8 per cent between 1990 and 2001. This could be due to emigration and a decrease in the growth rate, trends that have been observed in recent years. There has also been a rapid process of urbanisation. A comparison of the last three National Population and Housing Censuses shows that the urban population has grown by 21.6 per cent. In 2001, nearly two-thirds (61%) of the population lived in cities, while in 1982 more than half (50.6%) resided in rural areas. The consequences of extensive urban growth are related to the capacity of cities, as conglomerates of public and private entities, to sustain their own growth. Since the beginning of the 1990s, there has been an increase in indicators of urban poverty, unemployment, access to services, informality, lack of housing, insecurity and conflict, social segregation of space, pollution, and so forth[107].

Table 1: Total population of Ecuador, by area and sex (1982-1990-2001)

Variables	1982					
	Total	%	Urban	%	Rural	%
Total population	8,060,712	100.0	3,981,559	49.4	4,079,153	50.6
Total women	4,039,678	50.1	2,046,488	25.4	1,993,190	24.7
Total men	4,021,034	49.9	1,935,071	24.0	2,085,963	25.9
Variables	**1990**					
	Total	**%**	**Urban**	**%**	**Rural**	**%**
Total population	9,648,189	100.0	5,716,894	59.3	3,931,295	40.7
Total women	4,851,777	50.3	2,928,963	30.4	1,922,814	19.9
Total men	4,796,412	49.7	2,787,931	28.9	2,008,481	20.8
Variables	**2001**					
	Total	**%**	**Urban**	**%**	**Rural**	**%**
Total population	12,090,804	100.0	7,372,528	61.0	4,718,276	39.0
Total women	6,094,245	50.4	3,767,261	31.2	2,326,984	19.2
Total men	5,996,559	49.6	3,605,267	29.8	2,391,292	19.8

Source: INEC, IV, V and VI Population and Housing Census, 1982, 1990 y 2001
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc. 2002

[106] INEC-SIISE, version 2.5, 2002.

[107] Vice Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador. *Estudio de Población del Ecuador*, Quito: Vice Presidency of the Republic, 2000, p. 33.

Another notable change between 1982 and 2001 was the nation-wide decrease in the masculinity index. The proportion of women is higher in urban areas and lower in rural areas. This variation could be influenced by the strong international emigration that has occurred since 1998. In 1999 alone, more than 300,000 people left the country, and "the increase in emigration has been greater among women than among men." [108].

Table 2: Population indicators (1982-1990-2001)

Indicators	1982			1990			2001		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Masculinity index	99.5	94.6	104.7	98.9	95.2	104.5	98.4	95.7	102.8
% urban	49.4			59.3			61.0		

Source: INEC, IV, V and VI Population and Housing Census, 1982, 1990 y 2001
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc. 2002

From the structure of the Ecuadorian population in 1990, we see that nearly half (49.5%) were children and youths between ages 0 and 19. Of these, 24.5 per cent were female and 25.0 per cent were male. That age range represents 46.9 per cent of the population in cities and 55.3 per cent in rural areas.

Table 3: Population pyramid (1990)

Age group	Nation-wide				City		Countryside	
	Women		Men		Women	Men	Women	Men
	Nº	%	Nº	%	%	%	%	%
0 to 4	610,087	6.3	643,083	6.7	5.8	6.2	7.1	7.3
5 to 9	621,149	6.4	640,766	6.6	5.9	6.1	7.2	7.5
10 to 14	602,499	6.2	621,640	6.4	6.0	6.0	6.6	7.1
15 to 19	529,132	5.5	509,519	5.3	5.8	5.1	5.1	5.5
20 to 39	1,509,764	15.7	1,425,550	14.8	17.7	16.0	12.8	13.1
40 to 59	659,059	6.8	654,546	6.8	6.9	6.6	6.7	7.0
60 +	320,087	3.3	301,308	3.1	3.1	2.7	3.6	3.7
Total	**4,851,777**	**50.3**	**4,796,412**	**49.7**	**51.3**	**48.7**	**48.9**	**51.1**

Source: INEC, V Population and Housing Census, 1990
Preparation: SIISE-INEC

The overall fertility rate (annual number of live births per 1,000 women of childbearing age between ages 15 and 49) has decreased steadily. In 1989, this indicator stood at 129, falling to 121 in 1994 and 112 in 1999 [109]. In 1994-1999, the

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[109] CEPAR. *Encuesta Demográfica y de salud Materna e Infantil (ENDEMAIN).* 1989, 1994, 1999.

national average was 3.4 children per woman,[110] although there were significant variations depending on geographical area. "The overall fertility rate for rural women is 57 per cent greater than that of urban women (4.4 and 2.8 children, respectively)"[111].

The increased entry of women into the labour market, increased education and greater access to family planning programmes are among the reasons for the changes in fertility rates. Nevertheless, the latter variable has still not reached acceptable levels of development/use, either because of insufficient supply or for cultural reasons. This is reflected in the decrease in the percentage of planned pregnancies between 1989 and 1999 (87% and 62.5%, respectively).

In 1990, 11.7 per cent of the national population did not know how to read or write. This percentage was higher in the highlands and the Amazon region and lower on the coast. In all three regions, the illiteracy rate was higher in rural areas (except among men in the rural Amazon region) and much higher among women, indicating that, nation-wide, women have less possibility of studying.

Table 4: Illiteracy, by region (1990)

Region	Area	Sex	%	Number	Population age 15+
Coast	Urban	Men	5.5	53,905	982,679
		Women	7.1	74,576	1,054,518
	Rural	Men	17.8	90,451	507,153
		Women	20.1	87,822	436,849
Total coast			10.3	306,754	2,981,199
Highlands	Urban	Men	3.7	26,946	719,899
		Women	7.4	61,200	821,539
	Rural	Men	16.3	93,070	569,626
		Women	29.1	178,031	612,711
Total highlands			13.2	359,247	2,723,775
Amazon	Urban	Men	5.4	2,009	37,099
		Women	9.3	3,257	34,929
	Rural	Men	11.2	8,350	74,467
		Women	20.5	11,805	57,496
Total Amazon			12.5	25,421	203,991
NATIONWIDE			**11.7**	**691,422**	**5,908,965**

Source: INEC, V Population and Housing Census, 1990
Preparation: SIISE-INEC

In 1990, the average number of years of schooling for the population nationwide was 6.7, equivalent to completion of primary school. The difference in having access to and staying in the educational system in urban and rural areas was

[110] Vice-Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[111] *Ibid.*

significant in the country's three geographical regions. In urban and rural areas in all three regions, women had completed fewer years of schooling. This leads us to the general conclusion that rural women are most vulnerable to exclusion from the educational system.

Table 5: Educational level by region (1990)

Region	Area	Sex	Years of schooling	Population age 24+
Coast	Urban	Men	8.3	691,950
		Women	7.7	730,055
	Rural	Men	4.3	344,630
		Women	3.9	293,331
Total coast			6.8	2,059,966
Highlands	Urban	Men	9.5	507,807
		Women	8.2	579,786
	Rural	Men	4.5	404,120
		Women	3.3	441,522
Total highlands			6.6	1,933,235
Amazon	Urban	Men	7.5	25,500
		Women	6.5	22,767
	Rural	Men	5.0	48,670
		Women	3.7	37,569
Total Amazon			5.4	134,506
NATIONWIDE			**6.7**	**4,127,707**

Source: INEC, V Population and Housing Census, 1990
Preparation: SIISE-INEC

According to the 1999 Urban Survey of Employment and Unemployment, the educational level of Ecuadorians has improved, although on average it still does not represent completion of the 10-year basic cycle. The exclusion of women from the educational system has been reduced, but not overcome, among those aged 24 and upwards.

Like area of residence, ethnic group and gender are also factors in unequal access to education. Economic situation is another variable clearly connected with existing inequalities. People living in extreme poverty have an illiteracy rate of 22.2 per cent, compared to 12 per cent for those living in poverty and 5.2 per cent for those not living in poverty. Average years of schooling for people living in poverty is barely four years, compared to nine for those who do not live in poverty[112]. This becomes even more relevant when we consider that the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions found 20 per cent of the population living in indigence and 35.9 per cent in poverty. The same survey in 1999 found a poverty level of 56.3 per cent on the

[112] *Ibid.* p. 27.

Table 6: Educational level, by region (1999)

Region	Area	Sex	Years of Schooling	Population age 24+
Coast	Urban	Men	9.0	1,067,720
		Women	9.0	1,123,179
	Rural	Men	5.2	430,509
		Women	5.2	379,026
Total Coast			8.0	3,000,434
Highlands	Urban	Men	10.2	834,132
		Women	9.3	936,262
	Rural	Men	5.2	484,938
		Women	4.4	548,156
Total Highlands			7.9	2,803,488
Amazon	Urban	Men	8.8	28,092
		Women	8.5	30,339
	Rural	Men	6.5	91,384
		Women	5.9	79,734
Total Amazon			6.8	229,549
NATIONWIDE			**7.9**	**6,033,471**

Source: INEC, Urban Survey of Employment and Unemployment (*Encuesta Urban de Empleo y Desempleo-EUED*), 1999
Preparation: SIISE-INEC

coast and 55.5 per cent in the highlands, with extreme poverty levels of 15.6 per cent and 26.4 per cent, respectively.

Employment, income distribution and poverty

According to the Fifth Population and Housing Census, carried out in 1990, Ecuador's economically active population (EAP) consisted of 3,327,550 people, distributed geographically as follows: 48.3 per cent on the coast, 48.3 per cent in the highlands and 4.0 per cent in the Amazon region, with 60.9 per cent of the EAP in urban areas and 39.1 per cent in rural areas.

Men represent more than two-thirds of the EAP (73.6%), while women account for less than one-third (26.4%). This means that for every 10 men in the EAP, there are four women. The ratio is the same on the urban coast, in the urban Amazon region and in the rural highlands. It changes in the urban highlands (six women for every 10 men), in the rural Amazon (two women for every 10 men) and on the rural coast (one woman for every 10 men). There are two reasons for these figures. The first is the predominant type of production on the coast (modern export production), which requires a preponderance of male labour. The second is a cultural factor: the *machismo* that reigns in Ecuadorian society tends to keep women in private domestic sphere as a way of guaranteeing their "virtue" and obedience. These practices are more severe on the coast than in the highlands.

Table 7: Economically Active Population by region and ratio of women to men (1990)

Region	Sex	EAP, age 12+	%	Ratio Women/Men
Urban coast	Men	802,847	24.1	
	Women	301,502	9.1	
Total area		1,104,349	33.2	**0.38**
Rural coast	Men	454,780	13.7	
	Women	47,666	1.4	
Total area		502,446	15.1	**0.10**
Total coast		**1,606,795**	**48.3**	
Urban highlands	Men	562,649	16.9	
	Women	317,394	9.5	
Total area		880,043	26.4	**0.56**
Rural highlands	Men	526,220	15.8	
	Women	182,946	5.5	
Total area		709,166	21.3	**0.35**
Total highlands		**1,589,209**	**47.8**	
Urban Amazon	Men	32,043	1.0	
	Women	11,306	0.3	
Total area		43,349	1.3	**0.35**
Rural Amazon	Men	70,845	2.1	
	Women	17,352	0.5	
Total area		88,197	2.7	**0.24**
Total Amazon		**131,546**	**4.0**	
NATIONWIDE		**3,327,550**	**100.0**	

Table 8: Economically Active Population, by sex and area (1990)

Area	Economically Active Population					
	Men		Women		Both	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Urban	1,397,539	42.0	630,202	18.9	2,027,741	60.9
Rural	1,051,845	31.6	247,964	7.5	1,299,809	39.1
NATIONWIDE	**2,449,384**	**73.6**	**878,166**	**26.4**	**3,327,550**	**100.0**

Source: INEC, V Population and Housing Census, 1990
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc. 2002

Between 1995 and 1999, there was little significant variation in women's wages in comparison to those of men except in the agricultural sector, where modern agro-industry — especially in the highlands — prefers female labour. Nevertheless, the wages of the two sexes are still far from equal. In 1998, women's wages were 73.8 per cent of those received by men. Since that, the gap has widened, with the ratio returning to where it was before.

Table 9: Gender-related income inequality, by labour market

Labour market / Economic sector*	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Modern sector	73.9	77.9	84.8	83.7	78.3
Informal sector	64.8	66.8	73.1	73.2	73.9
Agriculture	74.2	80.9	115.9	116.4	131.8
Domestic service	60.5	74.8	64.2	55.8	58.8
All	64.8	68.1	73.8	71.5	68.6

Source: INEC, Urban surveys of employment, underemployment and unemployment, 1988, 1999
Preparation: SÍMUJERES – SIISE
* Men's income = 100. Expresses the ratio between women's average wages and the corresponding figure for men, multiplied by 100. The lower the number, the greater the inequality; figures closer to 100 reflect greater equality. A figure exceeding 100 indicates that women's average income is greater than that of men.

The breakdown of employment income by sex takes on greater significance when the number of households headed by women is considered. In 1995, one of every five households in cities and one of every seven in rural areas was headed by a woman. This means that women headed about 300,000 urban households and 120,000 rural households.[113]. According to the 1999 Survey of Living Conditions, 20 per cent of households nation-wide were headed by women, and in 30 per cent, women made the greatest economic contribution.

Table 10: Household breakdown by sex of head of household and main economic provider

Area	Demographic head of household*		Household's principal economic provider**	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Urban	24%	76%	31%	69%
Rural	16%	84%	28%	72%
NATIONWIDE	**20%**	**80%**	**30%**	**70%**

* Person recognised in household as head of household
** Household's principal economic provider
Source: Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SÍMUJER-SIISE

[113] SIISE – UNIFEM. *Retrato de Mujeres. Indicadores sociales sobre la situación de las indígenas y campesinas del Ecuador rural.* Quito, 1998. P. 17.

In 2000, 62.1 per cent of the national income was concentrated in the wealthiest sector of the population, while the poorest received only 2.2 per cent. According to the same survey, in the past six years there has been a steady trend toward increased concentration of wealth. The proportion of income received during that period decreased for all sectors except the wealthiest 20 per cent of the population. The greatest decrease was seen in the second-poorest quintile, followed, in order, by the poorest, the middle and the second-wealthiest quintiles.

Table 11: Income distribution, by quintiles (1995-2000)

Population quintiles	% of total income					
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Quintile 1 (poorest 20%)	4.1	4.1	4.2	3.5	2.5	2.2
Quintile 2	8.7	9.0	8.7	8.1	6.4	6.2
Quintile 3	13.0	13.9	13.3	13.4	11.3	11.3
Quintile 4	19.2	20.9	19.6	20.6	18.6	18.2
Quintile 5 (wealthiest 20%)	54.9	52.1	54.3	54.4	61.2	62.1

Source: INEC, Surveys of Living Conditions, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000
Preparation: INEC-SIISE

Table 12: Variation in income distribution, by income level (1995-2000)

Population quintiles	Variation in % of total income					TOTAL
	95-96	96-97	97-98	98-99	99-00	95-00
Quintile 1 (poorest 20%)	0.0	0.1	–0.7	–1.1	–0.2	**–1.9**
Quintile 2	0.3	–0.4	–0.6	–1.6	–0.3	**–2.5**
Quintile 3	0.9	–0.6	0.1	–2.1	0.0	**–1.7**
Quintile 4	1.7	–1.3	1.1	–2.0	–0.5	**–1.0**
Quintile 5 (wealthiest 20%))	–2.9	2.2	0.1	6.8	0.9	**7.2**

Source: INEC, Surveys of Living Conditions, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc., 2002.

Distribution of spending is also highly concentrated. The wealthiest quintile represents more than half of total spending (53%), while the poorest accounts for only 5 per cent. In 1999, the poorest 40 per cent of the population represented only 14 per cent of total national consumption and received 8.9 per cent of total income, while the wealthiest 40 per cent represented 73 per cent of total spending and 79.8 per cent of total income.

While nation-wide data for 1999 is lacking, in 2001 the poorest and wealthiest quintiles each represented approximately 20 per cent of the urban population. Women constitute the majority of the poorest 60 per cent of the population, while men constitute the majority of the wealthiest 40 per cent.

Table 13: Distribution of spending, by income level (1999)

Population quintiles	% of total spending
Quintile 1 (poorest 20%)	5.0
Quintile 2	9.0
Quintile 3	13.0
Quintile 4	20.0
Quintile 5 (wealthiest 20%)	53.0

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE

Table 14: Population, by income quintile and sex (2001)

Sex / Quintile	TOTAL		MEN		WOMEN	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NATIONAL URBAN	8,322,353	100.0	4,117,885	49.5	4,204,468	50.5
Quintile 1	1,643,811	19.8	798,327	9.6	845,483	10.2
Quintile 2	1,685,047	20.2	815,040	9.8	870,007	10.5
Quintile 3	1,673,889	20.1	834,245	10.0	839,644	10.1
Quintile 4	1,652,966	19.9	831,839	10.0	821,127	9.9
Quintile 5	1,666,640	20.0	838,433	10.1	828,206	10.0

* Population quintiles based on per-capita income
Source: Survey of Employment, Underemployment and Unemployment
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc., 2002

Because of the serious economic crisis affecting the country due to structural adjustments and the effects of labour market reforms, by the end of the 1990s "nearly two-thirds of workers were unemployed or underemployed and 66 per cent of the population was living on less than US$2 a day."[114]. The dollarization process alone represented a 19 per cent loss in purchasing power between 1998 and 2000[115]. In the second and third quarters of 1999, 56 per cent of coastal residents and 55.5 per cent in the highlands were living in poverty and 15.6 per cent and 26.4 per cent, respectively, in extreme poverty.

As Table 17 shows (in page 125), of the total national urban EAP, 33.3 per cent is fully employed, 55.8 per cent is underemployed and 10.9 per cent is unemployed. Of the total employed EAP in urban areas, 62.7 per cent is underemployed. In employment income, 13.5 per cent are in the first quintile, 17 per cent in the second, 20 per cent in the third, 22.7 per cent in the fourth and 26.8 per cent in the fifth. This, however, conceals the differential between full employment and underemployment. The distribution by quintile is as follows:

[114] SAPRI – World Bank. *Preliminary report on the investigation into the social impacts of structural adjustment*. World Bank, 2002.

[115] *Ibid.*

Table 15: Poverty and extreme poverty (1998-1999)

	Incidence of poverty		
Region	**Oct.1998 – Mar. 1999**	**Apr.1999 - Sep.1999**	**Oct.1998 - Sep.1999**
Coast	42.6	56.3	49.5
Highlands	51.0	55.5	53.1
	Incidence of extreme poverty		
Coast	8.1	15.6	11.9
Highlands	23.2	26.4	24.7

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE

Table 16: National urban population, by quintile (*) and employment situation

Quintile	Fully employed	Underemployed
Quintile 1	9.9%	15.6%
Quintile 2	10.1%	21.1%
Quintile 3	16.0%	22.4%
Quintile 4	23.4%	22.3%
Quintile 5	40.6%	18.6%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

* Population quintiles based on per-capita income

2. Situation of children

Education

During the 1998-1999 school year, there were 177,036 pre-primary students in Ecuador, 60 per cent of them in the public school system and 40 per cent in private schools. There were also 1,471,285 students in primary school, of whom 78.6 per cent were in public schools and 21.4 per cent in private schools. Of the 16,571 secondary-school students, 74.7 per cent were enrolled in public schools and only 25.3 per cent in private schools.

Of the total number of students enrolled in public schools, 4.7 per cent were at the pre-primary level, 65 per cent at the primary level and 30.3 per cent at the secondary level. The preponderant weight of public education at the primary level is notable, and is confirmed by information about the number of schools: of the 19,252 public schools at all three levels, 12.9 per cent are pre-primary, 76.5 per cent are primary and only 10.6 per cent are secondary schools.

The average number of students per classroom is 24.2 at the pre-primary level, 25.7 for primary schools and 23.8 for secondary schools. These are national averages and do not reflect the particular characteristics of rural areas or single-teacher schools.

Although it covers the majority of students at the various levels, public education only meets three-quarters of the national demand. According to INEC (1990),

Table 17: National educational system, by level (1998-1999)

Type of School	N° of Students	N° of Teachers	N° of Class-rooms	N° of Schools
Pre-primary – public	106,248	4,730	4,397	2,475
Pre-primary – private	70,788	7,197	5,753	1,905
Total pre-primary	177,036	11,927	10,150	4,380
Primary – public	1,471,285	57,264	57,264	14,729
Primary – private	400,041	19,044	19,044	2,981
Total primary	1,871,326	76,308	76,308	17,710
Secondary – public	684,734	28,766	28,766	2,048
Secondary – private	231,837	14,932	14,932	1,323
Total secondary	916,571	43,698	43,698	3,371
Total nation-wide	**2,964,933**	**131,933**	**130,156**	**25,461**

Source: Integrated System of Educational Statistics, 1998-1999 school year.
Preparation: SIISE

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the national school enrolment rate[116] is the number of students who are enrolled in or attend schools at a particular level and who belong to the age group corresponding to that level, according to regulatory standards or conventions on education[117]. According to the Fifth Population and Housing Census, in 1990, 88.9 per cent of children between ages 6 and 11 were enrolled at the primary level. A total of 167,296 children in this age group were not in the educational system. In the coastal region, in both urban and rural areas, the enrolment rate was higher for girls than for boys. The same was true in the urban Amazon region, but in the highlands and the rural Amazon, more boys than girls were enrolled. Inequities continue to impede equal access to education.

Secondary school figures show that only 43.1 per cent of adolescents between ages 12 and 17 are formally enrolled in school. This means that more than half a million (774,281) young people are not in the educational system. Enrolment at this level reflects the same characteristics as at the primary level when broken down by geographical region and area, confirming the inequalities in access to education.

In 1999, the total number of children excluded from the educational system stood at 297,663 (179,607 between ages 12 and 17, and 118,056 between ages 6 and 11), although the overall situation is notably better than it was at the beginning of the decade.

The cost of education is the most important reason why **nearly 300,000 children are excluded from the educational system**. Economic limitations were more significant for girls than for boys. At the secondary level, in addition to expense, child labour becomes an important factor. It is mentioned by almost one-quarter of the population not enrolled in school (20% for boys and 21.8% for girls), affecting girls more than boys.

[116] SIISE, version 2.5, 2002.

[117] Pre-primary enrolment refers to children between ages 4 and 5 who are enrolled in or attend day-care centres, pre-kindergarten, kindergarten or INNFA's day-care programme. Primary education consists of six grades, and according to current standards, students cannot enrol before age 6. For this reason, the reference population for this measurement consists of children between ages 6 and 11. Secondary education consists of 6 years, and according to current standards, students cannot enrol before reaching age 12. For this reason, the reference population for this measurement consists of children between ages 12 and 17.

Table 18: Net primary and secondary school enrolment (1990)

Region	Sex	Primary Level			Secondary Level		
		%	Enrolled	Population ages 6-11	%	Enrolled	Population ages 12-17
Coast - urban	Male	91.3	221,465	242,597	52,6	116,060	220,467
	Female	92.2	218,682	237,096	55.9	128,961	230,620
Coast - rural	Male	79.0	114,746	145,197	18.8	24,825	132,167
	Female	81.5	111,333	136,545	22.6	26,583	117,391
Total coast		***87.5***	***666,226***	***761,435***	***42.3***	***296.429***	***700,645***
Highlands – urban	Male	93.8	155,125	165,353	64.3	97,383	151,468
	Female	93.7	152,530	162,747	61.7	101,135	163,894
Highlands – rural	Male	88.1	155,472	176,489	26.6	39,125	147,169
	Female	87.3	150,520	172,400	25.2	36,289	143,750
Total highlands		***90.6***	***613,647***	***676,989***	***45.2***	***273,932***	***606,281***
Amazon – urban	Male	90.4	9,733	10,764	48.9	4,327	8,852
	Female	90.9	9,559	10,522	49.5	4,565	9,223
Amazon – rural	Male	85.0	19,578	23,029	18.7	3,477	18,604
	Female	84.8	18,407	21,707	19.0	3,128	16,471
Total Amazon		***86.8***	***57,277***	***66,022***	***29.2***	***15,497***	***53,150***
NATIONWIDE		**88.9**	**1,337,150**	**1,504,446**	**43.1**	**585,858**	**1,360,076**

Source: Fifth Census of Population and Housing, 1990
Preparation: SIISE

Table 19: School enrolment, by geographical region, area and sex (1999)

Region	Sex	Primary Level			Secondary Level		
		%	Enrolled	Population ages 6-11	%	Enrolled	Population ages 12-17
Coast – urban	Male	93.3	296,664	317,910	77.0	227,964	296,000
	Female	93.9	284,787	303,349	80.8	243,669	301,690
Coast – rural	Male	88.5	117,509	132,818	57.6	75,733	131,455
	Female	90.9	117,201	128,991	58.1	74,088	127,526
Total coast		***92.4***	***816,161***	***883,068***	***72.5***	***621,454***	***856,671***
Highlands – urban	Male	95.8	190,605	199,051	84.6	188,786	223,122
	Female	95.0	208,204	219,128	87.5	189,699	216,891
Highlands – rural	Male	92.0	165,019	179,443	55.9	95,413	170,759
	Female	92.7	162,186	174,899	51.4	93,610	182,121
Total highlands		***94.0***	***726,014***	***772,521***	***71.6***	***567,508***	***792,893***
Amazon – urban	Male	99.4	12,165	12,237	87.2	9,722	11,145
	Female	99.2	11,429	11,520	90.3	9,743	10,787
Amazon – rural	Male	93.5	42,406	45,361	77.9	29,258	37,574
	Female	96.9	47,836	49,360	72.5	21,720	29,942
Total Amazon		***96.1***	***113,836***	***118,478***	***78.8***	***70,443***	***89,448***
NATIONWIDE		**93.3**	**1,656,011**	**1,774,067**	**72.4**	**1,259,405**	**1,739,012**

Source: INEC, Urban Survey of Employment and Unemployment, 1999
Preparation: SIISE and Castelnuovo y Asoc.

The 1999 Survey of Living Conditions included the activities of Ecuadorian children in the 10 to 17 age group. Of the 1,901,168 children in this age range, 4.8 per cent neither worked nor studied, 17.0 per cent dedicated themselves only to work, 27.6 per cent divided their time between work and studies, and 50.6 per cent dedicated themselves only to studying. These figures indicate that 21.8 per cent of the population is excluded from the educational system, a figure representing 414,700 children. A breakdown by sex shows that the exclusion rate is 22 per cent for girls and 21.6 per cent for boys.

Table 20: Reasons for not enrolling in school, population aged 6 to 11 (1999)

Reasons	Boys		Girls	
	Nº	%	Nº	%
Cost	24,129	48.5	23,090	56.6
Work	0	0.0	0	0.0
Domestic chores	0	0.0	421	1.0
Not interested	1,998	4.0	1,757	4.3
Other	23,652	47.5	15,498	38.0
NATIONWIDE	**49,779**	**100.0**	**40,766**	**100.0**

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE-INEC

Table 21: Reasons for not enrolling in school, population aged 12 to 17, 1999.

Reasons	Boys		Girls	
	No.	%	No.	%
Cost	95,123	47.7	102,960	53.1
Work	43,792	22.0	23,079	11.9
Domestic chores	0	0.0	19,230	9.9
Not interested	37,337	18.7	28,348	14.6
Other	23,100	11.6	20,318	10.5
NATIONWIDE	**199,352**	**100,0**	**193,935**	**100.0**

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE-INEC.

Labour

Only half the children in the 10 to 17 age group study full time. Three of every 10 children in that age range both work and study, and two of every 10 only work. Of those who work and study, 36.8 per cent are girls and 63.2 per cent are boys. The ratio is similar among those who only study: 55 per cent are girls and 45 per cent are boys. Of the children who neither work nor study, 75.1 per cent are girls and 24.9 per cent are boys, meaning that of every 10 children who do not study, eight are girls. In 1999, there were 322,668 children who worked and did not study. Of these, 41.9 per cent were girls and 58.1 per cent were boys.

Table 22: Labour and educational activity among children aged 10 to 17, by geographical region, area and sex (1999)

Region	Sex	Neither work nor attend school		Work and do not attend school		Work and attend school		Only attend school		Children ages 10-17
		%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	
Coast – urban	Male	2.7	8,970	11.9	38,984	32.3	106,218	53.1	174,598	328,771
	Female	6.3	21,600	5.6	19,215	15.4	52,668	72.7	248,356	341,839
Coast – rural	Male	2.3	4,239	27.3	50,077	40.7	74,590	29.6	54,294	183,200
	Female	15.4	24,870	14.4	23,232	21.2	34,166	48.9	78,825	161,093
Total coast		***5.9***	***59,680***	***54.8***	***131,508***	***26.4***	***26,742***	***54.8***	***556,074***	***1,014,903***
Highlands – urban	Male	2.2	5,061	8.3	18,746	23.1	52,084	66.4	149,794	225,685
	Female	3.1	6,320	8.8	17,656	20.0	40,182	68.1	137,242	201,401
Highlands – rural	Male	2.0	4,617	34,0	79,599	42.2	98,814	21.8	50,929	233,955
	Female	7.3	16,364	33.4	75,150	29.5	66,440	29.9	67,270	225,224
Total highlands		***3.7***	***32,362***	***45.7***	***191,150***	***29.1***	***257,520***	***45.7***	***405,232***	***886,265***
NATIONWIDE		**4.8**	**92,042**	**17.0**	**322,658**	**27.6**	**525,162**	**50.6**	**931,306**	**1,901,168**

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE and Castelnuovo y Asoc.

That same year, working children represented nearly 20 per cent of the economically active population. Girls, in particular, represented 7.5 per cent of the total and 8.1 per cent of the economically active female population. In the 10 to 19 year age range, girls and women represented 37.6 per cent and boys and men 62.4 per cent. According to the 1999 Survey of Living Conditions, 45 per cent of children between ages 10 and 17 are in the economically active population. According to the source, in 1997, three-quarters of working children turned their income over to parents or relatives; that is, it is assumed that they contributed to the household income. (...) Younger children and boys are more likely to turn their income over to the family[118].

Of the children surveyed, 74 per cent contributed to the household income and 26 per cent used their income for themselves. This behaviour is the same in the coastal and highland regions. It should be noted that both of the possible forms (contributing to the household income or spending it on him/herself) represent a savings for the family, either because the total household income increases or because money is saved when children cover their own expenses. Children living in urban areas contribute more to their households than those in rural areas.

Table 23: Employed labour force, by age (1999)

Age group	Employed population					
	Male	%	Female	%	Both	%
10 to 19 years	666,118	12.4	401,811	7.5	1,067,929	19.9
20 to 29 years	809,611	15.1	541,799	10.1	1,351,410	25.2
30 to 39 years	638,844	11.9	478,507	8.9	1,117,351	20.8
40 to 49 years	472,342	8.8	386,605	7.2	858,947	16.0
50 to 59 years	284,584	5.3	237,401	4.4	521,984	9.7
60+ years	276,134	5.1	173,559	3.2	449,694	8.4
TOTAL	**3,147,632**	**58.6**	**2,219,682**	**41.4**	**5,367,315**	**100.0**

Source: INEC, Survey of Living Conditions, 1999
Preparation: SIISE.

If we break down the economically active population by economic sector, we find that in the 10 to 17 age range, 36.1 per cent of children work in the modern agriculture sector, 48.1 per cent in the informal sector, 9.2 per cent in agricultural activities and 6.7 per cent in domestic service.

Thirty-eight per cent of the economically active female population in that age group works in the modern sector, compared to 34.9 per cent of males. This indicates that there are more work possibilities for girls than for boys in that group. More than half of all boys (52.5%) and a smaller proportion of girls (40.5%) work in the informal sector, the economic sector that uses the greatest amount of child labour. In the 10 to 17 age group, 11.9 per cent of the economically active male population and 4.5 per cent of the economically active female population perform tasks related

[118] SIISE, version 2.5, 2002.

Table 24: Children who contribute to family income (1997)

Breakdown	% contributing to household	% who use money for self
Region		
Highlands	74	26
Coast	74	26
Area		
Urban	75	25
Rural	70	30
Sex		
Female	70	30
Male	78	22
Age		
6 to 10 years	85	15
11 to 13	78	22
14 to 16	61	39
17 years	40	60
Nation-wide	**74**	**26**

Source: DNI
Preparation: SIISE

to agriculture and livestock raising. This is the sector with the smallest proportion of girls. In domestic service, we find that girls represent 16.9 per cent and boys 0.6 per cent.

Working boys are found, in order of significance, in the informal sector, the formal sector, agriculture and livestock raising, and, finally, domestic service.

Working girls are found first in the informal sector, followed by the formal sector, domestic service and, finally, agriculture and livestock raising.

Of the 297,402 working children, 63.3 per cent are underemployed. The largest percentage of both boys and girls is in the sector that includes commerce, vehicle repair and personal effects. The second-largest group for both sexes is the manufacturing industry.

Despite this information, the 2000 EMNDINHO survey (which includes children from age 5) indicates that in the rural highlands, 62 per cent of children work on plantations or farms (49.5% on their families' farms and 12.5% on those of other people), a percentage that rises to 70.2 per cent in rural coastal areas (35.7% on their families' farms and 34.5% on those of others)[119].

[119] INNFA – SIISE. *Los niños y las niñas del Ecuador. A los diez años de la Convención sobre los derechos de la Niñez. Una selección de indicadores del SIISE.* Quito: Abya Yala, p. 109.

Table 25: Economically active population, by sex, age group and economic sector

Sex and age group	TOTAL	Economic sector			
		Modern sector	Informal sector	Agriculture & livestock raising	Domestic service
NATIONAL URBAN	**4,124,184**	**1,957,134**	**1,652,854**	**282,095**	**232,101**
10 to 17 years	297,402	107,352	142,972	27,290	19,789
18 to 29 years	1,352,652	735,957	472,482	82,725	61,488
30 to 39 years	1,022,815	502,634	398,877	60,190	61,115
40 to 49 years	739,571	345,721	306,596	35,346	51,908
50 to 64 years	562,652	226,154	252,513	52,735	31,250
65+ years	149,092	39,317	79,414	23,810	6,552
MALE	**2,380,613**	**1,122,683**	**1,009,874**	**225,604**	**22,451**
10 to 17 years	187,717	65,514	98,602	22,400	1,202
18 to 29 years	762,406	392,807	297,619	64,571	7,409
30 to 39 years	570,453	287,010	226,165	49,932	7,346
40 to 49 years	408,128	202,986	176,256	26,676	2,210
50 to 64 years	352,570	145,773	159,702	44,494	2,602
65+ years	99,338	28,592	51,531	17,532	1,682
FEMALE	**1,743,571**	**834,451**	**642,980**	**56,491**	**209,650**
10 to 17 years	109,684	41,838	44,369	4,890	18,587
18 to 29 years	590,246	343,150	174,863	18,154	54,078
30 to 39 years	452,362	215,624	172,712	10,258	53,769
40 to 49 years	331,443	142,735	130,340	8,670	49,698
50 to 64 years	210,081	80,381	92,812	8,241	28,648
65+ years	49,754	10,724	27,883	6,277	4,870

Source: EMENDUR 2001
Preparation: INEC

Table 26: Economically active population aged 10 to 17, underemployed, by type of activity and sex

Type of activity	10-to-17 age group	Male		Female	
		Nº	%	Nº	%
TOTAL	**188,254**	**130,537**	**100.0**	**57,718**	**100.0**
Agriculture, livestock raising and hunting	11,726	9,444	7.2	2,283	4.0
Fishing and hatcheries	2,998	2,745	2.1	253	0.4
Work in mines and quarries	852	528	0.4	324	0.6
Manufacturing industry	40,843	30,441	23.3	10,402	18.0
Provision of electricity, gas and water	412	90	0.1	322	0.6
Construction	11,488	11,119	8.5	369	0.6
Commerce, vehicle repair, personal effects	78,245	51,166	39.2	27,078	46.9
Hotels and restaurants	13,682	6,683	5.1	6,999	12.1
Transportation and communications	6,541	6,541	5.0		0.0
Financial intermediation			0.0		0.0
Real estate, business activities and rentals	2,699	2,532	1.9	167	0.3
Public administration, defence and Social Security			0.0		0.0
Teaching	233	233	0.2		0.0
Social and health services	551	369	0.3	182	0.3
Community, social and personal activities	12,432	7,625	5.8	4,807	8.3
Private households with domestic service	4,980	449	0.3	4,531	7.9
Extraterritorial organizations			0.0		0.0
Unspecified	571	571	0.4		0.0

Source: EMENDUR
Preparation: Castelnuovo y Asoc.

3. Children's health

The issues of sexual and reproductive health are relevant to this study, not only because they are fundamental to development, but because in many cases they are a key factor in girls' educational, working and emotional conditions. Adolescent pregnancy and motherhood is a symptom, risk factor and consequence of social exclusion. It is also seen as a strategy for escaping (through marriage) discrimination and abuse in the family.

Adolescent sexuality can be understood as part of a process of identity construction or as an area of adultomorphic control. The first view leads us to understand conditions and construct responses according to the needs of young people as subjects with rights; the second is aimed at "controlling accidents, deviations or epidemics." Civil society sectors (non-governmental organizations, the Society of Paediatrics, FIPA, GTZ, HGOIA, etc.) hold the former view. Because their efforts fall "outside" public policy, however, implementation and dissemination of information about these proposals are limited. The government, meanwhile, adopts the second viewpoint, which is inadequate for understanding the adolescent population. This leads to prejudices in access to services and knowledge (prevention) by adolescents.

Care and prevention are frequently used to stigmatise and exclude. For example, the lack of care for adolescents with sexually transmitted illnesses, one of the country's main public health problems, is covered up by discourses aimed at creating guilt. Some data may help counter this trend:

- Problems related to pregnancy, delivery, puerperium and abortion are the main reasons for hospitalisation among adolescent women and constitute the second leading cause of death among girls and women between ages 15 and 19.
- Between 19 per cent and 24 per cent of deliveries in public hospitals occur among girls under age 19.
- 11 per cent of adolescent girls receiving attention at HGOIA had sexually transmitted illnesses (trichomoniasis, human papiloma virus, candidiasis, gonorrhoea and syphilis).
- Ecuador has Latin America's highest mortality rate for complications from pregnancy, delivery and puerperium[120].

Besides the risks of teen pregnancy and its impact on health, from a holistic standpoint the consequences are even more alarming. In 1994, nearly **one of every five girls between ages 15 and 19 (17.5%) was a mother or was pregnant**. The figures are higher in rural areas, with **the highest rate among girls in rural coastal areas (23.2%)**. The relationship to education is notable, given that **four of every 10 girls who did not finish primary school are mothers**[121].

Early motherhood is associated with a low educational level and this, in turn, leads to unskilled and low-wage employment. It is interesting to reinterpret the data in the section on employment and the distribution of children's income.

- Girls are less likely than boys to combine work and studies: 36.8 per cent compared to 63.2 per cent. Of every 10 children who neither work nor study, however, eight are girls.

[120] Ibid.

[121] SIISE – UNIFEM, op. cit., p. 84.

Table 27: Maternity and pregnancy in adolescents between ages 15 and 19

Region	% who are mothers	% pregnant for first time	% who are not pregnant and do not have children
NATIONWIDE	**13.3**	**4.2**	**82.5**
Urban area	11.1	3.5	85.3
Rural area	16.2	5.1	78.7
Rural coast	16.0	7.2	76.7
Rural highlands	16.4	3.2	88.7
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, NATIONWIDE			
None or primary incomplete	32.3	6.9	60.8
Primary complete	16.7	4.7	78.6
Secondary incomplete	8.6	3.5	87.8
Secondary complete or more	9.0	3.4	87.6

Source: ENDEMAIN 1994
Preparation: Retrato de Mujer 3.18

- There are four women for every 10 men in Ecuador's economically active population.
- Only 9.9 per cent of the lowest-income quintile are fully employed. The three lowest-income quintiles are made up of women.
- The ratio of spending in the highest and the lowest quintiles is 10 to 1.

Exclusion (from the educational system and the work force) clearly exists. If it is considered that after age 20, adolescent mothers will have two or three more children,[122] it is realised that adolescent motherhood not only contributes to the feminization of poverty, but also to the increase in child labour.

Patients with HIV/AIDS and carriers of HIV/AIDS virus.

In 1999, children and adolescents (ages 10-19) were in second place, representing 28.7 per cent of all reported cases[123]. The Ministry of Public Health – National AIDS Programme reports that there are 3,727 people with HIV/AIDS, a rate of 4.75 per 100,000 inhabitants. According to the same source, statistics show a significant level of underreporting, because "90 per cent of the people living with HIV are not aware of the fact."[124] In 1999, UNAIDS calculated that there were 19,000 people infected with HIV/AIDS in the country. FEDAEPS[125] estimated 40,000 people in 2002.

Available information about transmission is not broken down by age group. Nevertheless, 97.8 per cent of all AIDS cases (among people ages 10 to 60) were by sexual transmission. Since 1991, there has been an increasing prevalence of the

[122] NARANJO, *op. cit.*
[123] MSP – PNS. *Strategic Plan for HIV/AIDS 2001- 2003.*
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Fundación Ecuatoriana de Acción y Educación para la Promoción de la Salud.

illness among heterosexuals. In 2001, of the total number of people with HIV/AIDS, 14 per cent were bisexual, 20.5 per cent were homosexual and 54.9 per cent claimed to be heterosexual. Sex workers represented 3.7 per cent of the total number of cases. The ratio is one woman for every 2.6 men (between 1984 and 1999, the ratio was 1 to 4.5)[126].

Table 28: HIV/AIDS (1984-2001)

	% HIV-AIDS	% HIV	% AIDS	HIV/AIDS rate by age group
10 to 19 years	9.0	13.1	5.0	1.9
20 to 29 years*	37.9	41.0	34.9	9.4
Sex workers				
Women	17.9			
Men	1.1			

Source: MSP-PNS
Preparation: PNS.MSP
* Because of the usual course of the illness, it is estimated that the 20-to-29 age group contracted the virus during adolescence (FEDAEPS).

With regard to the geographical distribution of the epidemic, eight of every 10 people with HIV/AIDS are from the province of Guayas, followed by Pichincha, with 8.7 per cent of the cases. The greatest incidence is in the provinces of Guayas and El Oro, with rates of 11.4 and 10.3 per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively.[127]

Table 29: HIV/AIDS cases reported, by province and sex (1984-2001)

Province	% HIV-AIDS	% HIV	% AIDS	Rate per 100,000 people
GUAYAS	74.1	68.9	79.9	11.4
Women	68.3			
Men	75.8			
PICHINCHA	10.0	11.4	8.7	2.8
Women	12.1			
Men	9.4			
MANABI	5.1	5.5	4.8	0.7
Women	6.4			
Men	4.7			
EL ORO	3.9	6.3	1.6	10.3
Women	4.6			
Men	3.7			

Source and preparation: MSP-PNS HIV/AIDS 1984-2001

[126] RETSIDA-RPVVIH/SIDA. Tratamiento y calidad de vida. Una propuesta para la acción. Quito: FEDAEPS, 2002.
[127] *Ibid.*

Between 1997 and 2000, 476 deaths from the illness were reported among adolescents between ages 15 and 19 (not counting cases of vertical or maternal transmission). This means that **six of every 10 deaths from HIV/AIDS in Ecuador since 1997 have occurred among adolescents**. It is important to examine the relationship between the behaviour of the epidemic and the behaviours, practices and beliefs of the population:

- The greatest lack of knowledge is found in coastal areas and among indigenous and poor populations[128].
- Among men, the groups most affected in 2001 were labourers, craftsmen, bricklayers and day labourers (27.1%), followed by unemployed men (14.3%)[129].
- In the same year, 79 per cent of cases occurred in the coastal region[130].
- In rural coastal areas, 73 per cent of people have erroneous ideas about AIDS [131]. Nevertheless, women from the coast and Guayas took more precautions than the national average (38.9% and 31.7%, respectively, said they had taken no measures to avoid AIDS, compared to an estimated national average of 43%)[132]. In Guayas, 35.9 per cent said they had sex with a single partner as a preventive measure, compared to 25.9 per cent nationally[133]. Even so, seven of every 10 women with HIV/AIDS are from Guayas (1987-2001 period)[134].
- 61 per cent of women reported to be infected with the illness devote themselves to household tasks and 15.7 per cent are sex workers.

People living with HIV/AIDS face a highly complex situation, because of a lack of timely diagnosis and inadequate treatment, fragmented and low-quality care, and medicines at prices that make them inaccessible, combined with a low educational level, a high degree of discrimination and violation of fundamental rights. Medicines cost nine times as much in Ecuador as in Latin American countries that have clear health policies for addressing HIV/AIDS. Because of this, it is estimated that only 18 per cent of the people who need medicines have access to them. This is consistent with the cutbacks in the budget for AIDS, which was reduced from 0.01 per cent of the 1999 health budget in 1999 to 0.003 per cent in 2001. *The impact on the quality of life of people living with HIV/AIDS, because of social and economic discrimination and segregation, is even greater in lower-income sectors.*

One of the strategic priorities identified at the Fifth Conference of HIV/AIDS Organizations is working with high-risk populations: adult women, adolescents, sex workers, clients of sex workers and men who have sex with men (MSM). Studies by the Equity Foundation among 500 MSM found that 12.7 per cent in Quito and 30 per cent in Guayaquil had HIV/AIDS. In addition, 65 per cent did not use condoms and only 34.2 per cent admitted being bisexual. Researchers point out the risk represented by the target group because it does not consider itself either homosexual or bisexual: differences between the subjects' perception of themselves and the categories used in the studies and information-gathering systems have a significant

[128] SIISE, 2002.
[129] MSP - PNS, op.cit.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] SIISE, 2002.
[132] CEPAR, 1999.
[133] *Ibid.*
[134] MSP – PNS, op. cit.

effect on the results and, therefore, the actions needed. The fact that a large number of men are heterosexual does not precisely reflect their sexual practice.

Given the risks posed by the epidemic, unions and organizations of sex workers and the National Federation of Autonomous Women have carried out large-scale informational and prevention activities among their members. Their major difficulties are related to negotiating with clients about condom use, clients' preferences and refusal to use condoms and a general lack of knowledge about the issue[135]. Meanwhile, the cost of care at CETS N° 2 (the Ministry of Public Health's Sexually Transmitted Illnesses Centre) is borne by contributions from the sex workers.

Organizations working in the area of HIV/AIDS (including sex workers' unions) believe that the association of HIV/AIDS with sex workers is a sign of social stigmatisation that makes them one of the most vulnerable populations. They attribute the resistance to focusing training on clients and the general public to a double moral standard and the machismo that reigns in Ecuador.

The situation of children with HIV/AIDS and AIDS orphans is also critical. Their cause has been taken up by organizations working in HIV/AIDS, not by those working on children's issues. The former cover a broader spectrum and are more heterogeneous in terms of purpose, objectives and methodologies, going far beyond the government's actions. Although they face marginalisation and are virtually invisible, they have made valuable contributions through networking and by influencing public policy.

In summary, the sectors that are most vulnerable to or affected by the epidemic are adolescents, people with the least formal education (among men, labourers, craftsmen, bricklayers and the unemployed, and among women, sex workers) and those who are least informed. In addition, the screening of adult women in public health centres does not include boys and girls involved in commercial sexual exploitation. Some adolescent girls (between ages 15 and 17) get check-ups using false ID documents, but they do so only sporadically and reluctantly because their activity is illegal. In general, children and adolescents under age 15 are excluded. Physical and psychological conditions make both groups more vulnerable.

4. Violence in adult-child relationships

The most serious problem related to violence is that it is accepted almost as an adult privilege in relationships with children. Statistics for physical violence help illustrate how deeply rooted this practice is in daily life, showing it to be an underlying issue in adult-child relationships. Nearly six of every 10 children are abused at home or at school. Four are beaten by parents and one by teachers. The rate of physical abuse in rural schools (14.2%) is twice the rate in urban areas (6.9%) and affects more boys (10.5%) than girls (8.8%).

According to studies by Defence of Children International in 1997 and 1999, objects used by adults to beat children included belts (56%), hands (14%), sticks

[135] According to a director of the May 1 Association (Asociación 1° de Mayo, an organization of sex workers in Guayaquil), "There should be educational presentations in schools and workplaces and training for the general population because men refuse to use condoms. (...) HIV/AIDS is not only a problem of women sex workers; the problem is the general public's LACK OF EDUCATION. We all have to become informed. If sex workers are informed but no one else is, what will happen? I tell you, in a few years we're all going to be infected."
When the woman sex worker tells the client — in many ways and even resorting to subterfuge — to use a condom, what does the client say? "What – are you sick?" "We aren't sick – we're educating the client."

(7%) and wires (4%). In 1999, more than 18,000 children suffered fractures and other physical harm that cased irreparable damage.

Of 10 children interviewed in 1995, four said that their teachers hit them, and 36.1 per cent of youths also said that teachers sexually abused them[136]. In addition, "42 per cent of children under age 10 believed that they deserved the punishment, [and] this acceptance rose to 60 per cent at age 17. These figures [from 1993] warn us that they internalize physical abuse as an adult prerogative"[137].

In the July 1996 National Consultation of Children and Adolescents, abuse was the main problem mentioned by children and adolescents. "Contrary to common belief, the danger to children does not come from outside, but from everyday encounters (98% of aggressors are fathers, mothers, relatives and people known to the children)"[138]. Based on the findings of this study, we can add that everyday violence is the passport to violence from "outside."

Sexual violence

A 1991 survey indicated that nearly 30 per cent of youths (300 17-year-old men and women from Quito and Guayaquil) had suffered some type of sexual abuse as children. In the study, a larger number of boys had been abused. Between 1996 and 1997, REDPAM received 146 complaints of child sexual abuse in the city of Quito, of which 48 per cent involved children between ages 6 and 12. During that period, none of Quito's 13 courts handled any rape charges. In 2001, a study by the Women's Communication Workshop revealed that 22.4 per cent of 600 youths interviewed (between ages 14 and 17, students of public and private schools, from rural and urban areas) had been victims of sexual violence. One of every four male and female youths had been subjected to physical violence (64% were girls and 36% were boys). One of every three knew of experiences of sexual violence, with women showing the highest level of knowledge (54%).

There is little social punishment of this type of abuse. According CEPAM, the "number of cases in which a sentence is handed down is minimal. (...) Sexual violence against women and girls goes unpunished in our country. (...) In the few cases in which sentences are handed down in cases of domestic violence and sex crimes, they usually involve very short prison terms."

Although there is little research on the subject, results from the past 10 years indicate a nearly 30 per cent incidence of child abuse, which means that 1,300,000 boys and girls are victims of sexual abuse.

Sexual minorities: harassment, abuse and segregation

There are sector-based organizations in the country that bring together, provide training for and defend and promote the social, sexual and human rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexuals and trans-gender people (GLBT). The right to sexual orientation is recognised in the Ecuadorian Constitution (Article 23, Paragraph 3). Paragraph 5 of that article also guarantees all people «the right to freely develop their personality, with no limitations except those imposed by juridical order and the rights of others." Finally, Article 516 decriminalises homosexuality.

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[136] WOMEN'S COMMUNICATION WORKSHOP. *La industria del sexo local: Cultura, marginalidad y dinero.* Corporación Promoción de la Mujer, 2002.

[137] SINIÑEZ, et al. *Los niños y las niñas del Ecuador.* Quito, 1999.

[138] SIMI, et al. *Cartilla de indicadores de INNFAncia.* 1997.

Among the government's policies, Article 26 of the National Human Rights Action Plan (Executive Decree 24-6-1998) calls for the government to ensure "that the state's security mechanisms and agents engage in no acts of persecution and harassment of people because of their sexual options"[139]. An Integral Law for Sexual Minorities is also being drafted and will be enriched in the coming months through a nation-wide consultation.

Despite these formal advances, persecution, harassment, discrimination and violation of the human rights of the GLBT community are frequent, especially in Guayaquil, which has led to multiple denunciations, some of which have had international repercussions[140]. Various organizations have denounced serious abuses against sexual minorities and the difficulties they encounter in working with this population. Intolerance is also reflected in exclusion from the labour market, the educational system and health services.

All of the organizations interviewed expressed concern about the lack of care and services for GLBT children and youths, as well as the lack of response to rape cases involving children and youths. Although young people seek assistance, guidance and care from these organizations, because they are stigmatized as "perverters of minors" they are not included in official plans and programmes of care, prevention and promotion. The local PNT-INNFA directors in Santo Domingo, Esmeraldas and Guayaquil agree with these perceptions of the invisibility and extent of the sexual exploitation of children.

There are also denunciations that many boys and male adolescents are involved in the sex industry, and that their working conditions are more violent and dangerous than those of girls and women, aggravated by the lack of attention from the public healthcare system[141]. The concern is greater because of the increase in the number of tourists who arrive in the country in search of boys and male adolescents. Easy access to boys and the lack of controls indicate that Ecuador has become a destination for "sexual tourism". In this area, Manta is a special case because of the installation of a U.S. military base there. People in the city have expressed alarm about the increase in the number of boys and girls involved in sexual exploitation, who are frequently seen in the company of "gringo" military personnel and tourists. There are claims that boys and girls have been given ID cards allow them to enter areas restricted to U.S. personnel in a prestigious hotel in the city. The curfew declared by the port authorities has not kept boys from boarding cruise ships, because this occurs during the day.

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[139] AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. E*cuador. Torturas y malos tratos constantes a lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transexuales.* Paper. London: Amnesty International, June 2001.

[140] On this subject, see the reports by Amnesty International: *Ecuador. Tortura y malos tratos constantes a lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transexuales* (June 2001), and *Ecuador. Orgullo y prejuicio. Es hora de romper el círculo vicioso de la impunidad por los abusos contra lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transexuales* (March 2002). The former includes accusations of harassment, torture, mistreatment and attempted murder for homophobic reasons by police agents, all related to the "More Security" Plan (Guayaquil, September 2000). There are also denouncements of anonymous death threats against defenders of the rights of the GLBT community in Quito and Guayaquil. The second report, presented nearly one year later, describes new cases of torture and ill treatment by police against people detained because of their sexual orientation, especially in Guayaquil, because of institutionalised prejudice on the part of certain authorities and agents charged with carrying out the law.

[141] In Ecuador, for example, the distribution of condoms appropriate for anal intercourse is minimal. As a result, ordinary condoms are used for this, with no guarantee of safety.

5. Children deprived of family environment

This area is broad and complex, including missing children, children who do not know their fathers, those who are deprived of their liberty and those living in the street, as well as those at risk of being deprived of a family environment (victims of mistreatment and sexual abuse, those with disabilities, adolescent mothers and their children, children of migrants or families in crisis, etc.). An analysis of their situation exceeds the scope of this study. Nevertheless, we can say that the chain of neglect and abuse begins at home. In one survey of boys and girls, in answer to the question, "When your fathers have economic problems, are they more aggressive?" 41.3 per cent of boys from lower-income sectors and 43.3 per cent from the marginal sector said yes. In rural areas, the percentage rose to 45.3 per cent, reaching 46.6 per cent among 17-year-olds.

Besides family abuse, this sector receives little or no government support, which translates into minimal care, poor-quality service, an absence of mechanisms for restitution of their rights, a lack of unified and accessible information systems, the persistence of institutionalization and a lack of transparency in the handling of international conventions and national laws regarding adoptions. With regard to state intervention for special protection, experts say that in Ecuador "no public sector has been established to take responsibility for formulating and providing special protective services"[142], a task that has been left to non-governmental organizations and religious institutions. The lack of policies and the existence of practices and concepts that emphasise rehabilitation, institutionalisation and pathology, indicate that despite their talk of rights, most Ecuadorian government agencies continue to subscribe to the "doctrine of the irregular situation."

Opinion of Juvenile Court Social Worker

The girls who come here are wayward ones who need rehabilitation. (..) They have a great opportunity to work and should be grateful to their employers, but they strike back at them, they bite the hand that feeds them. (..) On the other hand, there are many girls who work as maids and don't cause problems or offend their employers. Look at the girls from the countryside – they're quiet, submissive, obedient, they do as they're told. That's the kind of girl that's needed. As the Court, we support the Children's Home in getting troubled adolescents jobs as domestic employees, because that's a rehabilitation process in which the girls learn and are rehabilitated, they are cared for and protected, and many of them receive a wage. It's a good way of giving the girls occupational training. (Interview with a Juvenile Court social worker in Ambato, May 2002).

With the doctrine of the irregular situation, the theory of social maladjustment remains unchanged. It also allows the exorcism of "deficiencies in social policy and the choice of *solutions* of an individual nature that emphasise institutionalisation or

[142] UNICEF-INNFA-NN. *Consideraciones generales alrededor de la protección especial en el Ecuador,* Document, June 2002.

adoption ... with the clear tendency to pathologize situations that are of a structural origin"[143].

About 97 per cent of children deprived of a family environment live in institutions. Only 3 per cent receive attention in shelters or family homes run by various NGOs. The alternatives for institutionalization have been seriously questioned on the grounds that they violate the children's rights. "In the name of protection, we have bureaucratically organized concentration camps for poor children. We have institutionalised these children as persons in the name of protecting them"[144]. Many "Protective Homes" add to the abuse by placing the girls as domestic workers.

Story from formal domestic worker now in prostitution

When I was 5 years old (I don't remember, but the social worker at the home told me), they found me abandoned in a park. Since then, I've lived at the home with my friends, other girls who didn't have parents. When I was 10, they sent me to night school. Then they took us out because we weren't learning anything.

When I was 10, they sent my friends and me to work in homes as domestic workers. In the house where I worked, the woman was bad and hit me. Every day they would pick my friends and me up in the van. Then they took me out of there and sent me to another place to work, in the house of a family that was rich. There was an old man there, the woman's husband, and whenever I was alone he would touch me and want to do things to me. I told the social worker, but she didn't believe me. One of the family's neighbours also told her. Then she did believe me, and she took me out of there but sent me to a worse place to work. At that house, the 16-year-old son called me into his room and pushed me onto the bed. Twice he tried to rape me. I got away from him and ran away from the house, and I didn't go back to the home. I was about 14 years old.

(Interview with a former female child domestic worker who is now in prostitution, Ambato.)

A large number of children do not enter the formal system because they are taken in by family or social networks. According to SIISE, one of every 10 children does not live with his or her biological parents. Of these, 82 per cent have some family relationship with the people with whom they live. The remaining 18 per cent include children who are adopted, taken in or given away and children of domestic workers. It is evident that only those who have no other alternative reach the formal system.

Living on the street is another survival alternative that falls outside both systems (family/community and governmental). Little is known about the number of children living in these conditions. A census by PAM in the city of Quito in 2000 found 1,000 children living in the downtown streets either permanently or occasionally[145].

[143] GARCÍA MÉNDEZ, et al. *The Right to have Rights*. Quito: UNICEF, 1998.

[144] SEDA, E. Política Social en Latinoamérica, con prioridad absoluta para la niñez: 2002.

[145] PAM, personal communication.

Faced with institutionalisation, children develop many survival strategies, including domestic work and sexual exploitation "that are ways of getting off the street"[146].

In the area of adoptions, according the SIISE, 0.5 per cent of children lived with adoptive parents in 2000. We could not gain access to official figures of children adopted nationally and internationally in the past few years.

There are 23 international agencies registered in Ecuador that operate protective and intermediary programmes that do not meet the criteria of national and international experts because they are openly incompatible with the stated goal. Other agencies do not directly operate protective programmes, but have an extensive system of agreements with other institutions (hospitals, maternity hospitals, homes for adolescents or single mothers, etc.). In some small and mid-size cities, protective homes are popularly identified with "the sale of children."

For years, successive Directors of the Protection of Minors have tried to organize, regulate and control the adoption system, but have been unsuccessful because of constant pressure. Many organizations for the defence and protection of children have warned the public about numerous irregularities.

The draft bill for a Children's Law presented to Congress clearly stipulated the appropriate limitations and functions to ensure that the adoption process put the child's interests first (no connections, no pre-assignment, no process involving marriage, oversight by the National System of Integral Protection, clarification of the family situation, reinsertion into the family, etc.). The text presented for the second debate (to be held soon) was modified substantially despite protests from civil society, respected legislators and international agencies[147].

Many of the Protective Homes that care for girls and adolescent mothers (most of whom have been fired from domestic work or are former sex workers) have agreements with adoption agencies. They also take in migrant girls when they lack work or are pregnant.

There are significant differences in the number of children given up for adoption (rates range from 0% to 20%); this is directly related to the institution's position on the issue[148]. In many cases, the adoptive parents often visited the girl and her child at the Home.

Finally, with regard to missing children, one of every 100 households in the country suffers from this problem, a figure that includes runaway children who are gone for more than one day. At the end of 2000, about 35,000 households had missing children under age 18. The rate among households belonging to the poorest quintile (1.4%) is almost triple that of the wealthiest quintile (0.6%). The highest rates are found in the large cities: Cuenca (nearly 2%), Quito and Guayaquil (1.4%)[149].

A significant number of missing children leave voluntarily. Organizations that address this problem in Quito and Guayaquil say that high rates of abuse and domestic violence are direct causes of this phenomenon.

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[146] Interview with Santiago Pérez, Reencuentro Foundation.

[147] "The constitutional norms on the family are not upheld when the draft Code attempts to allow adoption agencies to simultaneously carry out so-called 'protection' programmes for children and their families." Communication from the Association of Jurisprudence Schools to Dr. José Cordero, President of the National Congress, April 2002.

[148] The only institution that provided no information was the Our Youth Foundation (*Fundación Nuestros Jóvenes*), even though at the time it was inaugurating a programme and shelter for adolescent mothers (part of our study's target population).

[149] INEC – SIISE – MBS – INNFA – CEPAR – UNDP – UNFPA – UNICEF. *Los niños y niñas, ahora! Una selección de indicadores de su situación a inicios de la nueva década.* Quito: Abya Yala, 2001, p. 69.

"Runaway" girls generally have dropped out of school and have little formal education and a high level of repeated grades. They are from large families with high levels of violence, usually from rural areas. When they arrive in the city, they usually go into domestic labour or sell products in the informal sector. Once they find work, they cut off all contact with the family, creating high levels of vulnerability and a tendency to accept various degrees of abuse from their employers (economic, long hours, physical and sexual abuse). Some, when they start working, continue their studies in professional academies or night school. That's where they meet older girls who often provide the connection through which they enter the sex industry.

It is noteworthy that the only organizations that know the vicissitudes of the children being studied are those that work on the related issues of abuse, abandonment/runaways, street children, domestic labour/sexual exploitation. Unpunished violence and abuse and the lack of social support makes these children choose any available form of escape to avoid domestic violence, but pushes them into other types of abuse that are worse.

SECTION B

Girl child labour in agriculture, domestic service, and sexual exploitation in Ecuador: results of a rapid assessment

Domestic work in Guayaquil; Chone and Ambato

2

1. Introduction

The results of a Rapid Assessment on child labour in domestic service in the province of Tungurahua; sexual exploitation in the Province of Guayas and agriculture in the Province of Manabí are presented in the following sections. This assessment is eminently qualitative with the participation of children in the above activities explored, along with the risks they face, family and historical conditions, apparent causes of the child labour, its consequences, and the educational level of the children and their families.

General methodology

The overall objective of the study on child labour in Ecuador was to explore the participation of child labour in the production activities under studied, its conditions and pertinent characteristics, causes and consequences, with particular emphasis on gender differences. Specific objectives were to:

- To determine the tasks performed by girls in agricultural production, domestic service and sexual exploitation.
- To evaluate the working conditions and occupational risks of girls involved in agricultural production, domestic service and sexual exploitation.
- To identify the principal factors that foster and/or encourage child labour within the production sectors studied.
- To define the educational, emotional, family and social consequences of child labour among girls involved in agricultural production, domestic service and sexual exploitation.

2. Agricultural labour: Province of Manabí

a) Geographical characteristics

This area is located on the country's northern coast. It has an area of 18,878 square kilometres. The capital is Portoviejo, which is located 44 metres

above sea level. It is a largely flat province, with isolated elevations of no more than 700 metres above sea level in the coastal hills, including the ranges of Balzar, Chongón and Colonche. The climate is warm and there are two well-differentiated seasons: winter and summer. Winter is warmer; during the summer, the weather is colder and there is precipitation.

The province is basically agricultural, with abundant production of coffee, hard corn, cacao, bananas, plantains and cotton, and, to a lesser extent, peanuts, watermelon, coconut palm, melons and mandarin oranges. The province ranks first in the country in cattle and pork production and also has chicken farms. There is also a wealth of forestry, with production of balsa, balsa, bamboo, laurel and guaiacum. In the industrial area, there is fish processing and production of food products, beverages, soap and tobacco, as well as the manufacturing of straw and rattan handcrafts.

b) Socio-demographic characteristics

The 1990 census found that the province of Manabí had 1,031,927 inhabitants, representing 10.7 per cent of the country's total population. In 2001, there were 1,180,375 inhabitants. Despite the increase in population, Manabí's proportion of the national population decreased to 9.8 per cent. Between 1990 and 2001, the province grew at an annual rate of 1.22 per cent, far below the national average (2.05%). Following the nation-wide trend, rural areas in the province are losing population because of urbanisation, declining by 0.47 per cent. The urban area grew by 3.14 per cent, a rate exceeding the national average (2.92%).

Table 30: Manabí: Inter-census population growth

	1990	2001	Inter-census growth	
			Manabí	Country
TOTAL POPULATION	1,031,927	1,180,375	1.22	2.05
Men	521,248	584,746	1.21	2.03
Women	510,679	595,629	1.23	2.07
URBAN	479,760	611,695	3.14	2.92
Men	234,946	289,001	3.22	2.98
Women	244,814	322,694	3.06	2.87
RURAL	552,167	568,680	–0.47	0.84
Men	286,302	295,745	–1.18	0.76
Women	265,865	272,935	0.24	0.92

Source : INEC

The province has a population density of 63 per square kilometre. The population tends to be concentrated in urban areas of the districts of Portoviejo, Manta and Chone.

Following the trend observed in the province in 1990, the population is very young: 48.9 per cent is under age 18, although in the rural area of the Chone parish that figure rises to 50.9 per cent. This difference may be due in part to the decrease in urban fertility rates and in part to adult migration toward urban areas. Despite this, the rural population in Chone has decreased by 0.29 per cent a year since 1990.

Table 31: Manabí:
Population structure, by area

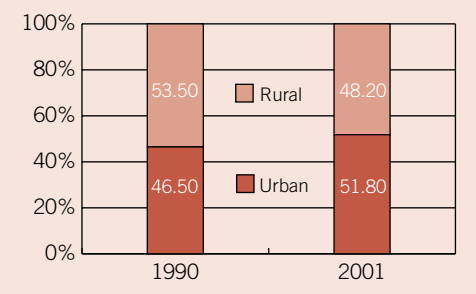


Table 32: Rural Chone: Inter-census variation

City and sex	1990	2001	1990-2001
Rural Chone	74,209	71,893	–0.29
Men	38,625	37,309	–0.32
Women	35,584	34,584	–0.26

Source : INEC

c) Process of urbanization

In the past decade, the rural population of the province of Manabí has diminished in importance, decreasing from 54 per cent in 1990 to 48.2 per cent in 2001. The greatest urban concentrations are the city of Portoviejo, the provincial capital; Manta, which is a tourist centre and the site of a U.S. naval base; and Chone, the third-largest city.

Table 33: Manabí: Basic statistical information

Variables	Indicators
Area (Km^2)	18,878
Density (inhabitants per Km^2)	63
Nº of districts	14
Nº of urban parishes	23
Nº of rural parishes	44
Total population (9.8% of total national population)	1,180,375
% male population (9.8% of total national population)	49.5
% female population (9.8% of total national population)	50.5
Urban population (8.3% of national urban population)	611,695
% male urban population (8.0% of national male urban population)	47.24
% female urban population (8.6% of national female urban population)	52.76
Rural population (5.36% of national rural population)	568,680
% male rural population (12.4% of national male rural population)	52.0
% female rural population (11.3% of national female rural population)	48.0
% urban population	51.8
Growth rate (1990 – 2001)	2.05

d) Education and illiteracy

The 1990 census found that 15.5 per cent of the population age 15 or over in the province did not know how to read and write. This percentage differs by area: 9.4 per cent in cities and their peripheries and an average of 21.3 per cent in rural areas. Illiteracy is higher among women, reaching 22 per cent in rural areas.

Chone parish had an illiteracy rate of 11.2 per cent, slightly lower than the national average (11.7%) and with similar percentages for men and women (11.1% and 11.2%, respectively). Functional illiteracy, however, stood at 27.9 per cent.

The average number of years of schooling completed was 6.6 in Chone, slightly below the national average (6.7 years). Of the population over age 18, 61.8 per cent had finished primary school and 24.4 per cent had finished secondary school. Primary school enrolment was above the national average in urban areas and below it in rural areas. In both cases, there were more female than male students in primary school. At the secondary level, the rate in urban areas was 25 per cent above the national average, but in rural areas it was 13 per cent below the national average. Contrary to what was observed at the primary level, fewer women than men were enrolled in both rural and urban areas.

Table 34: Chone parish: illiteracy (1990)

Area	Sex	%	Nº	Population age 15+
Nationwide		**11.7**	**691,422**	**5,908,965**
Chone	Men	11.2	2,065	18,499
	Women	11.1	2,167	19,609
	Both	11.1	4,232	38,108

Source: CPV 1990
Preparation: SIISE

During the 1998-1999 school year, there were 1,041 pre-primary students in the Chone parish, of whom 84.7 per cent were served by the public school system and 15.3 per cent by private schools. There were also 11,756 students in primary school, 88 per cent of them in public schools and 12 per cent in private schools. Of the total of 7,317 secondary school students, 85.5 per cent attended public schools and only 14.5 per cent attended private schools.

Of the 17,478 students in public schools, 5 per cent were at the pre-primary level, 59.2 per cent at the primary level and 35.8 per cent at the secondary level. Of the total of 172 public schools, 19.8 per cent were pre-primary, 72.7 per cent were primary and 7.6 per cent were secondary schools. Public education serves 87 per cent of the students.

e) Economically active population

The Economically Active Population (EAP) represents 45 per cent of the population ages 12 and up in urban areas and 43.2 per cent of the rural population. The male EAP is greater than the female in both areas.

Table 35: Chone district: Enrolment rates (1990)

District	Area	Sex	Primary Level			Secondary Level		
			%	Enrolled	Population ages 6-11	%	Enrolled	Population ages 12-17
Chone	Urban	Male	90.6	2,787	3,077	85.4	2,470	2,894
		Female	92.9	2,892	3,114	84.8	2,921	3,445
	Rural	Male	75.0	4,922	6,567	60.9	3,661	6,007
		Female	77.4	4,887	6,318	57.8	3,129	5,418
Total Chone			76.1	9,809	12,885	59.4	6,790	11,425
TOTAL PAÍS			**89.5**	**1,346,529**	**1,504,446**	**68.0**	**924,871**	**1,360,076**

Source: CPV, 1990
Preparation: SIISE y Castelnuovo y Asoc.

Table 36: Chone parish: Supply of schools and educational services (1999)

Type of school	N° of students	N° of teachers	N° of classrooms	N° of schools
Pre-primary – public	882	54	47	34
Pre-primary – private	159	14	12	6
Total pre-primary	1,041	68	59	40
Primary – public	10,341	614	483	125
Primary – private	1,415	94	81	13
Total primary	11,756	708	564	138
Secondary – public	6,255	494	262	13
Secondary – private	1,062	84	76	6
Total secondary	7,317	578	338	19
TOTAL Parish	**20,114**	**1,354**	**961**	**197**

The province's largest economic sector is the primary sector (agriculture, hunting, fishing and mining), in which 44.1 per cent of the EAP participates. It is followed in size by the third sector (commerce, transportation, services and financial establishments), which employs 33.8 per cent of the EAP. The secondary sector (manufacturing industries, construction, electricity, water and gas) employs 11.6 per cent of men and women.

The largest occupational category is "self-employed," representing 46.7 per cent of the EAP. This is followed by "private wage earners" with 27.0 per cent. It should be noted that unremunerated family workers represent nearly 4 per cent of the EAP.

f) Poverty and basic needs

The poverty and indigence levels in the Chone parish, estimated in the 1995 ECV, projected based on the 1990 census and corrected for the effects of the 1998 El Niño phenomenon, are 61.5 per cent and 18.6 per cent, respectively. In August 2000, 8,959 mothers, 1,975 senior citizens and 149 disabled persons were receiving solidarity vouchers, with a total of 11,083 beneficiaries in the parish (0.8% of the total beneficiaries nation-wide).

The 1990 census found that 68.8 per cent of households in the Chone parish had electricity, 49.1 per cent had garbage collection service, 40.5 per cent had sewer service, 53.5 per cent had a connection to the public water system in their homes, and 8.2 per cent had telephone service (private or public, exclusive or shared). Overcrowding affected 33.5 per cent of households, and the average number of people per bedroom in the parish was 3.1.

According to these figures, more than two-thirds of households in the parish lack electricity and half lack such services as trash collection and water. Only four of every 10 households have sewer service. The lack of basic residential services affects 64.6 per cent of households. If we consider that these services are less common in marginal urban areas (such as Santa Rita and Mosquito, which are included in this study), we can imagine that in these places the deficit of services is even greater, directly affecting the population's health.

3. Domestic labour: Province of Tungurahua

a) Geographical characteristics

This area is located in the centre of the country. It has an area of 3,334 square kilometres. The capital is Ambato, which is located 2,557 metres above sea level. The entire province of Tungurahua is located in the Andes. Its geography is irregular, with high elevations such as Tungurahua (5,023 metres above sea level) and Carihuairazo (5,020 metres above sea level), as well as extensive valleys (Ambato, Baños and Patate) nourished by rivers and streams. The climate varies by area: very humid, temperate, humid continental and humid sub-tropical, with annual rainfall of up to 1,000 millimetres.

The province's economy is based on agriculture, with abundant production of grains, vegetables, fruits and flowers. Industry is based on textile products, leather clothing, and production of food and drinks. Because of its location, Tungurahua is one of the country's important commercial centres.

b) Socio-demographic characteristics

At the time of the 1990 census, the province of Tungurahua had 361,980 inhabitants (3.8% of the population of the country). In 2001, there were 441,389 inhabitants (3.65% of the country's population). The decrease in the proportion of population is related to a decreased migratory balance and slower growth. The province has historically had negative net migration (a greater number of emigrants than immigrants). Demographic growth is determined by natural growth as well as migration from rural to urban areas, mainly by men. In recent years, international emigration has become more significant.

Table 37: Tungurahua: Population and inter-census growth, by area and sex

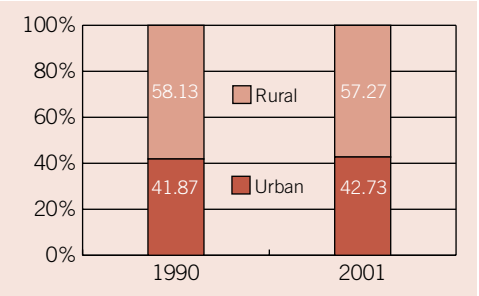
	1990	2001	Inter-census growth	
			Tungurahua	Country
TOTAL POPULATION	**361,980**	**441,389**	**1.80**	**2.05**
Men	176,509	214,040	1.75	2.03
Women	185,471	227,349	1.85	2.07
URBAN	151,552	188,601	1.99	2.92
Men	72,504	90,688	2.03	2.98
Women	79,048	97,913	1.95	2.87
RURAL	210,428	252,788	1.67	0.84
Men	104,005	123,352	1.55	0.76
Women	106,423	129,436	1.78	0.92

Sources: INEC, Fifth Population Census and Fourth Housing Census, 1990
INEC, Sixth Population Census and Fifth Housing Census, 2001. Preliminary results.
Growth: $r = ((Pn / Po)^{1/t} - 1) * 100$

Between the 1990 and 2001 censuses, the province grew by 1.8 per cent annually, less than the national rate (2.05%). Contrary to the national trend, the rural area remained strong (57.3%), growing by 1.67 per cent annually. The urban

population grew at an annual rate of 1.99 per cent, nearly 1 per cent below the national average.

Table 38: Tungurahua: Population structure by area



The city of Ambato has a population of 154,369, representing 35 per cent of the province's population. The city has grown by 1.98 per cent a year since 1990.

Table 39: Ambato: Inter-census growth

City and sex	1990	2001	1990 - 2001
Ambato	124,166	154,369	1.98
Men	59,211	74,165	2.05
Women	64,955	80,204	1.92

The province's population density is 134 inhabitants per square kilometre, but this varies from district to district, ranging from 11 to 155 inhabitants per square kilometre. The population tends to be concentrated in the urban areas of the districts of Ambato, Pelileo and Píllaro.

Following the trend observed in 1990, the population is largely young: 55.41 per cent are under age 20. In Ambato, this percentage drops to 43.53 per cent, possibly because of lower urban fertility rates and the influence of migration (the city receives adult immigrants from rural areas).

c) Process of urbanization

In 1950, the population of the province of Tungurahua was largely rural (79.2%), but this sector has steadily lost ground. In 2001, 57.3 per cent of the population lived in rural areas. The greatest concentration was in the city of Ambato, with 80 per cent of the province's total urban population.

d) Education and illiteracy

According to the 1990 census, 12 per cent of the province's population age 10 and over does not know how to read and write. This figure varies by area: in cities and their peripheries, the average is 5.1 per cent, while it rises to an average of 17 per cent in rural areas. The illiteracy rate for women is twice that of men, and exceeds 25 per cent in rural areas.

The parish of Ambato has an illiteracy rate of 5.5 per cent, far below the national average (11.7%), but a higher rate among women (47.7%). Functional illiteracy, however, stands at 13.5 per cent.

Table 40: Tungurahua: Basic statistical information

Variables	Indicators
Area (Km^2)	3,331.3
Density (inhabitants per Km^2)	134
Nº of districts	9
Nº of urban parishes	19
Nº of rural parishes	44
Total population of the province of Tungurahua (3.65% of total national population)	441,389
% male population (3.60% of national male population)	48.76
% female population (3.70% of national female population)	51.24
Urban population (2.56% of national urban population)	188,601
% male urban population (2.56% of national male urban population)	48.08
% female urban population (2.60% of national female urban population)	51.92
Rural population (5.36% of national rural population)	252,788
% male rural population (5.16% of national male rural population)	48.80
% female rural population (5.56% of national female rural population)	51.20
% urban population	42.73
Growth rate (1990 – 2001)	1.8
Masculinity index	94.15
Health-care establishments	129
With beds	25
Without beds	104
% occupancy of beds	4.0
Live births	8,830
Male	4,563
Female	4,267
Deaths (total)	2,573
Deaths of children under 1 year of age	261
Gross birth rate (per 1,000)	20.3
Gross mortality rate (per 1,000)	5.9
Doctors per 10,000 inhabitants	14.8
Dentists per 10,000 inhabitants	1.7
Nurses per 10,000 inhabitants	4.0
Obstetricians per 10,000 inhabitants	0.9

The average number of years of schooling completed is 8.5, nearly two years more than the national average (6.7). Among the population over age 18, 81.7 per cent have finished primary school and 35 per cent have completed secondary school. In the district of Ambato, the completion rate for primary school is higher than the national average in both urban and rural areas. In both cases, more women than men completed primary school. At the secondary level, school enrolment in urban areas is more than 35 per cent above the national average; in rural areas, it is nearly 20 per cent below the national average. As in primary school, the percentage of women enrolled is lower than that of men in both areas.

Table 41: Ambato parish: illiteracy (1990)

Area	Sex	%	Nº	Population age 15+
Nationwide		**11.7**	**691,422**	**5,908,965**
Ambato	Men	3.1	1,308	41,899
	Women	7.7	3,672	47,970
	Both	5.5	4,980	89,869

Source: CPV 1990
Preparation: SIISE

During the 1998-1999 school year, there were 3,752 students at the pre-primary level in the Ambato parish, 49.4 per cent of whom were served by the public educational system and 50.6 per cent by private schools. There were 24,342 students at the primary level, 62.2 per cent in public schools and 37.8 per cent in private schools. Of the 22,503 secondary students, 82.2 per cent were studying in public schools and only 17.8 per cent in private schools. Of the 35,481 students in all public schools, 5.2 per cent were at the pre-primary level, 42.7 per cent at the primary level and 52.1 per cent at the secondary level.

Of the total of 88 public schools at the three levels, 31.8 per cent were pre-primary, 44.3 per cent were primary and 23.9 per cent were secondary schools. The state educational system served 70.12 per cent of the students.

Table 42: Ambato district: School enrolment (1990)

Area	Sex	Primary Level			Secondary Level		
		%	Enrolled	Population (ages 6-11)	%	Enrolled	Population (ages 12-17)
Ambato – urban	Men	95.6	7,753	8,114	83.2	6,871	8,257
	Women	95.5	7,733	8,102	80.7	7,213	8,940
Ambato – rural	Men	92.1	7,378	8,013	49.6	3,505	7,069
	Women	90.9	7,300	8,035	49.5	3,609	7,289
Total Ambato		93.5	30,164	32,264	67.178	21,198	31,555
NATIONWIDE		**89.5**	**1,346,529**	**1,504,446**	**68**	**924,871**	**1,360,076**

Source: CPV, 1990
Preparation: SIISE and Castelnuovo y Asoc.

Table 43: Ambato parish: Supply of schools and educational services (1999)

Type of school	N° of students	N° of teachers	N° of classrooms	N° of schools
Pre-primary – public	1,854	68	70	28
Pre-primary – private	1,898	158	127	53
Total pre-primary	3,752	226	197	81
Primary – public	15,133	556	487	39
Primary – private	9,209	534	391	46
Total primary	24,342	1,090	878	85
Secondary – public	18,494	1,171	571	21
Secondary – private	4,009	426	259	24
Total secondary	22,503	1,597	830	45
TOTAL parish	**50,597**	**2,913**	**1,905**	**211**

e) Economically active population

The EAP represents 52 per cent of the population aged 12 and over in urban areas and 55 per cent in rural areas. The male EAP is greater than the female in both areas.

The province's largest economic sector is the third (commerce, transportation, services and financial establishments), accounting for 59 per cent of men and nearly three-quarters (72%) of women. In rural areas, agriculture, mining and quarrying (the primary sector) predominate, employing 60 per cent of men and 58 per cent of women. The secondary sector (manufacturing industries, construction, electricity, water and gas) employs 28 per cent of men and 18 per cent of women, respectively.

In urban areas, the largest employment category is "employees or wage earners" (42% and 48% for men and women, respectively), while in rural areas, "self-employment" predominates, among both men (51%) and women (46%).

f) Poverty and basic needs

The poverty and indigence rates in the parish of Ambato, estimated in the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions, projected based on the 1990 census and corrected for the effect of the 1998 El Niño phenomenon, were 66.9 per cent and 23.3 per cent, respectively. In August 2000, 1,351 mothers, 4,370 senior citizens and 125 people with disabilities were receiving solidarity vouchers, and there were a total of 17,546 beneficiaries (1.3 % of the total beneficiaries nation-wide).

According to the 1990 census, 96.9 per cent of households in the parish of Ambato have electrical service, 84.6 per cent have trash collection, 76.7 per cent have sewer service, 72.9 per cent have water from the public system in their homes and 23.6 per cent have telephone service (private or public, exclusive or shared). About 20 per cent of households suffer from overcrowding; the average number of persons per bedroom in the parish is 2.4.

g) Migration

The most recent provincial migration statistics are from the 1990 census. In 1989-1990, 11 per cent of the registered population of Tungurahua came from other provinces, mainly Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Chimborazo, Bolívar and Guayas.

4. Sexual exploitation: Province of Guayas

a) Geographical characteristics

The province is located in the coastal region. It has an area of 20,557 square kilometres. The capital is Santiago de Guayaquil, the country's largest port, which is located 5 metres above sea level. Most of the territory is flat, with a few elevations not exceeding 1,200 metres, notably the Clonche and Chongón ranges. The Gulf of Guayaquil is the only one on the Ecuadorian coast and the largest on South America's Pacific coast.

The climate is tropical (an annual average temperature of 24º to 27º centigrade). The coastal belt is dry, with xerophilous vegetation on the coast and tropical vegetation in the interior.

b) Socio-demographic characteristics

At the time of the 1990 census, the province of Guayas had 2,515,146 inhabitants, representing 26.1 per cent of the country's total population. In 2001, there were 3,256,763 inhabitants, representing 33.65 per cent of the national population. The increase in proportion of the national population is related to a historically positive migratory balance (a greater number of immigrants than emigrants). Demographic growth is determined by natural growth as well as by inter-provincial migration from rural to urban areas.

Table 44: Guayas: Population and inter-census growth, by area and sex

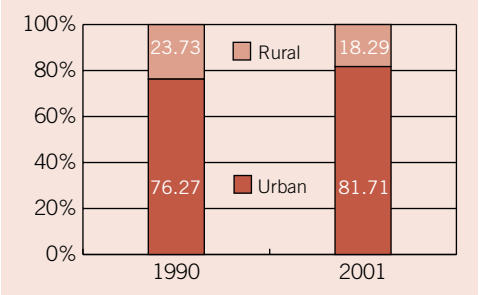
	1990	2001	Inter-census growth	
			Guayas	Country
TOTAL POPULATION	2,515,146	3,256,763	2.35	2.05
Men	1,256,446	1,626,077	2.34	2.03
Women	1,258,700	1,630,686	2.35	2.07
URBAN	1,918,270	2,661,057	2.98	2.92
Men	940,138	1,312,555	3.03	2.98
Women	978,132	1,348,502	2.92	2.87
RURAL	596,876	595,706	–0.02	0.84
Men	316,308	313,522	–0.08	0.76
Women	280,568	282,184	0.05	0.92
GUAYAQUIL	1,508,444	1,952,029	2.34	
Men	735,040	967,587	2.50	
Women	773,404	994,442	2.29	

r = 1/t LN(Nn/No) *100

Sources: INEC. Fifth Population Census and Fourth Housing Census, 1990
INEC. Sixth Population Census and Fifth Housing Census, 2001. Preliminary results.

Between the 1990 and 2001 censuses, the province grew at an average annual rate of 2.35%, higher than the national average (2.05%). Rural areas have seen an average annual population decrease of 0.02 per cent, while urban areas have grown by 2.98 per cent, 0.06 per cent more than the national average.

Table 45: Guayas:
Population structure by area



The city of Guayaquil has 1,952,029 inhabitants, 59.9 per cent of the province's population. Since 1990, the city has grown by 2.34 per cent annually.

Table 46: Guayaquil: Inter-census growth

City and sex	1990	2001	1990 - 2001
Guayaquil	1.508,444	1.952,029	2,34
Men	735,040	957,587	2,40
Women	773,404	994,442	2,29

The province has a population density of 166 inhabitants per square kilometre. The population tends to be concentrated in urban areas, especially in the city of Guayaquil and its surroundings. The population structure is largely young, with more than half (53%) under age 20.

c) Process of urbanization

The process of urbanization in the province of Guayas has evolved significantly in the past few decades. Between 1950 and 1990, the relative weight of the urban population rose from 50 per cent to 76 per cent. The greatest urban growth rate came in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1990, the province's population was mainly urban (76.3%), rising to 81.7 per cent in 2001. The greatest concentration is in the city of Guayaquil, where 75 per cent of the province's urban population is located.

d) Education and illiteracy

According to the 1990 census, the Guayaquil parish had an illiteracy rate of 3.9 per cent, far below the national average (11.7%), with a higher rate among women (4.6%). Functional illiteracy, however, stood at 11.2 per cent.

The average number of years of schooling completed was 8.9, more than two years above the national average (6.7). Of the population over age 18, 82 per cent had finished primary school and 34.1 per cent had finished secondary school. In the Guayaquil district, the completion rate for primary school is higher than the

national average in urban areas and lower in rural areas. In both cases, the rate is higher among women than among men. At the secondary level, the rate in urban areas is 40 per cent above the national average; in rural areas, it is nearly 50 per cent below the national average. As at the primary level, the percentage of women enrolled is greater than the percentage of men in both rural and urban areas.

During the 1998-1999 school year, there were 11,403 students at the pre-primary level in the parish of Guayaquil, of whom 32.8 per cent were served by the public school system and 67.2 per cent by private schools. There were 270,974 students at the primary level, 55.9 per cent of them in public schools and 44.1 per cent in private schools. Of the 183,011 secondary students, 63.6 per cent were studying in public schools and 36.4 per cent in private schools. Of the total of 279,292 public school students, 4.1 per cent were at the pre-primary, 54.3 per cent at the primary and 41.6 per cent at the secondary level. Of the total of 997 public schools at the three levels, 21.1 per cent are pre-primary, 63.4 per cent are primary and 15.6 per cent are secondary schools. The state educational system serves only 57.1 per cent of students.

Table 47: Guayas: Basic statistical information

Variables	Indicators
Area (Km^2)	20,557
Density (inhabitants per Km^2)	166
Nº of districts	27
Nº of urban parishes	19
Nº of rural parishes	44
Total population of Guayas province (33.65% of total national population)	3,256,763
% male population (27.1% total national male population)	49.9
% female population (26.8% total national female population)	50.1
Urban population (2.56% of urban national population)	2,661,057
% urban male population (34.8% of national urban male population)	49.3
% urban female population (35.7% of national urban female population)	50.7
Rural population (12.6% of national rural population)	595,706
% rural male population (13.1% of national rural male population)	52.6
% rural female population (12.1% of national rural female population)	47.4
% of urban population	81.7
Growth rate (1990 – 2001)	2.35
Masculinity index	99.71
Health-care establishments	451
Hospital bed	6,130
% occupancy of beds	56
Live births	44,150
Deaths (total)	13,998
Gross birth rate (per 1,000)	13.5
Gross mortality rate (per 1,000)	5.9
Doctors per 10,000 inhabitants	13.4
Dentists per 10,000 inhabitants	1.1
Nurses per 10,000 inhabitants	4.2
Obstetricians per 10,000 inhabitants	0.8

Table 48: Guayaquil parish: Illiteracy (1990)

Area	Sex	%	Nº	Population age 15+
Guayaquil	Men	3.1	14,791	476,839
	Women	4.6	24,351	524,954
	Both	3.9	39,142	1,001,793
NATIONWIDE		**11.7**	**691,422**	**5,908,965**

Source: CPV 1990
Preparation: SIISE

Table 49: Guayaquil district: School enrolment (1990)

Area	Sex	Primary Level			Secondary Level		
		%	Enrolled	Population ages 6-11	%	Enrolled ages 12-17	Population
Guayaquil – urban	Men	93.9	99,595	106,018	60.6	57,901	95,516
	Women	94.3	97,650	103,526	62.1	62,511	100,727
Guayaquil - rural	Men	82.5	3,990	4,836	23.7	1,076	4,546
	Women	84.6	3,879	4,586	27.2	1,106	4,059
Total Guayaquil			205,114	218,966		122,594	204,848
NATIONWIDE		**88,9**	**1,337,152**	**1,504,446**	**43,1**	**585,859**	**1,360,076**

Source: CPV, 1990
Preparation: SIISE and Castelnuovo y Asoc.

Table 50: Guayaquil parish: Supply of schools and educational services (1999)

Type of school	N° of students	N° of teachers	N° of classrooms	N° of schools
Pre-primary - public	11,403	557	177	206
Pre-primary – private	23,363	2,141	1,509	500
Total pre-primary	34,766	2,698	1,686	706
Primary – public	151,566	4,780	4,781	619
Primary – private	119,408	6,110	5,237	738
Total primary	270,974	10,890	10,018	1,357
Secondary – public	116,323	6,262	2,618	152
Secondary – private	66,688	6,106	4,020	349
Total secondary	183,011	12,368	6,638	501
TOTAL Parish	**488,751**	**25,956**	**18,342**	**2,564**

e) Economically active population

The EAP represents 49.7 per cent of the population ages 12 and over in urban areas and 47.7 per cent in rural areas. The male EAP is larger than the female in both areas.

The predominant economic sector in the province is the third (commerce, transportation, services and financial establishments), representing 51 per cent of the EAP. The secondary sector (manufacturing industries, construction, electricity, water and gas) employs 17.9 per cent of men and women, and a similar percentage (17.4%) is employed in the primary sector (agriculture, hunting, fishing and mining).

The largest occupational category is "private wage earners," with 37.2 per cent of the EAP. It is followed by "self-employed," with 46.7 per cent.

f) Poverty and basic needs

The poverty and indigence rates in the Guayaquil parish, estimated with the 1995 ECV, projected based on the 1990 census and corrected for the effects of the 1998 El Niño phenomenon, are 42.1 per cent and 8.0 per cent respectively. In August 2000, 180,126 mothers, 34,403 senior citizens and 1,309 disabled persons were receiving solidarity vouchers, of a total of 215,838 beneficiaries (about 20% of the total beneficiaries nation-wide were located in a single parish).

According to the 1995 Survey of Living Conditions, 67.3 per cent of households in the Guayaquil parish owned their own homes (totally or partially paid), and the average number of persons per bedroom was 2.9. This figure, the parish average, does not reflect the fact that 30.7 per cent of households suffered from overcrowding.

At the time of the 1990 census, 97.1 per cent of households had electricity service, 55.4 per cent had garbage collection, 54.4 per cent had sewer service, 47.4 per cent had water from the public system piped into their homes, and 24.4 per cent had telephone service (private or public, exclusive or shared). Some 56.6 per cent of households suffered from a deficit of basic residential services. Slightly less than half the households in the parish lacked trash collection, sewer service and water connections in the home.

Considering that these services are less common in marginal urban areas, like Guayaquil's many squatter settlements and co-operatives, it can be concluded that in the poorest sectors of the parish, the deficit of basic services is probably much greater. This has a direct impact on the health of the population.

5. Summary findings

The rapid assessments took place in three sites in Ecuador, exploring three areas of child labour. Child labour in agriculture was explored in the Province of Manabí, domestic labour was investigated in the city of Ambata in Tungurahua, and the city of Guayaquil on the coast was the location for research into sexual exploitation.

According to the researchers, for girls, agricultural work on third-party farms, complemented with unremunerated domestic labour and sexual exploitation constitute stages of a single process. The passage from one to another comes as part of the search for better opportunities. Most girls involved in the sex industry had already experienced situations of either physical and /or sexual abuse, or lack of protection, emotional neglect, and /or abandonment. Ultimately ending up in prostitution comes from the failures of other survival strategies (getting married, no job opportunities in rural areas, domestic work, trying to live with relatives).

5.1 Agriculture

The dominant culture in nearly the entire province of Manabí makes it difficult to identify actions that violate the rights of children and adolescents, because these practices are part of the population's custom and usage. The researchers found it difficult to locate girls working as wage earners in agriculture during the rapid assessment. In terms of locating rural working girls, girls that performed unremunerated family domestic tasks were easier to find.

In rural areas, child labour is considered normal and is not separated from family life, especially in the cases of those who live on the plantation of an employer or *patrón* who maintains non-contractual, property-style labour relations with his employees. In these cases, it is considered an "honour" for the *patrón* to take an employee's child "as his own," and abuse is practically the only known method for "raising and disciplining" children. Because of this prevailing view, many interviewees responded with surprise and discomfort to various questions, especially those related to sexual abuse, mistreatment and violence. Very few local informants provided data from a standpoint of rights. It was extremely difficult for informants to understand this point of view, even though the instruments were adapted by the local team and modified several times.

5.2 Domestic labour

Girls begin working as domestic workers in other families home often before they are 12 years old, some as young as 6 years old. The majority work to supplement the family income. There was a general denial of the existence of the problem and of society's responsibility toward the children who were engaged as domestic workers. Not much research on the topic had been done. The fact that domestic service is considered necessary in urban households tends to exacerbate the level of denial.

In general, there are few programmes in the country for this group of child workers. Those that exist include the María Guare Foundation in Guayaquil and

COOPI, an Italian NGO. Some institutions address problems associated with domestic labour (pregnancy, adoptions, shelters, training, etc.). Specific organizations and workers' unions function more as job placement services than as defenders of workers' rights.

5.3 Sexual exploitation

Family problems prompt children to seek emotional and social refuge with their peers/friends. Poverty, dysfunctional families, and girls who have not completed their education and thus lack marketable skills also lead to their engagement in sexual exploitation.

A strong prevalence of myths was encountered in the comments of many informants regarding the sexual exploitation of children, including comments from public servants and officials in the health-care sector. Except for a few people who had substantial experience in the area and a great capacity for theoretical analysis and reflection, there was a general denial of the existence of the problem and of society's responsibility toward the children who were the subjects of the research, especially boys. Most respondents interpreted the problem as being one of "minors who violated the law."

Also noteworthy was the repeated comment that there was a lack of specific studies of sexual exploitation (of both adults and children), although a number of studies have been done in the country from various approaches, some dating back more than 70 years. According to the DINAPEN survey there are more than **2,000 girls exploited** in commercial sexual exploitation, with a higher incidence around the tourist parts of the country.

6. Design and implementation of the field research

Information was gathered through the following instruments:

- A survey of children regarding their socio-economic and family conditions and characteristics of child labour in agriculture (farm workers and unremunerated domestic workers in the same area), domestic work and sexual exploitation[150].
- Questionnaire for fathers or mothers regarding socio-economic and family conditions and characteristics of child labour in domestic work[151]. (note: corresponding surveys were not done with fathers and mothers of girls involved in sexual exploitation because the girls concealed their activity, were ashamed and showed a high level of distrust of their families).
- Survey of former child domestic workers.
- Focus groups.
- Interviews with key informants.
- Review of documentation – however there are no child labour statistics broken down by activity and city, parish, district or province.

Guides were prepared for in-depth interviews with children, parents, former child workers, interviews with health-care institutions, interviews with institutions that attend the needs of children and/or youths.

[150] The format is based on the IPEC-ILO design, with slight local modifications. They can be found in Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

[151] The format is based on the ILO design, with slight local modifications. They can be found in Appendices 4 and 5.

Sampling

A non-probabilistic sample, using the "convenience" method for sexual exploitation and the "snowball" method for agricultural and domestic labour was employed. IPEC/ILO set the number of surveys at 150:50 for each type of activity (25 applied to children and the rest to adults). The data obtained, therefore, reflect only part of the situation in the various areas studied. This implies a bias in relation to the overall situation.

In the *domestic labour* sector, the study included few live-in working children (because of the difficulty of reaching them). For *agriculture*, the area studied is in the rural periphery of Chone, where educational conditions are different from those in more distant parts of the district. In the area of *sexual exploitation*, boys were marginalized (because of the stated objectives and the difficulties of addressing the issue). Information is only provided by girls who participated voluntarily in the study. Thus this study can be considered an initial survey of certain paradigmatic cases, based on target population groups.

Information collected included:

- Age, marital status, education and school enrolment, and expectations for studies, work and future life of child.
- Relationships with adults: family, school, workplace.
- Identification of potentially traumatic situations: migration, separation from the family, abandonment, sexual and reproductive health, abuse and violence.
- Unsatisfied basic needs of the child and family group.
- Childhood experiences and emotional, economic and working conditions of adults who worked as children.
- For parents of working children, knowledge of and attitudes toward their children's working conditions.

In-depth interviews

In each selected area, in-depth interviews with children were done to gather personal information about the work performed. All interviews were done in a manner that ensured respect, trust and confidentiality, establishing an atmosphere in the field that was conducive to in-depth exploration of emotional issues.

Table 51: Number of children interviewed

In-depth interviews with children		
Selected area	**No. of girls interviewed**	**No. of boys interviewed**
Sexual exploitation	18	1
Domestic labour	26	1
Agricultural work	2	14
Unpaid family domestic tasks (as researcher did not locate girls in agriculture)	21	

In-depth interviews were also done with parents and former working children who were sexually exploited. These were done in the same way, with priority given to

the respondent's needs and the points they most wanted to emphasize with regard to their lives and/or work. Interviews were done with 10 former child domestic workers (female), 10 women who were sexually exploited as girls (who are now in prostitution), 11 former working children in the area of agriculture and three parents of children who work in agriculture.

Table 52: Others interviewed

More in-depth interviews	
Selected area	**No. interviewed**
Sexual exploited as children now in prostitution	10 women
Former domestic labour	10 women
Former working children in agriculture	11 (unsure if boys/girls)
Parents of children working in agriculture	3 parents

Focus groups

Although focus groups were planned in Guayaquil and Chone, operational difficulties made them impossible. In Guayaquil, the group meetings (two with adults, two with girls and one with boys) were repeatedly postponed during a two-month period. Thus, the methodology was adapted, and the focus groups were replaced with 29 in-depth interviews. In Chone, the focus groups were also suspended because of population dispersion and flooding.

All planned focus groups were held in Ambato: two with girls and two with adults. The objective was to round out the information gathered through the surveys and in-depth interviews, including the participants' evident and latent expectations, and take advantage of the opportunities for analysis provided by group discussion.

Other related interviews

Interviews with health-care institutions

Fifteen interviews were done with personnel of various local public and private health-care institutions where the population being studied could seek treatment, to determine their perceptions of the problems being investigated and specific risks. A survey was also done of institutions operating at the national level.

Interview with institutions that care for children/ youth

Because of the short time allotted for the study, the team decided to gather information about existing experiences at both the local and national levels in the three child labour activities being studied. This would make it possible to draw on prior experience for the development of a conceptual and explanatory framework, facilitate access to working children and avoid repeating errors. The objective of this phase was to evaluate the care provided to working children and those involved in sexual exploitation, as well as the characteristics of the services.

Thirty interviews were done with members of youth organizations, women's organizations, programmes for working children, shelters, protective children's

homes and NGOs working in community development or carrying out special protective programmes (for children separated from their families, gangs, pregnant teens, etc.).

Interviews with key informants and review of documentation

Besides institutions that provide services for children, the study included other social stakeholders who are directly or indirectly involved with the activities being studied or related situations. This was done at the same time as the field research and included organizations of sexual minorities, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Coffee Producers Co-operative, the Juvenile Court, international technical co-operation agencies, international agencies, local authorities, teachers, etc.

A "snowball" technique was used to gather existing documentation, especially that derived from studies and research. Thirty interviews were done with key informants.

Table 53: Interviews with institutions and key informants

Health care institutions	15 interviews
Institutions that care for children	30 Interviews
Other key informants	30 interviews

Research teams

Field work was done in the cities of Guayaquil, Ambato and Chone in March, April, May and June 2002. Four teams were formed: a field team for each city and a co-ordinating team in Quito. Each field team consisted of a team leader and two interviewers, except in Ambato, where, because of the nature of the city, a single person gathered all the information.

Once the local teams were formed, they worked together to establish the basic concepts for each area of study and the most appropriate techniques for applying the instruments. Training was provided in establishing a conducive atmosphere and handling anxiety. Even so, while the field work was under way the members of the local teams had strong and varied emotional reactions to the situations that they encountered. The formation of a support team was necessary, which made it possible to continue the work under appropriate human and professional conditions.

Processing of data

Because this was a qualitative study, an interdisciplinary, co-ordinated interpretation of the data was done from multiple perspectives. Because there is little quantitative data, it cannot be processed statistically. The information was analysed and interpreted by combining psychological, sociological, cultural and historical perspectives with a gender perspective and a focus on human rights, emphasizing the rights of children and adolescents.

SECTION C

Research findings: child labour in agriculture in Ecuador

1. Agricultural labour: Province of Manabí

1.1 Profile, origins and background of those interviewed

Interviews were done with two girls and 14 boys working in agricultural activities in the rural area on the outskirts of the city of Chone in the Province of Manabí. The age range was as follows: two children under age 10, 11 from 10 to 14 years, and three from 15 to 17 years. All were single.

Because of the notable absence of girls from agricultural work, interviews were also done with 21 girls who performed unremunerated family domestic tasks: two who were 9 years old, 18 ranging from 10 to 14 years and one girl who did not know her age. All of those interviewed were single.

Origins of those interviewed

Fourteen of the children in agricultural work were born in the rural area on the outskirts of Chone. Only two had migrated from urban zones of other provinces. Of the girls in domestic work, the majority were from the periphery of Chone (14), two were from other rural areas of Manabí, one was from the urban coast and two did not answer the question.

In all, seven of every 10 respondents were born in the area. This figure indicates that the proportion of migrants is low and those who do migrate come from rural areas of the same province or from coastal cities.

Family size

The majority of children in agricultural work came from large households of six members or more. The most frequent case (12) is the two-parent family (biological mother and father), followed in significance (9 cases) by the single-parent family (biological mother or father). In only two cases had the mother or father taken another partner, and three children lived with relatives other than their parents.

Gender differences in agricultural work

In the households of the children interviewed, child labour in agriculture was viewed as common among the boys but not among the girls. In the entire sample interviewed in this area[152], only six cases were recorded in which the girls worked

[152] 37 in total which includes those girls working in domestic service.

outside the home (whether they were the respondents or the sisters of respondents). This work tended to be seasonal, such as harvest (always accompanied by a male member of the family), or domestic labour on farms, such as cleaning or providing services for day labourers.

Ownership of land where working

Fifteen of the children worked on lands belonging to large landowners and only one worked on a family farm (belonging to a grandfather). Most (11 of 16) were hired to tend crops and assist with the harvest, two to harvest and care for livestock, one to remove weeds, one by intermediaries (to put together boxes, pack fruit and load trucks), and one to plough and plant, as well as to perform domestic labour.

Age started working

The interviewed girls who were involved in domestic labour began helping with domestic chores at home at age 6, on average. All began by taking responsibility for housecleaning, washing cooking utensils and caring for small siblings. Only four girls also cooked and three also washed clothes.

The interviewed children involved in agricultural work began doing paid work later than the girls in the domestic labour group. The average age at which they started working was 8.75 years. Nearly two-thirds of the cases (10 of 16) were in the category of wage earners (formally employed on farms or plantations), while six were seasonal or occasional workers. The only two girls in the group were occasional workers.

Table 54: Occupational category of children in agricultural work, by age and sex

Sex	Age	Occupational category			Overall total
		Wage earner	Seasonal	Occasional	
Female	8		1		1
	13			1	1
Total female			1	1	2
Male	9	1			1
	11	3			3
	12	1			1
	13	3	1		4
	14		2		2
	15	1			1
	16	1			1
	17				1
Total male		10	4		14
Overall total		**10**	**5**	**1**	**16**

Reasons for working

The boys and girls began working mainly to contribute to the family income (13 of 16 cases). Other reasons included: to pay for their studies (three cases), on parent's order, to acquire experience or to be economically independent[153].

Family conflict situations

When asked about family conflicts and traumatic situations, of the total number of children in the two groups (agricultural workers and domestic workers, i.e. 37 respondents), there were five cases of abandonment by the father, four cases of domestic violence, one case of abuse at work and another of abuse at school, and two cases of attempted murder by a family member. The level of abandonment is low in comparison with that observed in other cities in the country (see data from Guayaquil and Ambato). On the other hand, violence and sexual harassment or abuse may not have been clearly registered or recognised by the children because of the cultural characteristics of the area.

Parents' educational level

The parents' educational level was low. Only six mothers and two fathers of the children involved in agricultural labour had finished primary school; two had some secondary education. It should be noted that nine children did not answer the question; they may have been concealing their parents' illiteracy. Among parents of the child domestic workers, the educational level was slightly higher: one father had reached the fifth year of secondary school, although there was a greater number of mothers with no education.

Level of schooling of children

In the group of agricultural workers (16), nine dropped out of school: three with primary school incomplete, four with primary complete and two with secondary incomplete. Of the children still in school, four were in primary school and three were in secondary school. Most of the girls involved in domestic labour were at school (they were located through the school); only two do not study, one dropped out and the other had never attended school.

In the group of agricultural workers, the most frequent reason for dropping out was the inability to pay school expenses (five cases), followed by the need to earn a wage (four cases) or because parents did not give them permission (one case). When asked whether they wanted to continue studying, eight of the children answered affirmatively. The only girl involved in domestic work who dropped out of school did so in order to work.

The level of repetition of grades was very low. Only four of 16 agricultural workers and four of 21 domestic workers had repeated grades.

Expectations after school

When asked what they would do when they finished primary school, eight of the girls involved in domestic labour said they wanted to continue studying, while

[153] Because there were multiple choices, the total number of responses does not coincide with the number of children surveyed.

two wanted to combine studies with work, five planned only to work, one wanted to help out at home and five said they did not know.

It appeared that most of the girls involved in domestic work (14 of 21) did not aspire to more than a secondary education, while less than a half expected to complete primary school. When asked about their expectations for employment when they grew up, eight wanted to do work in some type of domestic service (child care, laundry, cook, domestic worker in Guayaquil), four as teachers, two as office workers, three as doctors, one as a housewife and three did not respond.

Among the children in agricultural labour, school costs were paid by the parents in four cases and by the children themselves in two. One did not respond. In the case of the girls doing domestic work, their parents or grandparents paid for their studies.

Knowledge about terms of work

Among the children who formally worked, in most cases it was the father who got them involved in the work (12 of 16); in only two cases was it their own decision. All of the children (except two) said the terms and conditions of their work had been clearly explained to them, although only one of the respondents knew about their benefits, labour rights or health rights. Seven of the children did not know how they were paid and 11 did not have clearly defined working hours.

Table 55: Children in agricultural labour, by sex, age and last year of school passed

Sex	Age	Schooling completed								Grand total
		Children who do not attend school				Children who attend school				
		Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Secondary incomplete	Total	Primary incomplete	Primary complete	Second. incomplete	Total	
Female	8				0	1			1	**1**
	13		1		1					**1**
Total female			1		1	1			1	**2**
Male	9				0	1			1	**1**
	11	1			1	1	1		2	**3**
	12	1			1				0	**1**
	13	1		1	2	1	1		2	**4**
	14		1		1			1	1	**2**
	15			1	1					**1**
	16		1		1					**1**
	17	1	1		1					**1**
Total male		3	3	2	8	3	2	1	6	**14**
Overall total		**3**	**4**	**2**	**9**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**7**	**16**

Table 56: Children in agricultural work, by sex, age and person who got them involved in agricultural labour

Sex	Age	Person who got them involved in agricultural labour			Overall total
		No resp.	Father	Self	
Female	8		1		1
	13		1		1
Total female			2		2
Male	9		1		1
	11		3		3
	12	1			1
	13	1	2	1	4
	14		2		2
	15		1		1
	16		1		1
	17			1	1
Total male		2	10	2	14
Overall total		**2**	**12**	**2**	**16**

Table 57: Children in agricultural work, by sex, age and type of information they received at work

Did they explain to you at work about ... ?	Yes	No	Total
Duties at work	9	7	**16**
Form of payment	9	7	**16**
Work hours	5	11	**16**
Time for studies	0	16	**16**
Working situation	1	15	**16**
Benefits	0	16	**16**
Labour rights	0	16	**16**
Health rights	0	16	**16**

Average hours worked per week

The average number of hours worked per week was 30.4. Only four children worked fewer than 20 hours a week. The most frequent figures were 30 (four cases) and 45 (three cases). Three children worked 55 or 60 hours a week.

Eleven of the 16 children worked year-round, two at harvest time and outside school hours (also equivalent to year-round), two outside school hours and one when money was needed. Despite their individual interpretations of the question, "When do you work?" the children actually worked year-round according to the researchers. It was deduced that when they are not working, it was because they could not find employment, not because they did not feel the need to work.

Other sources of income

Besides the work mentioned, three children also had other jobs: two worked in fishing and one worked with his grandfather also did spraying on farms. Apart from working and, in some cases, studying, all of the children helped with domestic chores (hauling water, caring for animals, production tasks on family plots, domestic tasks).

Leisure activities

When asked about the activities they performed when they were not working, six did not answer, two said they played, two said they played and cared for the family's animals, three said they performed domestic chores in their homes, two said they did nothing and only one said "rest."

Three of the children said they always felt tired, six said they often felt tired, four said they sometimes felt tired and only one said never. Two did not respond.

Payment for work

All of the children that worked in agriculture receive payment for their work. Twelve receive money and four (three boys and one girl) were paid with money and products that were used for family consumption. The products received were food in three cases and grains in one. The monthly remuneration varied: US$12 or less (two cases), US$20 to US$40 (eight cases), US$44 to US$60 (three cases) and US$80 (one case). The general tendency was for the youngest children to receive the lowest pay.

Table 58: Children in agricultural work, by monthly income, sex and age

Sex	Age	Monthly income from work (US$)									Overall total
		8	12	20	40	44	48	60	80	No ans.	
Female	8			1							1
	13									1	1
Total female				1						1	2
Male	9					1					1
	11	1		1	1						3
	12		1								1
	13			1	2		1				4
	14				2						2
	15								1		1
	16								1		1
	17							1			1
Total male		1	1	2	5	1	1	1	2		14
Overall total		**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**16**

How earnings are spent

In seven cases, the entire wages were given to parents; in seven cases, part goes to the parents and part for personal expenses (clothing, studies, entertainment). In only one case out of 16, the child did not contribute to the family income. Thus, directly or indirectly, the income of 14 out of 16 children contributed to the household income, either turned over to the parents or used in such a way that it represents a savings in family expenses.

Table 59: Children in agriculture work, by sex and use of income

What do you do with your pay?	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
Give entire amount to parents	2	5	7
Part to parents + clothing		3	3
Part to parents		1	1
Part to parents + studies		1	1
Part to parents + studies + entertainment		1	1
Part to parents + entertainment		1	1
Keep entire amount for self		1	1
No response		1	1
Total	**2**	**14**	**16**

Occupational hazards and dangers

Most of the children interviewed (13) said they suffered from too heavy a workload; 10 said they did not have time to rest, 14 did not have access to potable water for drinking, and only three were given protective gloves (the child responsible for spraying crops did not receive gloves). None of the children had transportation service, medical care or access to medicines at work.

Seven children said they had been reprimanded frequently at work, six had suffered verbal abuse and four had suffered physical abuse. In addition, 15 of the 16 children had to carry heavy loads at work (12 always, three at harvest time and only one did not carry heavy weights). The most frequent weight burdens *are chalos* (baskets used to gather fruit); containers of liquid (water, gasoline or oil); stones; boards; sugarcane; sacks of corn, peanuts, rice or cacao; firewood; and boxes of mandarin oranges. One child also mentioned the weight of the tank used for spraying.

Information about work hazards

When asked about the information they had received about possible health hazards at work, 10 said they had received no information and one did not remember whether information had been provided or not. Of those who received information, two were informed by the employer and the other three by their parents. Only one child received training in handling agrochemicals, although this was not the child whose work included spraying; the other 15 received no training.

Table 60: Children in agricultural work, by person who informed them about health hazards

Who provided the information?	Did you receive information about health hazards?		
	Yes	No	Don't know
Employer	2		
Father	1		
Mother	2		
N/A			1
Did not receive information		10	
Total	**5**	**10**	**1**

Satisfaction with work

When asked if it was easy to leave this type of work, seven of the respondents said no, four did not know and five did not answer. When asked whether they would choose to do this type of work, only two said they would continue; eight said no (they would prefer auto mechanics, studying or playing) and six did not know or did not respond.

When asked whether they would encourage other children to become involved in agricultural work, only two children said yes, six said they would not and four did not answer.

1.2 Overview of Agricultural Labour in Ecuador

The researchers were unable to locate more than two girls engaged as paid agricultural labourers. Other research indicated that almost 80 per cent of working children are involved in agriculture, and one out of every two girls works with her family on an unpaid basis[154]. However, from the evidence of girls engaged in domestic work in this RA research and the information regarding the extra chores they performed as domestic workers, it was clear that girls do work in rural areas, albeit not as paid agricultural labourers.

Both boys and girls from rural areas experienced early entry into work (but boys tended according to the results of this RA to obtained paid agricultural work), which has a direct effect on their low level of schooling. Boys as agricultural labourers experience hard physical work when they have not physically matured, accompanied by long work hours, wages lower than those received by adults and physical abuse. All these conditions constitute a worst form of child labour. The wages they received, which supposedly give them an advantage over girls, were mainly invested in supporting the family.

[154] Salazar, M. C.; Alarcón Glasinovich, W., eds. (1998). *Child work and education: Five case studies from Latin America.* Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, xiii, 162 p., 1998. ISBN: 1 84014 976 0.

1.3 Gender roles in agriculture

Gender differences in rural areas were evident with more girls than boys undertaking domestic tasks in rural households. The researchers found that girls assume reproductive and productive domestic tasks in agriculture. Girls' lack of access to paid agricultural jobs was described by the researchers as being due to their "traditional" gender roles. Few girls are able to get paid work in agriculture, while others complement domestic labour with agricultural tasks, still within the domestic sphere. However other IPEC research in Ecuador has shown that gender roles in agriculture are not static and change due to agro-industrial opportunities and enterprises. The flower-growing enterprises introduced in the Ecuadorian Sierra or highlands in the 1980s in the vicinity of Puembo resulted in the inclusion of women and girls in the labour market, a milestone change in the history of the peasant family, bringing about a profound change in traditional roles. The result has been massive amounts of boys and girls working on plantations[155].

Part of the popular conception excluding girls from agricultural labour was the belief that *rural work was not for unaccompanied girls*. It was concluded by the researchers that the hazards and prohibitions were not related to physical effort or the girls' incapacity, but to frequent sexual aggression. This suggests a lack of respect for the girls' privacy and safety in rural society, to such an extent that girls with paying jobs must be accompanied by a male family member. In this context, the girls' employment expectations were restricted to the domestic sphere or to *"getting a husband"*, which often occurs when they finish primary school at the ages of 13 or 14.

Nevertheless, in the district of Chrone, according to the researchers three labour options were available to girls:

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

The option of migrating to large cities was the most attractive, despite the distance and isolation involved, because it implied greater expectations for jobs, higher wages and involvement in urban culture. As the girls put it, *"the work is better"*. Besides a greater supply of jobs and relatively higher wages, the migration of children to cities was associated with the idealisation of and longing for urban life that is common among young Ecuadorians[156].

1.4 Causes of rural-urban migration

The researchers believe that this migration has three significant causes.

a) Lack of economic possibilities or employment

Poverty and the lack of jobs in the countryside coupled with the lack of opportunities for children and youth lead to a migratory flow from rural areas to cities.

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[155] Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz X,. (April 2000). Ecuador Trabajo Infantil en la Floricultura: Una Evaluación Rápida.

[156] Projections for 2000 estimated that 76.4% of youths would live in large cities. Cf. NARANJO, *op. cit.*

b) The family and social role of children

The constant abuse of some children, the lack of supportive relationships and family stability, and the existence of a social and family environment that objectifies children, allowing them to be used in various ways (including sexually), causes children to migrate. There is also clear evidence of the reversal of family support roles such as inverted maternal roles, in which the child becomes the giver in the relationship.

c) Idealised concept of urban life and escape from rural life

In their search for strategies that will enable them to flee violence or family or social neglect, children choose early marriage, migration and jobs in the city (independently or in their many combinations).

Initially, leaving home constitutes a search for relief from violent living conditions. It is believed that the destination (the city) will allow them to fulfil their fantasies of opportunity, freedom and modernity. Although reality does not coincide with the fantasy, this route is usually seen as an alternative to violence. Thus the marginalization of children in some agricultural areas fosters migration to mid-size or large cities. The first step is often a job as a domestic employee, usually as a live-in, because the girl is a recent arrival in the city and lacks family support in the place to which she has migrated.

It should be noted that the initial phase of migration from rural areas to cities also occurred in the last generation - the shift from agricultural to domestic labour was also made by the mothers of this most recent generation of migrants.

SECTION D

Child labour in domestic work in Ecuador: province of Tungurahua

1. Profile and background of those interviewed

Interviews were done with 26 girls and one boy engaged in domestic labour in the city of Ambato, in the province of Tungurahua. The age range was as follows: one child under age 9, 15 between ages 10 and 14, and 11 between ages 15 and 17. Of the girls interviewed, only one was married; the rest were single.

Interviews were also done with 10 former child domestic workers. Three were in the 51-52 age range, three were between ages 35 and 37, and four were between ages 30 and 34.

Origins of those interviewed

Ten of the girls were born in the urban area of Ambato, three in rural areas of the province, nine in rural areas of other highland provinces, two were from cities on the coast, two from the eastern part of the country and only one was from another city in the highlands. In all, three-quarters were from rural areas. More than one-third (11 of 17) moved for reasons related to work. These data confirm that Ambato is a destination for migration. In the adult group, the proportion was slightly smaller (four of 10).

Original family size

Most of the girls and the boy came from large families. More than half (17 of the 27 cases) were from families with six members or more. The most frequent type (12 cases) was the two-parent family (biological mother and father). This was followed by the single-parent family (biological mother or father), with nine cases. In two cases, the father or mother was living with a new partner. In three cases, the children lived with relatives who were not their parents.

Parents' educational level

The fathers and mothers had little or no formal education. It was notable that the fathers of the girls who studied have themselves studied, on average, fewer years

than the fathers of the girls who dropped out of school. All of the mothers and most of the fathers in the former group were illiterate. Only five of the fathers had some years of primary schooling.

In the respondents' households, child labour was common among both boys and girls, whether or not they were over age 18. The only difference encountered was that in the group of children who did not study, there was a larger number of working siblings, while among the group of girls in school, seven are the only ones who are studying.

Table 61: Number of working children per household

Working children / household	Children attend school	Children do not attend school
1 child	7	–
2 children	5	2
1 child + 1 youth	2	1
2 children + 1 youth	2	1
2 children + 2 youths	1	3
4 children + 2 youths	1	–
Not applicable	–	2
Total	**18**	**9**

Reasons for working

The majority of the girls began working mainly to contribute to the family income. Other reasons given were to pay for studies and to escape domestic violence[157]. However, among the older group of 10 respondents, five said they went to work in a relative's home to escape traumatic situations at home, three to contribute to the family income, one because she was abandoned and one because her mother forced her to work. The most frequently mentioned reason in this group was family conflict and abuse, which drove the girls out of their homes.

Table 62: Minor domestic workers, by age group and reason for beginning work in domestic service

Age group	Total	Main reason for beginning work in this activity						
		Contribute to family income	Only work possibility	No school nearby	To pay school expenses	Economic indepen-dence	Domestic violence	Other
Under age 9	1	1						
10 to 14 years	15	13		1	9	3	2	
14 to 18 years	11	9	1		4	2		1
Total	**27**	**23**	**1**	**1**	**13**	**5**	**2**	**1**

[157] "I left home because I was mad at my father, because I was afraid that he'd beat me. I left to see if I could find work." (Girl in the focus group of domestic workers.)

Family conflict situations

When asked about domestic conflicts and traumatic situations, six of the respondents said they suffered physical abuse at home and two at school; seven reported domestic violence related to alcoholism. Three of the girls suffered sexual harassment and four suffered sexual abuse within the family, at school or at work.

Six had been abandoned by one parent and three by both (one children had been given away and another was living in a children's home). The level of abandonment and sexual harassment/abuse was even higher among the 10 older respondents. Eight of the 10 suffered abandonment by one or both parents. While they were children, two suffered sexual harassment from stepfathers, two were raped by relatives, and there were two cases of sexual harassment and two rapes by employers.

There was a difference between the girls reported experiences and those reported by the 10 older respondents. This could be because conditions for working girls were worse in past decades or because the adults were at that stage further removed from the traumatic situation, are thus better able to talk about their past experiences. Both possibilities were considered valid by the researchers to explain the differences between the groups. Finally, the girls who studied showed a lower level of abandonment and neglect than those who were not in school.

Age started working

More than one-third of the respondents began doing domestic work when they were between ages 5 and 9, and an equal proportion began between ages 10 and 12. Only seven began when they were 13 or older. As they get older, it seems, girls are less likely to go into domestic labour.

Nearly three of every four girls began working in family homes before they were 12. Among the 10 older respondents, the average age at which they began was 5.2 years. The youngest starting age reported was 4 years, and the oldest was 11 years. The age for beginning domestic labour seemed to have shifted upward slightly in the past three decades.

Table 63: Age at which child began working, by age and sex

Age	Female	Male
5 years	1	
7 years	2	
8 years	1	
9 years	5	1
10 years	5	
11 years	2	
12 years	3	
13 years	5	
14 years	2	
TOTAL	**26**	**1**

Levels of schooling of girls

As mentioned above only one of the girls surveyed had never gone to school (she was given away to the family for whom she worked when she was very young). Eighteen were in school and eight had dropped out. The latter group had not gone beyond the sixth year of primary school (except one, who dropped out of a professional academy).

Of the girls who were studying, seven were in primary school, two were in secondary school and nine were in professional academies. Two attended classes during daytime hours, eight in the afternoon and seven at night. When asked if they were given time off work to study, eight said yes and 10 said no. In fact, many of those who gave affirmative answers took the time away from their own sleep or took advantage of the time when the children in their care were sleeping. Of the seven girls who are live-in domestic workers, four had permission from their employers to attend school. Three did not and were forced to abandon their studies.

Eight said that their school performance is very good, four said it was good and six said it was fair. The justification the girls gave for poor grades is that they were tired and did not have time to study and do their homework.

Table 64: Minor domestic workers, by school enrolment and years of schooling completed

Last year completed successfully	Attends school	Does not attend school
Primary (1-3)	2	1
Primary (4-6)	5	5
Secondary (1-3)	2	1
Secondary (4-6)	0	0
Professional academy (1-3)	2	1
Professional academy (4-6)	7	0
Never attended school	0	1
TOTAL	**18**	**9**

Reasons for dropping out of school

Of the girls that dropped out of school, the most significant reason was the inability to pay school-related costs (four cases). There were also two cases in which the family did not allow them to study, and one case in which the respondent said she was “not interested“ and that she did not “consider education useful.” Despite their current situation, six girls said they wanted to continue their studies. Of the girls who did not want to continue, one had a physical deformation for which she had been humiliated at school.

Of the 18 girls who were in school at the time of the rapid assessment, only two covered the entire cost themselves and only three were supported by their parents. More than half of the girls (10 of the 18) paid part of the cost of their education, while six received funding from the National Institute of Children and the Family

(Instituto Nacional del Niño y la Familia-INNFA)[158]. Only two employers paid part of the cost of the girls' education.

Table 65: Minor domestic workers, according to who pays for their education

Who pays for studies	Number
The worker	2
Worker + relatives	6
Worker + INNFA	2
Worker + relative + INNFA	1
Worker + employer	1
Relative	3
Relative + INNFA	2
Employer + INFA	1
Total	**18**

Influences to start work

One-third of the child domestic workers began working in that activity at the urging of a parent. Others began on their own initiative or became involved at the urging of friends, employers or other relatives.

The percentage of girls that became involved in domestic work at the instigation of a parent was greater amongst the 10 older domestic workers interviewed. In that group, it accounted for half, followed in significance by other relatives.

Table 66: Adults who are former child domestic workers, by person who got them involved in the activity

Who got you involved in domestic labour?	Number
Self	5
Mother and/or father	9
Other family member	3
Friend	3
Employer	3
Other relatives	3
Not applicable	1
Total	**27**

[158] Which is due to the focus. See clarification in the section on Methodology.

Recruitment process

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

Some quotes about recruitment from respondents

A lady made friends with me: "We're going to give you everything; you just have to take care of a little girl. There's another girl who will cook until you learn." But that was a lie. (...) I went with someone without knowing, then I couldn't return home. (...) I lasted two years, then I ran away. By asking people, I got to Chillán where her family lives].

I went past the market and ran into a tall man who asked me if I wanted to work. He took me to see where he lived and everything. (Girls in focus group of domestic workers.)

For 21 of the 27 girls, this was not their first job. Frequently, it appeared, girls were first employed by teachers at their schools. Although there were only two cases firstly employed by teachers in the study sample, the girls reported that they have relatives in that situation.

Table 67: Minor domestic workers, according to form of recruitment

How did you obtain your present job?	Number
Directly recruited by employer	12
Recommended by relative	10
Recruited by teacher at school	2
Was given to the employer	1
Other	2
Total	**27**

Knowledge about terms and conditions of work

All the girls (except two) said the terms and conditions of their work had been clearly explained to them, although none of the respondents knew about their labour benefits and rights. All had also received advice when they began work, all of it aimed at fostering obedience, submission and honesty.

Accommodation and food arrangements

Seven of the girls were currently live-in domestic workers, while the others lived outside the house in which they work. On average, each served 3.6 people, with a maximum of six and a minimum of one. In addition, three of the respondents

combined domestic tasks with work in restaurants or shops owned by their employers (both types of establishments sell alcoholic beverages).

Table 68: Minor domestic workers, by sex, age and living situation

Do you live in your employer's home?	Total	Live outside	Live in
Girls			
Under age 9	1	1	
10 to 14 years	14	10	4
15 to 17 years	11	8	3
Total girls	26	19	7
Boys			
10 to 14 years	1	1	
Overall total	27	20	7

Of the 27 girls, 22 said there was a difference between the quantity and quality of the food their employers ate and the food they received. They described their food as leftovers.

Duties performed

Among the regular chores performed are kitchen duties, washing dishes, caring for children (if any), washing clothes, ironing and cleaning the house. One of the respondents also cared for an infirm adult, one also helped in a restaurant, two helped in the employer's business (one shop and one restaurant), and others did agricultural work.

Hours worked

The number of work days per week varied from girl to girl. The majority (18) worked more than five days a week, and eight work seven days a week. The average number of hours per week was 55.8, far higher than the legal limit for adults.

If the average number of hours worked per day was calculated, all the girls were working longer hours than allowed by the Ecuadorian Labour Code. More than two-thirds of the respondents (20) were working more than nine hours a day, and five were working more than 12. Twenty-two respondents said they had suffered an overload of work (the same was found in the group of 10 adult women).

Table 69: Domestic workers, by age, sex and number of days worked per week

Days worked per week	Total	2 days	4 days	5 days	6 days	7 days
Girls						
Under age 9	1					1
10 to 14 years	14	2		3	7	1
15 to 17 years	11		1	2	3	6
Total girls	26	2	1	5	10	8
Boys						
10 to 14 years	1		1			
Overall total	**27**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**10**	**8**

Table 70: Domestic workers, by age, sex and number of hours worked per day

Avg. Number of hours worked / day	Total	5 hours	6 to 8 hours	9 to 11 hours	12 to 14 hours	16 hours
Girls						
Under age 9	1		1			
10 to 14 years	14	1	3	7	2	
15 to 17 years	11		2	7	1	2
Total girls	26	1	6	14	3	2
Boys						
10 to 14 years	1			1		
Overall total	**27**			**1**		

Leisure time

When asked what they did when they were not working, three did not respond, eight said they did household chores or care for younger siblings, five said they did homework, two combined domestic chores with street vending (also caring for an infirm family member), three spent the time at home, four watched television and one girl said that she was always working. Fourteen of the 27 girls said they always felt tired from their work, while two said they frequently felt tired, nine said sometimes and one said never.

In addition to the excessive work hours, 13 of the girls said their employers asked them to stay after they finished their work, including weekends. This was a frequent practice, and the girls did not receive compensatory time or overtime pay. This was usually considered a "favour," and the employer disapproved if the girl did not agree to stay.

Payment for CDW

Of the total number of child domestic workers, one received no pay (she was given away to her employers), one received only a nominal wage (she had not been paid for the past five months) and in the case of the youngest, the money was given directly to her mother. The rest received wages for their work. More than half the girls between ages 10 and 14 received wages of less than US$30 a month, while fewer than half of the older age group (15-17 years) received this wage. Although the work days did not vary with the child's age, the younger workers tended to receive lower salaries than the older ones. None of the 10 adults interviewed had received a wage when she was a child domestic worker.

Table 71: Minor domestic workers, by sex, age and amount of remuneration

Monthly wage (US$)	Total	5 to 8	10 to 15	16 to 30	35 to 40	60	80	School materials	No resp.
Girls									
Under age 9	1								1
10 to 14 years	14	2	1	6	2		1		1
15 to 17 years	11		2	3	4	1	1		
Total girls	26	2	3	9	6	2	1	1	1
Boys									
10 to 14 years	1			1					
Overall total	**27**	**2**	**3**	**10**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**

How earnings are spent

In four cases, the entire amount was given to the parents, in 11 part of it was turned over to the parents, and in four cases it was used to pay for the girls' schooling. Directly or indirectly, the wages of more than two-thirds of the girls (19 of 27) contributed to the household income, either as a direct contribution or because they represented a savings in school expenses.

Occupation hazards and health issues

Nearly all the girls and the boy (26 of 27) had become injured or ill on the job. Only one received medical attention, 20 took care of themselves, two were attended by the employer, one by another domestic worker and two received no attention at all.

Of the cases reported, 25 said they could not stop working while they were injured or ill. Only in nine cases did the employer pay for medicines (completely or partially). The lack of adequate care in the case of accidents led to self-medication and the use of home remedies, aggravating certain problems.

Abuse at work

Twenty-one of the 27 respondents said they received frequent reprimands. More than half (15) have been punished at work, 11 physically and verbally, two only physically and the other two physically with threats of greater violence.

Quotes about abuses suffered by the CDWs

- When I started working for them, they beat me a lot....
- I was working for a woman in Guayaquil; I went to take care of her 2-month-old daughter. The girl was in the stroller (...) she slipped out of the restraint and fell. The two of them [the baby's parents] grabbed me by the hair and beat me. They hit me, kicked me, beat me with a belt, everything. I cried and kept on working.
- When I did something wrong they would hit me. Sometimes her brothers came and took [things] and said that I'd taken them. (..) I was afraid. I cried. I cried because they called me "stupid," and I hung my head and just kept working.
- The kids were badly behaved. They yelled at me, pinched me and hit me. It was better to just keep my mouth shut.
- The son was mean and wanted to take advantage of me. He was 18. When his parents went out, he'd stay behind and (...) say, "Come on, let's go upstairs." He grabbed me and forced me. I started screaming and he dragged me. I didn't want to go. One day he took me to his room, locked the door and threw me down on the bed, and I started screaming. And even though the daughter was downstairs, she didn't hear me.
- I didn't say anything to my mother or my brother. I had to keep working. I can't tell you how many times he's tried to take advantage of me.
- I was afraid. I started shaking and he said, "You mustn't remain a girl, you have to grow up." I didn't know what that meant. I didn't understand.
- When I was 11, the husband started to bother me. He'd say, "Let's go to sleep," or "Let's go watch television," but he wanted to take me to his room.
- Yes, he tried, but I pinched him and he cut me.

(Girls in the focus group of domestic workers.)

Five of the girls had been sexually harassed at work, three had been abused and one became pregnant at the age 13 when she was raped. According to the researchers, it was probably that there were more cases of sexual harassment than were reported. This underreporting may be due to emotional upheaval and difficulties related to the issue. On the other hand, the researchers believed that many of the girls consider this "normal" male behaviour.

Attitude of CDWs to their work

Despite the slavery-like working conditions, approximately half the respondents said the situation was better than in their homes. Those who said they were worse off said they missed their families, felt lonely and unprotected and were overloaded with work. Access to education, food, city life and clothing were considered advantages[159].

When asked if they would continue in that type of work if they could choose, only nine girls said yes. The researchers believed that the girls could not distinguish whether domestic work was good or not, but when asked if they would encourage other girls to go into the same type of work, only four responded affirmatively. It might be that the girls could not identify the disadvantages for themselves as easily as the disadvantages for others, but in this way they verbalised the vulnerability to which they were condemned by the loneliness and lack of protection that are characteristic of this type of work.

Quotes about their domestic work situation

- We have no one to greet, no one to say "good morning" to – only God, who helps us.
- We don't get parental affection. Nobody talks to us, no one understands us. There's no chance to play.
- Until I get used to other people, I cry.

(Girls in the focus group of domestic workers.)

All the women in the adult group said they would discourage their daughters or sisters from working in CDW. Nine of the 10 adults cited the loneliness, isolation, suffering and excessive workload as reasons. Eight also mentioned fatigue and the lack of remuneration. The danger of being victims of sexual abuse was mentioned by seven of the 10 respondents. When asked what they would have liked to have done as children, the adults said they would have liked to have lived with their families and felt loved (seven cases) or to have studied (five cases). One said, "not to have been beaten or raped." Another "not to suffer."

Visits

The isolation suffered by the girls and the boy was acute. Only seven of the 27 had been visited at work: four by family members or friends, two by religious organizations and three by institutions that protect children. In the latter case, the visit from a children's home social worker was to supervise and monitor the girl's behaviour at work.

[159] "I used to feel sad and want to go back home, but at the same time I said to myself, how am I going to go back if there isn't enough for everyone?" (Girl in the focus group of domestic workers.)

2. Profile of former child domestic workers

Besides the surveys of the girls in domestic work and the former child domestic workers, nine mothers were also surveyed (one was an older sister with three children in her care). See details below.

Table 72: Mothers interviewed, by age, marital status, number of children and labour activity

N°	Age	Marital status	N° of children	Mother's labour activity
1	32	Divorced	3	Domestic workers
2	33	Single	2	Sells toilet paper
3	33	Married	8	Government childcare centre
4	38	Married	4	Shoemaker
5	50	Married	6	Makes *guaype*, herds sheep
6	51	Single	3	Washing
7	56	Single	2	Makes *guaype*
8	58	Married	2	Recycles cardboard, sells grains
9	60	Married	5	Nurse

Source: Survey of parents / guardians. Child Domestic Labour.

The majority of their sons and daughters worked (19 of 36, 14 of whom were still children). Many women refused to provide information about their children working, so it is possible that this number was greater. Of the 25 children between ages 8 and 17, 14 were working, 12 in domestic service (half of them as live-in workers). The majority began working when they were 10 years old or younger.

According to the mothers, the reasons why they began working were:

- to help increase the family income (nine cases),
- to care for a sick mother (three cases),
- to acquire experience (2 cases),
- to pay for school expenses (two cases),
- to help the teacher (two cases),
- economic independence (two cases), and
- to "learn to be a young women" (1 case).

It is notable that the motivations are different from those mentioned by the group of girls, with reasons appearing such as "acquiring experience," "helping the teacher" and "learning to be a young woman," which are more related to the mothers' expectations or needs than with those of the daughters[160].

[160] "They learn more by working. Because we were brought up in the countryside, we taught them things from the countryside. Now at work they learn to do more domestic [tasks]." (Mother in focus group of working girls.)

3. Former CDWs' view on child labour

All of the mothers were well aware of their children's educational situation, which was consistent with what was observed in the group of child domestic workers. The mothers were also aware that the girls' work hours ranged from 12 to 16 hours a day and were not surprised that they were not allowed to go out on their free days. They also had a clear idea that the activities the girls performed at work were part of the excessive workload reported by the group of children.

The mothers were aware of the information the girls had been given about their duties and obligations at work and the person who provided that information. It was noteworthy that this awareness faded when the issue of the girls' rights arises. Few of the mothers responded when asked about time for studies or vacations, and none was aware of benefits, labour rights and health. The mothers could not provide this information to their children, as was confirmed when they were asked about the girls' fatigue, injuries suffered at work or the abuse the girls receive. The lack of knowledge goes beyond labour rights; in the face of physical or verbal abuse or harassment by the employers, the only response was resignation or, as a last resort, moving the girls to a different job[161].

Mothers comments about their daughters work

- I think a maid's work is sad and painful. (..) They're abused for any little thing, they're yelled at, that's the problem. It hurts me a lot that my daughter is suffering.
- If I had a business, a decent job, I'd never send my children out to suffer, because it's martyrdom for them.
- She always has bad luck. If it wasn't the employer, it was the sons. The employer or the sons.

Mothers of children in focus group of working girls

There were some differences in responses between the group of mothers and the group of domestic workers. One was that the girls said that there was the possibility of leaving their current jobs when they wanted to. For the mothers, such a possibility did not exist; either because of economic problems or because they did not think the girls would find a better job, or the mothers would not allow their daughters to quit their jobs. The second difference was the children's contribution to the household. According to the mothers, a larger proportion of the girls turn over their entire wages to their parents than was reported by the working children.

[161] This conclusion is complemented by the observation that the mothers' advice when their daughters go into domestic labour tends to be related to submissiveness, service and honesty. None mentioned preventing accidents or protecting their privacy.

4. Domestic labour in Ecuador

Data from other sources shows that in Ecuador around 20 per cent of girls between age of 10-14 are involved in domestic labour[162]. In domestic work, the violence is greater and more hidden. In the group studied, the levels of physical abuse and sexual harassment and abuse by the employer were higher even than those found in sexual exploitation. The RA results from the city of Ambato showed that girls in domestic labour were the most exploited because of the length of the workday, the workload and the low remuneration (far below the minimum wage). The level of mistreatment constituted a constant violation of the most essential human rights.

Submission and acceptance of "their lot"

Girls were expected to work – with no reaction from society –without wages or rest, subjected to beatings and brutal treatment, as well as sexual abuse by employers or their sons.

According to the results of this study, the conditions of servitude are tolerated for two reasons:

1) they are considered "normal" because of the individual's personal experience; or
2) they are accepted with resignation as a passing situation, a vehicle for reaching a specific goal (education).

The girls' families also considered these conditions of violence and employer abuse normal and acceptable. The oft heard *"that's the way it is"* reflects levels of submission and resignation that excludes the working girls and their families from their citizens' rights. Because of lack of access to the legal system by large sectors of the population, the researchers claimed that a large number of Ecuadorians have become second- or third-class citizens.

Private sphere beyond rules

The CDW cases encountered through the research gave a glimpse of what can occur in the private sphere of the home, where there is no regulation or possibility of state intervention. For instance, one girl worked for no pay, others were repeatedly raped, one girl was given away and does not know her last name or where she was born, and another was placed in her job by a children's home as a "reinsertion" strategy.

Loneliness, isolation, abuse and mistreatment often force children to seek new survival strategies, whether emotional (early marriage, enabling them to quit their jobs) or job-related (jobs that provide significant income so they can become independent). In these successive searches, if the levels of aggression, lack of protection and desperation reach intolerable levels, entry into the sex trade occurs almost imperceptibly. According to the researchers, the road to sexual exploitation includes an almost obligatory passage through domestic labour.

[162] ILO/IPEC (2000). 'Strategy Paper: Child Domestic Labour' Draft, ILO Geneva.

SECTION E

Child labour in commercial sexual exploitation in Ecuador: the Province of Guayas Case

1. Profile and Background of those interviewed

Surveys were done with 22 girls involved in sexual exploitation in the city of Guayaquil. The age range was as follows: one 14-year-old, 18 from ages 15 to 16, and three 17-year-olds. Of the girls surveyed, 16 were single, four were in a couple relationship and one was separated. In-depth interviews were also done with nine girls and one boy in the same city: one 14-year-old, nine between ages 15 and 16, and seven 17-year-olds.

Additionally, interviews took place with 10 adult sex workers who became involved in the sex industry when they were girls; their ages ranged from 21 to 46 years (the five youngest were between ages 21 and 30).

Origins of those interviewed

More than half the girls (12 of 22) were natives of Guayaquil, two were from rural areas of that province, five were from rural parts of other coastal provinces, two were from other coastal cities and one were from highland cities. In all, 15 were from urban areas and seven were from rural areas. Over half of the respondents were migrants, and nearly three-quarters of these were from rural areas. According to the interviews, this proportion could vary. Of the 19 girls interviewed, 12 were migrants from rural areas.

The girls surveyed who migrated to Guayaquil did so alone (7 cases) or with their families (2 cases), most of them when they were between ages 11 and 14. The motivation for the move was to look for work (5 cases), to escape domestic abuse or mistreatment (2 cases), or because they were in a relationship or moved with their partner (2 cases).

Table 73: Girls in sexual exploitation, by birthplace and age group

	Total	Guayaquil	Rural Guayas	Other urban coast	Other rural coast	Urban highlands
Girls						
14 years	1			1		
15 to 16 years	18	10	2	1	5	
17 years	3	2				1
Total girls	**22**	**12**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**1**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Table 74: Girls in sexual exploitation, by age and marital status

Age	Total	Marital status		
		Single	Couple relationship	Separated
14	1			
15	10	7	3	
16	8	6	1	1
17	3	3		
Total	**22**	**16**	**4**	**1**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Family background

Slightly fewer than half the girls were from single-parent homes (9 cases of single mothers and one of a single father). This was followed in significance, with 3 cases each, of a mother married to a stepfather and cases in which both parents were absent. Only two of the girls lived with both parents and one lived with the stepfather but not the mother.

Table 75: Heads of households of girls in sexual exploitation

Adult head of family	Frequency
Mother and father	2
Only mother	9
Only father	1
Mother and stepfather	3
Stepfather	1
Mother and father absent; other relatives	3
No response	3
Total	**22**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Parents' educational level

The fathers and mothers had little or no formal education. It was notable that the educational level of the fathers and mothers of the girls who were studying is far lower than that of the girls who had dropped out of school. All of the mothers and most of the fathers of the former group are illiterate. Only one mother had some primary education.

Family conflict situations

When asked about family conflicts and traumatic situations, four of the respondents in the survey group said they had been orphaned, two were abandoned by their parents, 11 were abandoned by their fathers and three by their mothers. This means that a quarter of the respondents grew up without their parents and more than three-quarters with only one biological parent. The degree of abandonment among the girls interviewed was even higher: six of 19 grew up as orphans or abandoned by their parents, and 11 were abandoned by one parent.

Seven girls had been subjected to domestic violence or abuse related to alcoholism. Three girls were sexually harassed by family members and one was harassed and raped by her stepbrother. She became pregnant and the family forced her to have an abortion. Of the 22 girls surveyed, six had been pregnant, two had children and five had had abortions.

Of the girls in the interview group, two mentioned cases of sexual harassment that ended in rape (one was the boy, who was raped by his father when he was 9 years old). Of the 18 girls interviewed, 13 had been pregnant (one or more pregnancies), 10 had children and 3 had had abortions. Of the 10 adolescent mothers, 7 had had abortions. The level of abandonment, mistreatment and sexual harassment/abuse was similar amongst that of the group of adults interviewed (that had been sexually exploited when they were girls).

Table 76: Traumatic situations suffered by girls in sexual exploitation, by age group

Traumatic situation	Total	14 years	15-16 years	17 years
Total girls	**22**	**1**	**18**	**3**
Orphaned	4		3	1
Abandoned by both parents	2		2	
Abandoned by father	11	1	8	2
Abandoned by mother	3		3	
Sexual harassment / abuse	4	1	3	
Physical abuse / violence / alcoholism	7	1	4	2
Pregnancy	6		5	1
Abortion	5		5	

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Work history

For more than half the girls surveyed (12), sexual exploitation was their first economic activity. Three girls previously worked in domestic service, one in commerce and two in unremunerated family labour. The profile of the group of girls interviewed was different: sexual activity was not the first job for any of them. More than three-quarters (15) began in domestic work, one as a bar waitress, one in commerce, another in an office and the last in unremunerated family labour.

Levels of schooling of girls

One of the girls surveyed had never been to school (she was raised by a grandmother who never sent her to school), two were still studying and 19 have dropped out. Six of the girls completed some primary school, 11 finished primary school and four have between one and three years of secondary education. Because of the low number of girls who were still studying, it was impossible to compare the two groups. The figures were similar among the girls in the interview group, except that one girl had finished secondary school. The rate of grade repetition was very low, only three of the girls who dropped out had repeated a grade.

Table 77: Girls in sexual exploitation, by age group, school enrolment and years of schooling completed

Educational level	Attends school				Does not attend school				Grand total
	14	15-16	17	Total	14	15-16	17	Total	
None				0				0	**0**
Primary incomplete (3-5)				0		5	1	6	**6**
Primary complete		1		1	1	8	1	10	**11**
Secondary (1-3)		1		1		2	1	3	**4**
No response				0		1		1	**1**
TOTAL	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**16**	**3**	**20**	**22**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Age started working

The group became involved in sexual exploitation at an average age of 13.7 years. Nearly all began when they were 14 or under. These data were corroborated by those obtained from the group of women who were sexually exploited when they were girls, and the difference between the girls surveyed and those interviewed was not significant (13.3 years).

Reasons for starting work

When asked why they had become involved in the sex industry, the most frequently mentioned reason (17 cases) was to contribute to the family income. In

one case, the reason mentioned was to pay school expenses, in eight cases the reason was to gain economic independence, in eight it was to increase income, in five it was to escape domestic violence, and for four girls it was the only accessible source of income. Except for those who mentioned increasing income, the rest of the answers were related to contributing to the family and to survival.

Table 78: Girls in sexual exploitation, by age and reasons for becoming involved

Age at which girl became involved	Total	Main reason for becoming involved in this activity					
		Contribute to family income	Only job possibility	School expenses	Economic independence	Increase income	Domestic violence
13 years	9	7	2	1	2	3	0
14 years	10	9	1	0	4	4	4
15 years	3	1	1	0	2	1	1
Total girls	**22**	**17**	**4**	**1**	**8**	**8**	**5**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Who influenced them to become engaged in sex work

When asked who involved them in sexual exploitation, 18 of the girls said they got involved through friends, two were encouraged by husbands or partners, one by a male friend and her brother, and another by a male friend and her husband. The great majority of girls became involved in the sex industry through friends, followed by husbands or partners, although this figure was numerically less significant.

Location of work

Currently, four of every 10 girls work in legal brothels, two of every 10 in clandestine brothels (known as barra bars) and one-third work on the street. Of every 10 girls involved in the sex industry, 4.6 are exploited in legal establishments and 5.4 in illegal establishments. Although the sexual exploitation of minors is explicitly prohibited in Ecuador, nearly half the exploited girls worked in legal establishments supervised by health, labour and police authorities. Conversely the girls in the interview group were mainly exploited in illegal places (14 of 19 cases).

Table 79: Girls involved in sexual exploitation, by age and place where they perform the activity

Age range	Total	Barra	Street	Brothel	Brothels & street	Street & travelling	Established clientele
14 years	**1**	1					
15 to 16 years	**18**	2	6	7	1	1	1
17 years	**3**	1		2			
Total girls	**22**	**4**	**6**	**9**	**1**	**1**	**1**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Table 80: Girls involved in sexual exploitation, by days and place where they perform the activity

Place	Total	3 days	4 days	5 days	6 days
Barra	**4**	3			1
Brothels	**9**		4	4	1
Brothel & street	**1**		1		
Street	**6**	1	4		1
Street + travelling	**1**		1		
Established clientele	**1**	1			
Total girls	**22**	**5**	**10**	**4**	**3**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Hours worked per week

The girls who were surveyed worked an average of four days a week, with a minimum of three and a maximum of six days a week. In general, the girls who worked more days during the week were involved in sexual exploitation in legal brothels and in the street. Nearly all the girls (21) were sexually exploited more than 21 hours a week. Half of these girls were engaged in sexual exploitation between 21 and 30 hours a week, slightly fewer than half worked 31 to 40 hours a week and two worked more than 40 hours a week.

The average number of hours in sexual exploitation was 30.3 a week, with an average of eight sexual contacts a day. The average number of daily sexual contacts among the girls who were interviewed was higher, at 17.7 (with a minimum of 10 and maximum of 50 contacts a day).

The adult women interviewed reported a high level of competition with the younger girls. Most clients preferred younger girls. The researchers believed that this was an attitude that responded, on the one hand, to *pleasure*, associated with an affirmation of virility, and, on the other, to a series of common myths related to the idea that girls do not carry STDs or HIV/AIDS or can even cure such illnesses. For these reasons, when they were hired (in the street or in brothels), girls were given preference. A girl's physical advantages over a woman also allowed her to have a greater number of sexual contacts, making her more "productive" for the pimp and the owner of the establishment.

> *"I can't perform like a girl at my age ... 5 or 10 times a day. You have to be honest about what you are. Why do more? They can do it 50 times".*
>
> *Interview with a woman in sexual exploitation, age 29. Guayaquil.*

Table 81: Girls involved in sexual exploitation, by hours a week involved in sexual exploitation

Days	Total	Hours per week involved in sexual exploitation			
		Fewer than 20 hours	21 to 30 hours	31 to 40 hours	More than 40 hours
3 days	**5**	1	3	1	
4 days	**10**		6	4	
5 days	**4**			4	
6 days	**3**		1		2
Total girls	**22**	**1**	**10**	**9**	**2**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Table 82: Girls involved in sexual exploitation: number of sexual contacts per day and per week

Sexual contacts	Total	Daily			Weekly average
		5	6 to 8	10	
14 years	1			1	30.0
15 to 16 years	18	2	11	5	32.7
17 years	3	1		2	35.0
Total girls	**22**	**3**	**11**	**8**	**32.6**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Remuneration

It was difficult to obtain information from the girls in the survey group about the income received per sexual contact or their income per month. According to the girls in the interview group, the amount of money received for each sexual contact varied depending on the place and type of contact. The girls who earned least were those who work in the street, and received US$3 to US$4 per contact, doubling the price if a condom was not used. This was followed in significance by girls who were exploited in brothels, who received from US$4 to US$5 or from US$6 to US$10 per contact, depending on the type of contact. Here, too, the price doubled if a condom was not used.

The girls who worked in *barras* received a fixed wage for their work as "waitresses" (depending on the status of the establishment, this ranged from US$10 to US$20 a month, but it could be as much as US$130 or US$170), and payment for the sexual contacts was separate.

Overall, amounts could not be determined, although there were references to the US$4 to US$5 range for lower-status establishments. The boy received far more than the girls – US$50 per contact.

A rough estimate by the researchers of the monthly income of the girls in the survey group, based on the number of contacts they claimed to have each week

(33, on average) and the per-contact payment most frequently mentioned (US$5), indicated that the girls would be receiving approximately US$726 a month from their exploitation.

Knowledge about hazards

The majority of the girls surveyed had sufficient information about prevention[163]. Only four of the 22 did not have a clear understanding of the concepts.

Despite this, the proportion of girls who always used condoms was very low (seven of 22). The other girls used condoms only in slightly more than half their sexual contacts. Two of the girls used condoms in four of every 10 contacts. Among the girls in the interview group, the proportion who always used condoms during sexual contacts was similar to that of the survey group (nine of 19). The girls who used them occasionally, however, did so less often. Four of the girls interviewed used condoms in seven of every 10 contacts, two in fewer than half their sexual contacts and two said they never used condoms.

Reasons for not using condoms

When asked about their reasons for not using condoms, the only two reasons given were:

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

Table 83: Girls in sexual exploitation: number of sexual contacts with and without condom (reasons for not using condom)

Place	Total	Frequency of condom use (*)			Reason for not using condom: User pays more or refuses
		Always	Sometimes	Seldom	
Barra	**4**	1	3		3
Brothels	**9**	2	7	1	8
Brothel + street	**1**				
Street	**6**	4	2		2
Street + travelling	**1**		1		1
Established clientele	**1**			1	1
Total	**22**	**7**	**13**	**2**	**15**

(*) Always: Five used, out of five sexual contacts.
Sometimes: Three or four used, out of five sexual contacts.
Seldom: Two used, out of five sexual contacts.

[163] The Ecuadorian Union of Sex Workers reported that it has held many training sessions for its members at both the national and local levels on STDs and HIV/AIDS prevention.

According to the focus group, this refusal was based on a certain physical unpleasantness associated with the use of a condom and with a reduction in sensitivity of the penis. In any case, in general girls are more vulnerable than adults to concede when condom use is being negotiated, as part of the power relationship established between the person who is sexually exploited and the user. Yet, this vulnerability was increased by the age difference, by pressure from brothel managers and owners, and by characteristics of the supply of and demand for services.

Terms of work and working conditions

With regard to labour and health rights, 15 girls had received some information only about their obligations to the employer, the payment they would receive for each client (according to the "service" provided) and their work hours. One-third of the girls had received no information.

In most cases, another exploited woman provided the information. In fewer cases, the brothel owner or manager or the pimp provided information. The girls in the interview group had received far less information than those in the survey group because they mainly worked in illegal establishments.

Table 84: Girls in sexual exploitation, by person who provided information about working conditions

	Total	Person from whom information about working conditions was received			
		Other workers	Owner/manager + workers	Pimp	Pimp + workers
Received information	**15**	12	3	2	1
Did not receive information	**7**				
Total	**22**	**12**	**3**	**2**	**1**

Source: Survey of girls involved in sexual exploitation

Place of residence

Nearly half the girls surveyed (10) lived with their families, five lived with female friends who are also involved in sexual exploitation, three lived with a partner, three with family members (sister, cousins or more distant relatives), and one did not respond.

In no case were the parents aware of their daughters' activities. Only four girls said that a sibling knew about their "work." Three of them accepted the girls' involvement in sexual exploitation, as if it were just a job option. In only one case a family member knew of the girl's involvement in the sex industry and the girl still lived with her family. The other three respondents lived with female friends or a sister.

How earnings are spent

Although they were outside the nuclear family (12 cases), half the girls (6 cases) contributed money to their families. Of those who still lived with their families (10 cases), only seven said they contributed to their families, while two did not and one did not respond. Thus, of the girls surveyed, over half contributed to the income of their nuclear families, whether or not they lived with their families.

Table 85: Girls in sexual exploitation, by use of income and person with whom they lived

Live with	Total	How income is spent					
		Part to family + self-support	Only self-support	Part to family + clothes	Only clothes	Part to family	No resp.
Family	**10**	3	2	3		1	1
Relatives	**3**		2	1			
Husband	**3**		2		1		
Girlfriends	**5**	4	1				
No response	**1**					1	
Total girls	**22**	**7**	**7**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**1**

Experience of abuse

Neither the girls in the survey group nor those in the interview group reported violent or cruel practices in sexual exploitation. The adult women, however, did report such practices (see testimonials).

Attitudes towards their work

When asked, "If you could choose, would you work in this activity?" the girls in the survey group and those in the interview group said no. The adult women responded the same way. The members of all three groups said they would discourage their daughters and sisters from working in this activity.

Quote from a girl engaged in prostitution regarding reasons why others should be discouraged to become a prostitute:

"it's dangerous, it's humiliating, it's not a life, you suffer a lot, it isn't easy, they're demanding and humiliate you, they insult and abuse you, there are health risks" etc.

When the girls in the survey group were asked what they would like to do if they were not involved in this activity, four did not answer, seven said that they would like to be merchants, three said secretaries, two said hairdressers, two said professionals, two said they wanted to finish primary school, one wanted to be a teacher, another a model, another a dressmaker and the last wanted to have a farm (she is from Ambato).

According to the researchers, based on their social background, all the girls chose options that would allow them to be respected in their community and considered "decent," something for which they all longed.

2. Sexual exploitation

Among adult sex workers and the exploited children, emotional and work-related relationships were characterised by an unequal balance of power (submission). Submission becomes "official" at some point in the person's life, with a shift from a passive to an active role in the traumatic situation[164]. Although this implies degrees of "repudiation and defence" against sexual abuse, it constitutes a reproduction of relationships imposed by the aggressors. The quotes below explain the shift in girls.

Quotes from girls regarding why they moved into prostitution

"I changed jobs because this one pays better. ... Here I go to bed with someone because they pay me. They don't abuse me like a dog. It was difficult to change at first – to put up with old men and drunkards who wanted me to do stupid things."

Adult involved in sexual exploitation, former child domestic worker, Chone.

"It's difficult to work in prostitution. (...) I started because there were no jobs ... because I was working in Mosquito, on a farm, and a man raped me. I was 13 years old and I worked in the kitchen for the men who were working there. ... and maybe that was why the farm owner's son came on to me. ... There were other women, but I didn't tell anyone because he told me that if I said anything ... Well, I couldn't keep working there because every day when this man wanted me to go with him, he made me ... I left the farm and ran into some other girls who said, let's go work in Santo Domingo, and that's where I started in prostitution."

Adult involved in sexual exploitation, former child domestic worker, Chone.

[164] Rascovsky, A. *El Filicidio*, 2nd edition. Buenos Aires: Orión, 1974.

Other qualitative studies on the sexual exploitation of boy and girl children and adolescents have shown the effects on such children. For instance a study was done in three cities Machala, Lago Agrio and Cuenca[165].

Sexual violence

Sexual violence appeared as one more manifestation of abuse. According to the researchers, sometimes rape occurred in agricultural work, sometimes in houses where the children were employed, sometimes in the family home. When rape becomes part of a continuum of violations that precede and justify it, when the sense of having no escape and that this is the "only option" is overwhelming, the scene is set for becoming involved in sexual exploitation.

Abuse in the household often leads to prostitution as a form of sexual exploitation. The researchers believed that sexual exploitation was not the choice of the children. Rather it was the only alternative for survival that their parents, their city, their country and their government have given them. The successive failures of survival strategies (getting married, domestic work, trying to live with relatives, etc.) resulted in girls engaging in prostitution. Abuse includes physical, emotional, economic or sexual elements[166].

Comments from women/girls that have been sexually exploited

"I would tell young women that if they have some problem, they should try to get help, but they shouldn't choose this, because it isn't good."

Girl, age 16, who became involved in sexual exploitation five months ago, Guayaquil.

"My mother was delighted. She didn't know what a monster, what a terrible man he was. Later, when they found out, it was too late ... I was already involved. I met him in Quevedo. I was going to marry him. He was supposedly going to give me everything ... he sent me out to work saying go on, I need the money - He was an old pimp, 40-some years old ... I was just a young cunt to him. He took me to the neighbourhood ... with one of his nieces, who was also working."

Woman engaged in prostitution, Guayaquil.

"My mother beat me too much. I was with a woman for two years (as a domestic worker) and her husband wanted to rape me. I didn't tell her, because I was afraid. He touched me, he tried to open my door at night ... he was violent. "Listen, girl," this man says to me, and boom! He slaps me. A friend or a mother – never! I was all alone, I never had any support. ... The patrón raped me, her patrón, and she beat me. I became disillusioned. I got out of that life when I was 12. I became disillusioned ... when I found myself in the street."

Woman in sexual exploitation, Guayaquil.

[165] *Taller de Comunicación Mujer (2002).* (Women's Communication Workshop): La industria del sexo local: Cultura, marginalidad y dinero *(The local sex industry: Culture, marginality and money), Quito, 215 p., 2002.*

[166] To avoid dangerous reductionism, it is important to note that rape in itself – although it is one of the most brutal forms of aggression, because of its significance and because of the long-term effects on the victim's personality and life – is not synonymous with becoming involved in sexual exploitation.

It would appear that everyone involved in the sex industry had experienced situations of extreme family violence – physical and/or sexual – as well as a range of manifestations of lack of protection, emotional neglect and/or abandonment that imply more serious and silent levels of violence (emotional violence). Because of the roles assigned to each sex, this results in more victims among boys than among girls. These conditions, which violate children's security at the social, economic or family level, pave the way for becoming involved in sexual exploitation, an area in which the abusive conditions are reproduced and perpetuated.

Children as commodities

Reference was also made by researchers to paedophiles using children as commodities. The researchers believed that exploring issues around the exploitation of children should concentrate on the actual activity the children are involved in rather than the number of hours worked per week. Engaging in sexual exploitation results in the constant violation of their bodies, their identity and their integrity by adults.

SECTION F

Conclusions

1. Reflections on the results of the Rapid Assessments

The results of the three RAs summarized in this chapter showed that agricultural work on third-party farms, unremunerated domestic labour and sexual exploitation stem from poverty and constitute stages of a single process leading to the worst forms of child labour. In fact some studies on child labour in Ecuador conclude that the eradication of child labour will only be possible only through the adoption of a universal policy against poverty, with education as a central aspect of such policy[167]. Often the passage from one form of child labour to another is part of the search for better opportunities due to poverty and family situation.

2. Poverty and attitude to education

Despite the high degree of invisibility, Ecuador's child labour figures are the highest in Latin America.

Poverty, economic need and exploitation are not the only causes of child labour - the tendency of both children and parents to underestimate the value of schooling may lead many children to abandon school in favour of work. Many argue that improving the child labour situation in Ecuador depends on fundamental educational reform[168], and a change in attitudes to schooling. For example another ILO/IPEC RA[169] found that in the rural areas of Ecuador, priority has traditionally been given to the education of boys over that of girls, although both sexes generally receive a primary education. The same does not apply to secondary schooling, where the enrolment of girls is infrequent and their numbers negligible.

Nevertheless the researchers found that most girls that were engaged in prostitution initially suffered some form of abuse at home, leading the researchers to conclude that abuse (physical, mental, emotional or sexual) is also a factor leading girls to engage in prostitution.

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[167] Garcia, M. Ed. (1996). El Trabajo y la Educación de los Niños e de los Adolescentes en el Ecuador. UNICEF. Quito, 1996. 92p. ISBN: 92 806 3251 5 (Work and Education of Children and Adolescents in Equador).

[168] Salazar, M. C.; Alarcón Glasinovich, W., eds. (1998). *Child work and education: Five case studies from Latin America.* Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, xiii, 162 p., 1998. ISBN: 1 84014 976 0.

[169] Castelnuovo, C.; Castelnuovo A.; Oviedo, J.; Santacruz X. (April 2000). Ecuador Trabajo Infantil en la Floricultura: Una Evaluación Rápida.

3. Characteristics of child labour found in RA research

Particular beliefs and characteristics of child labour found by the researchers in all three ILO/IPEC RA included:

- Reproductive and productive domestic tasks are not considered contributions to the family income. Culturally, they are associated with daily domestic chores, with no relationship to the economic sphere. Here a distinction needs to be made between "formative child work" and "harmful child work", because child work is not always seen as negative by adults or children.
- Social and family organizational structures assign stereotyped roles to male and female family members, assuming a specific value in which the women's role and contribution are lower and undervalued.
- Within the family, there was perceived to be an objectification of sons and daughters. Adults have full control over minors, with absolute power under conditions that deny the children their rights.
- Popular social concepts restricted children's contribution to agricultural activities, even if girls were involved in family production their presence was denied.
- Prostitution and domestic labour are activities mainly performed by women; characteristics considered "feminine" were largely associated with these activities.

In the three areas of activity studied, resistance, myths and taboos related to the assignment of roles by sex and age were encountered. However drawing from the RA research results it can be generalized that in the areas studied:

- Girls worked and contributed to their families' income; even though many stated that they are "helping out" in order to "become young women." Other research[170] from Ecuador focusing on working girls aged between 13 and 15 found that most girls were unpaid workers in their own families, doing domestic chores, selling food, and working as street vendors of industrial or agricultural products. This study found that these girls themselves intrinsically believed that they were "helping out" their mothers or families in exchange for clothes or food
- Boys worked for farm owners or intermediary merchants and contribute to their families' income; their work was not limited to family plots. Family production tasks were secondary to their day labour.
- Prostitution was a highly profitable activity that uses girls, who are paid a wage at best, and who are managed by well-established structures: owners of chains, owners of establishments and employees who offer services with prices that are differentiated depending on the target[171]. Girls were found to be working in "legal" prostitution establishments.

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[170] Arellano E. ; Augusta, M. (2000). *Programa de acompañamiento grupal para familias maltratantes de las adolescentes que estudian en el Centro de la Niña Trabajadora - CENIT* (Group follow-up programme for families ill-treating female adolescents studying at the Centre for the Working Girl Child - CENIT). Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, Quito, 2000.

[171] A low-status sex worker must attend 20 clients in order to obtain an income similar to that of a high-status worker (US$5 compared to US$100). We did not obtain data about rates in the upper classes.

Productive activities not socially recognized

On the whole production activities undertaken by children were not socially recognized as such. This lack of recognition was rooted in cultural customs related to family labour, in which children learn production tasks from their parents. With the process of urbanisation, the deterioration of trade conditions in the agricultural sector and the successive economic crises, this formative work was displaced by productive labour, but the parameters of the domestic sphere have persisted. For this reason, working children, because they are children, are objectified in their labour, have no rights, and are susceptible to abuse that would not be suffered by an adult in the workplace. For girls, these conditions were even more notable because of the "invisible" and domestic nature of their activities.

Private domestic sphere as workplace

The expansion of the private-domestic sphere to the workplace places children at a series of disadvantages. This is again partly because their production activities are denied and invisible, but especially because of the transferral of the conditions of submission and lack of rights, which characterise the family sphere, to the workplace. In the workplace the behaviour of the adult-employer is not governed by child-rearing criteria but by profit, creating situations conducive to exploitation.

Social concepts and economic interests can keep child labour connected with the domestic sphere, excluding it from a visible social and legal focus. This creates a series of difficulties and distortions in the recognition of the child labour situation, continually encouraging people to keep it hidden or invisible.

The "domestic" nature of the work becomes an accepted social way of benefiting from power relationships that permit the abuse of the weakest. This was a common characteristic among boys and girls recruited into agricultural work, domestic labour and the sex trade. They have had few educational opportunities and were socially marginalized. They were victims of abuse and impunity, and they suffered from adults who have abused and hurt them.

4. Violation of children's rights

The experiences recounted by the girls in the rapid assessments illustrated that violations of their rights occur at every level: health, quality of life, job opportunities, fair wage, and physical-emotional and sexual well-being. They also occur in all environments: the family, school, workplace and social sphere.

The three types of child labour activity studied in Ecuador constitute areas in which the concept of "domestic" takes precedence over that of "worker."

The sex industry not only violates these children's rights, it also seriously damages their physical and mental integrity by subjecting them to conditions that lead to their physical and psychological deterioration. If it is to avoid being an accomplice to the multiple types of violence described, the government – through its political, administrative and legal agencies, and in conjunction with society in general –

must take the necessary steps to identify, detain, try and punish those responsible for this industry.

Finally prior experience of abuse in the family, school and community appeared to be linked to and facilitated the acceptance of exploitative "working" conditions.

5. Policy Recommendations

Cultural change process required

As already mentioned, the problem of children trapped in abuse and exclusion begins with culturally accepted violence and abuse. A process of cultural change is necessary to exercise children's rights, not as lip service but in actual daily practice. Besides raising the awareness of and re-educating civil society, this requires government commitments to guarantee that corrective steps will be taken. This will be a slow process, but it is the only way to prevent situations that are harmful to the development of Ecuadorian children.

Campaigns should be carried out through the media to illustrate the daily situations of violence and abuse suffered by children in all spheres (family, social, workplace and school). Establishing a culture of protection is imperative if girls are to be prevented from circumstances that lead to abuse and exclusion.

Improve opportunities for children

The lack of development opportunities for children and youths is a constant in the analysis of risk situations in rural areas in particular. It is important to create cultural and recreational opportunities designed especially for children and youth, where they can interact with their peers on the basis of healthy relationships and respect.

It is also necessary to establish oversight networks that can detect, provide referrals and/or care for children in critical situations, as well as work with families and communities on issues related to mistreatment, abuse and involvement in harmful activities. There are already many positive experiences in Ecuador that can serve as a point of reference to enriching strategies for addressing and encouraging the process. Such "good practices" should be researched and documented (see details of COOPI below).

Improve current situation of child workers

Recognising that the problem of girl child labour has a structural origin does not mean that alternative mechanisms should not be sought to alleviate it. Decades could pass before cultural change is achieved and meanwhile, more children will be at risk or in situations of exploitation. To avoid this, actions must be undertaken to improve the current situation.

An integrated system of support for children in domestic labour and agricultural work, especially those who migrate to cities, is vital. The Italian Co-operation

Agency (COOPI) has implemented a system that provides physical space, psychological and emotional support and legal guidance so that those who need it have a real alternative that allows them to leave abusive and violent situations. This system also helps to prevent them from ending up on the street and/or in the sex industry. Although considered a very valuable experience, it only exists in one or two cities in the highlands and it would be interesting to expand it to the large and mid-size cities that are the destinations of most migrating children and youths. A similar system could be implemented for children in sexual exploitation, with different therapeutic processes that enable the child to recover his or her dignity, redirection toward other kinds of work, the building of self-esteem and the development of life plans.

However, as mentioned, these alternatives are only palliatives for the urgent situation in which these children are caught. Only a change in family and social relationships will eliminate child labour and sexual exploitation.

Finally, it can be argued that because of attitudes amongst children and parents to schooling, and because of inappropriate curricula, any commitment to combating child labour requires major educational reform. For example improvements are required in coverage, quality and affordability of education. A media campaign aimed at cultural change that leads to a greater acceptance of schooling at all levels of society is required. There should also be a greater incentive provided for parents and children alike to participate more fully in the education system[172].

[172] Salazar, M. C.; Alarcón Glasinovich, W., eds. (1998). *Child work and education: Five case studies from Latin America.* Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, xiii, 162 p., 1998. ISBN: 1 84014 976 0.

PART III

Girl child labour in domestic work, sexual exploitation and agriculture in Ghana: results from a rapid assessment

3

SECTION A

Background on the child labour situation in Ghana[173]

1. Background of the Child Labour Situation

Within the Ghanaian context, children are expected to work for the family doing menial household chores such as sweeping, fetching water, carrying firewood, preparing meals, washing dishes and taking care of younger siblings. This is not only considered to be acceptable but is seen more importantly as an integral part of the socialization of children in order for them to become responsible and hard-working members of society.

Children also work in the commercial activities of the family unit, whether it is fishing, farming, cattle rearing, mining or trading. On market days children can be seen selling foodstuffs, engaging in petty trading and working as heavy load porters. In the main, such menial chores are not viewed as being detrimental to the health, safety or development of the child; however, these children are as a matter of course exposed to work-related hazards, which include car accidents, work-related injuries, drowning etc.

From a historical perspective, child work is part and parcel of the fabric of Ghanaian society. Children are viewed as an investment, with the legitimate expectation that they will contribute to the family income and look after their parents in their retirement. This expectation, however, is often at variance with the expectation that all children will at least complete their basic education. Those children working full time invariably drop out of school. Children regularly abscond from school on market days, and indeed some rural communities consider market days to be an unofficial holiday.

Many children when asked why they are in employment cite negligence from their parents as a contributory factor. The need to have large families in order to have many working hands has resulted in a self-perpetuating cycle of deprivation, with children being neglected or abandoned due to lack of resources and a resultant increase in child labour.

Culturally, children are often sent to live with relatives, such as grandparents and cousins, due to the strong family and kinship ties that could be either on patrilineal or matrilineal lines. Unfortunately social change and economic hardship have altered traditional practices, leaving tens of thousands of children in danger of exploitation. A case in point concerns the phenomenon of child trafficking from the Northern regions of the country through established intermediaries, under the guise

[173] by Glanville Einstein Williams; West African Aids Foundation (WAAF).

Table 1: Characteristics of Child Labour by Sector, Education level, Sex and Occupation. (Figures in Percentages)

Attribute	1987*	1988*	1992*	1997**
Locality	18.5	16.4	14.8	18.4
Urban	81.5	83.6	85.2	81.6
Rural				
Education Level	15.5	19.5	27.6	70.4
No education	62.8	61.6	52.4	20.9
Primary	20.4	17.0	18.5	8.6
Middle/JSS	1.3	1.9	1.5	0.1
Secondary				
Gender	48.0	53.0	53.0	44.9
Male	52.0	47.0	47.0	55.1
Female				
Industry of Work	82.8	70.6	59.3	62.3
Agriculture	5.2	8.4	9.0	2.6
Mining & Manu.	11.4	18.7	29.3	35.0
Trade & Services	0.6	2.3	2.4	0.1
Other	1677	1526	3732	19741
Sample Size				
Participation Rate	32.0	32.8	39.0	12.6

* Canagarajah and Saji (1997) using GLSS 1,2,3
* * Author's calculations from CWIQ 1997 (4 weeks reference period was used)

of traditional sponsorship. The children often end up working in miserable conditions in chop bars, or as porters, or selling goods such as ice water on the busy roads of Accra.

Child labour is currently prevalent in both rural and urban areas. In urban areas children living and/or working on the street mainly engage in trading activities, whilst in rural areas they are active in both agricultural and trading activities. It is becoming increasingly clear that some children engage in part-time work in order to pay for school-related expenses. The political will to enforce child labour laws, though unquestionable, is nevertheless compromised by the high levels of poverty in the country.

Using data from Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) on 17,866 children aged between 6 and 15 years (school going age in Ghana), it is estimated that about 11 per cent of school age children in Ghana and 56.5 per cent of the rural school age children in Northern Ghana are engaged in some form of work which provides them with an income.

The data on children who have stopped schooling or have never attended school gives an alarming indication of the nature of child labour in Ghana. Approximately 13.2 per cent of the children who stopped attending school and 40.3 per cent of children who never attended school are economically active. The situation in the three Northern regions, especially the rural areas, is worse than the national average. About 31 per cent of those who stopped attending school and 57 per cent of those who never went to school are working.

In Ghana, the labour force participation rate for children was 39 per cent in 1992 and 12.6 per cent in 1997. It must be noted however that the 1997 figure does not directly compare with the 1992 figure which encapsulated all children who worked during the preceding 12 months, as compared to the 1997 survey which covered only those who worked during the last 4 weeks preceding the survey.

Girls contribute more to the child labour pool than boys (12.3% of girls in contrast to 9.8% of boys who were economically active in 1997). The rural participation rates were 12.1 per cent for boys and 14.2 per cent for girls, and the urban rates were 4.4 per cent for boys and 8.2 per cent for girls.

About 70 per cent of the children surveyed in 1997 did not have any education, while 21 per cent had primary level education. In 1997, the average age of rural working children (aged 6-15) was 10.5 years while that of the urban group was 11.1 years. With regard to the types of industry of work, it is unsurprising to find that most of the economically active children were engaged in agricultural-related activities, with a small proportion engaged in mining, construction and trading. The type of work done by children relates highly to the predominant activity in the community. The share of trading and service-related activities is on the increase in line with the general trend of economic activities in Ghana. Its share increased from 11.4 per cent in 1987 to 35 per cent in 1997.

2. Geography

Ghana is centrally located in the West African sub-region and has a total land area of 238,539 square kilometres. The topography of Ghana shows that it is generally a low-lying country. The only range of hills lies on the eastern border with the Republic of Togo and the west of the Volta River along the Akwapim-Kwahu area. Along the coast is savannah grassland, which is criss-crossed by several rivers and streams that are navigable by canoe. In the west and central parts of the country is heavily forested terrain sub-divided by hills, rivers and streams. To the north of the country lies the undulating savannah drained by the Black and White Volta Rivers.

The climate of Ghana is tropical, but rainfall and temperatures vary by distance from the coast, and elevation. The rainy season in the northern parts of Ghana begins in March and lasts until September, while two rainy seasons are recorded in the southern half of the country – April to July, and September to October. The average annual temperature is about 26° Celsius (79° Fahrenheit).

3. History

Until 1957, the country was called the Gold Coast - a name given to it by the early Europeans because of the abundant gold traded on the coast. Due to the belief of ties between the people of this country and the ancient empire of Ghana, which was situated in the Sahelian region of Senegal, Mauritania and Mali, the country was given the name Ghana when it gained independence from the British on 6th March 1957. It became a republic of the Commonwealth of Nations on 1st July 1960.

Ghana has had its fare share of political turbulence, with the military taking over the reins of power on four occasions over the four decades of independence. Today, Ghana is one of the most politically stable and peaceful countries in Africa, having successfully gone through a transition from military rule to multi-party democracy in 1993.

Ghana operates a parliamentary system of government based on multi-parties; and has an elected President. The country has a three-tier local government. There are ten administrative regions, representing the first level of administration, and these are sub-divided into districts, totalling 110. In line with the country's decentralized policy, the district represents the basic unit of planning and political administration. Below the districts are the unit committees.

4. Economy

From a historical perspective, the Ghanaian economy could be described as agro-based, with over 70 per cent of the people being employed in this sector. Most of the people in agriculture are engaged in small-scale farming of foodstuff and cash crop cultivation.

Lately, the structure of the economy has changed, with services assuming more importance in terms of contribution to GDP while agriculture's share of GDP continues to dwindle. Agriculture is just about 40 per cent of GDP and services are almost 50 per cent of GDP. The proportion of the labour force in agriculture has also fallen from about 70 per cent in the 1970s to about 60 per cent in the 1990s. Industry's contribution to GDP has stagnated at around 14 per cent (Table 1). On average, the service sector has been the fastest growing sector in the country during the period 1995 to 1999 (Table 2).

The Ghanaian private sector carries out most of the production activities in the country. Two types of private sector organizations can be identified: the formal private sector and the informal private sector. Informal economic activity plays a very important role in the Ghanaian economy, although it is difficult to get quantitative information about the size, nature and characteristics of such activity. Whilst existing

Table 2: Sectoral Distribution of GDP, 1989-1996 (%)

Year	Agriculture	Services	Industry
1989	45.9	40.3	13.9
1990	43.5	42.4	14.1
1991	43.5	42.8	13.9
1992	41.4	44.4	14.2
1993	40.2	45.2	14.6
1994	41.1	46.7	14.5
1995	39.1	46.4	14.5
1996	40.6	48.4	14.2

Source ISSER: The State of the Ghanaian Economy Report

Table 3: Sectoral Distribution of Real GDP Growth, 1995-2001 (1993=100)

Year	Agriculture	Services	Industry
1995	3.7	4.7	4.1
1996	5.2	4.2	4.7
1997	4.3	6.5	6.4
1998	5.1	6.0	3.2
1999	3.9	5.0	4.9
2000*	4.2	5.9	5.1
2001**	4.5	6.0	5.5
2002**	5.3	6.7	6.2

Source: The Budget Statement and Economic Policy, MOF, 2000
* Provisional figures
** Projections

national account estimates may partially cover informal economic activities to some extent, informal economic activities are never separately identified. Their overall contribution is unknown.

Ghana, which is classified as one of the 41 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPS) faces a growing external and domestic debt. In nominal terms, the external debt stock has increased from US$3.4 billion in 1990 to US$5.8 billion by the end of 1998 (representing a 72% increase). Domestic debt on the other hand increased nearly nine-fold over the period from US$156 million to US$1.36 billion, (see Table 1.3 below). A worrying observation is that the high external debt burden has disturbing implications for public expenditure on the social services, particularly health and education. For example, in 1998 the cost of servicing external debt accounted for 63 per cent of domestic budget revenue.

Table 4: Public Debt, 1990-1998 (US$ Million)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
External	3384.4	3839.6	3968.9	4680	5022.3	5342.4	5651.3	5495.1	5831.4
Domestic	156.4	123.5	235.4	785.5	636.5	599.7	755.3	970.1	1360.4
Total	**3540.8**	**3963.1**	**4204.3**	**5465.5**	**5658.8**	**5942.1**	**6406.6**	**6465.2**	**7191.8**

Source: MOF/Bank of Ghana

A high external debt to GDPO ratio (fluctuating between 56% and 116%) indicates the burden of Ghana's foreign debt. Similarly, as much as 25 to 40 per cent of export earnings go into servicing the debt of the country.

The depth of the debt problem is further demonstrated in relation to average incomes. As per capita GDP declined from about $430 in 1990 to $399 in 1999, foreign debt per capita rose from $291 in 1990 to $308 in 1999 (GOG 2000).

The depth of domestic debt is just as disturbing. Huge budget deficits during the period were financed mainly through the accumulation of the domestic debt.

The size of the domestic debt raises concern in that a considerable part of the debt is used to finance recurrent expenditure. Secondly, unlike foreign debt, the bulk of domestic debt is short-term in nature – maturing between 30 and 360 days.

The point about the huge domestic debt and foreign debt of the country is that interest payments account for over a third of government recurrent expenditure and more than 20 per cent of total government expenditure (in 1998, interest on public debt accounted for 24 per cent of total government expenditure). Such interest payments absorb budgetary resources that could have been allocated to other important sectors of the economy.

Social sector spending in Ghana is low, heavily skewed towards recurrent costs, and does not appear to be sustainable due to considerable reliance on shrinking donor flows. Regressive elements in spending on health and education have also been identified as constraining poverty reduction (GOG, 2000).

The level of social sector spending is low relative to African averages. A second drawback is that the majority of the government's social sector spending is allocated to recurrent expenditure. For example, recurrent expenditures comprised 96 per cent of GOG spending in the education sector in 1999. In addition, personnel costs dominate recurrent expenditure, leaving insufficient funds to maintain infrastructure and to procure adequate quantities of other important school inputs such as textbooks. Low spending on learning materials has deleterious effects on the quality of education. Moreover it is the children of the poor who are most likely to be inadequately exposed to material that can help them to learn and acquire skills that can help them move out from poverty.

Recurrent spending in the health sector rose from 83 per cent in 1996 to 88 per cent in 1998. Thus the proportional share of GOG's contribution in capital expenditure in the social sectors has been very small. Indeed most of the development spending in the social sectors, especially in education, health and water has been financed by external donors and from the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF).

A third concern is the sustainability of social sector spending, given that government revenue is not catching up with demand for services, support by external donors is on the decline and the debt burden of the country is high. Moreover, the share of social spending in total central government spending declined between 1997 and 1998 from 33 per cent to 29 per cent (Appiah, 2000). External donors contribute the largest share of non-wage expenditures. Their contribution increased to just over three-quarters of the total in 1997, declining to approximately two-thirds in 1998. Spending by external donors is quite evenly spread amongst the various segments of the social sector, except for social welfare, population management and food and nutrition security, which receive significantly lower proportions of social sector spending (GOG, 2000).

5. Demographic Profile

When Ghana gained independence in March 1957, its population was barely 6 million. The first post-independence population census conducted in 1960 recorded the number of people in the country at 6.7 million, giving an inter-censual growth rate of 4.2 per cent between 1948 and 1960 (Ghana, 1994). By 1970 the

population of Ghana had increased to 8.6 million, with an annual rate of increase of 2.4 per cent. The mid-year population of Ghana for 1999 was estimated at 18.3 million thus indicating a 300 per cent growth rate in the population between 1957 and 1999, or a doubling of the 1970 population in just 26 years.

With a substantial proportion of its population below fifteen years of age, Ghana's population is relatively young. The 1984 census showed that 45 per cent of the population was under the age of 15 with 51 per cent aged 15-64. The 1997 Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) Survey, showed a slight drop in the proportion of the population under 15 years to 42 per cent while those aged 65 and over increased to 5 per cent (GSS 1998).

Although fertility has been declining, current levels have been a source of worry for policy makers and planners, as the current rate at around 6 is considered to be rather high.

There is evidence to indicate that the death rate in Ghana has been steadily declining over the years, as a result of a combination of several factors such as improvements in public health, sanitation, medical facilities, increasing education, and modernization in general. The infant mortality rate (IMR), dropped from 133 per 1,000 in 1957 (MOH, 1996) to 77 per 1,000 in 1988 (GSS and IRD, 1989), and 66 per 1,000 in 1993 (GSS and MI, 1994). Life expectancy at birth has increased from about 45 years in 1960 to 57 years in 1988. However there still exist wide variations between regions, between urban and rural populations, and between different cultural and religious groups.

The pattern of morbidity has remained virtually unchanged over the years, and the general population seems to be afflicted largely with the same diseases, such as malaria, upper respiratory infections and waterborne diseases. An underlying cause of the persistence of these diseases is the widespread prevalence of poor nutrition, poverty, inadequate housing and the lack of access to potable water in many communities.

Ghana's population is predominantly rural. In 1960 only 23 per cent of the population live in urban areas, increasing to 29 per cent in 1970, 32 per cent in 1984, and 34 per cent currently. Thus 66 per cent of the country's population reside in rural communities and are mainly employed in primary production.

6. Legal and Educational Framework

The process of law reform on children in Ghana began in 1995. The Children's Bill was drafted through the revision of all existing laws relating to children and the provision of proposed amendments to ensure conformity of national legislation with the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). After weeks of discussions and deliberations, the bill was enacted into Act 560 (The Children's Act) in June 1998.

The Children's Act compiles almost all child-related laws, which hitherto were contained in separate legal documents. The Criminal Code Amendment Act, with revisions to sections relating to children, was also passed by Parliament. In the Criminal Code Amendment Act, the age of criminal responsibility was raised from seven to twelve years, and the establishment of the Child Panel was introduced to deal with cases regarding children in conflict with the law.

There is no longer conflict concerning the age of marriage between customary law and the principles and provisions of the CRC. There is, however, a gap with regard to the use of corporal punishments in schools. The Children's Act prohibits the use of mental and physical torture, or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment against children, but the practice of using corporal punishment in schools is a measure prescribed in the Head Teacher's handbook, albeit in a supervised environment.

One piece of corollary legislation remains to be discussed in Parliament. This is the Criminal Code Procedures Amendment Bill, which seeks to guide the country in the administration of juvenile justice. The Bill has been placed before Parliament for deliberation.

Excerpts from Ghanaian criminal code acts and laws

THE CHILDREN'S ACT AND THE CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT BILL

The United Nations adopted the CRC in November 1989. Ghana was the first country to ratify it, on February 1992. The 1992 constitution of Ghana in Article 28 enjoined Parliament to enact laws to ensure the survival, development and protection of children. Three Bills were presented to Parliament of which two were enacted; the Criminal Procedure Code Bill has yet to be passed. The Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) is "an Act to reform and consolidate the law relating to children, to provide for the rights of the child, maintenance and adoption, regulate child labour and apprenticeship, for ancillary matters concerning children generally and to provide for related matters". The Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 1998 is "an Act to amend the Criminal Code, 960 (Act 29) to increase the age of criminal and sexual responsibility; to include the specific offence of indecent assault; to revise provisions on sexual offences; to abolish customary or ritual servitude, to revise fines and values and to provide for connected purposes". These laws were based on a number of international conventions and guidelines: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child; the African Charter on the Right and Welfare of the Child; ILO Convention no. 138 on Child Labour; UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules); UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles deprived of their liberty.

THE CHILDREN'S ACT, 1998 (ACT 560) PART V, EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN. Sub-Part 1- CHILD LABOUR

87. *Prohibition of exploitative child labour*
1) No person shall engage a child in exploitative labour
2) Labour is exploitative of a child if it deprives the child of its health, education or development

88. *Prohibition of child labour at night*
(3) Hazardous work includes .....(a, b, c, d, e).....
(4) Work in places such as bars, hotels and places of entertainment where a person may be exposed to immoral behaviour.

(2.4) THE CHILDREN'S ACT, 1998 (ACT 560) Part I The Rights of The Child, Sub-Part II Care and Protection

18. *Meaning of care and protection*

(1) For the purposes of this Act, a child is in need of care and protection if the child…. (a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h);

- i) Frequents the company of any reputed thief or reputed prostitute;
- j) Is residing in a house or the part of a house used by any prostitute for the purpose of prostitution, or is otherwise living in circumstances calculated to cause, encourage, or favour the seduction or prostitution of or affect the morality of the child;
- 1) Is found acting in a manner from which it is reasonable to suspect that he is or has been, soliciting or importuning for immoral purposes;
- n) Is otherwise exposed to moral or physical danger.

(2) A child shall not be considered to come within the scope of paragraphs (i) and (j) of subsection (1) if the only reputed prostitute that the child associates with is his mother and if it is proved that she exercises proper guardianship and care to protect the child from corrupt influences.

(2.5) CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1998 (ACT 554)

106. *Householder permitting defilement of child on his premises.*

(1) The owner or occupier of any premises or a person acting or assisting in the management of premises who induces or knowingly permits any child of less than sixteen years of age to resort to or be in or on his premises to be carnally known or unnaturally known by any person commits an offence and shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term of not less than seven years and not more than twenty-five years.

(3) It shall be a defence to any charge under this section that the accused person had reasonable cause to believe that the child was of or above sixteen years of age.

(2.6) CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1998 (ACT 554)

107. *Procuration*

(1) Whoever

- a) Procures any person under twenty-one years of age, not being a prostitute or of known immoral character, to have carnal or an unnatural carnal connection in Ghana or elsewhere with any other person; or
- b) Procures any person to become a prostitute in Ghana or elsewhere; or
- c) Procures any person to leave Ghana with the intention that the person becomes an inmate of a brothel elsewhere; or
- d) Procures any person to leave his usual place of abode (not being a brothel) in Ghana with the intention that the person becomes an inmate of a brothel in Ghana or elsewhere for prostitution; or
- e) by threats or intimidation procures or attempts to procure any person to have any carnal or unnatural carnal connection in Ghana or elsewhere; or
- f) by false pretences or false representations procures any person not being a prostitute or of known immoral character to have any carnal or unnatural carnal connection in Ghana or elsewhere; or

g) applies, administers to, or causes to be taken by any person, any drug, matter or thing with intent to stupefy or overpower the person so as to enable any person to have a carnal or unnatural carnal connection with the person shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

(2) A person shall not be convicted of any offence under this section on the evidence of one witness, unless the witness is corroborated in some material particular by evidence implicating the accused person.

(2.7) CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1998 (ACT 554)

108. *Causing or encouraging* the seduction or prostitution of a child *under sixteen*

(1) Whoever having the custody, charge or care of a child under the age of sixteen years causes or encourages the seduction, carnal knowledge or unnatural carnal knowledge, prostitution or commission of indecent assault upon the child shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

(2) For the purpose of this section, a person shall be deemed to have caused or encouraged the seduction, carnal knowledge, prostitution or commission of indecent assault upon a person if he knowingly allowed the person to consort with, enter or continue in the employment of a prostitute or person of known immoral character.

(2.8) CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1998 (ACT 554)

111. *Power of search for child detained for immoral purpose*

(1) If it appears to a chairman of a Tribunal or a Judge that there is reasonable cause to suspect that a child is detained for immoral purposes by any person in a place within his jurisdiction, he may issue a warrant in accordance with subsection (3) of this section . . . .

(5) A child is detained for immoral purposes if he is detained to be carnally known or unnaturally carnally known by any particular person or generally and –

a) is under sixteen years of age; or

b) if of or above sixteen years and under twenty-one years of age, is detained against his will, or the will of his father, mother or any other person who has lawful care or change of him.

(2.9) CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1998 (ACT 554)

Allowing persons under *sixteen to brothels*

Section 273 of Act 29 amended with insertion of the following -

273 Whoever, having the custody, charge or care of a child under the age of sixteen years allows that child to reside in or frequent a brothel shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

6.1 Child Labour Policy

According to a 1997 World Bank study, children constitute approximately 12.6 per cent of Ghana's total labour force, with around 80 per cent of children in rural areas engaged in some form of labour. The Ministry of Employment and Social

Welfare estimates that there are approximately 18,000 working children in Accra alone, and 800,000 countrywide. 60 per cent of all working children are employed in the agricultural sector, while 34 per cent are involved in trading and other services. A large number of children work as domestic servants, porters, hawkers, miners, fishermen's mates (i.e. diving to set the nets) quarry workers, commercial sex workers etc, some of whom are as young as 7 years of age.

A 1996 ILO study indicated that more than 75 per cent of working children between the ages of 5 and 14 were involved in some sort of family enterprise. The increasing economic migration of children from the rural areas to the urban centres is currently compounding an already bad situation.

The basic minimum age for employment in Ghana is 15 years. Children over the age of 15 may work as apprentices, provided that craftsmen and employers ensure a safe and healthy work environment, training and tools. Children under 18 years are not allowed to perform certain types of hazardous labour and are prohibited from working at night.

The minimum age for employment and the compulsory school laws are inconsistent with each other, making it very difficult to apply the law with any credence. The Labour Decree of 1967 (Act 157) prohibits employment before the age of 15 years and allows younger children to perform light work. This in effect allows an overlap between the compulsory school age and the minimum age of employment.

6.2 International Conventions on Children

Legislation and regulation of child labour is an issue that has been prominent on the development agenda since the near universal ratification of the CRC in 1990. Since then, important progress has been made at the policy level, both at the national and regional levels, though many of the provisions of these international conventions have not been fully adhered to at the community level. Among the major relevant Conventions related to child labour rights, Ghana has ratified the following:

- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, ratified on 5th February 1990.
- ILO Convention No. 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, ratified on 13th June 2000.
- ILO Convention No. 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957, ratified on 15th December 1958.
- ILO Convention No. 59 on the Minimum Age (Industry), 1937, ratified on 30th May 1957.
- ILO Convention No. 29 on Forced Labour, 1932, ratified on 20th May 1957.

ILO Convention on the Rights of the Child

Ghana has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child of the 20th November 1991, and corollary clauses on Child Rights and Protection were included in Ghana's 1992 Constitution. The CRC guarantees the following rights of Children:

- The Right to survival,
- The Right to be protected against harmful influences,
- The Right to physical, moral and intellectual development, and
- The Right to participate actively in social and cultural life.

Following the ratification of the CRC, various African Governments developed the African Charter on the Rights and Responsibilities of the Child as a response to what they believed to be an apparent lack of consultation and participation in the decision-making processes. The participating Governments maintained the position that the issue of child rights must necessarily be viewed within the specific cultural and social context of the country in question, and that it should also take into consideration the responsibilities of children.

ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Ghana was one of the first nations to ratify Convention 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour adopted in 1999, and the then Minister of Employment and Social Welfare chaired the Conference. The Convention concerns itself with the prohibition and immediate plan of action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, which it defines as the following:

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

In determining the types of work referred to under Article 3(d) of the Convention, and in identifying where they may occur, the Government of Ghana has given special attention to the following:

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

In compliance with the provisions of the Convention, Ghana formulated a Programme of Action with all key stakeholders. Following the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Ghana Government and the ILO in March 2000, the National Programme to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour was launched. The Plan of Action worked towards the achievement of the following goals:

- Informing, sensitizing and mobilizing the general public, including national and local political leaders, parliamentarians and members of the Judiciary;
- Monitoring and giving publicity to legal and/or other provision on child labour in the various different ethnic languages and dialects;

- Taking into account the need to sensitize parents to the problem of children working in such conditions, and;
- Establishing a continuous data information-gathering system on the worst forms of child labour (criminal offences, and compulsory labour law violations) disaggregated by sex, age group, occupation, employment status, sector of economic activity, school attendance and geographical location.

In working towards these specified goals, it is hoped that the programme will achieve the following outcomes:

- Identifying and denouncing the worst forms of child labour;
- Preventing the engagement of children in abusive child labour, or removing them from an abusive child labour situation, protecting them from reprisals and providing for their rehabilitation and social reintegration through measures which address their educational, physical and psychological requirements;
- Giving special attention to the following categories: younger children, the girl child, the problem of hidden work situations in which girls in particular are at risk, and other groups of vulnerable children;
- Identifying and reaching out to these vulnerable groups, through informing public opinion and special interest groups, including children and their families.

Since the signing of the MOU, a National IPEC Programme Manager has been appointed, and the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare has inaugurated a National Steering Committee on 15th August, 2000. The Ghana Statistical Service also conducted a study under the auspices of the Statistical Information Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) for the ILO.

6.3 National Laws

The Government of Ghana has had a long and distinguished history in the support of issues of child abuse and child labour. On the national level there have been numerous policy initiatives to protect and promote the development and survival of its most precious resource, its children. These include:

Table 5: Framework of National Child Labour Laws and Initiatives in Ghana

Initiative	Year	Narrative
The Children's Act (Act 560)	1998	Contains various provisions on Child Labour and provides a framework to assist children engaged in abusive labour. It prescribes the basic rights of the child, judicial and quasi-judicial adjudication, parentage, custody, fosterage and adoption and institutional care.
Child Labour Unit	1999	Established as a dedicated Unit within the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare to better respond to the needs of children in difficult circumstances, including abusive labour situations.
Criminal Code Amendment Act (Act 554)	1998	Contains various provisions which make it unlawful for householders to induce or permit the defilement of a child on their premises, or for any person to procure a

Table 5: (cont.)

Initiative	Year	Narrative
		person under the age of 21 for carnal or immoral purposes, or for causing or encouraging the seduction or prostitution of a child under 16.
Bill to Ratify Convention No 138 on the Minimum Age for Work	2002	Currently before Parliament, this provision obliges ratifying countries to ensure that children are not employed full time, for remuneration or otherwise, until the end of compulsory primary school age between 12 and 14.
Labour Decree NLCD, Act 157	1967	This legislative instrument prohibits the employment of children below the age of 15 and prescribes sanctions for offenders
Criminal Procedure Code	1960	Gives various powers to the Police and the Courts to protect children in difficult circumstances (i.e. orphans, destitutes and the maltreated) by enrolling them in programmes that would help them to learn a trade.
The Court Act, Act 459	1993	This mandates the Courts to ensure the welfare of children of 18 and below as well as children who find themselves in difficult circumstances.
Women and Juvenile Unit of the Ghana Police Service	1998	The Ghana Criminal Code was amended to establish a unit of the Police Service to respond specifically to complaints of crimes against juveniles and women, especially those of a sexually abusive nature.

1992 Constitution of the 4th Republic of Ghana

The 1992 Constitution makes direct reference to measures that should be implemented to guarantee the rights of children in Ghana. Specifically in Chapter 5, section 28 states that Parliament shall enact such laws as are necessary to ensure that:

- Every child has the right to the same measure of special care, assistance and maintenance as is necessary for its development from its natural parents, except where those parents have effectively surrendered their rights and responsibilities in respect of the children in accordance with the law.
- Every child, whether or not born in wedlock, shall be entitled to reasonable provision out of the estate of its parents.
- Parents undertake their natural responsibility and obligation of care, maintenance and the upbringing of their children in co-operation with such institutions as Parliament may, by law, prescribe in such manner that in all cases the interests of the children are paramount.
- Children and young persons receive special protection against exposure to physical and moral hazards.
- The protection and advancement of the family as the unit of society are safeguarded in promotion of the interest of children. Every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his or her health, education or development.

- No child shall be deprived of medical treatment, education or any other social or economic benefit by any other person by reason of religious or other beliefs.

The Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560)

The Children's Act (Act 560) of 1998 contains provisions on child labour which are intended to provide a realistic framework for protecting children who are compelled to work, based on their specific needs. According to the provisions of the Law, the minimum age for formal and informal employment is 15 years, although children are permitted to engage in "light work" from the age of 13, provided that it does not harm their health or development, or school attendance and the capacity to benefit from schoolwork.

The Children's Act specifically prohibits the following types of work:

- Exploitative labour, which is defined as any form of work which deprives children of their health, education or development.
- Hazardous work, which refers to work that threatens the health, safety or morals of children; in particular activities such as going to sea, mining and quarrying, portering heavy loads and working in places that expose them to immoral behaviour (bars, hotels and other places of entertainment).
- Night work, which is carried out between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning.

The Criminal Code (Amendment Act), 1998 (Act 554)

Makes it unlawful for any person having the custody, charge or care of a child under the age of 16 to cause or encourage the seduction or prostitution of that child; it also confers powers of search on a premises if it appears to a Judge that there is reasonable cause to suspect that a child is being detained for an immoral purpose.

The Criminal Procedure Code, 1960

In 1998, the Government amended the 1960 Criminal Code to afford more comprehensive protection to women and children. It contains new definitions of sexual offences and has provisions for stronger sentences for offenders. For example, sentences for crimes such as rape have been doubled. There are also provisions against forced marriage and the recruitment of children into prostitution. The age of accountability for the commission of a crime has been raised from the age of 7 to the age of 12.

6.4 Educational Framework

Education in Ghana is compulsory until the ninth grade, and the government is actively working towards the goal of education for all by implementing the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education Programme (FCUBE). The programme is committed to providing universal basic education by the year 2005. The lack of physical access to schools and the all too often prohibitive cost are certainly contributory factors to the prevalence of child labour, as work clearly contributes to the decision not to attend school. Monitoring of school attendance is weak and parents are not held accountable for the non-attendance of their children.

At the national level, education is under the sector responsibility of the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ghana Education Service (GES). The MOE is responsible for policy and planning, while the GES is responsible for delivering the education services. In each of the ten administrative regions, there is an education directorate that is responsible for administration of the public school system. At the local level, there is usually a central school for every three villages, depending on the population size, though school coverage is less in the North and the interior of the country. The school system has been reformed since the days of colonial rule. Currently Ghana operates a 6-3-3-4 System, which comprises:

- Six years Primary Schooling (Grades P1-P6),
- Three years of Junior secondary schooling (JSS1-3),
- Three years of Senior secondary schooling (SSS1-3),
- Four Years of Tertiary Education (University or Vocational Education).

The official enrolment rate is 85%, though only about 60 per cent of children regularly attend school either because of truancy or dropout. Attendance is dependent on the seasonality and work schedules of the agrarian-based economy, including fishing, farming, livestock rearing and herding.

Girls appear to be at higher risk of dropping out of school, because parents often opt to continue the education of their sons rather than the daughters. They assume that girls will become homemakers, so families do not perceive a return on investment in educating them beyond the primary level. The dropout rate of girls peaks in the transition between Primary 6 (P6) and Junior Secondary School (JSS1).

Achieving a formal education is problematic for most poor families. In addition to the scarce resources of the family, the family unit does not perceive a net benefit from school attendance. In the short term, school disrupts work on the family farm, where up to 90 per cent of rural Ghanaian children work. In the long term, families do not believe that a school certificate will enable their children to find gainful employment, and they fear that an education may drive them away from the farm and jeopardize the family economy. In addition, domestic responsibilities often interfere with the ability of children to attend school, including the preparation of meals and taking care of younger siblings and the elderly.

Rural people believe that education is meaningless in the short and long term because most children will end up working on the farm regardless. Indeed education is seen as important only in equipping the children with the ability to count and read for the purposes of selling their family produce at the market. Such negative attitudes affect school attendance rates as much as the issue of affordability.

The socio-economic background of parents, their attitudes concerning education and the mothers' attainment in education therefore seem to contribute greatly in shaping the decisions about schooling. A household's immediate need for child labour may make it a high opportunity cost to send children to school.

Previous research has shown that the socio-economic background of parents is a key determinant in the decision-making process of whether or not to send a child, in particular a girl child, to school.

Parental attitudes to education also influence whether a child is educated or not. The low perception of the value of education is one of the reasons given for the relative underdevelopment of education in certain communities in Ghana, particularly rural communities. Many communities in the north of Ghana are relatively traditional and influenced greatly by religion. Religious education is believed to afford

young children, particularly girls, some level of protection form the social evils that are besetting this modern secular society.

Mothers' attainment in education is also seen as an important factor in the child's participation in schooling. The higher the educational attainment of the mother, the more likely she is to understand the importance and benefits of sending her children to school. In the three Northern regions where enrolment rates are lowest, more than 70 per cent of females of 6 years of age and above have received no education whatsoever compared to the national average of around 34 per cent.

Some cultural and traditional practices can also inhibit effective participation in schooling. Traditional practices such as early marriage particularly affect the enrolment of girls. Marriage is seen as a priority in many communities, with the result that girls of school-going age become wives and mothers at the expense of their education. Hard statistics on early marriage are generally scanty; however what is known is that children between the ages of 12 and 16 years in rural communities are mostly compelled to marry men who are invariably older than they are. These girls married to old men have almost no education, skills or experience to mention. They are therefore ill-equipped to participate in decisions that affect their welfare, as well as that of their children when they become mothers. Their children miss out on the positive impact of mothers' education on children.

Studies have shown that commercial sex among female children is often linked to the practice of early marriage. Girls attempting to run away to the cities to escape forced marriage end up on the streets and resort to prostitution, due to lack of skills. Furthermore, studies have revealed that young girls involved in prostitution often hide their identities as prostitutes due to the stigma attached to it. They therefore engage in other jobs, such as chop bar assistants, apprentices, seamstresses, head porters etc.

Other cultural and traditional practices that have negatively affected participation in schooling by young girls include the puberty rites practised by the Krobos (Dipo), Ashantis (Bragoro), Gas (Ofutu) and the Ewes (Gbetowowo) and Trokosi in the Volta Region. Furthermore, girls belonging to the "Fiasidi" shrine are denied access to formal education or vocational training, as these would convert the girls to Christianity. Some communities in Ketu South District participate in the "Yewe cult", which forbids girls to undergo formal education.

Teenage pregnancy is another major barrier to girls' retention in formal education. Studies undertaken by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) show that many girls in Ghana drop out of school when they become pregnant. Not only do the processes of pregnancy, delivery and child-care make the education of girl-child mothers very difficult, but also the attitudes and social factors of parents, teachers, the communities in which they live and society at large further complicate the issue. Discussions with street mothers at the UNICEF-supported Youth Participatory Planning Workshop (1999) revealed a common experience that, when found to be pregnant, they were not only unable to receive any counselling or advice from teachers or parents but, from fear of being reprimanded, resorted to running away from home on to the streets.

Education Statistics from Ghana

Table 6: Statistics on National Enrolment, Retention and Dropout among Recent Cohorts of Primary and JSS Pupils in Ghana*

	National	Boys	Girls
Primary School (1989/90-1994/95 Cohort)			
Children enrolled Primary 1 (1989/90)	363,694	192,426	171,268
Children reached Primary 6 (1994/95)	274,705	153,916	120,789
Children dropped out/repeated	88,989	35,510	50,479
Cohort reached Prim. 6 (per 1000)	755	800	705
Cohort dropped out/repeated (per 1000)	245	200	295
Junior Secondary School (1992/93-1994/5 Cohort)			
Pupils enrolled JSS 1 (1992/93)	233,618	133,370	101,248
Pupils reached JSS 3 (1994/95)	193.438	113,170	120,789
Pupils dropped out/repeated	41,180	20,299	20,881
Cohort reached JS S 3 (per 1000)	824	848	794
Cohort dropped out/repeated (per 1000)	176	152	206

*Source: Computed from MOE

Regional distribution of dropout rates, especially among girls, shows great disparities. At the primary school level, the three Northern Regions (Northern, Upper East and Upper West) and the Western region have relatively higher rates. At the JSS level, Eastern, Western and Brong Ahafo regions are above the rest. The disparities are greater in the districts. Districts like East Gonja (Northern Region), Bawku West (Upper East Region) and Wassa Amenfi (Western Region) have as many as seven out of a cohort of ten girls not reaching the top form of primary school.

Table 7: Statistics of dropouts in the study zones and districts, compared with national figures

Zone and District		Dropout per 1000			
		PRIMARY		JSS	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. Coastal	Jomoro	300	428	300	312
2. Forest	Adansi East	225	418	356	442
3. N. Savanna	Kintampo	449	449	205	343
National Figures		**200**	**295**	**152**	**206**
Total		**245**		**176**	

Comparison of Male and Female Attrition

The following table contains the results of a cohort study of pupils enrolled in P4, 1991/92 to 1993/94 academic years in 9 selected districts; Akwapim South, East Akyem, Dangme East, Ga, Jasikan, Kpando, Mfantsiman, Upper Denkyira and Nkoranza. Pupils were monitored until they completed JSS 3 or dropped out from school. The sample size was 3703 boys and 3755 girls.

Table 8: Results of a cohort study of pupils

Status of	1991/92-1996/97			1992/93-1997/98			1993/94-1998/99			Total		
Pupils Education	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Completed	987	873	1851	967	836	1803	937	756	1693	2882	2465	5347
Dropped Out	279	414	693	293	425	718	249	451	700	821	1290	2111
Total	**1257**	**1287**	**2544**	**1260**	**1261**	**2521**	**1186**	**1207**	**2393**	**3703**	**3755**	**7458**

Source: NSOWAH-NUAMAH / FAWE GHANA CHAPTER

7. Development Programmes and Agencies

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

IPEC (Ghana) has implemented numerous studies, discussion panels and community level projects to address the issue of child labour in Ghana. IPEC activities are implemented within the context of the "National Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour in Ghana", which was designed to help the Government of Ghana to come into compliance with the Provisions of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

UNICEF supports programmes that operationalize child rights in relation to protection, education and enrichment. Education programmes have been established for fishing communities in the Afram Plains region, and to help street children learn vocational skills. The families of potential migrants in the North are provided with micro credit to help them keep their children close to the family. In addition, a research study has been commissioned in order to study the legal dimensions of child rights in Ghana. UNICEF is also extensively involved in modifying existing education policies based on a child rights approach.

8. Ghanaian and international organizations

Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC)

The Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) was established in 1979 on the recommendation of the ad hoc committee that was set up to observe the International Year of the Child. The Decree, section 2 of AFRC Decree 66, mandates GNCC among others:

- To see to the general welfare and development of children and coordinate all essential services for children in the country which will promote the United Nations Rights of the Child.
- To make proposals to Government from time to time for the enactment or review of legislation in areas of children's rights, privileges and benefits in Ghana.
- To encourage and assist in regulating the establishment of crèches, day care centres and homes for disabled children.

When Ghana ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990, GNCC became the focal point for advocacy on all aspects of the CRC. The mission of the GNCC is to promote the survival, development and protection of the Child, in accordance with the ARFC Decree 66, the 1992 Constitution and the CRC.

GNCC's first major step as a follow up to the World Summit on Children (WSC) and the ratification of the CRC was to set up a multi-sectoral task force to prepare a National Programme of Action (NPA) in 1992. The document is the working tool for the implementation of the CRC and WSC. GNCC was also the focal point in preparing the Government of Ghana's report on the situation of children, which was submitted to the UN Committee on Child Rights in November 1995. The report was reviewed by the Committee in May 1997.

As an agency with a mandate to advocate on children's issues, it has worked to disseminate the CRC through seminars, workshops and the print and electronic media to the general public. It has also been instrumental in sensitizing government agencies, NGOs and officers from the Police and Prisons Service.

One other assigned role of the GNCC is to monitor the implementation of the CRC by producing a biennial report on the situation of children in Ghana. The first report was published in 1998. The Commission also has a Documentation Centre predominantly on issues affecting Ghanaian children.

In line with its mandate to review and make recommendations on legislation, GNCC is currently working on an Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) Policy. In order to ensure that the laws of Ghana conform with the CRC and other international conventions signed by Ghana, GNCC set up an advisory committee to review existing laws that affect children. As a result of the law reform, Parliament has passed the Criminal Code Amendment Act and the Children's Act. The Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill is expected to be laid before Parliament soon.

The Children's Act is clearly the most visible outcome so far of the CRC. The Act brings together laws on children previously scattered throughout the Statute Book. The language is simplified in order to make it user friendly, more accessible, facilitating enforcement and easier to promote. The overriding principle of the Act is "the best interest of the Child".

National Council On Women's Development (NCWD)

The National Council on Women's Development was established in 1975. The NCWD's Decree 322 mandates the Council, among others matters, to:

- advise the Government generally on all matters relating to the full integration of women in national development at all levels;
- serve as the official body for cooperating and liaising with national and international organizations on matters pertaining to the status of women;
- examine and evaluate the contribution of women in the economic, social and cultural fields, and to advise Government as to the specific areas where participation by women may be strengthened or initiated;
- study the effects of customary beliefs, prejudices and practices on advancement of women in the education, political and economic fields, and to report to Government from time to time.

In 1986, Ghana ratified the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The ratification of CEDAW followed the lines of legislative reforms that the Government has initiated since 1985. These include the Interstate Succession Law of 1985, PNDCL 90, which outlaws widowhood rites, the Administration of Estates (Amendment) Law as well as Act 484 which prohibits female genital mutilation (FGM).

With the support and collaboration of UNFPA and other development partners, NCWD has been undertaking programmes to end negative cultural practices against women, as well as promoting and enhancing women's economic, social and political empowerment.

The NCWD is working both on the national level and on the regional level. They are targeting the following five policy areas, each supported by a committee:

- The Education Committee
- The Home and Family Committee
- The Women in Society Committee
- The Women in Employment Committee
- The Legal Committee
- The Project Committee.

UNFPA, UNDP and UNIFEM have developed a joint programme to promote gender equality through strengthening and enhancing the activities of NCWD and women's NGOs and CBOs. The programme, which will run from 2000–2002, will focus on: promoting and protecting the human rights and reproductive health of women and the girl child: strengthening the capacity of NCWD especially and other gender-related institutions to promote gender equality; enhancing women's participation in political decision-making and governance at all level; and supporting women's economic opportunities and productivity.

Ghana Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs

The Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs was established in 2001 by bringing the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) and the National Commission for Women and Development (NCWD) under a single sector ministry. The

Ministry continues the work of the GNCC to protect the rights of the child through conducting social surveys and providing training programmes for law enforcement and judicial institutions, so that they can better develop a more coordinated response to child rights issues.

Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ)

The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) has a mandate under Act 456 (The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice Act 1993) to promote and protect fundamental human rights in Ghana. The Commission's activities on the rights of children are carried out under four main drives, namely Public Education, Complaints and Dispute Resolution, Counseling and Supervision.

Education: Public education campaigns are undertaken to sensitize various stakeholder groups about the rights of children, in the form of workshops, seminars, public lectures and durbars. There have been lectures on children's rights to target groups such as Secondary Schools and Tertiary Institutions. Recently, the Commission educated school children on their rights through a talent competition on human rights norms. Furthermore, there has been promotion for the setting up of human rights clubs in educational institutions.

Complaint and Dispute Resolution: The Commission handles a wide range of complaints involving children's rights. These complaints include: maintenance, neglect, abuse, abandonment, labour, paternity, forced marriage, custody, intestate benefits, refusal of medical treatment on religious grounds, and inhuman and degrading treatment of children.

Counseling: In the majority of cases, the Commission has had to offer counseling to the parties involved through the staff of the Commission or by referral to other agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare, FIDA (Federation of International Women Lawyers) and WAJU (The Women and Juvenile Unit of the Police).

National Child Labour Steering Committee (NCLSC)

The NCLSC is responsible for implementing and coordinating IPEC activities and works in close cooperation with donors and government agencies to develop project and programmes that benefit working children. The Committee is made up of representatives from the Government, IPEC, The Ghana Employers Association, The Trades Union Congress, the media, international organizations and NGOs.

Save The Children U.K.

Save The Children U.K. implements programmes in reproductive health, child protection, and community work, and is the co-coordinating organization for the Ghana National Coalition on the Rights of the Child (GNCRC), a local NGO which acts as an umbrella organization for several NGOs operating in the area of child rights.

Children in Need Ghana (CING)

Children in Need assists street children and those engaged in various forms of child labour. It works to improve the living conditions and self-esteem of street children by training them and giving them the opportunity to interact with their peers. The organization runs a foster home in Accra, which also serves as a Training Centre, office and research centre.

Street Girls Aid (SAID)

This is a local NGO which works primarily with and cares for girls who live on the streets. It was started in 1993/4 by RESPONSE (a local umbrella NGO aimed at protecting street children). It operates a centre for street girls who become pregnant, by offering them medical care and advising them on how to take care of themselves and their babies. SAID has also established training centres for dressmaking, hairdressing, cookery and batik/tie & dye. Girls who wish to be united with their families are also assisted.

Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS)

CAS was officially inaugurated in 1993. Its mission is to improve the lives of street children and to protect their rights. It runs a Refuge Centre in Accra. The children use it as a home where they go to relax, play games, wash their clothes, take a bath and also keep some valuables.

In collaboration with the Salvation Army, CAS operates a clinic which provides free medical care to all registered street children in Accra. The children are taught literacy and music. There are also weekly classes on health issues. In addition CAS organizes demonstration classes in textile, weaving, woodcarving, ceramics and other trades. It offers sponsorship to street children who wish to acquire a trade or a vocation or further their formal education. It provides their basic needs including food, school fees, vocational training or apprenticeship fees, and foster parents for a period of three years.

Ghana Danish Community Programme (GDCP)

This programme is being implemented in the Northern and Upper East regions of the country with funding from DANIDA. The GDCP is carrying out a wide range of programmes to reduce poverty and to stimulate community development. The GDCP has launched a pilot vocational training programme for girls who spent some time in the south of the country and have returned to their villages. These girls underwent a four-week vocational training after which they were given a certain amount of money as business start-up capital.

Action Aid Ghana

Action Aid Ghana, with donor funding, runs a home for street children in Tamale, the Northern regional capital. “Tizza” or “Our Home” is providing, among

others, recreational activities, vocational training, formal and non-formal education, health services, loans to parents and skills training to parents and guardians.

World Vision International (WVI)

WVI has a plan to concentrate its activities in the Ahanta West District of the Western Region for the next 13 years. It is aimed at curbing rural-urban migration. They believe the main reasons for youth drifting to the cities are basically poverty and broken homes.

WVI has identified over 100 adolescents in 23 communities for vocational training for a period of one and a half to three years. Three vocational centres will be built in the district to provide training to adolescents of fifteen to twenty-five years of age. The training will be carried out by the Integrated Community Centres for Employable Skills (ICCES). The scheme is being implemented jointly with the District Assembly. WVI is also providing a special package to encourage girls to remain in school while organizing campaigns to keep children in school blocks and structures.

SECTION B

Child labour in domestic work in Ghana: results of a rapid assessment[174]

1. Introduction: girl child domestic workers

This report highlights the results of a rapid assessment of the girl child in domestic labour in specific regions of the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions of Ghana, where numerous child domestic workers (CDWs) are found. The IPEC-ILO Rapid Assessment (RA) questionnaire was adapted in order to obtain relevant information on the girl child in domestic labour in these two regions. Both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were employed. The quantitative approach consisted of sampling 350 respondents from different regions and analysing their responses. The qualitative research approach involved fifteen one-to-one in-depth interviews. Official studies show that in general more boys work than girls. On average the rate is documented as close to three boys in relation to two girls that work. However, statistical surveys often do not take into account the unpaid work carried out by girls in and around the households of their parents or guardians, including household enterprises.

Traditionally, domestic or house work has always been part of childhood training in most homes in Ghana. As part of their upbringing, children, especially daughters, perform these tedious and regular tasks around and in the house. These activities included washing dishes, fetching water, taking care of livestock, looking after younger siblings as well all the other activities that make the household function on a day-to-day basis. Learning and performing these activities effectively is seen as a vital preparation for the child's future adulthood, marriage and parental life. In the past in Ghana, it was not unusual for parents to send their children to live in another household as part of his/her upbringing. According to the government's statistical service, rural families of eight or nine members earn an average of only $100 per year, compared to an urban household's annual income of $360. (The Spectator, March 28, 2002). Unpredictable harvests and low agriculture prices, combined with large families, make rural living difficult. Thus children and girls in particular are drawn from all of the rural areas of the country to work in domestic labour. Most of them are sent away with the consent of their parents and relatives who are unable to provide for their needs or take them through school. In most cases, they were considered to be better off materially and it would help the youngster to make a good start in life.

[174] by Research International Ltd, Accra Ghana, July 2002.

However, in recent times, traditional child help in others homes is becoming more and more commercialized. It is no longer a family arrangement to suit the child's interests but rather a financial transaction in which the traded commodity is the child's labour. The result is that many children and young people are currently working in households not related to their own.

Because of full-time housework, girls work longer hours per day than boys, and it is one reason why girls receive less schooling in Ghana. Unmistakably, one of the key issues distinguishing domestic work from other types of child labour is the 24-hour working day. Most CDWs stay with the employers, and the child tends to be on-call day and night, seven days a week. Apart from the tasks assigned to her during the day, there are numerous errands that she has to do when off duty. For example, she may be woken up during the night to look after a sick child. Most CDWs, especially those in urban homes, hardly get enough sleep after working all day without any rest (The Dispatch, 17–23 September, 2001). If housekeeping activities were added to child labour estimates, there would probably be little or no difference between the sexes in the total size of working children.

Child domestic workers generally receive no income although they sometimes receive a very small stipend. Their parents or relatives may receive irregular contributions. The host family normally sponsors the child to learn a trade in exchange for their services. Domestic work has now become one of the most common forms of child employment. When this kind of traditional childhood training becomes a job, the child's developmental process becomes adversely affected.

1.1 Profile of the surveyed areas

Children involved in this study were drawn from the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions of the country because these areas are the most populated ones and have many children working as domestic child workers.

2. General methodology

Sampling

A total of 350 of children, parents, guardians and employers were questioned in the Ashanti region and greater Accra region of Ghana, 250 of whom were children. All 250 child domestic workers that were questioned were female, so it is impossible to compare their experiences with their male counterparts.

Table 9: Sampling of Domestic Labour, Parent/Guardian and Employer

Location	Domestic Labour	Parent/Guardian/ Employer
	Female	Female/Male
Ashanti	100	50
Greater Accra	150	50
Total	**250**	**100**

In order to understand the situation of child domestic labourers better and to confirm some of the claims made by them, parents who have their girl children working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work were interviewed.

Study methodology and data collection methods

The ILO/IPEC Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology was adapted to suit the local Ghanaian situation. Quantitative data were employed to provide statistical data on the causes, nature and extent of domestic child labour while a more qualitative approach was used to identify the "hows" and "whys" of different issues that could not be quantified.

Two main data collection methods were employed in the two locations. These were structured interviews and one-to-one in-depth interviews. The one-on-one in-depth interviews were used to gather the information from the children. Interviews were mostly conducted in the urban centres of the two research locations.

Parents who have their girl children working in their own household as well as those whose children are involved in domestic work elsewhere were interviewed in order to compare and validate what the girl children stated. In total, 100 parents who have their girl child working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work were interviewed, 50 in Ashanti and 50 in the Greater Accra region. The households visited were generally large. There were between five and ten members, with females making up the majority of household member. In most cases there were more children under 18 years than adults.

3. Survey findings

3.1 Profile and background of the CDW respondents

Serwaa a typical CDW, is a 13-year-old in junior secondary school in one of the public schools in Accra. She was brought to Accra from a remote village in Brong-Afaho region by her aunt who sent her to a female banker as a house-help.

The children interviewed were between 13 and 18 years old, although in some cases there were older females above the age 18 still involved in domestic labour.

Most of the girls involved in domestic child labour are usually members of large families with four to eight children. Parents with large numbers of children find it difficult to provide food, clothes and education for all their offspring. Sending one of these children off to live with other people reduces the burden on them.

Place of residence

All the children interviewed resided in the homes of their guardians or employers. Most of them were previously living with their parents and close relatives, and a

few with other employers in different locations. Many of these girl domestic workers were previously living either in the rural areas of the country or in densely populated/underdeveloped areas in the urban centres.

Migration of children

Several reasons were given by respondents for migrating from their former place of residence to their present one. About a third (30%) of the children interviewed left to work for money. This was particularly the case for those girls originally from the Ashanti region - 35 per cent in comparison to 24 per cent from the Greater Accra region. Many girl CDWs from the Greater Accra region had moved to learn a trade or attend school.

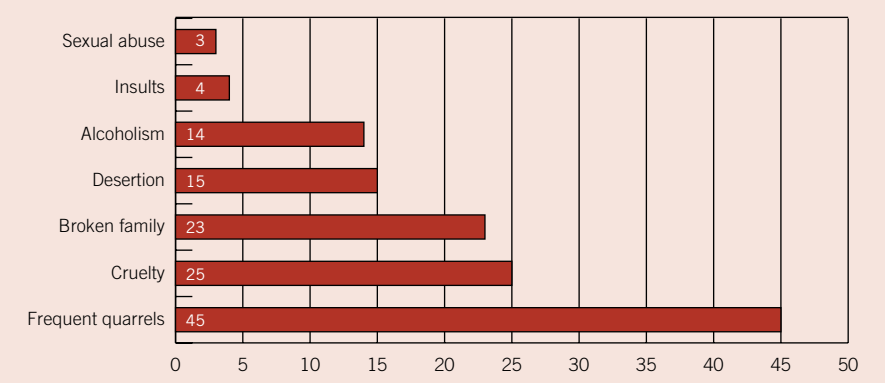
Table 10: Reasons for CDWs migrating

Reason	% in Ashanti	% in Gt. Accra	Total %
Work for money	38	24	**30**
Learn a trade	14	23	**18**
Death of parent	18	8	**13**
Help care for family	9	11	**10**
Many siblings at home	11	7	**9**
To attend school	2	14	**9**
Separation of parents	8	6	**7**
Save money for school	1	1	**1**

Unpleasant experiences at home

To find out why children moved from their previous place of abode to their current ones, they were asked if they had had bitter experiences with parents/ guardians. A little above half (51%) answered in the affirmative, citing various experiences as presented below.

Table 11: Bitter experiences with parents / guardians



Considering the fact that most of these CDWs come from large families with limited income, frequent quarrels occur between parents/guardians of these children. Nearly half of the respondents experienced quarrels (45%). A quarter of respondents have experienced some form of cruelty from parents/guardians. Almost a quarter of respondents come from broken families (23%). Less frequent bitter experiences were given as desertion (15%), experiences of alcoholism in previous abode (14%), being subjected to insults, listed by 4 per cent of respondents, and 3 per cent of respondents had experienced sexual abuse.

Number of persons in the current household of CDWs

The in-depth interviews indicated that CDWs at the time of the research mainly lived with their employers, who were mostly women, their husbands and children, but in other instances with other house-helps and relatives of the employer or the husband (mother, siblings etc.). The number of persons in the household of the CDW's current residence was lower than their previous household size.

Table 12: Number of persons per household

No. Persons	Ashanti	Gt. Accra	Total
6	17	33	50
5	17	31	48
4	18	21	39
7	14	17	31
8	10	9	19
3	10	8	18
9	7	8	15
2	2	2	4

The households varied in size from between three to nine members, with half of the households holding five or six people. The minimum household size was two people.

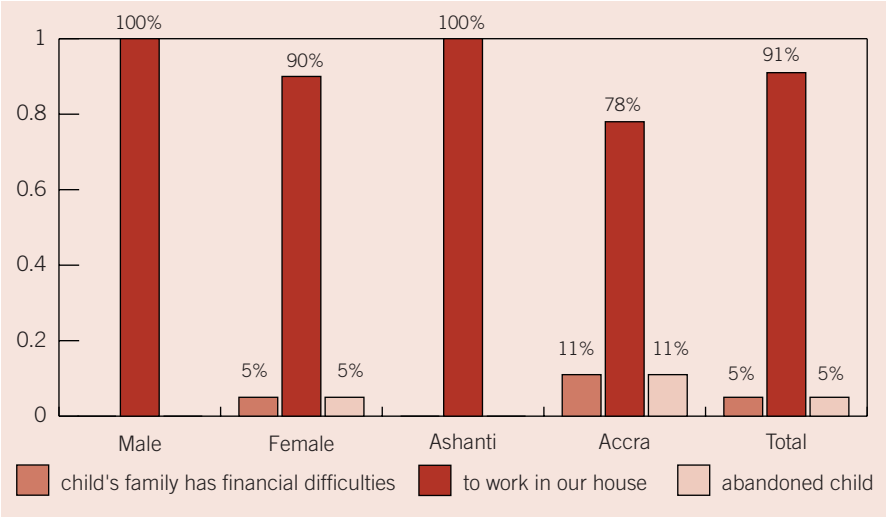
Details of households

The parents interviewed who have their girl child working in their own household, as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work, have on the average two children under 18 years living elsewhere. It is however interesting to note that most of these children are not out working but are enrolled in school. Enrolling in school was particularly true for sons and for those children from the Ashanti region. In spite of this, the non–relatives who stay in their households are there mainly to work. Table 4 below shows the extent of domestic labour. All the male non-relatives in these households are working for money. A few of these children work to contribute to the family income.

Child's perception of employer's socio-economic status

In order to ascertain the socio-economic status of the employers, questions on facilities owned and financial position of employers were explored.

Table 13: Reasons why non-relatives live in same household



Accommodation

Most parents give permission for their girls to be involved in domestic labour so that they can be relieved from the provision of shelter and food. The results of the study indicated that the majority (81%) of the CDWs live with their employers. This is an advantage to the employer because he/she gets 24-hour-service from the domestic help.

Four out of every five CDWs claimed they were provided with a bed of their own in their employers' house. For those 20 per cent that do not have a bed to sleep in, 21 per cent claimed they sleep in the sitting room/hall and 19 per cent sleep in the storeroom or kitchen.

The in-depth interviews showed that on the average there are three rooms (two bedrooms and a sitting room) in the houses where these girls stay. The employer and husband as well as the younger children usually occupy one room. Other relatives or children sleep in the other room, so the domestic help ends up sleeping in

Table 14: Sleeping place if not on bed

Sleeping Place	%
In the hall	21
Storeroom	19
Kitchen	19
Sleep on a mat	14
On a mattress with others	10
On the floor	7
Single mattress on the floor	5
Corridor	5

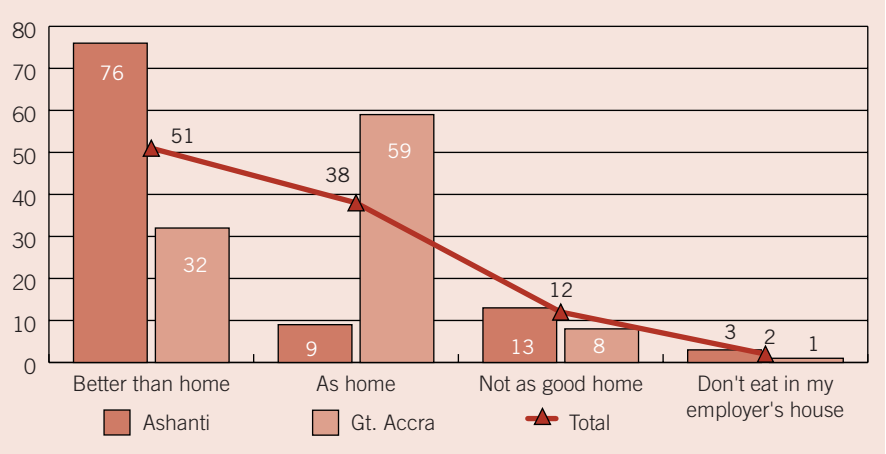
the sitting room, kitchen or storeroom. In most cases the rooms are shared with between 2 and 4 people.

The parents of the girl children working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work agreed that most of the child domestic workers share a room with the children of their employers, and that about 90 per cent of them sleep on their own bed.

Eating arrangements and quality of food

The girls' views on the quality and quantity of the food prepared in the house were sought.

Table 15: Quality of food



About half (51%) of the domestic helps rated the quality of the food they enjoy in their employer's house as better than in their own homes; this was particularly true for those in the Ashanti region (76%) in comparison to the Greater Accra region (32%). For 38 per cent of the girls, the meals provided by their employers are not different from what they were used to eat at home. On the other hand, a tenth (10%) rated the meals they used to get at home as better than what they receive now.

The study further explored the number of meals per day and the quantity of food provided. Though meals are usually prepared once a day (supper), respondents claimed they ate three times a day, having breakfast and lunch outside of the house. Many of them also mentioned that they got enough to eat, and in some cases got more than they needed.

> *"We cook every day but it is mostly in the evenings. We buy prepared food from outside because of the work for mornings and afternoon" (girl in the Ashanti Region).*
>
> *"We get enough to eat and even surplus" (girl, Greater Accra Region).*

In a few cases, the meals given to the children of the employer are different from what is given to the other domestic workers. They are usually given poorer quality (64%), surplus/remaining food (20%) and at times less food (11%).

Primary caregiver of CDW

The in-depth interviews revealed that the guardians (normally the lady in the house where they are working) or the husbands of the guardians are the main financial caretakers of the homes where the surveyed girl CDWs reside. However, in a few cases other members of the household including children under 18 years contribute to the upkeep of the household.

The main reason given for biological parents not being primary care givers and the guardians and husbands being their primary caregiver was that these children were not staying and working with their biological parents (74%). Other reasons given were that their biological parents are dead (11%) or their biological parents do not work (3%) or are poor (3%).

3.2 Educational profile

Opportunity to attend school

As outlined in the background, education in Ghana is compulsory until the ninth grade. However, physical access to schools and the cost contribute to child labour. About 63 per cent of the girls interviewed have been to school. More girls have been to school in Ashanti (68%) than in the Greater Accra region (59%). For those who have never been to school, it was either because their parents could not afford the cost of school (44%) or they were not interested in schooling (32%). Mothers are reported in other studies to prefer to educate sons to ensure future security[175]. As one girl from the Greater Accra Region stated *"It was because of poverty, my parents do not have money".*

Table 16: Ever been to school?

Have you ever been to school?	Yes	No
Ashanti	68%	32%
Gt Accra	59%	41%
Total	**63%**	**37%**

In spite of the fact that six out of ten of the CDWs have been to school, only 15 per cent completed the junior secondary school level, and 80 per cent the primary level. More than half (53%) of them dropped out and 32 per cent were still in school.

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

Reasons for dropping out of school

For those who dropped out of school various reasons were given. The key reason given was that parents were unable to afford the cost of education (59%). Stopping school to work for money was given as a reason by 17 per cent of the CDWs. Both these reasons are related to poverty. Nonetheless 15 per cent stated that they were not interested in school. About 4 per cent said they dropped out to learn a trade and 4 per cent said they were needed to help in the household.

It was also revealed that some of the girls were asked at school to repeat a class and consequently decided not to go back because other pupils would ridicule them. For example, a girl in the Ashanti Region said that "we were going to have an exam and I travelled with my dad; when I arrived they had finished the exam, so I decided that I would not go to school again because I have to repeat and I was tall".

Even where the girl is allowed to attend school, the impact of working can lead to a decline in enthusiasm for schooling. Using data gathered in Ghana, a study[176] on the effect of child labour on learning achievement found that the day-to-day impact of child labour on those in school leaves children too tired to learn, and child labour robs children of their interest in learning. Children who are already contributing economically to their family income may be less interested in academic achievement, resulting in lack of motivation that affects both their learning and their future prospects.

A further study[177] found that girls' achievement in school in comparison to boys was affected by poor teachers' perception of them, sexual harassment and overburdening of household chores, emotional instability and parents' inability to provide school materials.

Table 17: Reasons for dropping out of school

Reasons for dropping out of school	% of responses
Cannot afford school	59%
To work for wages	17%
Not interested in school	15%
To learn a trade	4%
To help in household	4%

Those who dropped out of school were not the only ones in their families. They reported that other siblings also dropped out of school. Nevertheless, the girls were of the opinion that boys are given greater opportunities to get an education than girls. They explained that girls are viewed as homemakers who do not need high levels of education. About half (51%) however of those who dropped out of school showed interest in going back to school if they were to get the needed assistance. They thought of education as the key to knowledge and success.

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

[177] Boakye, J.K.A. Synthesis of Research on Girls' Education in Ghana, October 1997, Ministry of Education, Ghana, GINS' Education Unit / Department for International Development.

> *"If I get someone to finance my education I would definitely attend school (girl in Greater Accra Region)*
>
> *"At first I did not know that going to school was important but I now know with education one becomes more aware of happenings in the world" (girl in Ashanti Region)*

Regularity of attendance for those currently attending school

The majority of the few girl domestic workers who were currently in school, claimed that they went to school every day (83%). Around 8 per cent went to school depending on the season, while 5 per cent attended four times a week.

School attendance according to parents of CDWs

The information from parents who had their girl child working in their own household, as well as parents whose children were externally involved in domestic work, revealed that a few of the domestic workers received education at the same time as being workers. They also admitted that some have never been to school and many of them dropped out of school.

Several reasons were given by the parents for children leaving school. Key among them is parents/guardians not being able to afford the costs of providing their children with an education (26%) and children not being interested in school (19%).

In general it has been reported that girls from families with a large number of children tend to experience greater inequality between siblings by sex and birth order. High fertility in Ghana negatively affects the education of girls. Also, girls with many younger siblings are less likely to enrol in school than boys, and girls are more likely to drop out of school to care for young siblings.[178]

The death of parent, reported by 19 per cent, was related to being unable to afford school, and probably having to mind younger members of the family.

Table 18: Reasons for leaving school according to parents

Reason	%
Cannot afford school	26%
Not interested in school	19%
Parents' death	19%
Failed at school and discontinued	17%
To help in household	6%
To work for wages	4%
To work in own business for income	4%
To learn a trade	4%
Family does not allow schooling	2%

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

Of the children that went to school, about 73 per cent went five times a week and 24 per cent went every day, with 1 per cent going three times a week. The remaining 3 per cent did not go regularly because they were dismissed for non-payment of school fees. Children sometimes get sent home from school for non-payment of fees, but if the money is available they can return the next day.

Table 19: Regularity of school attendance according to parents

Attending school	% of responses
five time per week	73%
every day	24%
four times a week	2%
three times per week	1%

3.3 Reasons for becoming CDWs

As mentioned previously, many CDWs came from rural communities. Unpredictable harvests and low agriculture prices, combined with large families, make rural living difficult. Rural families simply do not earn enough for everyone. Urban families earn at least three times more.

Children work primarily for economic reasons. Since very poor parents were relieved that their child will be housed and fed, in most cases they asked their children to stay with people who were not even relatives (30%). Nearly a quarter of the surveyed children also worked to supplement the low family income (24%). More parents from Kumasi (41%) asked their children to get involved in domestic labour in comparison to those from Accra (22%), while many more children in Accra worked mainly to supplement the family income (28%) compared to their counterparts in Kumasi (17%).

Other reasons why children got involved in domestic work were to earn money to establish their own business (13%). CDWs from Ashanti (17%) were slightly more interested than their counterparts in the Greater Accra region (10%) in starting their own business. Many girls wished to become economically independent (9%), and 6 per cent wished to pay school fees or to earn money to learn a trade (6%). A few respondents also stated that they had no other job possibilities or that they wished to leave their family's house.

Influences to start work

The mothers of the girls were the primary influence in encouraging the girls to become domestic workers, 43 per cent of girls said their mother encouraged them and 11 per cent reported a female guardian influenced them to start work. Only 4 per cent said their fathers encouraged them to begin work as a CDW, 14 per cent said other relatives influenced them, and 9 per cent said their parents (not specified by sex) influenced them to start work. Other influences include traffickers (6%) and friends (5%). A low percentage (7%) said they decided themselves to begin work.

Table 20: Reasons for becoming domestic workers

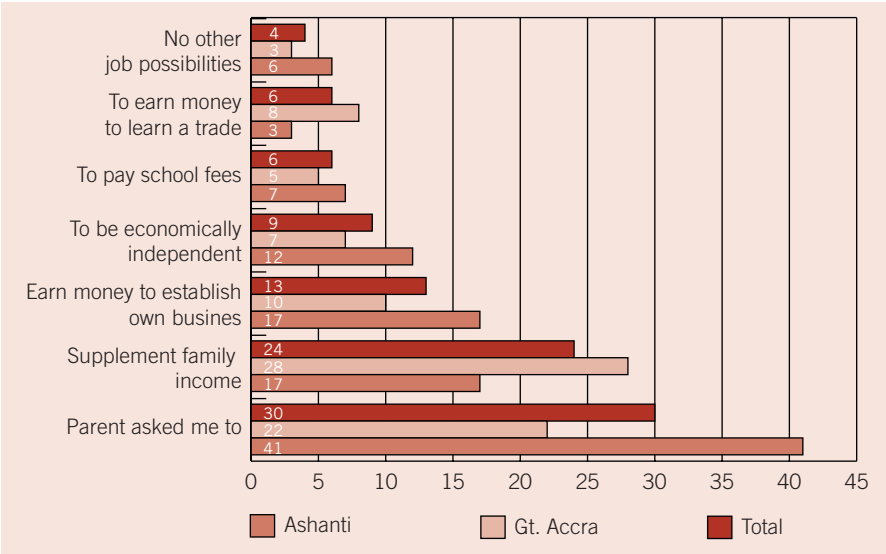


Table 21: Who encouraged you to start work as a CDW?

Who encouraged you?	% of replies
Mother	43%
Other relatives	14%
Female guardian	11%
Parents	9%
Myself	7%
Trafficker	6%
Friend	5%
Father	4%
Total	**100%**

In households in which adult family members are unemployed, under-employed or paid less than the subsistence wage, women tend to carry a greater burden than men because they are responsible for providing food for the household. In fact data from the World Bank[179] on the link between poverty and child labour in Ghana show evidence of a gender gap in child labour linked to poverty. It is therefore not surprising when mothers (43%) and female guardians (11%) are the main persons influencing children to get involved in domestic labour.

[179] Blunch, N.-H.; Verner, D. *Revisiting the link between poverty and child labour: The Ghanaian experience.* World Bank, Washington, D.C., 21 p., 2000, (Available on the World Bank Web site http://www.worldbank.org/)

In a few cases, girls left home without the knowledge of their parents or guardian, believing that permission would not be granted when they informed them.

> *"I left without informing my parents but my brothers wrote later to tell them that I had arrived in Accra. My father would not have allowed me to go, he would have said that I should go and learn a trade" (girl from the Greater Accra Region)*

Other research surveying five regions in Ghana found that the main reasons cited for leaving home were poverty in the rural economy, the negative experience of rural life in farming, as well as lack of employment opportunities, death of a parent, neglect, divorce, violence within the home and sexual abuse. Other factors included traditions which influence family size towards large families, while gender disparities in access to education in favour of boys lead more girls from the North to migrate to the Southern towns[180].

Parents/employers explanation for CDW

Among the reasons parents gave for their children being involved in child labour were that they could not take care of their children or their primary caregivers were either dead or divorced.

> *"Their daddy is a fisherman and has a lot of children, about 12, and they have not been going to school so their grandmother decided to bring some of them to Accra to give them to people to stay with."*
> *(Household member in the Greater Accra region)*

> *"She was with her parents but they divorced and she went to live with her dad and step-mum but they did not take her to school – then she went to her mum and then was sent to go and live with someone; the one she went to live with maltreated her so she came back to her mother and then she came to me."*
> *(Parent in Ashanti household)*

Age girls start work

On average, most of the girl child domestics started working at the age of eleven years. The minimum age was three years and the maximum was sixteen years.

[180] Catholic Action for Street Children, UNICEF. *The exodus, the growing migration of children from Ghana's rural areas to the urban centres*, March 1999.

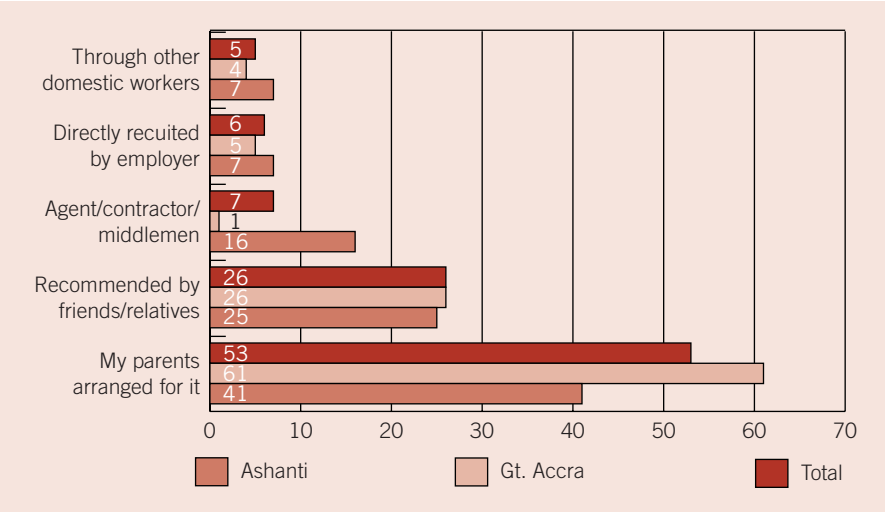
Table 22: Age at which started this job?

	Ashanti	Gt. Accra	Total
Mean	12	11	11
Minimum	3	5	3
Maximum	16	16	16

How girls are recruited

There was no system or organization for recruitment of girl domestics in Ghana reported in the research. In over half the cases, parents, particularly mothers, arranged with the employers for their daughters to stay with them. Many of the girls who came to stay in the Greater Accra region were recruited by this means (61%) as compared to those in the Ashanti region (41%). Other means by which these children were recruited were through recommendation by friends or relatives (26%) and agents (7%), with the percentage of recruitment by agents highest in Kumasi (16%).

Table 23: How girl CDW is recruited



How CDWs are recruited according to parents /employers

Parents claimed that a biological relative (parent/guardian) prompted most of the CDWs to begin working (38%). The relative would prompt this situation most likely due to financial problems of the parents. About 28 per cent claimed that CDWs decided to work without any prompting because they realized they had to fend for themselves, and other relatives prompted another 22 per cent. Friends, employers, traffickers and husbands prompted the remaining 10 per cent. Females constituted the majority of these groups.

Interviews indicated that those working outside their family households got recruited in various ways. Some were recruited directly by employers, agents, individuals and through other domestic workers or parents' friends and relatives. For instance 45 per cent were recommended by their friends and relatives, 30 per cent got jobs through other domestic workers or were recruited directly by their employers. Some had to look for work themselves because they had either completed school or had not had any formal education and had to make a living by themselves.

Terms of employment

Overall, the results of the RA revealed that there were really no terms of agreement before girls were taken on to work. They were either brought to the new household to be sent to school or made to learn a vocation. Only a few employers paid cash to the girl child workers.

Thus in most cases, there are no written contracts between employers and CDWs. CDWs are therefore put at the employer's mercy. They may not even be informed verbally about any terms on which they are employed. This leaves them heavily dependent on the goodwill and honesty of their employers to keep up their promises with regards to payment, schooling, working conditions and pleasant treatment.

Apart from the duties the girl domestic is supposed to perform in the household (the most important thing to the employer), most of the employers did not clearly define to the CDW issues concerning:

- time for attending school,
- additional benefits and facilities,
- working /resting hours,
- remuneration.

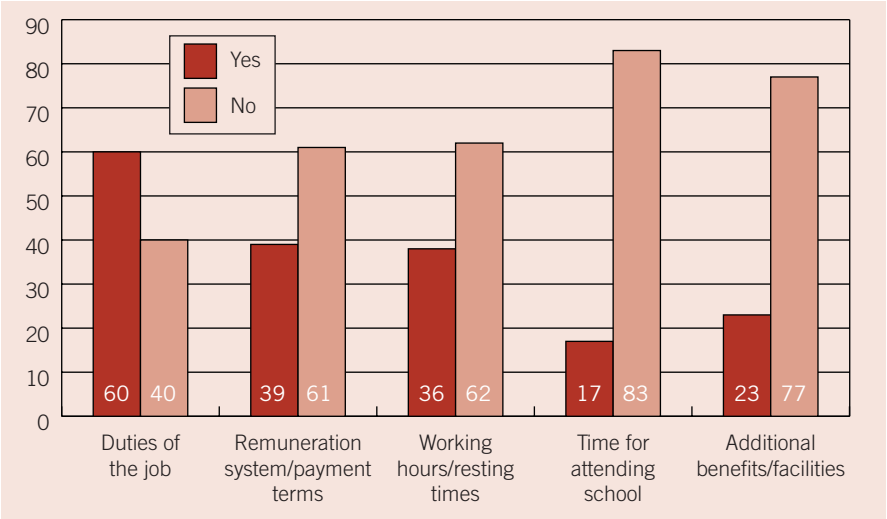
The in-depth interviews also revealed that most of the respondents were not given any clear terms of employment. They usually came to stay with employers for many years; payment was made on their behalf to learn a vocation or they are paid off when it is time for them to leave for various reasons.

"There is no arrangement; she has taken me as her younger daughter so she buys everything for me" *(girl in the Greater Accra Region)*

"There was no arrangement only that my sister said I would be well treated. She buys clothes for me and gives me money at times"
(girl in the Ashanti Region)

"She said if I behave well, she would let me learn a vocation – hairdressing" *(girl in the Ashanti Region)*

Table 24: Whether terms of employment were specified



About 88 per cent of household members involved in domestic labour were aware of the duties of the job they were doing and 71 per cent were aware of the mode of payment for the job they did. Sixty per cent knew about the times they were supposed to work and take a break. 45 per cent knew of the additional benefits and facilities they could enjoy. Only 24 per cent had the chance and time to attend school after doing their work.

Table 25: Results of the qualitative study in terms of explanation of terms and conditions of work

Conditions of work	% that had an explanation
Duties of the job	88%
Remuneration system	71%
Working hours/resting time	60%
Time for attending school	24%
Additional benefits/facilities	45%

Examples of reasons for girls being taken into their houses are outlined by two respondents in the Greater Accra region stated:

"No there was no agreement, moreover because she is a distant relative the mother herself likes it. What she asked me was that I will take her to school and I agreed."(Someone in the Greater Accra region)

"We decided to bring her and her daddy wants her to learn from her cousin, who is a caterer, so that by the time she leaves she would have achieved or learned something because that is why we brought her."

4. Working conditions of CDWs

Most activities carried out by the girl CDWs according to the RA study were related to household work. Nevertheless, in some cases they had to engage in work outside of the house. Main activities included sweeping the house, washing dishes, going on errands, doing the laundry and other jobs like fetching water, scrubbing the bathroom, selling and sometimes baking.

The major activities of the domestic help outlined included:

- washing the dishes (30%),
- selling (27%),
- cooking (20%),
- cleaning the house (10%),
- doing the laundry (4%).

For those who did not live with their employers, the major activity was selling (39%); for those who resided in the house of the employer, the main activity was washing the dishes (33%).

Table 26: Activities performed by children living with and not with employers

Main activity performed	Live with employer (%)	Do not live with employer (%)	Total (%)
Washing the dishes	33	16	30
Selling	24	39	27
Cooking/preparing meals	21	16	20
Cleaning the house	11	8	10
Doing the laundry	4	6	4

Number of hours worked

According to the CDWs themselves they worked 8 –12 hours a day, with a break once or twice during the day.

According to the parents and employers, the majority of the child domestic labourers worked between six and eight hours a day throughout the whole week. They were sometimes given time to rest before they continued working the full hours per day.

Table 27: No of hours worked each day according to interviews with employers/parents of girl child workers

Hours	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
0						2%	6%
1	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%
2	3%	1%	3%	4%		1%	1%
3	7%	9%	7%	7%	8%	5%	2%
4	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	6%	14%
5	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%	8%	4%
6	19%	19%	19%	19%	21%	15%	13%
7	5%	5%	4%	4%	4%	7%	9%
8	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	23%	23%
9	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	
10	12%	12%	12%	12%	12%	13%	18%
12	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	7%	5%
14	12%	12%	12%	11%	12%	9%	3%

Leisure time activities according to girl CDWs

Taking into consideration these long working days, many of the girls CDWs used their leisure time sleeping (35%) to restore enough energy for the next day's activities. Irrespective of being tired, others also watched television (23%), chatted with friends (21%) or played (21%) in their spare time. The few who are still in school used their leisure time reading (12%).

Table 28: Leisure time activities

What is done when not working	% of responses of girl CDWs
Sleeping	35
Watching television	23
Chatting	21
Playing	20
Reading	12

On the other hand, according to parents who have their girl child working in their own household as well as those whose children are externally involved in domestic work, when the house helps were not working, they had free time to do other things. The study revealed that 97 per cent of these children got free time. Some of their leisure activities reported by parents included sleeping, reading, chatting and watching television. About a quarter were reported to spend their leisure time sleeping. This was probably due to exhaustion caused by long working hours and the working conditions they had to endure. Another 26 per cent spent their free time talking to friends, while 46 per cent either played, read or watched television.

Safety and health problems

Due to the nature of the jobs CDWs engage in, they get very tired. About 71 per cent of CDWs in the RA research were sometimes tired while about 18 per cent were never tired. The rest were always or often tired. When they knew they are tired and needed to rest before continuing their work, 67 per cent of the CDWs were able to tell their employers they were tired while the remaining 33 per cent were not able to – as they feared that they would be punished.

Due to the heavy workload, many (76%) of the domestic helps got sick on the job. The types of sickness experienced by the CDWs seemed to stem mainly from exhaustion due to the working conditions.

A little more than half (51%) of the girls mentioned they experienced headache, and over a third (38%) experienced fever. A quarter (25%) complained about pains in the back and 21 per cent mentioned cough and cold. The other forms of sickness mentioned by a few were chest pain/respiratory problems (5%) and body pains (3%).

Table 29: Sicknesses experienced by CDWs

Type of sickness	Total (%) of girl CDWs responses
Headache	51
Fever/measles	38
Back pain	25
Cough and cold	21
Chest pain/respiratory problems	5
Body Pains	3

Even though the employers sometimes bought drugs or took them to the hospital when they become seriously sick, the majority (83%) of these girls reported that they still had to work when they were ill. Only 17 per cent said they did not have to work while ill.

Since the work of the girl CDW mainly takes place in the household, they experienced domestic accidents such as knife cuts (60%), fire burns (35%) and minor fractures from falling (17%).

Sickness on the job according to parents/employers

According to the parents or employers, the CDWs sometimes either hurt themselves or fell sick. When they got hurt it was either a burn, a fracture as a result of a fall or a cut while carrying out domestic chores. It was reported that about 42 per cent hurt themselves while working; the most frequent cause among the injuries they suffered was burns.

Employers also said that the common sicknesses experienced by girl CDWs were coughs and colds, fever, chest pains, headaches, back pains and bilharzias.

According to the parents, the domestic helps did not work when they fell sick. Instead, the employers had to work themselves in the household when the domestic workers fell ill.

Table 30: Types of sicknesses according to parents

Type of sickness	%
Fever/measles	39
Headache	38
Cough and cold	19
Back pain	16
Chest pains/respiratory problems	6
Bilharzia	3

Remuneration

About 64 per cent of CDWs claimed they receive payment for their work. The two main forms of payments were money and gifts. The majority (79%) of girls received payment in the form of money while others received gifts (21%) as payment for work. For those who receive payment, the amount ranged between cedis 30,000 ($3.75) and cedis 150,000 ($18.75)[181] a month.

David Kroboe, in his report "A Profile of Street Children in Kumasi" (June, 1996), suggested that the average monthly income received was about ¢61,600 ($7.70) for girls who are involved in child labour. It was estimated that boys who are involved in child labour receive more money than girls. The average monthly income for boys was about ¢71,900 (approx. $9) according to the same report.

Payment of domestic helpers according to parents/employers

The interviews with parents/employers revealed that only a few of the CDWs are paid in cash. As a respondent in the Greater Accra region outlined:

"We agreed that she would be paid monthly but with her food and clothing and medical bills, I was going to take care of it, so I pay her ¢60,000 every month."

Another respondent from Ashanti gave the following explanation:

" I was buying whatever she needed when she asked; I see she does not want to work so I keep ¢30,000 for her every month."

The interviews with employers also revealed that, for those who are paid, 77 per cent of them were paid in cash while the rest (23%) were paid in kind - for example, given some form of gifts. Usually, part of the money was given to the parents of the child domestic workers; the employer kept the other part so that it was not misused.

Control over resources earned

Many of the children worked mainly to supplement their low family income. This was particularly true for children from households in which adult family members were unemployed or under-employed and did not receive subsistence wages. About 42 per cent of CDWs gave part and 18 per cent gave all of what they earned to their parents.

[181] 1 US $ = 8000 Cedis approx.

The employers of a third of CDWs kept their money and in some cases, when they were supposed to give the money back to those children, they either refused to do so or underpaid them. Other uses included using the money for leisure activities, to purchase personal items and to buy medicine.

Table 31: Control of resources earned

How money earned is spent	% of responses
Give part of money to parents	42
Madam keeps it for me	33
Give it all to parents	18
Leisure	10
Buy personal belongings	10
Buy medicines	4

Visits

Most of the girl domestic workers said they are not allowed to go on visits back home when they were live-in employees. The belief was that they might not come back or would report to their parents the kind of treatment they received. On the other hand, relatives of these domestic girls were reported to visit on a few occasions.

The talks with parents who had their girl child working in their own household as well as those whose children were externally involved in domestic work contradicted this information, with employers saying they allowed their child domestic worker to visit their parents and relatives from time to time. Their parents and relatives were also reported to be allowed to visit them.

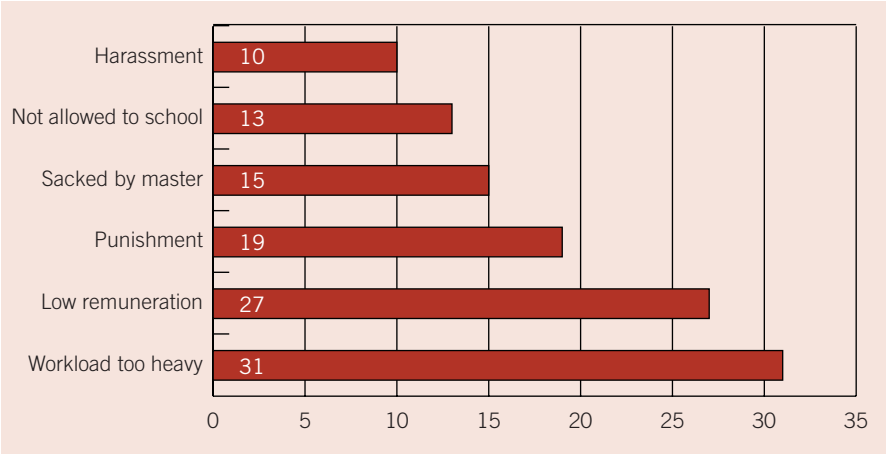
> *"She has cousins in Mamobi who come to visit her; her father has also been here before. She also sometimes asks for permission to visit her cousins."* *(Employer from the Greater Accra region)*
>
> *"The elder one's parents have never been here since she came but the younger one's parents live close to us; the kid does not go there but they sometimes pass by."* *(Employer from Ashanti)*

Visits from government officials, trade union officials, institutions protecting children, women's groups and religious groups were completely absent from the children's employers' homes. The researchers reported that such visits were not a common practice in Ghana.

Quitting work

On the whole, 4 out of every 5 girl CDWs were working for the first time in their respective jobs. The rest, however, had changed their place of work for various

Table 32: Reasons CDWs gave for quitting their first job



reasons. The key reason cited for quitting the first job was the fact that they found the workload too heavy (31%).

One other major reasons 27 per cent of the girl CDWs gave for leaving their former employer was the low level of remuneration for the few who received any form of payment. Other reasons given for quitting first or former jobs were:

- punishment – 19%;
- being dismissed by master – 15%;
- not allowed to go to school – 13%;
- harassment – 10%.

> *"She (employer) beats me with a cane or with her slippers and then calls me a thief even if her children steal her money." (girl in Ashanti region)*

CDWs perceptions about work

Irrespective of the kind of treatment received and the load of work, just over a third of the domestic girls would encourage other people to take up domestic labour. Just under two-thirds however would not advise anyone to get engaged in domestic child labour. The various reasons given for these two viewpoints are listed below.

Those who answered in the affirmative mainly based their response on the fact that life in the urban area is far better (62%) than in the village in spite of the workload. On the other hand, the majority who would not encourage others to be involved in domestic labour considered the workload too heavy (52%).

Table 33: Why CDW would encourage others to work as a CDW

Reasons for encouraging others (a third would encourage others)	% of responses from girl CDWs
To earn money and start trade	4
To have money to support the family	10
Good clothing	14
Schooling	20
Good food	21
Better than the village	62

Table 34: Why CDW would not encourage others to work as a CDW

Reasons for not encouraging others (two-thirds would not encourage others)	% of responses from girl CDWs
Harassment	8
Low remuneration	12
Feel isolated	19
Not allowed to school	26
Bad treatment/punishment	28
Work load too heavy	52

Parents' perception of CDW work

The in-depth interviews showed that house helps are punished when they do something wrong. Their employers either beat them or scold them. For example, an employer from the Greater Accra region stated that:

> *"Sometimes, when she is doing something wrong, you need to shout a her."* *(Employer from Greater Accra region)*
>
> *"I normally knock her on the head if she leaves the dishes unwashed and goes to play, or she might spoil something and deny any knowledge of it. She likes spying on my visitors, she sometimes too tell lies."*
> *(Employer from Ashanti)*

The research also showed that 2 per cent are punished when they misbehave and 47 per cent are not. Apart from being punished, employers said the house helps encountered the problems outlined below.

When employers were asked if their house helps could quit working when they wished, 75 per cent responded that they could, 12 per cent said no, because they thought the CDW would not find a better job, 1 per cent also said no, as they had paid some money to the parents of the CDW and now expected them to work to pay

Table 35: Problems encountered by CDWs

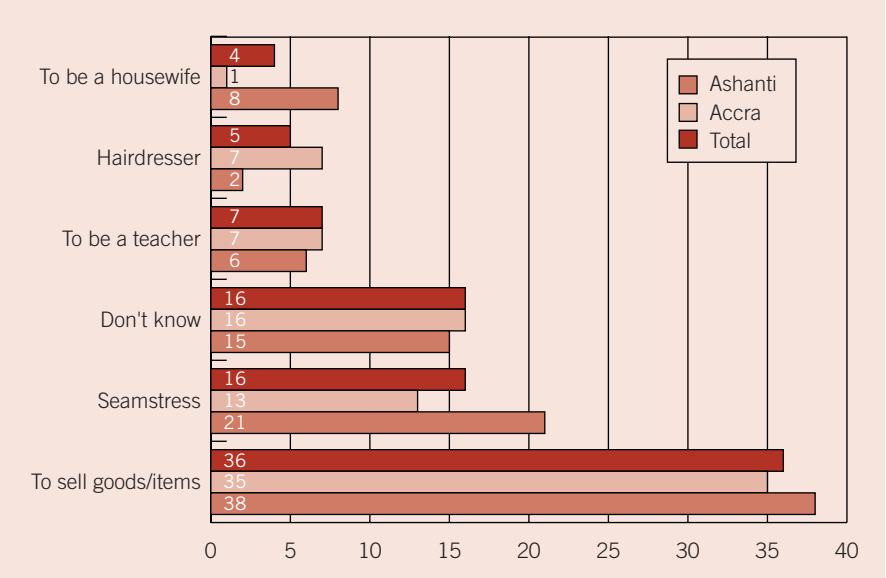
Problems Encountered	%
Overload, long hours of work	31
Not given time to rest for leisure/play	6
Not given time to read or study	5
Being reprimanded often	24
Verbally abused	69
Physically beaten	44
Sexually harassed	1

off their investment. The remaining 12 per cent did not know whether they could quit or not.

Ambitions of the domestic girl

As mentioned previously, most of the girl CDWs are not attending school. Because of this, their ambitions are generally related to jobs that do not require much academic knowledge. Around 39 per cent of them would like to go into trading in the future, while 16 per cent hope to become seamstresses. An equal percentage did not know what they really wanted to do in the future. The few who are still in school have higher levels of ambition and hope - to become a teacher, for example.

Table 36: Aspirations of CDWs



5. Analysis of pathway towards CDW

Domestic work was predominantly a female activity in Ghana and a very hidden form of child work, with low prestige and recognition.

According to a World Bank study in Ghana[182], girls as a group - as well as across urban, rural and poverty sub-samples - are consistently found to be more likely to engage in harmful child labour than boys. The incidence of child labour in Ghana increases with age, but this increase is more pronounced for girls. This study remarked that the established gender gap need not necessarily imply discrimination but rather reflects cultural norms, which is a contradiction of sorts, because gender roles and relations are culturally based. Nevertheless the study pointed out that structural differences exist in the processes underlying harmful child labour in Ghana across gender, across rural/urban location as well as across poverty quintiles of households.

Through a survey of five regions in Ghana, another study found that poverty in the rural economy, the negative experience of rural life in farming, lack of employment opportunities, death of a parent, neglect, divorce, violence within the home and sexual abuse were the main reasons cited by children now living on the streets for leaving home. Other factors include traditions which influence family size towards large families, and gender disparities in access to education in favour of boys, resulting in more girls from the north migrating south[183]. In this study, the motivation to earn money and lack of opportunities were cited as factors influencing girls to engage in domestic work. Many girls from poor families have to fend for themselves one way or the other. They migrated from all over the country to live and work for people so that they can send money to their parents and siblings back home.

Additionally the CDW girls assessed in this report were encouraged by their parents, relatives and friends (with some also making the decision themselves) to leave home and engage in domestic child labour.

Other reasons for engaging in domestic work:

- To work for money to establish own business,
- The death of parents,
- To work for money to establish own business,
- No other job possibilities,
- Help care for the family,
- Save money for school or learn a trade,
- Separation from parents.

[182] Blunch, N.-H.; Verner, D. *Revisiting the link between poverty and child labour: The Ghanaian experience.* World Bank, Washington, D.C., 21 p., 2000, (Available on the World Bank Web site http://www.worldbank.org/).

[183] Catholic Action for Street Children, UNICEF. *The exodus, the growing migration of children from Ghana's rural areas to the urban centres, March 1999.*

6. Conclusions and recommendations

As mentioned in the background paper on child labour in Ghana, the basic minimum age for employment in Ghana is 15 years. Children over the age of 15 may work as apprentices provided that employers ensure a safe and healthy work environment. Children under 18 years are not allowed to perform certain types of hazardous labour and are prohibited from working at night. The Labour Decree of 1967 prohibits employment before the age of 15 years and allows younger children to only perform light work. This in effect allows an overlap between the compulsory school age and the minimum age of employment. However, the minimum age for employment and the compulsory school laws are inconsistent with each other, making it very difficult to apply the law with any credence.

From the research findings it appears that most CDWs start working between the ages of 11 and 16 years. These girls work for very long hours - between 8 and 12 hours every day - and are not given sufficient time to rest, thus violating the minimum age of employment in Ghana. This would imply that many are engaging in one of the worst forms of child labour. Most of the girl children interviewed for the research in this RA have dropped out of school for one reason or another; 59 per cent of them dropped out because parents could not afford to send them to school and about 15 per cent were just not interested in going to school.

On the other hand, girls involved in domestic labour were provided with shelter and food in the homes of the employer and they seemed to enjoy better dwelling conditions compared to the homes where they came from. Nonetheless, most of the time there were no formal written contracts between employers and domestic workers. The CDWs were therefore put at the employer's mercy. Employers made a lot of promises with regard to taking good care of them and treating them well but this was not fulfilled most of the time. There was usually a form of payment for their services as domestic workers. The majority of the CDWs (79%) received payment in the form of money, while a fifth (21%) were given gifts as payments for work. For those who received money, the amounts were low.

Some of the issues raised by the domestic girl child conflicted with what the employers and parents said when interviewed. For example, while the girls said they worked between 8-12 hours a day, the parents said they worked between 6-8 hours on the average. Employers said the girls did not work when they were sick. CDWs complained about working while sick. Even though the employers sometimes bought drugs or took them to the hospital when the sickness became serious, about 83 per cent of them stated they still had to work, in contradiction to what their employers report. Most of the girls reported that they are not allowed to visit home when they stay with the employer. Employers were said by the CDWs to be afraid that the girls would not come back or would report to their parents the kind of treatment experienced at the hands of their employers or guardians. The parents who had their children working in their own household, as well as those whose children were externally involved in domestic work contradicted this, saying the girls were allowed to visit home when they wished.

In future research, the anomalies that arose from comparing the girl domestic workers' responses with those of the parents (that have girls working in their own household as well as daughters involved in domestic work externally) should be assessed; this would help to establish how many are engaged in the worst forms of child labour.

Revealingly, when asked if they would encourage other girls to be involved in domestic labour, two-thirds of the girls interviewed for this research said no, because they considered the work load to be too heavy. Also some of the girls who did not have enough time for schooling realized that they were unable to fulfil their ambitions which had inspired them to earn money or try to learn a trade in the first place.

There is a link between moving from domestic service because of difficult conditions and working on the street, eventually engaging in prostitution. However, this aspect was not explored in the research, and is examined in the RA report on the Sexual Commercial Exploitation of Children in Ghana.

On the whole, it would appear from the results of the RA research that girls are valued less than boys in society. A cultural superiority attitude towards men and boys exists. Other publications have documented socio-cultural practices, such as violence against women, puberty rites, widowhood rites, leviratic marriages and widow inheritance, that exist in varying degrees in some societies in Ghana. Physical, verbal, emotional and sexual violence are common against women and girls and become part of daily routines. Strong adherence to tradition and cultural norms was the most significant factor determining these practices[184].

Throughout Ghana there is a need to encourage more careful parenting of girls and to foster an attitude that places an increased value on the girl child. Girls need to be encouraged to pursue education to the highest levels. Recommendations made by other research[185] include the need to raise the level of awareness on the effects of harmful cultural practices, and particularly to target women since abuses and discrimination are often perpetrated by women themselves – for instance, in domestic homes where child servants are denied food, maltreated and refused education or skills training.

The government and the public at large should be sensitized to develop positive attitudes towards the girl child. For instance, government officials, trade union officials, institutions protecting children, women's groups and religious organizations should be encouraged to get involved in issues concerning CDWs. More agencies and institutions are needed to handle the recruitment of children involved in domestic labour. This would help to monitor their movements and activities. A registering process of girls involved in domestic work could be set up that would help to set a minimum age for children to be recruited. The population at large requires more sensitizing regarding existing laws and legislation that protect the rights of women and girls.

[184] Nabila, J. S.; Eric Kojo Aikins, Osman A. R Alhassan. Traditional practices affecting women and children in Ghana. Population Impact Project, Geography Dept University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

[185] Nabila, J. S, Eric Kojo Aikins, Osman A. R Alhassan. Traditional practices affecting women and children in Ghana. Population Impact Project, Geography Dept University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

SECTION C

Girl child labour in commercial sexual exploitation in Ghana: results of a rapid assessment[186]

1. Introduction

Child labour is prevalent in both rural and urban areas of Ghana. In urban areas children living and/or working on the street mainly engage in trading activities, while in rural areas they are active in both agricultural and trading activities. It is becoming increasingly clear that many children who engage in part-time work miss out on their schooling, even though they may engage in such work to pay for school-related expenses. A survey of five regions in Ghana[187] revealed that poverty in the rural economy, the negative experience of rural life in farming, lack of employment opportunities, death of a parent, neglect, divorce, violence within the home and sexual abuse were the main reasons cited by street children in Accra for leaving home and trying to obtain work. Other factors include large family size, gender disparities in access to education in favour of boys, and the need for girls to earn money to prepare for marriage, or the need to run from polygamous unions. Ethnic conflict between Dagombas and Kokombas also displaced many children, resulting in homeless children looking for work on the streets of cities.

Although Ghana has ratified many Conventions related to child labour rights, the political efforts to enforce child labour laws are undermined by the high levels of poverty in the country.

Women engaged in prostitution in general in Ghana have been described and documented by other studies[188], with different categories of prostitutes identified - for example, home-based and street workers. Female migrants to cities are more vulnerable than their male counterparts, due both to their different physical and biological needs as well as their social situation. Efforts have also been made to document the organizational structure of commercial sex work, codes of conduct, social controls and how new members are recruited into prostitution. Some studies even mention the ages[189] of those engaged in prostitution, and the effect of HIV/AIDS on prostitution in terms of condom use[190].

3

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[186] by Glanville Einstein Williams, West African AIDS Foundation for the ILO/IPEC, March 2003.

[187] Catholic Action for Street Children and UNICEF (1999). *The exodus, the growing migration of children from Ghana's rural areas to the urban centres*, March 1999.

[188] Pappoe, M. (1996). The Status of Prostitution in Ghana, 1996 Studies in Sexual Health No 2, GTZ Regional Aids Programme for West and Central Africa.

[189] Kwankye, S. O.; David Hogan, Samuel Nil Ardey-Cudjoe. (2002) Child Prostitution and Child Trafficking in Ghana, Sociology Department University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

[190] Pappoe, M. West African Project to Combat Aids (WAPTCAS), Baseline Study Of Commercial Sex Workers In The Accra -Tema Area, (Ghana) 1996. WAPTCAS.

Child prostitution is a growing problem in Ghana. It is common for young girls to trade sex for gifts or money, as well as engaging in sex to help meet financial obligations. As a means of survival in cities following migration, girls increasingly engage in commercial sex as an occupation. Some studies have indeed acknowledged the growing problem of prostitution amongst young girls. Street girls who work as Kayayes (porters) have been observed to practice prostitution by night to add to their earnings[191]. Most often this occurs without an intermediary, although organized prostitution is becoming a serious concern in some areas.

The research that was undertaken for this Rapid Assessment Study again attempts to indicate the degree to which young girls engaged in porterage work and petty trading as their primary occupation, and the degree to which they also engaged in commercial sexual work as their secondary or ancillary occupation. Although the initial focus of the study was on girl children engaged in domestic labour, commercial sexual exploitation and agriculture, greater focus was given to the commercial sexual exploitation of girls. Nevertheless the research made a concerted effort to look into the dynamics of the girl child in domestic labour and agriculture as well as in prostitution. The link between escaping the drudgery of agricultural work in rural areas in order to work in cities is highlighted throughout this girl child project, and the comparative analyses contained in another chapter emphasize these links.

In any analysis of the causes of child labour in Ghana, it is important to address the gender dimensions. For example, general disparities in education point to the possibility that girls engaged in prostitution are less likely than boys to have had the benefit of a basic education. Girls have relatively lower enrolment in school than boys at all levels of the formal education system. Socio-cultural expectatons for girls in terms of their careers are different than for boys[192]. Girls in some instances are also known to be less aware than boys about sexually transmitted diseases. High-risk behaviour not only places boys and girls at increased risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and other STDs but also increases the possibility of unwanted pregnancies for girls. Invariably the paternity of their children is often unknown, or if known, is rejected. This places an additional burden of childcare on the girl workers.

The research undertaken for this report focused on finding insights into the following key questions:

- Who are the working children and how many are there, and where do they come from?
- How old are the children when they first begin to work?
- Why do they work?
- What are their occupations? Do they engage in prostitution?
- What are their conditions of work, and what types of exploitation and abuse do they face?
- Do they also go to school – if not why not?
- Who are their employers? Why do they employ children? How do they treat them?
- Do the children live away from their parents?
- What do the children themselves think about their work, their families and their employers?

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[191] Apt, N.A.; Blavo, E.Q. (1997). «Street Children and AIDS»: The Centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana.

[192] Boakye, J.K.A. Synthesis of Research on Girls Education in Ghana, October 1997, Ministry of Education, Ghana, GINS' Education Unit / Department for International Development.

2. General methodology

A variety of Rapid Assessment (RA) research methods were deployed in order to obtain the required information on working children, particularly girls in Ghana. Success in getting to these young girls, some as young as 7 years old, depended to a great extent on the interviewers' ability to gain the respondent's confidence and trust. This was even more critical, bearing in mind that the nature of some of the questions were of a sexually sensitive nature, and if handled unprofessionally the respondents were liable either to lie or to abandon the interview altogether for fear of repercussions or sanctions, either from the police or from their madams or pimps.

There were naturally some serious issues of security and safety for the interviewers. Some of the chosen locations were notorious haunts of criminals and prostitutes. One such location called *Sodom and Gomorrah*, aptly named after the biblical town which incurred the wrath of God, had been the subject of an earlier brutal police raid in order to flush out some of the criminal elements in the town. Naturally the residents were particularly sensitive to any strangers who were visibly making observations and asking questions.

Account had to be taken of the hidden cost of undertaking the RA interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). In view of the fact that the young girls who were being interviewed were all working girls, a small amount of money varying from 2,000 to 5,000 cedis[193] had to be given to each respondent. This was a means of first inducing them to take the time off from their duties, and as a way of compensating them for the time spent in answering the questions (which in some instances lasted over an hour and twenty minutes.). The FGDs also had a hidden cost component attached to them. The pimps and madams refused to participate in any meaningful discussion unless they were suitably remunerated.

The Women and Juveniles Unit of the Ghana Police Service required clearance from their headquarters before any interviews could be granted, and this clearance took an inordinate amount of time to be approved.

Special care had to be taken in order to record and analyse the data in a manner that was a true reflection of the accounts given and that was not in any way sensationalist or in some cases a complete distortion.

Scope and organization of the research

Twelve locations were used for data collection: Mallam Atta, Chorkor, Nima, Agbogbloshie, Sodom and Gomorrah, Ashaiman, Tema, Accra Lorry Park, Kasoa, Swedru, Labadi Pleasure Beach and Cocoa Beach Resort.

A total of 398 people were interviewed through a mix of:

- Interviews (363 people)
- Three FGDs (35 respondents)
- Observations in fourteen different locations
- Documentary reviews.

The 398 people consulted included:

- 91% girls (363 girl children)
- 9% adult stakeholders (35 people).

[193] US $1 = ¢8,000

Table 37: Summary of focus groups and interviews

Sources	Estimated Numbers	Total
Rapid assessment interviews with girl children labourers and their parents.	363 respondents	363 (91%)
3 Focus group discussions and interviews with key stakeholders such as pimps, madams, child labourers, members of the NGO community and WAJU.	35 respondents	35 (9%)
Total number of persons consulted		398 (100%)

The research team comprised one team leader and fifteen researchers, including one gender specialist and one child psychologist, who were trained extensively on the application of the RA Methodology.

It was imperative that all researchers should display a high sense of professionalism and sensitivity, therefore two workshops were held. The first was a pre-survey training workshop, designed to sensitize the researchers about the objectives of the RA, and to provide an overview of the political, economic and social context of the areas in which the study was to be conducted. This included a familiarization visit to some of the market locations and tourist areas that would be studied. Thus the first workshop provided training and orientation for the research team, and built on the social participatory research skills of the researchers, who were all final year students in social studies at the University of Ghana, Legon.

Other factors which formed part of the training workshop for the researchers included:

- Income levels and poverty context;
- The dynamics of that particular locality or community, its dangers, hazards, and other important details that may have an impact on the child workers;
- Profile of the people to be observed and interviewed, particularly bearing in mind that the respondents are young girls who predominantly work within a hierarchical framework, and hence permission would invariably have to be sought from the guardians, queen mothers or other persons who are in authority before an interview would be able to take place;
- Observation and interviewing skills, (how to ask open-ended questions, how to illicit rich information by probing sensitively for further clarifications, how to note the physical conditions under observations etc).

The second workshop was a post-data-collection debriefing workshop with interviewers and researchers to discuss the findings, key problems experienced and recommendations or modifications for future rapid assessments. Thus the second workshop validated the data collected and refined recommendations.

Techniques used in undertaking RA

Four RA research methods were used in undertaking the study and to achieve the required triangulation[194], namely:

[194] Triangulation is the use of several methods to double check information, and the collation of secondary data sources.

- Interviews with girl children involved in commercial sexual work as their primary or secondary source of income (such as Kayaye girls).
- Focus group with children, pimps, child welfare workers and other key stakeholders.
- Observations of physical locations associated with children engaged in commercial sexual work and other related activities.
- Review of secondary sources of information.

Interviews

The team of researchers conducted interviews with 363 girl child labourers and some of their parents, working in a variety of different locations throughout the Accra Metropolis. The sites were carefully chosen on the basis that they are immediately recognizable as areas that attract young girl labourers. The standard rapid assessment questionnaire was adapted to suit the conditions of Ghana.

Focus group discussions

Three focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with the key informants outlined below, in order to elicit their views, experiences, insights and concerns about the child labour situation, and in particular on the issue of commercial sexual exploitation.

- Pimps, madams and girls actively engaged in commercial sexual activity.
- Individuals from the NGO community involved in child labour were invited to participate in a frank, open and honest discussion on their views, experiences and concerns about the child labour situation.
- Key members from the Women and Juveniles Unit (WAJU) of the Ghana Police Service were invited to participate in a discussion on their experiences, the nature of the cases that they were receiving in the area of child labour in particular commercial sexual exploitation of the girl child, and their recommendations for policy-making.

Observations

The field researchers identified the locations that were to be surveyed by brainstorming, but were given two guidelines.

Firstly, the locations had to be easily identifiable by ordinary Ghanaians and stakeholders as locations that are well-known as congregation points for young girl labourers.

Secondly the locations should demonstrate a range of activities, for example commercial market areas such as Mallam Attah or Agbogbloshie, localities notorious as havens for girl prostitutes such as Sodom and Gomorrah, tourist destinations such as La Beach, provincial agricultural towns such as Kasoa and Swedru, and finally busy transport centres such as the Accra Lorry Park.

Secondary sources of information

Further information resulted from reviews of local and international research papers, press articles, national reports, regional reviews and recommendations, unpublished dissertations, legislation and statutory instruments, special programmes, technical assistance, guidelines and International Conventions. Information on other

studies undertaken and currently in progress emerged during the process, and local media articles represented a valuable reference resource.

Data collection and data analysis

The rapid assessment questionnaire was prepared and adapted to suit the local conditions in the field. A comprehensive guide was prepared for the interviews and FGDs, and these were made available to all the researchers at the orientation workshop. The field researchers were provided with a small amount of money (40,000 cedis) to offer as a means of payment for the time the girls would otherwise have spent on their business. A voice-activated mini-recorder was used to record all three FGDs, and notes were later transcribed from this.

Field notes from the observations of the researchers, along with the interviews and the transcribed notes from the FGDs, and any other information gleaned from secondary sources, were collated, and systematic appraisals were conducted to identify any emerging patterns, recurring themes and issues. Earlier research undertaken in the field of child labour, in particular commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Ghana, was a valuable resource in the process. Data was grouped and coded; and the information was tabulated using the Epi Info Software programme. The data was then analysed to extract meaning and understanding.

Limitations of research

It became evident from the post-interview validation workshop that the RA questionnaire was inordinately long and that the interviewers had great trouble in completing a full interview with all respondents.

The ages of the children in the study were based entirely on self-reports or reports from other key informants and were not independently verifiable. There was therefore an over-dependence on estimates of children's ages, which could not be independently verified. Another concern was the researchers' inability to access the vast store of information contained in police records at the Women and Juveniles Unit, due to its classified nature.

Language barriers were a consideration with a large number of respondents originating from Northern Ghana who were unfamiliar with or unable to answer the questions in Akan. This meant that interpreters had to be engaged and interviews re-conducted, with a resulting delay.

Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of respondents were reluctant to be open and honest concerning the sexual activity questions. As a result the researchers had to validate the answers given by cross-questioning the madams and queen mothers and offering inducements for full and frank disclosures. Clandestine nocturnal observations of the girls were also undertaken. These took place after the girls had completed their primary occupation.

It must be noted however that the RA was designed primarily as a qualitative study and, as such, accurate quantitative data on the scale of the problem of girl child labour in Ghana, or even in the isolated locations detailed above, is unavailable. Accurate figures for the numbers of girl children engaged in commercial sexual activities at the locations chosen would require a more sustained period of observation and indeed closer collaboration with other agencies such as the WAJU. The RA however was valuable in that it provided an insight into the multitude of pathways

into child labour in the first instance, and would serve as guidance for future research studies.

Reliability and validity

The research results were tested for reliability and validity of data by comparing and cross-checking the data collected from the personal observations of the researchers, the interviews conducted, the focus group discussions and the secondary sources (documentary reviews).

This was of particular significance bearing in mind that practically all the respondents either declined to answer the questions on sexual activity completely, or they stated categorically that they had not and were not engaging in any sexual activity whatsoever. It was also important in corroborating the work patterns, work habits, norms and practices, level of earnings and incidence of sexual behaviour amongst the respondents.

All the locations chosen were visited at least twice, and each time by different researchers. The researchers worked in teams of two or three in order to ensure that there was consistency and congruence in the findings, and also for reasons of security.

3. Profile of the surveyed areas

The locations chosen for this rapid assessment study are areas that children are attracted to and are well-known and long-established centres of commercial activity. Children from the hinterlands are in these areas because of their promise of almost instantaneous work. Profiles of the areas studied are outlined in the boxes below.

Agbogbloshie

Otherwise known as Makola Number 2, this is an extremely busy, densely populated market suburb of Accra, where staple foods such as yams, plantains, tomatoes, onions etc. are sold. The market area covers approximately 800 square metres. The whole vicinity is covered in rubbish and litter from the market, with the accompanying bad odour hanging over the entire environment.

The market population on any given day is around 5,000, the majority of whom are females. The young girls in Agbogbloshie are mostly porters or load carriers, and for the main part they originate mostly from the Northern parts of Ghana, although there are a sizeable number of girls that speak Akan from the southern part of Ghana. The interviewers counted approximately 92 Kayaye girls (porters).

These porters live on site in nucleated wooden structures across the street. The road linking Agbogbloshie with the rest of Accra is mainly untarred. There is an important lorry station situated near the market. The lorries bring traders from all over Ghana to and from the market. Other facilities that are visible in the market area include canteen services, a clinic and several communication centres.

It is clear from the observations of the interviewers, if not from the results of the interviews, that many of the young girls working as porters also engage in commercial sexual activity during the day and in the evenings.

Chorkor

Chorkor is a shanty suburb located at the southern outskirts of the Accra metropolis, near the sea. Most of the residents of the area are fishermen and the women are fishmongers. The area seems to be completely unplanned, with dwellings and structures erected in a shambolic manner and densely packed. There is little room for toilets and refuse dumps; hence the sea serves as a repository for all the area's waste materials. In some places human excreta is dumped visibly in the open gutters. The whole area is pervaded with the stench of rotting faeces; naked children can be seen aimlessly wandering the dirt-strewn streets.

Most of the houses are compound houses and are over-populated. The drainage system is extremely poor, and the gutters are blocked and choked up with rubbish. The researchers counted approximately 61 girl children ranging in age from 5 to 15 years, selling various items such as ice water, tomatoes, oranges and black plastic bags.

Although the respondents in this area were for the most part helpful and forthcoming in answering the RA questionnaires, it was clear that they were, as with all the other interviewees, extremely reticent with regards to the sexual activity questions. Again as with the other locations, observations of the area revealed that the suburb is a well-patronized area at night for people seeking prostitutes.

Ashaiman

Ashaiman is a densely populated market town located within the Tema Metropolis. The sprawling Ashaiman municipality is sub-divided into quarters, namely Jericho, Lebanon, New Town and Zongo. The main lorry station in the town covers an area of approximately 400 square metres. The interviewers counted approximately 130 children at the lorry park alone (ranging in age from 7-15). The Ashaiman market is a busy market with a daily population close to 5,000 people. Staple foodstuffs such as plantains, cassava, yams and tomatoes are sold.

In the market the researchers counted another 84 girl children who were engaged as porters, carrying heavy loads for customers, or as helpers to the market stall holders. Ashaiman has over the years acquired a certain notoriety, and is considered to be the haunt of criminal elements. The researchers were unable to corroborate or dismiss the existence of commercial sexual activity amongst the Kayaye in Ashaiman.

Nima

Nima is a densely populated market suburb of Accra, situated in the heart of Accra. It was observed that the ratio of males to females in the Nima market vicinity was about 3:7. Residents in and around the area live in slum-like conditions. There are no public conveniences in the dwellings, but rather residents have to queue and pay at a few designated locations to be able to use the toilet facilities. There were

approximately 120 children working in the market area between the ages of 6 and 17 years. Nima is predominantly a Moslem area.

Mallam Attah

Mallam Atta market is a busy market in the heart of Accra, between Accra New Town and Kokomemle. The market area itself is very nucleated, with kiosks and wooden shacks dotted everywhere. It is a densely populated area and most of the residents are day-traders, hawkers, porters, businesswomen and customers. The majority of young girls found in the area are Kayayes, and there appeared to be close to 200 girl workers in the market ranging in age from 7 to 19 years. The ratio of males to females in the area was roughly 3:1, with around 5,000 people congregating in the market.

Labadi Pleasure Beach

Labadi Pleasure Beach is one of the top resort destinations in Accra. Extremely popular with tourists and locals alike, it is situated off the beach road and next to the Labadi Beach five star hotel. It has developed a certain notoriety as the meeting point for young local girls and boys and foreign tourists who are seeking a sexual encounter with children.

Accra Lorry Park

The Accra Lorry Park is probably the biggest and busiest lorry station in the Country. It is located at the heart of the capital. It is a transit and terminal point for all kinds of road transport (lorries, buses, taxis etc). The area is also a busy commercial area with brisk trading going on in foodstuffs, clothing and small domestic items. There were around 100 Kayaye girls and a further 80 or so girls who were selling a range of items from ice water to plantain chips.

Sodom and Gomorrah

Sodom and Gomorrah is an unplanned shanty town close to Agbogbloshie market. It is an area of extreme deprivation and a notorious haunt for criminal elements and prostitutes. As with the other locations, the dwellings were mainly of wooden construction and were built haphazardly almost one on top of the other. Sanitation was poor and the whole place was shrouded in a cloud of flies feasting on the raw sewage that was everywhere.

Young children could be seen everywhere, loitering aimlessly. Some of these children could not have be older than 11 or 12 but were also carrying their own children. During the day, most of the residents leave for work at the nearby Agbogbloshie market, to return at dusk when they begin to engage in their nocturnal activities of pimping, prostitution and the like.

4. Research findings

Kayaye girls and girls engaged in petty trading

Locations visited and girl children interviewed

The researchers visited 11 suburbs or towns in diverse locations such as market locations, lorry parks, beaches or town centres. A total of 363 interviews took place. The survey concentrated on girls under the age of 18 years who were actively involved in the worst forms of child labour as defined under ILO Convention 182.

Table 38: Locations visited and girl children interviewed

Suburb/Town	Locations Visited	Interviews
Agbogbloshie	Market	39
Chorkor	Town	29
Nima	Market	42
Mallam Attah	Market	25
Sodom and Gomorrah	Town centre	22
Kasoa	Market	30
Accra Lorry Park	Vicinity	34
Swedru	Town centre	28
Ashaiman	Market/Lorry Park	41
Labadi Pleasure Beach	Vicinity	37
Cocoa Beach Resort	Vicinity	36
Sub-Totals		**363**

Age of the girls

The majority of the respondents were in the 13 – 15 age group followed by the 16 – 18 age group. This made the age group of 13 – 18 the most common for girls working in the streets of Accra. Only 11 respondents were found to be below the age of 10.

Table 39: Age distribution of respondents

Age	Absolute	Percentage
5-9	11	3
10-12	71	20
13-15	148	41
16-18	124	35
19 and above	3	1
Total	**357**	**100**

Kayaye (head load carriers) and petty trading

The design and density of market and trading areas favour the easy passage of pedestrian load-carrying as compared with motorized or even hand-pulled or pushed devices. The extensive petty trading environment of the Third World context ensures the plentiful supply of smaller transport loads (loads which are sufficiently large enough to be arduous in terms of human carriage but which are not impossible to carry). The trader surrendering her goods for carriage can easily accompany, escort and police the movement of her goods when placed on her head; head loading largely protects against the theft of goods.

Commercial head load carriers at marketplaces are known collectively as Kayayes. This is commonly a task undertaken by adolescent girls who have travelled from the North to Kumasi and Accra. Women traders use Kayaye girls to move their goods between markets or purchasing points and transport facilities such as lorry parks and Tro-Tro stations. Predominantly adolescent girls frequently enter into the Kayaye business as a way of saving the necessary capital to enter into other less arduous and more profitable occupations. These girls work under a high degree of organization despite their low income and the overcrowded living conditions. The social and economic circumstances of Kayaye girl head-load carriers in urban Ghana have been previously documented[195].

The findings of the research showed that:

- Girl children are heavily involved in the head load carrying (Kayaye) business;
- Involvement in the Kayaye business is viewed as short term, the purpose of involvement being to achieve sufficient savings in order to be able to enter a more lucrative and less burdensome occupation;
- A large number of the Kayaye girls have become involved in the business because they have dropped out of school or have never enrolled, and they see self-employment as the only way to acquire assets for either greater marriage prospects or greater economic stability.

Origins of Kayaye girls

Young girls came from their hometowns and villages to Accra in order to work as a Kayaye. When taking into account the ethnicity of the girls interviewed, it appeared that the girl children engaged as Kayaye are disproportionately drawn from the Northern parts of Ghana.

Tables 4 through 6 detail the distribution of the respondents on the basis of their former places of residence and their ethnicity. The results seemed to indicate that the highest concentration of girl workers is Akan-speaking. However, closer examination of the results revealed that indeed nearly two-thirds of the respondents were originally from the North of Ghana.

[195] Agarwal, Seema, Memunatu, Attah, Apt, Nana, Grieco, Margaret, Kwakye, E. and Turner, Jeff: «Bearing the weight: The Kayayoo, Ghana's working girl child», in *International Social Work*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1997, pp. 245-263.

Table 40: Distribution of respondents on the basis of former place of residence

Native Region		Total	Percentage
1	Greater Accra	98	28%
2	Eastern	40	11%
3	Western	10	3%
4	Central	28	8%
5	Ashanti	25	7%
6	Brong Ahafo	7	2%
7	Volta	34	10%
8	Northern	93	27%
9	Upper East	9	3%
10	Upper West	3	1%
Total		**347**	**100%**

Table 41: Distribution of respondents on the basis of ethnicity (other)

Ethnicity		Total	Percentage
1	Buzanga (Northerner)	1	1%
2	Chamba (Northerner)	4	4%
3	Dagbani (Northerner)	9	9%
4	Dagomba (Northerner)	38	38%
5	Frafra (Northerner)	1	1%
6	Fulani (Northerner)	1	1%
7	Gonja (Northerner)	2	2%
8	Hausa (Northerner)	9	9%
9	Kokomba (Northerner)	3	3%
10	Kotonkoli (Northerner)	3	3%
11	Mamprusi (Northerner)	19	19%
12	Sisala (Northerner)	3	3%
13	Nzema	5	5%
14	Krobo	4	4%
Total		**102**	**100%**

Table 42: Distribution of respondents on the basis of ethnicity

Ethnicity		Total	Percentage
1	Akan	111	32%
2	Ewe	47	14%
3	Ga Adangbe	49	14%
4	Grusi	21	6%
5	Gurma	1	0%
6	Mole Dagbani	15	4%
7	Other	102	29%
Total		**347**	**100%**

Traditionally migrant work is seen as a rite of passage for these girls, and they usually return home after they have earned enough money to purchase a few of the basic necessities they would need in their future life, such as clothes, dishes, etc.

In the Northern Region, migration to the cities, particularly Accra and Kumasi, has become a tradition for young girls. When they marry, between the ages of 15 and 17, brides are expected to have certain items, such as pots and pans, aluminium bowls, cooking utensils, traditional cloth and money. A girl who has nothing is considered a disgrace and will be ridiculed in the village.

The young girls often arrive in Accra with little or no formal education or marketable skills, and are extremely vulnerable to sexual abuse and prostitution.

Reasons why girls start to work as Kayayes

Of the respondents, 79 per cent stated that the main reason why they were working was due to financial reasons, and 8 per cent cited family problems as the reason for entering into employment. The remaining 13 per cent seem to have entered into employment because of peer group pressure or because it was almost customary for them to do so, as in the case of the girls from the North, who found a considerable amount of dignity in the Kayaye work. As mentioned, working as a Kayaye is considered to be an important rite of passage for a young girl, who has to acquire all the items needed for her to be married properly later on in life.

Kayaye and the link with child prostitution

As mentioned in the introduction, child prostitution is a growing problem throughout Ghana, with young girls trading sex for gifts or money, to help meet financial obligations. Children engaged in prostitution can be particularly vulnerable because of their age, and face sexual harassment, rape and robbery. Most child prostitution occurs without an intermediary, although organized prostitution is becoming a serious concern in some areas. Sex workers in other research spoke of child trafficking for prostitution[196].

Children suspected of being in prostitution either ignored the questions related to sexual activity or gave false answers. However, continuous observations of the research locations showed clearly that a high degree of commercial sexual activity was taking place amongst the young Kayaye girls and their customers, as outlined in the profile below.

Girls engaged in prostitution not working as Kayayes

Prostitution in the capital is seen as a highly lucrative work which does not require any educational qualifications. Young prostitutes, some as young as eleven years, were reported to congregate at specific locations such as Agbogbloshie, Chorkor and beaches such as the Labadi Pleasure Beach and the Cocoa Beach resort in Teshie, in order to be picked up. Some lived at brothels in Accra. They worked independently and individually, operating from the street, drinking bars, market areas, chop bars, and restaurants and nightclubs.

At some of the above locations, the girls had organized themselves into groups of 5 to 10 members, of ages varying from 12 to 20 years. A *queen mother* was elected from within the group by the members. Her role was to market the services

[196] Kwankye, S.O.; David Hogan; Samuel Nil Ardey-Cudjoe (2002). Child Prostitution and Child Trafficking in Ghana Sociology Department,University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

of members and to match them with specific client tastes. In some cases the *queen mother* was as young as 16 years. They usually operated from restaurants, bars and nightclubs. Employees of these establishments acted as agents and referred clients to the *queen mother* for a commission.

The *queen mother* assigned clients to specific prostitutes and received a commission for her services. The organization of these groups mirrored the selling system of commodities in the market place. They traded themselves as the tomato queen mother traded tomatoes.

Very young females engaged in prostitution were also found at Agbogbloshie and Chorkor markets. A practice of some of the girls at Chorkor was to squat on empty bottles smeared with shea butter to dilate the vagina sufficiently to accommodate any client.

Localities such as the railway station and streets around the Orion Cinema, Kwame Nkrumah Circle and Kokomemle were found to be heavily populated at night by teenage sex workers.

In Tema, where the children in prostitution were known as "assembly girls" or "school girls", young practitioners usually "understudy" older prostitutes for a maximum of one month prior to engaging in independent activity.

Ramatu is 9 years old, and for the past 8 months has been working as a Kayaye. She sleeps at Agbogbloshie Market and works within the market. She hopes to be in the job for about 12 more months. Ramatu is a Dagomba who was staying in Yendi with her mother, a widow. When her mother became sick and died, she travelled down to Accra.

Ramatu's main concern is to earn money. She left Yendi for Accra in the company of a relative who was bringing her to a family in Accra who required some house help. However on her arrival the family refused to hire her, and she did not want to go back to Yendi without any money, so she decided to start work as a Kayaye.

Ramatu hopes to earn enough money to start a trade such as seamstress. She says she enjoys the job although she gets very tired and is often abused by her customers. Nevertheless she says that life in Accra is better than life in her village.

Schooling and level of educational attainment

The research findings corroborated the findings of earlier studies on the linkages between poverty, education and child labour. For instance, children who are already contributing economically to their family income tend to be less interested in academic achievement, resulting in lack of motivation. The day to day impact of child labour on those trying to continue attending school leaves children too tired to learn, and deprives them of their interest in learning[197]. Poverty and lack of parental support also contribute to low education levels. Furthermore high fertility and adolescent pregnancy in Ghana negatively affect the education of girls[198]. Sometimes girls

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

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

would wish to complete basic education but are reluctant because they are already adolescent mothers. Additionally girls with many younger siblings are less likely to enrol in school than boys.

Most of the respondents originate from rural backgrounds where the need for a formal education is not viewed as a cost-effective investment. Rural people believe that education is meaningless in the short and long term because most of their children will end up working on the farm regardless. Indeed, education is seen as important only in equipping the children with the ability to count and read for the purposes of selling their family produce at the market.

Coupled with this is the fact that a high proportion of the respondents were from the North, where traditionally the family concentrates its little resources on educating male children, since the girls will invariably get married early, sometimes by the age of 14. Mothers are reported to prefer to educate sons to ensure future security. However, the custom of marriage also places a heavy burden on these girls as they have to enter into marriage with the basic household items in order to keep home. Failure to do so will expose them to ridicule and embarrassment. As a result girls drop out from school to enter into employment.

Numbers attending school

Out of the 363 interviews conducted, almost 70 per cent confirmed that they were not currently attending school, 25 per cent claimed they were combining attending school with working, and the remaining 5 per cent declined to answer the question.

Age at which girls left school

Of the 253 girls who had answered that they were not currently in school, 66 stated that they left school between the ages of 10 and 14, 28 stated that they left school between the ages of 5 and 9, and 19 claimed they were over 15 when they left school to enter into work.

The remaining 140 girls were reluctant to volunteer an answer to the question, so it is impossible to determine at what level they left school or whether they ever attended school at all.

However the findings indicated that, of the 363 interviews conducted, 318 girls gave a response to whether they could read and write. Of the 318 responses, 175 confirmed that they could not read and write at all (corroborating the assumption that they had never attended school at all) and 143 confirmed that they could read and write.

Table 43: Responses regarding returning to school

Would you like to spend more time or anytime in school?	Age group				
	5-9	10-14	15+	Grand Total	%
No	2	22	74	98	31
Yes	6	117	94	217	69
Grand Total	**8**	**139**	**168**	**315**	**100**

When the girls were asked whether they would like to spend more time or any time at school, 69 per cent of the respondents desired to return to school, and of the girls who desired not to return back to school, 75 per cent of them were from the over-15 age group. Their older age would be related to their reluctance to return to school.

Occupation of parents

The average girl worker on the streets of Ghana's urban centres come from an impoverished socio-economic background with parents who are farmers and petty traders, semi-skilled and unskilled workers with a weak economic base. Nearly a quarter of the girls' fathers were deceased, and for over a third of the fathers, their occupation was unknown. For the majority of the mothers of the girls, their occupation too was unknown.

Table 44: Fathers' occupation

Occupation	Absolute	Percentage
Unknown	128	35
Deceased	89	24
Artisan	44	12
Semi-Skilled	44	12
Unskilled	17	5
Lower Professional	13	4
Unemployed	12	3
Petty Trader	5	2
Security Services	5	2
Clerical	2	0.5
Farmer	3	0.5
Total	**362**	**100**

Table 45: Mothers' occupation

Occupation	Absolute	Percentage
Unknown	254	72
Deceased	38	12
Unemployed	26	7
Lower Commercial	18	5
Lower Professional	10	3
Artisan	1	0.5
Farmers	1	0.5
Total	**348**	**100**

Working situation

Age started working

When asked at what age they first started working, over 60 per cent of the girls indicated that they began working from the ages of 10 to 14.

Table 46: Age started working

How old were you when you first started working here?		
Age Group	**Absolute**	**Percentage**
5-9	47	14
10-14	207	63
15+	75	23
Total	**330**	**100**

The findings indicate that before coming to Accra to work, the vast majority of them were engaged in helping their families in one way or another, either in the family business, or on the farm or in looking after younger siblings and elderly relatives.

Table 47: What girls did before started working in present location

What did you do before you started working here?		
Classification	**Absolute**	**Percentage**
Student	74	30
Looking after siblings or elderly relatives	47	19
Domestic	34	14
Nothing at all	33	13
Trading	28	11
Farming	16	7
Family Business	15	6
Total	**247**	**100**

How girls describe their work

Of the 363 children interviewed, 32 per cent described their work as Porterage or Kayaye, whilst 66 per cent described themselves as Petty Traders. Only 2 per cent of the respondents explicitly described their work as commercial sexual work. This finding is in line with earlier research. However, there was a clear conclusion that a substantial number of the respondents are also engaged in commercial sexual activity but refused to answer the questions related to sexual activity truthfully, if at all.

Hours of work

Hours of work seemed to vary from 4 hours per day to 18 hours per day. Over 71 per cent of the respondents worked between 8 and 14 hours every day, seven days a week.

Generally speaking all the girls interviewed appeared to be malnourished and considerably underweight. However, this was to be expected bearing in mind the length of their working day, making it impossible for meal breaks, and in view of the lack of nutritional content in their diet when they do eat.

Occupation hazards

Of the children interviewed, 55 per cent confessed that they had been injured at work, with over 96 per cent of these injuries as a direct result of the type of work they were engaging in. However 62 per cent of the respondents did not consider their work to be inherently dangerous, but attributed the injury rate to bad luck and silly mistakes.

Work-related health issues

A high percentage of girls had been sick whilst working. Closer examination reveals that most of these sicknesses were either stresses or strains on the neck and back due to carrying heavy loads. Some illnesses were malaria-related. Due to the fact that the majority of girls did not have a suitable structure in which to sleep, but rather slept in kiosks, market stalls and even out in the open, they were very susceptible to the elements and to mosquitoes.

"Rooms" is the term referred to by the Kayaye meaning the wooden sheds around the markets which were used for trading purposes by day, and as night shelters by the Kayaye when the trading day was finished. They paid a fee for the use of this shelter and typically slept on either cardboard, sacking or upon the piece of cloth called a *wrapper.* The fact that this shelter was only available to them by night means that they had no secure place to store their possessions. Insecurity may be one of the explanations for the well-developed system of savings amongst the Kayaye.

Relationships with bosses

The vast majority of children interviewed classified as good their relationships with their bosses (madams etc), other adults with whom they work, their customers and their fellow child workers.

Around 40 per cent of the children interviewed claimed that they were maltreated if they did their work poorly. The remaining 60 per cent stated that they received no sanctions whatsoever for poor work or for not working at all. This seemed to be in line with the fact that these girls were largely self-employed, so the harder they worked the more money they earned.

Payment for work as Kayayes

Sixty-one per cent of the girl labourers were paid for their services as Kayayes in cash, the remainder of the results of the payment modes can be seen below in Table 48.

Earnings in the Kayaye business on an average day are approximately 3,000 – 6,000 cedis (8000 cedis = 1 US$). Earnings per load carried vary but younger girls

Table 48: How Kayayes are paid

How are you paid, by cash, goods, tips etc?		
Classification	**Absolute**	**Percentage**
Cash	235	74
Food	43	14
Goods	14	4
Tips	9	3
Other	17	5
Total	**318**	**100**

appear to earn less per load carried than the adult women. A ten-year-old girl reports earning roughly between 200 to 500 cedis per load carried, and older women are reporting 500 to 1,000 cedis per load carried.

Supplementary income from prostitution

With regard to supplementary income, only 12 per cent of the girls questioned admitted that they received income from other activities, of which 14 per cent confessed that the extra income was earned from prostitution. However this appeared to be just the tip of the iceberg. The real incidence of prostitution amongst girl child labourers was notably higher, based on the observations of the girls over a period of time.

How wages are spent

The findings indicated that, of the girls that are paid in cash, 27 per cent of them regularly remitted money home to their families. Other studies on street girls in Accra indicated that street girls of Accra remain strongly connected to their communities of origin (as well as to the new urban communities which are formed by migrants from their home towns), which may be related to the reason why nearly a third of the respondents in this RA research remitted money home[199]. Forty two per cent stated that they spent their money on purchasing items such as clothes, household goods and such items. Thirty per cent of the girls are engaged in some sort of savings scheme.

Saving technique

Savings were found to be quite common with the Kayaye girls. This is normally outside of the formal banking structure and took two forms: *susu* and *adashie*.

Susu describes the arrangement whereby individual girls will pay a daily contribution to an informal banker, who holds their savings for them for thirty days and at the end of the thirty days pays them back the lump sum they have saved minus a small service charge.

[199] Apt, N.A.; Grieco, M. (1997). "Listening to the Girls on the Streets tell their own story – What will help them most": The Centre for Social Policy Studies, University of Ghana.

The Kayaye has a card and the susu man has a corresponding card upon which the value of the savings deposited are tallied. From the evidence collected, savings with the susu man are used for investment purposes, i.e. the purchase of the items necessary to make a good marriage, to change to a more profitable and less burdensome occupation.

The *adashie* system of savings is arranged within the Kayaye community itself. Groups of between ten and twenty women save together, contributing a daily amount. At the end of the month, the adashie will pay out to a particular set of individuals in accordance with the turn-taking rules of the group. In this way, each girl has a relatively large sum of money available to her at some point in the year from which she can purchase the goods needed.

It appears that the adashie system is used as a mechanism for protecting the Kayaye against the immediate consequences of income loss through sickness. Under the adashie system, the advent of sickness can lift the individual Kayaye up higher in the queue for her turn of the adashie. The adashie thus performs the function of a medical insurance scheme.

Fatima was a 17 year old Mamprusi girl. She slept at Kokomemle and worked at Mallam Attah Market. She had been in the job for 10 months and intended to leave the job only when she would be able to acquire all those things for which she came to Accra (cooking utensils, and clothes).

Work started very early in the morning around 5 a.m. and she often worked till very late in the evening, depending on how she felt. After close of work she walked home and ate with a group of other Kayaye girls.

Together they roamed around the streets until they began to feel tired, then they retired to bed together. She confided that her main problems are tiredness in the job, because of the long distances she walked every day and the heavy loads she had to carry.

She also complained of frequent bouts of ill health. Finally she complained about her accommodation. She along with her friends slept in an open space and, when it rained, it is terrible for them.

Attitudes towards work and school

When asked whether they would prefer not to work in the job they were doing, over 75 per cent of the Kayayes confessed that they would like to stop doing their work. When asked what they would rather be doing, 62 per cent of the respondents answered that they would rather go to school, 36 per cent of them would rather get another job and the remaining 2 per cent stated that they would like to just hang out with friends.

Views on the dangers associated with their work

The responses given to the question whether they think that their job is dangerous and if so how, gave a rare insight into the nature of the fears and concerns of these girl labourers.

Of the children responding, 65 per cent stated that they did not think the work was dangerous; however, the 35 per cent who did consider their work to be dangerous explained why, and the reasons given included the following:

- *"My work is dangerous because I was nearly knocked down by a car the other day".*
- *"The job is dangerous because it is easy to indulge in sexual intercourse with customers, be raped and be influenced by bad friends".*
- *"The job is dangerous because anyone can do anything to me at any time".*
- *"The job is dangerous because you can easily be knocked down by a car or be raped by a customer".*

Furthermore when asked at what age they felt that it was suitable for children to start working, the vast majority of them, almost 90 per cent felt strongly that children should not start working until 18 years or above. Over 81 per cent said they would prefer their younger siblings to attend school rather than do the same work as them.

Sexual activity admitted

Of the respondents, 35 per cent stated that they had engaged or were engaging in some form of sexual activity, and a large proportion of those (66%) were regularly engaging in full penetrative sex. Only 15 per cent of the respondents admitted to having ever been paid for having sex, and over 78 per cent of the child respondents admitted that they had had their first sexual encounter before the age of 15 years.

What was of particular concern was the high number of respondents, 74 (around 20%) who stated that they had been forced at one time or another to have sex against their will. This highlights the high degree of vulnerability of these child labourers. Nearly 50 per cent of the children engaging in sex claimed that they used condoms or other forms of protection against sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancy. Over 50 per cent of the respondents cited that contracting HIV/AIDS or any other sexually transmitted disease was what they feared most.

Other research that has taken place in Ghana revealed that sexual activity among unmarried teens is high and contraceptive use is low. Premarital sex and child bearing is widespread, with sexual activity even beginning as early as 10 years. The mean age is 16 years. Although women may delay marriage they are sexually active prior to marriage[200].

Sex tourism

As a result of the observations of the research team, interviews and FGDs at locations such as Labadi Pleasure Beach, Cocoa Beach Resort and the Novotel area, and with prostitutes and pimps, it was apparent that Ghana was emphatically on the international map as a destination for sexual tourism (both gay and heterosexual). A cursory browse on the Internet showed Ghana being touted as a safe and attractive destination for international paedophiles and other sexual tourists.

[200] Nabila, J.S.; Fayorsey C. (1996). Adolescent Fertility and Reproductive Behaviour in Ghana, 1996, FADEP Technical Series 7.

At the time of the research there were no hard statistics to determine the scope of the problem, but the existence of the Internet has resulted in child workers becoming more vulnerable as sex workers. This is coupled with the absence of any meaningful policing and enforceable laws that administer punitive sanctions on transgressors.

Boys engaged in sex work

Although the focus of this research was essentially on girl children, observations in localities such as Labadi Pleasure Beach showed the existence of large numbers of young boys also engaging in transactional gay sex with foreign tourists.

The rent boys, some as young as twelve, were recommended to hotel residents on demand by members of the hotel staff. For these services they received a commission from the transaction. The researchers believed that the problem may be wider than first anticipated. Other studies in the phenomenon of commercial sexual tourism revealed that young boarding school boys attending the many secondary institutions in the Central Region regularly absconded from school to ply their trade as gay prostitutes at the many tourist locations in the Region. Research undertaken at three major hospitals in Accra, namely Korle Bu, 37 Military Hospital and Labadi Polyclinic revealed that the incidence of rectum abnormalities and discomfort amongst young boys aged between 13 and 18 was on the increase.

Extent of organized sex work

From a FGD that was held at a brothel in Accra, it was clear that many other such venues existed throughout the capital. The brothel was home to around 200 girls, some as young as 9 years. It seemed that every West African country was represented in this establishment, with girls from Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Mali, Guinea and of course Ghana living together as one community. This diversity of nationalities is in line with the results from other research based on interviews with 260 commercial sex workers in Accra-Tema, Kumasi, Obuasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and the Cape Coast, where two-thirds were found to be Ghanians, and others were found to be from Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Togo and Morocco[201].

The evidence gleaned from the discussion for this RA corroborated the view that there is a very brisk trade in sex between young African girls (and indeed boys) and foreign tourists who actively sought out liaisons at established sites such as hotels, night clubs, bars and other venues. The majority of the girls confirmed that they actively seek out the foreigners at places like Makumba Night Club, Jokers Bar and the major hotels.

When asked what the sexual preference was of their foreign clients and whether they always used condoms, they stated that quite often their foreign clients would request anal sex, and that they would normally insist on the use of a condom. However there were some clients who insisted on not wearing any condom at all, and they were charged a higher rate.

[201] Kwankye, S. O.; David Hogan; Samuel Nil Ardey-Cudjoe (2002). Child Prostitution and Child Trafficking in Ghana Sociology Department University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

Cynthia was an attractive, intelligent 11 year old girl. She was originally from Krobo-Odumase. She had been a child prostitute for the past 9 months, and lived at a brothel in Accra. She said she sleeps mostly during the day, and when night falls she transforms herself into another person.

She talked about how she fell out with her parents and was practically driven away from home because she was considered to be a witch and bad luck to the family. She said that she had a friend in Accra who was a prostitute and she admired her beautiful clothes and her sophistication and wanted to emulate her.

Cynthia said that she wants to give up the work and concentrate on a trade such as tie-dye, but that she has not earned enough money yet. She spent most of her money on clothes. She told the researchers that she often takes drugs such as marijuana and cocaine before she goes out on the streets. She feared contracting HIV/AIDS and being caught by the police.

5. Analysis of the pathway to engagement in the worst forms of child labour

There is no one overriding or simplistic reason why young children can be found engaged in the worst forms of child labour in Ghana. Rather the reasons were multi-dimensional, with one causative factor feeding or giving rise to another, and developing what can almost be described as a vicious cycle of bondage. The following is an attempt to identify some of the major causative factors why girl children are involved in the worst forms of child labour in Ghana.

Poverty

Unemployment and the very low income of families have resulted in a situation in which children feel compelled to engage in some form of commercial activity to supplement the family income. The per capita income of the average Ghanaian is still less than one US dollar a day. This low-income level condemns many thousands of children to a life of toil and drudgery, as they are forced onto the streets in order to earn any form of income.

Rural-urban migration

Evidence from this RA and other research show that children have been caught up with the general pattern of migration of adults from the rural areas (predominantly in the north) to the major urban metropolis in the south of Ghana around Accra.

Through adult members of their households, children have become aware of the linkages between migration and better living standards, and therefore replicate

this migration pattern to improve their own lives. They receive information on the better and brighter prospects to be found in the cities through the media. Media scope has increased tremendously due to the electrification of many rural areas.

The rural areas themselves in the main have not benefited from the investment drive in Ghana, and they are largely characterized by poor roads, absence of industries, and less access to electricity, potable water, communications, markets and skilled labour.

Customs associated with marriage

Some cultural and traditional practices in many communities in Ghana can influence the migratory patterns of child workers. In the northern regions, a high premium is placed upon the institution of marriage, and many of the activities engaged in by girls are to prepare them for marriage.

Tradition dictates that parents (particularly the mothers) provide their daughters with their marital accessories, consisting of cooking utensils and clothing, which are considered to be an essential component of marriage. The inability of mothers to provide such essential items forces the daughters to migrate to commercial centres in search of work in order to enable them to purchase these items.

Some cultural and traditional practices do not only inhibit the effective participation of children in schooling, but also compound the child labour problem. Traditional practices such as early marriage, particularly affect girls. Hard statistics on early marriage are generally sparse, but it is known that children between the ages of 12 and 16 years in most rural communities are compelled to marry men who are invariably older than they are. These girls often run away to escape a forced marriage, and end up working on the streets either as petty traders, Kayaye load carriers, bar assistants or children in prostitution.

Dysfunctional families

Like other nations around the world, Ghana has seen an increase in the breakdown of the traditional nuclear and extended family set-up. The extended family can no longer cope with the complex demands of its members due to the pressures of rapid urbanization, individualization and dire poverty. The nuclear family has suffered from the effects of rising divorce rates, multiple or polygamous marriages and a loss of parental responsibility.

Many children are being cared for now by stepmothers or stepfathers who may not show enough parental love or affection towards them. Additionally, many extended and nuclear families are unable to provide their children with the needed emotional and economic support that they require. Parental neglect not only causes children to drop out of school, but in the long term it also makes them realize that they have to fend for themselves. Indeed it could be argued that the increasing trend of irresponsible fathers is symptomatic of the dire economic situation of the country and the breakdown of the traditional nuclear and extended family set-up.

Agencies such as the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) are currently inundated with cases involving child neglect and child abandonment.

Poor educational framework

Children continue to be excluded from basic education because their families do not have the money to pay, despite the free compulsory basic education policy. Unfortunately children and families, particularly in the rural communities, do not see the immediate value and usefulness of education; rather, the pull of earning money to supplement the family income is more pressing.

The school dropout rate is noticeably much higher for girls than for boys, peaking during the transition between the primary and secondary school levels. The problem of school dropouts is closely related to the problems of child labour, family poverty and school fees. The need to supplement the household budget that keeps the children out of the classroom in the first instance also pushes them into the towns and cities in search of paid work.

Other research[202] has examined the day to day impact of child labour on those in school, finding that, as well as leaving children too tired to learn, child labour robs them of their interest in learning. Children who are already contributing economically to their family income may be less interested in academic achievement, resulting in lack of motivation that affects both their learning and their future prospects.

Peer pressure

Peer pressure plays a significant influencing factor for children to make the move into the big cities and commence work on the streets. Child migrants often return home after acquiring some capital or during the festive periods. Impressionable children who see their friends returning will no doubt be seduced by the display of apparent wealth and will decide to also go and seek their fortunes. Peer pressure was also identified as a factor for entering work as prostitution in a detailed descriptive study of young commercial sex workers in Agomenya, Kumasi,Tamale and Tarkwa[203].

Child abuse

There are no hard statistics on the level of child abuse in Ghana, with a culture of silence on this issue. However, research indicates that up to 6 per cent of child labourers in Accra have been the victim of some form of abuse (sexual and otherwise) within and outside the family setting.

Ethnic and regional disputes

There is some evidence to suggest that ethnic conflicts and regional disputes are responsible for a small but nevertheless significant proportion of child workers.

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

[203] Dept of Community Health, University of Ghana Medical School (2002) Report on situation analysis of the context of risk and vulnerability among young mobile commercial sex workers in Ghana. March 2002 UNAIDS, National Aids Control Programme.

The 1994 ethnic conflict between the Dagombas and Kokombas of the Northern region resulted in the displacement of over 50,000 children. Equally of concern are the regional conflicts in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. The resultant influx of refugees has filtered its way onto the streets of Accra, where young Liberian prostitutes can be seen plying their trade outside some of the premier hotels.

Discriminatory inheritance patterns

The inheritance traditions amongst many of the patrilineal communities tend to exclude girls from inheriting any of the fixed assets of their deceased fathers' estates. Male children in the three Northern Regions as well as the Volta Region are regarded as sole heirs to immovable property such as land, while female children and widows are only entitled to rights of access.

Furthermore, it is the practice of some patrilineal societies in Ghana to hand over property to the senior male child of the deceased, with the view that he would manage that property as a custodian on behalf of all the children. Sadly, in many cases the senior male child fails to live up to this responsibility, leaving many children in a state of despair, often leading them to leave their homes in search of a means of survival in the cities.

Levirate marriage/widow inheritance

The practice of levirate marriage and widow inheritance is very common, particularly in the Upper East region of Ghana, where it is estimated that up to 70 per cent of the indigenous population practise the custom. In both cases the widow is given in marriage (formally and informally) to any male member of her husband's family. Where a formal marriage takes place, the couple is permitted to have children. Research undertaken on the subject reveals that children born out of such unions are usually neglected by the new husband on the basis that he is not the real father, with obvious effects on the vulnerability of those children.

Organized child trafficking

The results of the RA showed that the vast majority of the children (46%), when questioned about who had recruited them into the work they were doing, answered that their parents or other family members had been instrumental, with 21 per cent of them acknowledging that it was their mothers who had recruited them.

Further investigation using the results of other research surveys reveals that there is a very real trade in children for work in Ghana. The recruitment process can take various forms. In some cases parents take their children from the village to urban areas to be housemaids or apprentices, and negotiate a fee for them. In other cases, the children are lured by strangers or a syndicated group that move around villages, enticing parents to give up their children with the promise of *better* living at their destinations.

The traffickers are parents (especially mothers), recruiters who are known to the parents of the victims, intermediaries who receive the children for distribution and natives of the same village or community.

The major factor contributing to child trafficking is poverty. Parents are unable to shoulder their responsibilities towards their children. Broken homes and dysfunctional families play an important role, as does the breakdown of the traditional nuclear and extended family system. The great demand for housemaids by working families in the urban areas only adds impetus to this brisk trade in human traffic.

Table 49 below summarizes the immediate, underlying and structural reasons for child labour in Ghana.

Table 49: Girl Child labour causal analysis matrix

Manifestations	Immediate Causes	Underlying Causes	Structural Causes
• Child abuse, child labour (violations of Convention 182 Recommendation 190), street children, children being harmed by certain practices, by conflict and war (violations of the right to survival, the right to development and the right to participation of children) • Commercial and sexual exploitation	• Disintegration of nuclear and extended families • Lack of parental support and supervision • Lack of knowledge and awareness of legal rights. • Rural-urban migration • Anachronistic cultural practices • Lack of knowledge/professional skills of those obligated to protect child rights and to provide care • Exposure to environmental hazards and social vices • Peer pressure • Lower protection of females as compared with males • Organized child trafficking	• Inadequate institutional framework and mechanisms to police and enforce legislation • Inadequate infrastructure, financial support and skill development for welfare institutions • Lack of sound data disaggregated by gender, age and region • Limited access to basic education • High levels of illiteracy • Poor quality of education	• Strong adherence to traditional practices which place a premium on early marriage and childbearing and disregard female children in distribution of family assets • The negative impact of economic policies on rural agriculture and other forms of income • Cultural, economic and social vulnerability of females

6. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The information on the working girl child around Accra demonstrated the sad reality that none of these girl children have the luxury of just being children. Instead, working girls have had to mortgage their precious childhood for short-term financial gains, with huge ramifications and often-irreparable consequences for their long-term well-being and future lives.

Young girls who originated from the Northern part of Ghana gravitated towards the South to work as head load carriers or Kayayes, whilst young girls from the southern part of Ghana tended to enter into petty trading, domestic work and farming activities. Although many do not admit it, through observation it was established that many Kayayes and petty traders engage in commercial sexual activity as a secondary source of cash. Some girls engaged in prostitution are as young as eleven years. A high number of Kayaye girls are at one time or another forced to have sex with customers against their will and are extremely vulnerable, with no proper shelter at night.

The primary motive of most if not all girl workers in the Accra area is to earn money. For example, girl child workers from the North seek employment in Accra to earn money in order to purchase personal effects such as clothing, cooking pots, bowls and buckets for use in marriage. The inability of their impoverished parents to supply these items, which are an essential component of marriage in the North, leaves self-acquisition as the only option open for the girls. In contrast, girl child labourers from Ashanti and Brong Ahafo are driven more by a desire to engage in vocational training and therefore purchase items for trade, such as sewing machines to enable them to learn dressmaking. Regardless of the motive, engaging in transactional sex is an extra way to supplement incomes.

Both boys and girls were also found to engage in sex work in tourist localities, and it appears to be a growing phenomenon. Highly sophisticated international networks of paedophile gangs and the immense threat of HIV/AIDS give cause for extreme concern for Ghana's girl and boy children engaged in prostitution.

Research[204] based on a national household survey on reproductive health, with interviews with male and female youths and adults, examined a wide range of variables including social norms, self-confidence, perceived risks, interpersonal and social networks, access to and cost of reproductive services, in terms of reproductive health behaviour. This research found that media exposure to reproductive health matters depends on the region as well as the level of formal education. Less than 20 per cent of respondents in this research used condoms for their first sexual encounter. Young people who had never had sex were more likely to be ignorant of safe sexual practices. Finally, even if knowledge about HIV/AIDS is there, there is still a significant gap between knowledge and practice in the use of contraceptive methods.

[204] Anarfi, J. K.; Awusado, J.; Nabila, J; A. Sefa-Dede; E. Tagoe; K. Twum Baah (2000). Ghana youth reproductive health survey report, Ghana Social Marketing Foundation, Planned Parenthood Association, Johns Hopkins University, Population Communication Services, Focus on Youth Project, USAID. Dec 2000.

Policy recommendations

Recommendations arising from the research study are organized at three levels:

1. Recommendations for policy formulation and programme development.
2. Recommendations for enhancing the institutional framework.
3. Recommendations for a dedicated public education campaign.

Policy formulation and programme development

Ghana has traditionally been very good at signing international treaties and conventions on issues relating to children, and at developing intervention strategies and programmes to give effect to their new treaty responsibilities. However, despite the best will of government and other key stakeholders, the problems encountered in implementation seem so overwhelming as to blunt the effectiveness of even the most carefully thought out programmes.

Therefore, aside from signing up to all the relevant international treaties and conventions, it is imperative that as a second step, a concerted effort is made on the part of policy-makers to not only learn and document the successes and failures of past programmes and strategies but also to actively seek out *good practice models* for implementation from wherever they may occur in the world, with a view to adapting them if necessary to the conditions pertaining in Ghana. As part of this exercise it is recommended that policy-makers consider some of the following:

- Undertake a nationwide study of the causative factors of child labour, utilizing the rapid assessment methodology and ensuring that the validated findings are fully represented in the application and implementation of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS). The goal of poverty reduction and making Ghana a middle-income country is the only sure way of reducing the vulnerability of children and stemming the disintegration of the nuclear and extended family set-up in the long term.
- Compile a national database on child workers, street children, children in prostitution, child trafficking etc. in order to assist policy-makers and local and international development agencies with their planning.
- Strengthen and formalize collaboration with governments, international law enforcement agencies and other international networks (ECPAT) established specifically to tackle the menace of commercial sexual tourism, child trafficking and international paedophile information sharing.
- Bring the issue of educating and sensitizing the citizenry about the worst forms of child labour, the Children's Act and other key legislation under the auspices of the National Governance Programme Secretariat. This is the implementing agency for the UNDP-sponsored programme entitled *Consolidating Democratic Governance Programme* (CDGP) and is mandated to further the principles of good democratic governance in Ghana. The following are key principles of the CDGP:
  - Full respect for human rights
  - The rule of law
  - Effective participation
  - Access to knowledge
  - Information and education
  - Political empowerment of people
  - Gender equality and equity
  - Attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.

It appears that most child-related policy interventions made in Ghana have tended to exclude children in the design, planning, implementation, monitoring and follow-up phases. This trend should change, and a concerted effort should be made to ensure that the participation of children is integrated into the processes if future policies are to have any meaningful impact.

Enhancing the institutional framework

In enhancing the institutional framework to give greater effect to the programmes and strategies that are designed at the policy level, it is imperative that a multi-pronged approach should be deployed to address the different capacities and approaches of the many stakeholders involved in the area of child rights.

It is important to strengthen the knowledge base, institutional capacities and operational capacities of all the key actors. The first step is to change hearts, minds and attitudes, before tackling the problem of poor or inadequate logistics and infrastructure. A top-down approach should be used to tackle the problem at the levels of legislative or law-making, policing and judicial levels.

- **Parliamentarians** need to be fully sensitized and fully informed about the child labour problem in Ghana with all its implications (hidden and otherwise). If parliament has a better understanding of the dynamics of the child labour problem, it would be better placed to agree on legislation that would address the legislative gaps. It is proposed that the *National Governance Programme* should be used as the vehicle to target Parliamentarians through special roundtables and advocacy initiatives under the UNDP-sponsored *Consolidating Democratic Governance Programme* (CDGP).
- The Ghana **police** service is constrained in its capacity to effectively police the area of child rights. The formation of WAJU is a positive step in the right direction, but greater emphasis needs to be placed on developing a strong collaborative framework involving NGOs, civil society groups such as the Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA), constitutional bodies like the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC), and the National Council of Women and Development (NWCD) to work together with the police, sharing relevant information and acting as the collective eyes and ears, that the police on their own currently do not have.
- An initiative within this objective, could be the establishment of a dedicated **national child telephone line** (free-phone number and freepost address) for children and other concerned parties to register complaints, which would be actively followed up.
- Members of the **judiciary** and key judicial institutions need not only to be fully educated and sensitized in this area, but also to forge closer working links with the Ghana police in order to establish clear and meaningful deterrents without the frustrating bureaucratic judicial delays that all too often characterizes child rights cases. These often result in inadequate or no sanctions being imposed upon offenders.

Public education campaign

The entrenched nature of some of the traditional and cultural practices that continue to persist in Ghana, and which pervade all levels and strata of society, has

been identified as a causative factor in the child labour problem. It is therefore imperative that a dedicated public education campaign be embarked upon which addresses these stereotypes and which actively seeks to change the attitudes and the mind-set of the citizenry on these outmoded and anachronistic beliefs, particularly those that adversely affect the perception and treatment of females.

Furthermore, society at large seems blissfully unaware of the creeping menace of commercial sexual tourism, child trafficking, child slavery and other topical issues. It is important to make the facts available to as wide an audience as possible. Without this concerted effort, all other interventions at the policy-making, legislative, policing and judicial levels would be meaningless, because people will still behave in exactly the same way.

Institutions such as GNCC, NWCD, CHRAJ, the Police, NGOs and Civil Society Groups should all work together in this national sensitization campaign, ensuring that the message is spread through whatever medium (documentary, drama, print, radio, TV, posters, peer group, etc) to reach the grassroots level in every village and every hamlet in Ghana.

SECTION D

Girl child labour in agriculture in Ghana: results of a rapid assessment[205]

1. Introduction

According to the World Bank, around 80 per cent of children in rural areas engaged in some form of labour. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest incidence of child labour in the world. Some research estimates that approximately 95 per cent of child labour is on household-run farms and enterprises where parents are the "employers". This form of child work is only sometimes combined with schooling[206]. Often data and findings on children engaging in agricultural labour are not disaggregated by sex. Furthermore, even if data are disaggregated by sex, an analysis from a gender perspective based on the findings from the research is often absent. This study on girl children in agriculture in Ghana attempts to provide IPEC-ILO with such information on agricultural labour from the Ghanaian perspective.

Respondents for this survey were randomly selected and included working boys and girls, their parents and a number of farm supervisors. In total 200 girl and 75 boy child labourers took part in focus group discussions for this survey. Seventy-five parents/guardians of these children were interviewed and 25 farm supervisors were also consulted. The result is a comprehensive snapshot of the situation, conditions and concerns of child labourers in agriculture in Ghana.

Differences between conditions and the agricultural activities of girls in comparison to those of boys are outlined throughout the results of the survey, as well as their working conditions and the problems they endure in their work.

1.1 Summary of findings

The research findings from the five regions of Ghana concluded that child labour does exist in agriculture, and the majority of these children are aged between 12 and 17 years. The basic minimum age for employment in Ghana is 15 years. Employment before the age of 15 years is prohibited, but younger children are allowed to perform light work. Light work in effect allows an overlap between the compulsory school age and the minimum age of employment.

[205] By Research International, Accra, Ghana, October 2002.

[206] Andvig, J. C. *Family-controlled child labour in Sub-Saharan Africa: A survey of research*, Social Protection Discussion Paper No. 0122, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2001, 68 p. (Available on the World Bank Web site http://www.worldbank.org).

Yet, both girls and boys in this study were found to be working for long hours under the burning sun and were poorly remunerated. Neither girls nor boys enjoyed any form of protection while undertaking their labour. They are not usually provided with protective gear and they handled chemicals/fertilizers with bare hands, merely being told to wash their hands afterwards.

When they fell sick, the burden of medical expenses was usually borne by the parents and children themselves even though over half of boys and girls claimed their illnesses were job-related. Children working on farms did not undergo medical check-ups except in very extreme situations.

Although parents were aware that their sons and daughters were not provided with any protective gear while working on farms and that this may pose a threat to their health, the parents surveyed believed their children received training on the farms and were pleased that they were able to supplement family income. On average, about 72 per cent of what children received as payment (cash or payment in kind) was used for household subsistence.

The incentive for starting work in agriculture for children was mainly to supplement family income and because parents asked them to help out financially. Additionally both parents and children alike believed that the experience gained through agricultural work is important for their future. Parents were the key in encouraging children to begin work in agriculture. Children also hoped to help pay family debts. Some children, mainly boys, saw working as an opportunity to earn money to establish their own business.

Most of the children lived with one or both parents, unless they had migrated for work, or migrated for educational purposes. Some children were caring for family members. On average, children lived in a household of between five and ten members, with an average of about six members per household. Girls migrated with their parents more (24%) than boys (7%). However, more boys (22%) are found to migrate for work to earn some money.

Children lived in house structures made of mud mainly in rural areas, with poor facilities at home. Their parents are mostly farmers. Twenty-six per cent of the children interviewed had had some form of bitter experience with their nuclear family members and some were estranged from them.

It was revealed that most of the working children have not completed primary basic education. Fifteen per cent of the children have never been to school. Eighty-five per cent of them have had some level of education, but usually below primary six. The main reason given for not attending school was that families simply cannot afford their children's schooling, with 81 per cent of the children citing financial problems as the reason for not attending school. It was also revealed that some children are not interested in schooling and hence it seems pointless to send them according to their parents. More girls than boys were reported to be not interested in schooling. Other reasons for lack of schooling were to help at home and to earn money.

Farm supervisors outlined their view on the working patterns of child workers on farms and the daily activities child labourers perform. According to them, poverty, broken homes and the need for extra/more money compels children into farm work. Main activities include weeding, planting, and harvesting and fertilizer application. Employers and supervisors were aware of the hazards experienced by both children and parents, and mentioned injuries such as cutlass wounds, snakebites and the fact that children get sunburned. Supervisors indicated that day's work and performance rather than the age of the worker determine payment.

Most of the children were employed on a contract basis or as casual/temporary/part-time workers. Generally information is passed around that help is needed on a farm, and those interested are picked up in a truck and sent to the farm to work, or else children go seeking jobs on farms themselves. Children worked all year round, particularly after school hours and during harvest time. Some children worked on their family plots of land as unpaid family workers. Work here involved weeding, planting, harvesting, watering, and feeding of animals and pasturing.

About two-thirds of the children were not paid at all. The remaining third received a variety of forms of payment. They were paid an average of five thousand cedis for a day's work of about eight hours[207]. Payment was mainly in the form of money and foodstuffs. Adults were generally paid higher amounts than boys or girls, and girls normally did additional selling to contribute to the household.

Stress was the major health problem children experienced. More girls (65%) reported that they experienced stress/fatigue than boys (42%). Children were subjected to physical abuse like shouting and slapping, as well as belt beating by some of the farm managers and supervisors. The weather posed another threat for them. Both girls (48%) and boys (45%) complained of sunburn/heat. Forty-nine per cent of the boys further complained of backache problems, with 36 per cent of the girls having the same problem. The lack of good drinking water also posed a threat. Some farm managers did provide food, water and a resting place for their workers.

Most of the girls did not have any free time for leisure activities. After finishing all their household chores and tasks, the time left was used to take care of other responsibilities like fetching enough water and firewood for the household and laundry.

2. Profile of the surveyed areas

Location of survey

The Rapid Assessment gathered information on child labour in agriculture in five regions of Ghana, namely the Northern, Ashanti, Western, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions. These regions offer a representative sample of the major agricultural sectors of the country.

The economy

Ghana is undergoing a harsh economic environment, with 40 per cent of Ghanaians below the poverty line[208]. Over half of the population of Ghana is below 20 years of age[209]. Poverty and low living standards have resulted in children who belong to low socio-economic groups engaging in economic activities.

[207] 1 US $ = 8000 Cedis approx.

[208] Poverty Trends in Ghana in the 1990s, GLSS October 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service).

[209] Ghana Living Standards Survey October 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service).

Girl and boy child workers in agriculture in Ghana

Other research in the area of child labour has found a link between poverty and child labour in Ghana, and evidence of a gender gap in child labour linked to poverty. Girls as a group as well as across urban, rural and poverty sub-samples were found to be more likely to engage in harmful child labour than boys in such study. The incidence of child labour tends to increase with age, but this increase was found to be more pronounced for girls[210].

Girl children are also at a particular disadvantage because they are the least favoured for schooling. Girls have relatively lower enrolment than boys at all levels of the formal education system. Reasons often cited include poverty, low parental and community attitudes towards girls' education due to socio-cultural barriers, including gender roles, religious barriers and low opportunities for girls on the job market. There is also an opportunity cost of sending daughters to school, and travelling long distances to school. Retention rates are lower among girls than boys owing to lack of support, poverty, pregnancy, betrothal/early marriage, inappropriate curriculum, gender-segregated curriculum and a desire for quick money[211].

3. General research methodology

Quantitative and qualitative data

Statistical data on the causes, nature and extent of child labour were studied for this research on the girl child in agriculture in Ghana. The 'hows' and 'whys' of different issues that could not be quantified were also tackled. The main data collection methods were interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Adapting the IPEC-ILO rapid assessment methodology to suit the Ghanaian situation enabled relevant information to be gathered quickly and efficiently.

Sampling frame

The researchers randomly selected 350 respondents from the major agricultural areas in the country. The distribution of the sample was by and large skewed towards children and girls in particular, since the main focus of the research was child labour and girl children in agriculture. The sample breakdown was 72 per cent girls and 28 per cent boys. Seventy-five parents/guardians were also interviewed. Respondents were randomly selected and included working children and their parents. Farm managers/supervisors were separately interviewed and are not counted in the sample of 350 persons.

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[210] Blunch, N.-H.; Verner, D. Revisiting the link between poverty and child labour: The Ghanaian experience. World Bank, Washington, D.C., 21 p., 2000, (Available on the World Bank Web site http://www.worldbank.org/).

[211] Boakye, J.K.A. Synthesis of Research on Girls Education in Ghana, October 1997, Ministry of Education, Ghana, GINS' Education Unit / Department for International Development.

Eleven focus group in total (with 350 respondents) were held in order to discuss issues around child labour, taking place in towns and villages of the Northern, Ashanti, Western, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions. Three of the focus groups were made up of parents of both boys and girls, and the other eight focus groups were children engaged in agriculture.

Table 50: The distribution of the sample used for the structured interviews

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

Parents of children surveyed

The majority of parents were farmers and natives of the towns and villages visited. Apart from farming, other occupations engaged in by the parents who participated in the survey included blacksmiths, drivers, millers and traders. Others were unemployed. The number of children the parents have borne ranged between two and fifteen.

Employers and work sites

Twenty-five farm managers/supervisors (2 females and 23 males) were interviewed to obtain further quantitative information on the girl child in agriculture. Their ages ranged from as young as seventeen years to as old as seventy-three years.

Specific plantations visited for such interviews included: Manso Atwerea coffee plantation; Mfum Farms & Feedmill Ltd.; cocoa plantations; palm plantations; Fuzy farms; Sualisu farms; AAI farms; Johnson farms; other plantations growing pawpaw, cashew, tomato, maize and cassava.

Limitations of methodology

The research encountered drawbacks in some regions, such as not having access to the children, especially girls. The worst experience was in a village called Offuman, in the Brong Ahafo region. Although asked beforehand, the girls did not turn up because they had been told by some citizens of the village to boycott the discussion. Villagers were cautious of the fact that there were people around who were interested in young ladies. The research team went subsequently around the village convincing the local populations of the objective of the research and involved

the members of their district assembly as well as other dignitaries in the village. When they agreed to let the girls come to the focus group discussion, some parents wanted to sit in and listen. This was objected to since the girls would not be able to talk freely if others were present. Finally, an understanding was reached.

Another limitation in some instances was language. The services of interpreters were required, particularly in the Northern region. However, in general such hindrances did not prevent the aim of the research being achieved.

4. Survey findings

4.1 Profile of children

Two hundred girls and 75 boys between the ages of 6 to 17 years took part in the survey. The majority of the children were aged between 12 and 17.

Household composition

Children stayed with either both parents or just their fathers or mothers. Their family structure was made up of between 5 and 10 members. The mean number of family members was 6, although there were extreme instances where a male participant had 16 members in his family in the Ashanti region, a female participant had 11 in the Western region, and there were two instances of just 2 family members.

Migration of children

Many of the children met during the course of the research moved from one place to another. Most children migrated to join their parents. More girls than boys migrated to join parents. Moreover, more girls than boys migrated together with their

Table 51: Reasons for migration of children

Reason for leaving home	Boys %	Girls %
To join parent/relatives	26	35
Move with parents	7	24
Death of parent/guardian	7	9
To attend school	22	7
Work for money	22	7
Help care for family	0	6
Learn a trade	7	6
Had problems with landlady/landlord	0	4
Too many siblings	4	2
The house was taken from us	4	0
To be a store keeper	4	0
To find a job	4	0
Father was unschooled	4	0

parents. More boys than girls migrated for educational purposes, and boys tended to move out of home to work for money. Other reasons given for migration of both boys and girls included death in the family, helping to care for the family and the opportunity to learn a trade.

About a third of the parents consulted reported that they have their sons (36%) and daughters (33%) living with them. More girls (17%) than boys (4%) lived elsewhere. Children who lived elsewhere tended to be with grandmothers, aunts, sisters and uncles. Reasons given for these occurrences and situations included: poverty, helping relatives (domestic work), farming, schooling, pottering and because it was a traditional practice (tamale). For instance, often young daughters were sent to help grandmothers or to older sisters with children.

Type of dwelling

About half of the children interviewed lived in mud houses while the remaining half lived in cement houses. A little over half had cemented floors while the others have clay, sand and tiled floors. The majority of the respondents lived in homes with between one and four rooms, with an overall average of two rooms. Two-thirds of the respondents claimed that they lived in their own privately owned family houses, while nearly a quarter of them live in rented homes.

Table 52: Percentage distribution of ownership of homes of children – regions

Region/Ownership	Ashanti	Eastern	Brong Ahafo	Western	Northern
Private	39	38	78	79	98
Rented	44	43	11	19	0

Table 52 above illustrates that in the rural areas of the Northern, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions, private ownership was quite high compared to Ashanti and Eastern.

Facilities

Most children lived in places where there were no water, electricity, toilet or bathroom facilities. In some cases, there were no kitchens.

Primary/ financial caregivers of children

The parents of the child were the main primary care givers of the family. This main financial responsibility was reported to fall on the man of the house but the mother also provided financial support. Other support was also received from uncles, older brothers and grandparents. In certain situations, it is the child who provided for or supported the household.

In the Northern region, it is the tradition for the man of the household to provide the main foodstuffs for their meals. However, all other accompaniments adding up to make the meal complete and balanced have to be borne by the woman.

The main occupation of the caregivers was farming. However, some of them did engage in other jobs to supplement the household income, particularly when crops were not in season. Such other jobs mentioned included driving, tailoring and

Table 53: Financial caregivers across the regions

Primary caregiver	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Northern	Western	Total
Male guardian/employer	12		4	7	2	5
Female guardian/employer	15	6	6	2	7	7
Father	37	66	70	87	66	65
Mother	29	24	20	2	22	19
Other	8	6	–	2	2	3
Myself	–	–	–	–	2	0

being a policeman. Some of the boys stated that they washed taxis and buses as well as doing masonry work to earn a little more money. Their mothers usually were trading to make up for the shortages in income.

Family relationships

Children were asked whether they had had any bitter experience at home with their parents. About 74 per cent of the children answered in the negative, the remaining quarter reported that they had. The bitter experiences which had left lasting impressions on them were mainly with their nuclear family members.

Bitter experiences were due to frequent quarrels (34%) and being treated cruelly (47%). Other disturbing experiences mentioned reflected conditions of unstable homes such as desertion (16%), broken families (16%) and alcoholism (15%).

Schooling profile

As outlined in the background, education in Ghana is compulsory until the ninth grade. However, physical access to schools and the cost contribute to child labour.

Overall the majority of children (85%) had had some education, and only 15 per cent declared they had never been to school. Significant regional differences were evident. All the children surveyed from Brong Ahafo had been to school. The region with the highest percentage of children having "never been to school" (33%) the Western region followed by Northern (26%). The distance between home and school was between two minutes and an hour's walk, with some children walking between one and three kilometres to school.

Table 54: Percentage responses – Have you ever been to school ? (N=231)

	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Northern	Western	Total
Yes	85	100	96	75	67	85
No	15	-	4	26	33	15

There was a striking difference between the boys and girls in terms of educational levels. Boys were usually given preference over girls by parents when they choose who will be sent to school. Even though some children thought both sexes

have an equal opportunity, the majority thought boys were more favoured in acquiring an education. Some of the reasons given included the following:

- The threat of pregnancy for girls and subsequent loss of investment;
- The notion that a woman's place is in the kitchen;
- A perception of boys being more brilliant than girls and better achievers;
- The view that boys need education first;
- The belief that boys may threaten mothers if they cannot go to school.

The majority of girls had either just made it through the junior secondary school level or had dropped out at the primary school level. While boys had furthered their education by taking up accounting and mechanical engineering courses in tertiary institutions, such as in Tamale, the girls were still barely able to complete their senior secondary school education.

Other regional and gender differences noted were that most of the boys from Tamale, in the northern region, had attended school, and so had some of their counterparts from Agona Nkwanta near Takoradi in the Western region. Most of the boys in Tuobodom however had not attended school, whereas some of their girls had completed junior secondary school.

Although the importance of education was not lost on the children, 80 per cent of them indicated that financial constraints were the reason why they were not able to further their education. This is consistent with other studies on the costs of education in Ghana. For example, one such study of school attainment in Ghana discusses how prices differ for different schooling levels (i.e. schooling costs are now necessarily constant throughout the education cycle) and how this affects decisions to attend any one schooling level[212].

Overall reasons in the RA study for low levels of educational achievements included:

- financial problems,
- non payment of fees,
- the need to support mother to educate other siblings,
- the movement of family,
- to play football,
- death of father,
- promise of travelling abroad,
- child not clever,
- shyness.

The percentage range of responses for reasons for dropping out of school is outlined in the table below.

[212] Lavy, V. (1996). School Supply Constraints and Children's Educational Outcomes in Rural Ghana. Journal of Development Economics Volume: 51 pgs: 291-314.

Table 55: Reasons for dropping out of school according to children (N=80)

Reasons for dropping out of school	Total (%)
Cannot afford school	81
Not interested in school	15
To help in household	11
To work for wages	9
To work in own business for income	4
Both parents are dead	5
To take care of ill family members	3
School is too far	3
To go and stay with a relative	1
Yet to begin schooling	1
Not good academically	1

Education and school fees from parents' point of view

The majority of the parents had not completed formal education. Most of them were illiterate. The parents often stated that they really wished to put their offspring through school so that their children would not face all the problems they have had to deal with resulting from a lack of education.

Parents reported financial constraints as the main hindrance to educating their children. Reasons parents gave for their children dropping out of school are outlined below with some interesting gender differences. The lack of ability to afford school fees is a factor which means that more boys rather than girls are sent to school. However, according to parents more girls (59%) are prone to be uninterested in schooling, in comparison to boys (23%). The parents indicated that about twice as many girls are not interested in acquiring knowledge through school education than boys. It was also reported that more girls than boys seem to fail at school. This could suggest that girls are less socially conditioned to study than boys, or that girls engage in more household tasks than boys and have less time for study, or there is a high

Table 56: Percentage distribution of reasons preventing schooling of children according to parents

Reasons preventing schooling	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Cannot afford school	53	24	43
Not interested in school	23	59	36
To help in household	13	–	9
Failed at school and discontinued	3	12	6
Stopped to work for wages	3	6	4
Illness or disabled (of self)	7	–	4
To work in own business for income	7	–	4
School is too far away	3	–	2
Dumb	3	–	2

rate of pregnancy among adolescent girls, or even that schools are organized more with boys' interests and needs in mind than girls'.

Other studies on dropout rates in Ghana

One recent study[213] on child labour and education in Ghana has focused on the day-to-day impact of child labour on those in school, finding that, as well as leaving children too tired to learn, child labour robs them of their interest in learning. Children who are already contributing economically to their family income may be less interested in academic achievement, resulting in a lack of motivation that affects both their learning and their future prospects.

Regional differences were noted in other research on dropout rates in Ghana. Causes of school dropout from research in Northern Savannah[214] included lack of support, poor academic performance, pregnancy among adolescent girls, perception of schooling as unimportant (because of unemployment of school leavers compared to incomes realized by school age children), teachers' harsh punishment especially in rural areas where pupils were exploited for farm labour or household chores. Gender disparities reported in this research were that more boys dropped out owing to lack of support, though more girls dropped out because of pregnancy, it is also a cause of dropout for boys! Two-thirds of dropouts assisted parents in economic activities and household chores, others were in private vocation, apprenticeships or unemployed, with parents and immediate relatives providing for maintenance. This research reported that one in two dropouts would prefer to complete basic education but this was prevented by shyness of adolescent mothers, poverty and lack of parental awareness of approved returnee policy.

Survey data of 3,200 households from the Ghana living standards survey in 1987 – 1988 were examined with regard to the relationship between sibling-size and educational outcomes for children[215]. It was reported that high fertility in Ghana negatively affects the education of girls. In fact, girls with many younger siblings are less likely to enrol in school than boys, and mothers were reported to prefer to educate sons to ensure future security. Other studies[216] with a sample size of 3703 boys and 3755 girls found that pregnancy was the girls' most frequent reason for dropping out of school.

In other parts of Ghana, sexual activity among unmarried teens was found to be high (in the Accra and Kumasi areas), and contraceptive use low. Premarital sex and child bearing was widespread with sexual activity even beginning at 10 years, although the mean age was found to be 16 years[217].

Furthermore, the empirical results of further research into education contains some evidence of sharp rural-urban differences, thus pointing to the need to adopt

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

[214] Boakye, J.K.A., Agyman-Duah S.; Osei, J; Ward-Brew, M. Causes of Dropout from Basic Education in Ghana. 1997, FAWE / GIRLS Education Unit, Basic Education Division, Ghana Education Service, Accra.

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

[216] Study done by Nsowah-Nuamah, N. Cited from FAWE Ghanaian Chapter/UNICEF, Needs and life skills knowledge of adolescent girls in junior secondary schools in Ghana 2001.

[217] Nabila, J.S.; Fayorsey, C. Adolescent Fertility and Reproductive Behaviour in Ghana, 1996, FADEP Technical Series 7.

region-specific policies to child labour[218]. World Bank studies on child labour and school attendance in selected developing countries argue that determinants of child labour and school attendance were mainly affected by poverty, parents' socio-economic characteristics (mainly employment status and educational attainment) and children's individual demographic characteristics (mainly age and gender)[219].

4.2 Profile of children's work in agriculture

Farm work was generally carried out between Mondays to Fridays. However, children who go to school worked only at the weekends, mostly Saturdays. Thus, a working day could be Saturday or any day there was a job. The majority of the children went to church on Sundays and rested afterwards.

The majority of the parents surveyed (60%) saw agriculture as the main activity their children perform, and nearly half described their children as unpaid workers on their own farm. Eleven per cent of these parents acknowledged that their children were also involved in domestic work, an area in which girl children engaged more widely.

Apart from rented land, the owner of the land they worked on could be the chief, their grandfather, the family or a friend, or the parents themselves.

Age children started working

The age at which most children start working ranged from between 14 to 17 years according to parents. However, some of the parents claimed that the children could start working on the farms at a far earlier age. The age range of these children according to the supervisors were between 9 years and 17 years. The age range differences by regions is shown below:

Age range differences by region	
Ashanti:	16 – 17 years
Eastern:	16 – 17 years
Western:	13 – 17 years
Northern:	10 – 12 years
Brong Ahafo:	15 – 17 years

It appears that in the Northern region children started work at an earlier age than in the Ashanti and the Eastern regions.

Over half of the supervisors acknowledged that the children working for them were about 17 or 16 years. These figures do not refer to the children interviewed, but on their farms in general. A fifth of supervisors in the northern sector of the country

[218] Ranjan R. (2002). The Determinants of Child Labour and Child Schooling in Ghana Journal of African Economies (web site) 2002 11 (4)561-590, Oxford University Press. Pages: 561-590, Issue: 4 Volume: 11 December 2002.

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

used mostly 12 year olds. About a sixth of supervisors reckoned the children they employed included 15 year olds.

Distribution of workers on the farms

According to the survey, the number of persons working daily on farms varied from as few as two to as many as over twenty. The number of children under 18 years also varied from two to twenty. The northern region had a larger number of children under 18 years working on farms.

In the other regions, supervisors firstly claimed they had eight or fewer children working for them, which was not reflected in the situation on the ground. On further probing it was revealed that the permanent workers were six but, depending on the time of year and the job, there would be as many as ten to twenty casual workers who could include children. When harvesting oranges, there may be up to thirty casual workers.

Nature of job and reasons for working in agriculture

The children worked mainly as wage earners on contract or as a casual, temporary or part-time employee. Alternatively they worked as an unpaid family worker.

More children worked as unpaid family workers in Brong Ahafo and the Northern region than in the Ashanti region. The Ashanti region had the lowest (10%) percentage of unpaid family workers. Ashanti had the highest percentage (48%) of casual wage employees and seasonal contract workers. The Western province had the highest percentage of regular paid child workers although they numbered only 13 per cent of child workers. These points again illustrate that regional differences in child labour exist, and underline the need for adopting region-specific policies for improving child welfare[220].

Influences to start work

According to the children, their reasons for beginning to work in agriculture included:

- more money is made from farming;
- they wished to help parents get money for school fees;
- farming is the only source of sustenance for the family;
- money is needed for daily needs;
- to get food to eat;
- to make money for clothing, shoes, underwear, pads;
- so they do not have to ask parents for everything they need;
- to obtain seedlings for their own farm.

Parents were seen to be the most influential figures in making the children work on farms. For example, girls in Tamale said their fathers made them go to the farms. Nevertheless, some children also went ahead and decided themselves to work in farming. The existence of peer pressure to begin working on farms was also an incentive, as children were influenced by what their friends are doing.

[220] Ranjan R. (2002). The Determinants of Child Labour and Child Schooling in Ghana Journal of African Economies (web site) 2002 11 (4)561-590 Oxford University Press. Pages: 561-590, Issue: 4 Volume: 11 December 2002.

Table 57: Percentage distribution of influential person for working child

Influential person	Responses %		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Mother	29%	37%	35%
Parents	15%	30%	25%
Father	35%	21%	25%
Myself	23%	20%	21%
Friend	16%	13%	14%
Female guardian	4%	6%	5%
Other relatives	3%	5%	4%
Male guardian	5%	3%	4%
Trafficker	1%	1%	1%
Employer	4%		1%

It would appear that mothers were more influential on their daughters starting work than on their sons. Likewise fathers influenced their sons more than their daughters to begin work. For example, a respondent said it was a habit he grew into - always following his father to the farm. More girls indicated overall that their parents (without distinguishing between mother or father) had an influence on them beginning work.

Table 58: Reasons children get recruited into agriculture according to children themselves in different regions (N=266)

Why children got recruited	%				
	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Northern	Western
To gain experience		58	8	31	16
To acquire training		51	–	23	4
Supplementary family income	28	15	67	44	44
Help pay family debts	11	–	8	6	–
No other job possibilities	17	6	14	6	26
Earn money to establish own business	36	6	4	14	9
There is no school nearby	–	–	2	2	–
To pay school fees	15	7	6	35	9
To be economically independent	9	13	4	17	7
Parents asked me to	23	44	35	52	38
It is a tradition		9			–

Interestingly, those in Ashanti listed earning money to establish a business as their top reason for engaging in farming (36%). This could possibly be influenced by the commercial activities that are very prevalent in the area. Also, in the Brong Ahafo

region, 58 per cent of the children wanted to gain some experience, as farming is the main activity in that area. Eastern province had the highest number of responses that indicated that supplementing family income was the key reason for engaging in agriculture (two-thirds of children).

Across all regions, however, the fact that parents asked their children to engage in agriculture is a very important factor for commencing work.

What parents believe motivates their children to work

According to parents, because of non-payment of school fees, children were sent home from school and tended to run away to work as farmers. Alternatively parents reported that children decided to abandon school altogether and would rather work on the farms. Parents commented that some of their children did not help them but rather worked on their own to get their own money.

Table 59: Percentage distribution of what motivates children to work according to parents

Motivations for starting work	Total %
To gain experience/acquire training	47
To supplement family income	31
Help in own household enterprise	24
To pay school fees	21
To be economically independent	8
Earn money to establish own business	8
Help pay family debts	3

The highest percentage of responses from parents regarding what motivates children to work was to gain experience or training followed by both supplementing family income and helping in household enterprise. The lowest percentage of parents reported that it was to help pay family debts.

Supervisor's reasons for employing children

Supervisors outlined reasons why they think children engaged in work. The key reasons they listed were having poor parents and the fact that the children needed to earn some more/extra money. Another reason according to supervisors was the effect of coming from a broken home/marriage.

When asked about why children under 18 years worked on farms, supervisors again repeated that the financial predicament of parents and the need to earn extra money were the main reasons. However, they also blamed irresponsible parents as a reason.

Hence a different emphasis was given in answers as to why children worked in agriculture, according to the children themselves, the parents and the farm supervisors. The supervisors notably highlighted the financial aspects of earning money and blamed parents for not providing it, while parents also mentioned the need to earn money and to gain experience. Regional differences were noted in the children's responses. Unfortunately these responses were not disaggregated by sex.

Table 60: General reasons why children work according to farm supervisors

Reasons for child labour	Total %
Poor parents	80
Earn extra/more money	64
Broken home/marriage	40
Learn farming for their future	8
To be smart in life	4
Lack of job opportunities for parents	4
Irresponsible parenthood	4
Poor agricultural climate	4

Table 61: Reasons why children under 18 years work on farms according to supervisors

Reasons for child labour	Total %
To earn extra money	25
Financial predicament of parents/family	25
To get money to buy basic needs	20
To earn money for school fees and others	20
Irresponsible parenthood	20
To get money to feed themselves	15
No education	15
Famine in their families	10
To release them from idleness	5
To enhance good relation with parents	5
To earn money to celebrate 'salla'/festival	5
The children come for fruits to sell for money	5
Some of them are orphans	5
No other jobs	5
No breadwinners in their families	5
Lack of good agricultural climate	5

How children are recruited to work in agriculture

Recruitment for work in agriculture occurred in several ways. The farm owner went around the village in the evenings to inform children in the area that he needed help on his farm. This was done at any time, or for various farming activities including: the planting season for a particular crop; weeding; harvesting; plucking or watering crops. Alternatively, children were told by their peers/friends through word of mouth that they could earn some money. This was the case during the harvest seasons of crops such as tomatoes, maize and yams.

Children were sometimes picked up in a vehicle provided by the farm owner and this vehicle dropped them off again at the end of their farming day. On other occasions, they walked to the farms if they were nearby. Supervisors sometimes

examined and questioned the children about their physical fitness and bodily pains before they could start working.

Hours of work

Hours of work varied from place to place and ranged from as early as 5 am to a 9 am start, finishing at 4 or 5 pm, with a break or rest period around midday that lasted for about an hour. A 9 am start was normal for labourers working on a farm for pay.

The quantitative data obtained from interviewing parents indicated that the working hours of these children lasted between one to about 14 hours in some instances. The majority of them worked between two to eight hours per day.

Table 62: Working times of children

Working period	Total %
All year long	48
Harvest season	43
Out of school hours	36
Vacations	9
Weekends	9
When there is need for money	7
Apart from Sundays	1
Apart from Tuesdays	1
Saturday	1

The data indicated that nearly half of the children surveyed are likely to work all the year round. Forty-three per cent only worked during harvest seasons and 36 per cent worked only during out-of-school hours.

Main activities

Children were generally involved in the farming activities from the beginning of the planting season to the end of the harvest time. Children were however most needed during the harvesting season of crops (such as tomatoes and maize). The data below describe the various activities performed by boys and girls, with weeding and crop/animal farming being jobs that are mostly done by children.

Parents confirmed that girls are needed mostly for harvesting and planting seasons, while the boys are used for weeding and preparing the land for planting. Parents also noted that most girls are involved in the crop cultivation. However, in livestock farming more boys (24%) than girls (5%) got involved. It was explained that pasturing of flocks and feeding duties are deemed to be tedious and therefore it is boys who perform them.

The typical tasks performed by boys and girls in crop and animal farming are depicted below in tables 64 and 65.

Table 63: Percentage distribution of main farming activities by children

Main farming activities by children	Boys	Girls
Cocoa farm	12%	10%
Cotton farm	3%	4%
Animal rearing/looking after livestock	12%	6%
Crop farming & animal rearing/looking after livestock	37%	36%
Driving away birds from farm	5%	4%
Weeding	53%	44%
Fishing/fish smoking	1%	
Fetching firewood		6%
Selling farm produce/petty trading	7%	6%
Fruit farming	8%	3%
Collecting eggs		2%
Fetching water		1%
Harvesting	7%	3%
Plantain farming	3%	1%
Carrying harvested produce	1%	3%
Cooking for workers		1%
Carrying loads		1%
Helping in all aspects		1%
Maize farming	3%	3%

Table 64: Normal tasks performed by child workers in crop farming

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

Table 65: Normal tasks performed by child workers in animal farming

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

It is interesting to note that although more boys are involved in land preparation and weeding, there is still a significant percentage of girls involved.

Other studies have shown that the division of farm work between the sexes has become blurred compared with the past, as women and girls are now more frequently carrying out tasks that were previously men's responsibility[221]. Thus it is important to note that the findings above on the roles of boys and girls are not static and relate to a particular situation and time during which the study took place.

Daily activities of children according to farm supervisors

According to supervisors, children working on these farms were found to be involved in performing major jobs, such as weeding, planting, harvesting and carrying farm produce. Table 66 outlines the daily activities of the child workers on farms according to supervisors.

Table 66: The daily activities of the child workers on farms according to supervisors

Daily activities for child workers	Total %
Weeding on the farm/hand picking of weeds	70
Planting crops (maize cassava)	39
Harvesting	35
Carrying farm produce to designated place	22
Applying fertilizer	13
Carrying of firewood	9
Gathering the harvested produce	9
Fetching water	9
Dehusking	4
Picking	4
Making ridges	4
Watering	4
Cooking meals	4
Picking dropped cashew fruits	4
The job is difficult for children to perform	4

Although a significant percentage of children were involved in all these activities, tools for farming were not generally provided by the farm manager or owners. Children had to take along their own hoes, cutlasses, head gear and scarves to the farms. Other studies have illustrated that it is essential to adapt tools and implements to women's particular needs[222]. Although not mentioned in this RA study, research into the ergonomics of farm equipment and tools needs to focus on the specific physical needs of girls who are generally physically smaller than boys. This is important in terms of working posture, the size and weight of tools used, the time for task completion and energy input.

[221] IFAD/FAO/FARMESA, 1998. The potential for improving production tools and implements used by women farmers in Africa. A joint IFAD/FAO/FARMESA study. February 1998.

[222] IFAD/FAO/FARMESA, 1998. The potential for improving production tools and implements used by women farmers in Africa. A joint IFAD/FAO/FARMESA study. February 1998.

Supervision of work

The farm managers and supervisors were the main groups who decided on tasks to be carried out on farms. Children did not have any choice in deciding the tasks they preferred to do. Farm managers were responsible for providing food, water and resting places for children as shown in the box below.

Table 67: What is provided for children on farms

Provision of Logistics	Yes	No
Uniforms	16	84
Food	70	30
Drinking water	78	22
Places to rest	54	46
Medical services	24	76
Transport facilities	18	82
Accommodation	36	64

Food and drinking water were relatively more likely to be provided than uniforms, medical services, transport or accommodation. Some of the farm managers provided better access to drinking water for their workers than others, as was evident where water tankers were deployed to supply water on farms.

A positive side of being supervised mentioned by the children was that the supervisors reminded workers to wash their hands after fertilizer application. On the negative side, children were shouted at and the supervisors were not seen to be friendly towards child workers. Boys at Tuobodom said that the son of a known farm manager even went to the extent of slapping them when they did not behave as he wanted. Farm managers said they have even sacked some of their supervisors for being bullies to the children on the farms.

4.3 Wages

Amount and payment terms

Generally, pocket money ('chop money') was given to the children for their breakfast before the start of the day. This amount varied from employer to employer, with a range of between ¢1,000.00 ($1=¢8000 i.e. 1/8 of a dollar) to ¢2,000.00 daily (25 cents).

The actual pay for workers was explained in the following ways:

- ¢5,000 - ¢8,000 per day;
- ¢10,000 - ¢20,000 per day for adults;
- ¢10,000 for collecting 5 crates of tomatoes;
- ¢1,500 for collecting a bag of garden eggs;
- ¢1,000 for carrying a bag to the roadside;
- Children get ¢5,000 for any kind of work; female adults get ¢7,000 while males adults get ¢8,000 – according to Kumasi girls.

Other methods of payment included:

- Collecting leftover tomatoes or maize to take home;
- Having meals cooked on the farm for consumption.

Two-thirds (63%) of the children were not paid for their jobs. Those who received cash payment were paid promptly. Others also received payment in kind. The payment in kind covered mostly food items.

Parents also asserted that only a third of children were paid for their jobs. This was an interesting finding, because although the highest percentage of responses from parents regarding what motivates their children to work was to gain experience or acquire training, the second most cited reason given was to supplement family income. If only a third of children were paid for their labour, it would suggest that the children supplemented their family income by working beside their parents to help their parents finish their tasks faster, rather than earning a wage and giving part to their parents.

The parents reiterated that money (79%) was the main form of payment, followed by gifts (38%) instead of payment in kind made to the children. Parents established that children who are paid for jobs done received between ¢3,000 and ¢10,000 a day and it depended on the work done; some earned as much as ¢10,000. Parents also confirmed that such payments were made daily and immediately after farm work was completed. This information supported what the boys and girls said.

In general, girls who worked for their parents received no physical cash, but got new dresses during festive occasions instead, and fees were paid as well as "chop" money.

Differences in reward/payment

The general finding was that, because adults did more work than children, they were paid higher than children. For example, adults were known to weed a wider and larger area on farms than children and carried bigger pans for picking tomatoes. This was the case in Agona Nkwanta and Offuman villages. But sometimes, such as when planting tomatoes, the same payment is given to both the young and old, which would motivate children to work. However, differences in payment for boys and girls were not highlighted, excepted in a few locations.

In Kumasi, adults were paid higher for some jobs by being given extras on the side. In the North, older girls were given cash while the younger ones were given items such as books and dresses. The older girls were also given items for marriage as a form of payment for their services. This was usually the case for those working for their parents. Adults who worked were paid ¢10,000 per day since they worked harder. 41 per cent of parents themselves were paid on a contract basis, 35 per cent per working hour, 10 per cent at a piece rate and only 3 per cent monthly.

Males were only explicitly reported to have been paid more than females in one region - Nkawie. This was not reported from other regions. Most children interviewed said their pay more or less stayed the same every month (58%), 30 per cent said that it fluctuated a little and 12 per cent said it fluctuated a lot.

Supervisors' view of payment patterns

When supervisors were asked how they determined payment for their workers, they indicated that they mostly paid them according to the day's work or the perform-

ance/output of the worker. Land size and contract also played a significant role in pay determination.

Surprisingly, the conditions of employment such as the number of hours worked did not seem to be really taken into consideration, nor age, qualification or yield per year. This contradicted what the parents and children reported – that age is a major factor in pay determination.

Table 68: Determination of payment patterns according to supervisors

Determination of Payment	Total %
By day's work	44
By performance/output	44
Land size	28
Contract	16
Measurement by land rope	12
Hours worked	8
According to age	4
By qualification	4
Yield per year	4

According to supervisors the adult is paid twice as much as what was given to the child on the farm. The least amount paid to a child worker was ¢2,000[223] ($0.25). The least amount paid out to an adult for a day's work was ¢5,000 ($0.62) and it could be as high as ¢35,000 ($4.38).

At the agriculture project plantation at Tuobodom (Techiman), the supervisor of the farm revealed that, adults are paid ¢12,000 ($1.5) per day, and this was made up of 9,000 for labour and 3,000 for food. However, with the children workers, they were given 6,000 cedis ($.75) plus food. The differences in the payment system were attributed to the following:

- adults were able to work faster and did more work than children;
- adults were able to carry bigger pans when it came to harvesting and carrying produce;
- adults tended to carry out the heavier jobs on the farm, e.g. carried boxes of tomatoes to roadside; and
- adults were older persons and had responsibilities at home.

Satisfaction with payment received

Over half of the children working on these farms claimed to be satisfied with their pay. A third of them indicated their dissatisfaction with it. Only 8 per cent of them said they were very satisfied with the pay they received for their jobs, and 3 per cent were extremely dissatisfied.

The boys in Tamale expressed their satisfaction with what they received from their farming activities. On the other hand, the boys in Tuobodom in Techiman were

[223] US $1 = ¢8,000

not very satisfied with their payments. The girls, however, reported no complaints across all the four regions where the focus group discussions were conducted, and claimed to be satisfied with the rewards they were receiving for their labour. Why the girls did not complain to the interviewers about their pay is unknown. It could be because girls were shyer about complaining to outsiders. On the other hand, girls may value their work in a different way than boys when they are culturally conditioned to accept their lower status. Studies on practices affecting women and children in Ghana have highlighted how traditional practices affect women. Norms such as the perceived cultural superiority of men and the pressure for strong adherence to tradition (often perpetuated by women themselves) were considered significant factors that determine social roles[224].

Other sources of income

About 85 per cent of the children workers indicated that they do not have any other sources of income. When asked specifically if there was any support for the household upkeep coming from older brothers and sisters, nearly 4 out of every 5 children replied in the negative (boys – 80% and girls – 73%).

Additional income was obtained from selling farm produce. Most of the girls were engaged in additional selling of groundnuts, oranges, yams, tomatoes and maize (Offuman, Nkwanta and Tamale) as a means of acquiring other sources of income to supplement whatever they had. Sixty-four per cent of the children claimed that they sold partly to make money. There were more girls (53%) selling in markets than boys (45%).

How earnings are spent

Regarding the use of any money earned from working in agriculture, 35 per cent of children reported giving part of their earnings to their mothers, with 16 per cent giving part to father, 16 per cent giving part to their parents and 16 per cent spending part on leisure activities. Thirteen per cent of them did use their money to help to pay for their school fees as well as those of their siblings, as the group discussions revealed. Interestingly, while 7 per cent claimed to give all that is earned to their mothers, only 2 per cent claimed that for their fathers.

Although some parents claimed in the discussions that children do not contribute to the household keep (in Nkawie, Kumasi), the quantitative data shows the contrary. Children were reported to use their earned income to buy medicines (23%) and paid for fees and materials (23%). They gave part of it to the female parent (23%) and used some for leisure (12%). This was the same as what the children reported. What food children received in kind as payment was used for household subsistence (72%) and partly sold to make money (56%). It was interesting to note that only 13 per cent of money earned from farming was used to pay for school fees and materials.

[224] Nabila, J.S.; Eric Kojo Aikins; Osman A. R Alhassan. Traditional practices affecting women and children in Ghana. Population Impact Project, Geography Dept, University of Ghana, Legon, 2002.

Table 69: How children use money earned from farming

Usage of money earned	Total %
Give part of it to mother	35
Give part of it to father	16
Give part of it to parents	16
Leisure	16
Pay for school fees and materials	13
Keep the rest	10
Give it all to mother	7
Buy medicines	7
I save the greater part to learn a trade	6
I give to my grandmother	3
Give it all to father	2
I use some for clothing	2
I use it for my needs	2
I use some for food	1
To look after my younger brothers/sisters	1
Give part to my aunt	1
Give part to my sister	1
I give part to my guardian	1

4.4 Consequences of child labour in agriculture

Occupational hazards and dangers

The research revealed that boys and girls engaged in agriculture are exposed to various types of problems. Children were sometimes abused physically on the farms. Farm managers shouted at children, children got slapped, and it was reported that some managers even used belts to beat them.

Children's health was put at risk because protective gear was not provided for them. For instance, the children were asked to use their bare hands when applying fertilizer, although they were told to wash their hands after such applications.

The girls at Agona Nkwanta complained about being in danger from falling trees, tripping on ropes and hurting themselves, as well as suffering from cutlass wounds as they went about their farming activities.

More than half of the boys and girls attested that most of their sicknesses were work-related. In the Ashanti (76%) and Northern regions (62%), more illnesses were related to the work done by farm labouring children. In Brong Ahafo and Eastern, the blame for illnesses was evenly split, with 49 per cent and 56 per cent for the respective regions. The Western region seemed to be low on this correlation as it had only 22 per cent work-related illnesses.

The most pressing problems for the children was revealed to be stress/fatigue (59%), sunburn/heat (47%), backache (39%) and long working hours (32%). Lack of good drinking water was also found to be a problem for many. More boys than girl

Table 70: Percentage distribution of problems faced by children

Problems faced in crop farming by children (N=257)	Boys	Girls	Totals
Stress/fatigue	42%	65%	59%
Sunburn/heat	45%	48%	47%
Backache	49%	36%	39%
Work for very long hours	37%	30%	32%
Work overload	21%	19%	20%
Lack of good drinking water	18%	13%	14%
No break times	6%	5%	5%
Too much walking	1%	2%	2%
Headache		3%	2%
Break times are too short		1%	0%

respondents experienced backache, and more girls than boys experienced stress/fatigue and headaches.

Feeling exhausted and tired a lot was a big issue for many children. Half of those spoken to reiterated that they sometimes felt tired (51%) and the remaining half were split between feeling tired often (27%) and always (22%).

The research revealed that the majority of children complained about:

- bodily pains, including waist and shoulder pains,
- feeling of tiredness due to tedious nature of the job,
- fever,
- cholera – lack of good running water on the farms,
- catarrh – due to chemicals used without protective gear,
- insect bites,
- having to look after themselves.

When respondents were asked if they informed their supervisors when they felt unwell, only about half of them responded in the affirmative.

Carrying heavy loads

Fifty per cent of the boys admitted to carrying heavy loads as did 42 per cent of the girls. Across all the regions this was considered part of the course in agricultural work, especially during the harvesting periods.

The girls in Nkawie said they also had to carry sawdust, which was heavy when wet. Some of the boys in Tamale got round this problem by putting loads on bicycles. In the northern part of Ghana, bicycles are a major means of transport and are used by both the very young and the old.

Provision of protective gear for work

No provision was made to protect the health of the children in a majority of the cases. Sometimes boys (of Tuobodom) and girls (from Nkawie) were supplied with boots.

Chemical handling

Some children used fertilizers. For example, the girls in Offuman, Nkawie and Agona Nkwanta were found to apply fertilizers on land. The reason given for not using fertilizer was that it was too costly for children to apply.

With the exception of girls in Tamale, all the others were supervised when using fertilizer. Supervision was mainly to ensure the work was done properly and that workers did not steal the produce, rather than to check for health hazards while applying it.

Hazards on plantations/farms according to supervisors

Supervisors identified most of the problems highlighted by both children and parents.

Table 71: Problems/hazards faced by child workers on plantations/farms according to supervisors

Problems/hazards of the child worker	Total %
Cutlass/hoe wounds	32
Snake bites	28
Scorpion bite	8
Inadequate salary	8
Wasp infestation/attacks	8
Weather hazards	8
Sunburn	8
Accidentally dislocate arm/legs	4
Inadequate protective materials	4
Fatigue	4
Children are not reliable	4
Children are exposed to money at an early stage	4
Children sometimes work on empty stomachs	4
Children are sometime paid less because they can't work	4
Backache	4
Protective materials are not available	4
Inadequate incentives	4
Bee infestation	4
Some of the children become drunkards	4
Long working hours	4
Carrying heavy loads	4

Notable in Table 71 above were the numerous wounds children had to endure from the use of cutlasses and hoes. In addition, supervisors also mentioned being bitten by snakes and scorpions due to poor protective gear. They also indicated bodily pains because of long working hours and carrying of heavy loads.

Information availability regarding work hazards

A large percentage of the children surveyed had never been given any information on health dangers associated with their jobs (84%). Only 16 per cent had some information. The sources of their information were the media 45 per cent; parents 24 per cent; teachers/school 14 per cent; farmers 14 per cent; employer 14 per cent; NGOs 7 per cent; government officials 7 per cent; and doctors 2 per cent.

The research indicated that employers often shed their responsibility for informing children about the dangers of the job, contributing to their workers having work-related illnesses. Information given by employers is deemed to be inadequate by 28 per cent of respondents, and some the children workers had never been given any information (59%). However, of the 14 per cent of these children who have had some form of information, over half of them reported that they do not observe these precautions.

Medical checkups and payment

Almost all these children (and their parents) did not have any provisions for medical care and checkups, unless in very critical conditions. Both boys and girls alike did not go for medical checkups (89% of the boys and 86% of the girls had never been for a medical checkup). Reasons given were that they did not have the financial means and it was not a priority for them. Only 7 per cent of both sexes had undergone a thorough check-up and this was when an illness was critical. In some limited instances, the farm manager gave money when the children got sick, for example at Nkawie, near Kumasi. Treatments for illness mainly implied going to the drug store (66% of respondents). The bulk of all medical expenses was borne by the parents (74%) and children (21%). Employers only contributed a meagre 2 per cent.

Parents' point of view on conditions/hazards

Parents confirmed the children's assertion that they are not informed of the hazards of the jobs, given medical check-ups or provided medical assistance. Fifty-eight per cent of the parents said that children are not provided with any information on the health dangers of the job while a third of them said they are. Eighty-six per cent of parents said that the children never go for medical checkups. Only 1 per cent claimed it is done every six months and 12 per cent of them said it is done less often. However, they attributed almost all the illnesses suffered by these children to the farming work they did.

Parents were split (53% yes, 44% no) on the question of whether the children were made to carry heavy loads or not. Again, they asserted, just like the children, that no protective gear was provided to those who handled chemicals in the farming processes.

On what the farm managers provided, 90 per cent of the parents acknowledged that children working on the farm were provided with drinkable water, 89 per cent of them responded that the children get food and 64 per cent claimed they have places to rest in the course of their daily farming activities.

Supervisors' opinions on the working environment of children

There was divided opinion regarding the views of supervisors on the working environment of the children. Twenty per cent of these supervisors claimed their working environment is in fact conducive for the children, while 15 per cent and 10 per

cent on the other hand think it is rather dangerous or unhealthy to say the least. They stated that children are compelled to work on empty stomachs due to financial problems, and this enhances their fatigue levels.

Table 72: Supervisors' views/opinions on working environment of children in farming

Supervisors' opinions on working environment of children in farming	Total %
It is conducive	20
Dangerous	15
Unhealthy	10
It is manageable for them	10
Children are exposed to harsh weather conditions on the farm	10
They are free from accidents	10
It is not the best for them	5
It toughens children very early	5
No protective clothes	5
It has been the usual practice	5
Snake bites are rampant	5
Infestations of other dangerous insects	5
The work children do is not demanding	5

4.5 Attitudes towards work

Views on workload

Over half of all children complained that their workload was extremely or very heavy (63%).

Table 73: Description of workload by children working on farms

Description of workload	Boys (n=71)	Girls (n=187)	Total (n=258)
Very heavy	51%	42%	44%
Just right	25%	34%	32%
Extremely heavy	18%	20%	19%
Very light	4%	4%	4%
Extremely light	1%	1%	1%

As is evident from table 24, more boys than girls described their work as very heavy. A third of girls and only a quarter of boys described it as just right.

Leisure activities

Sadly, some of the children did not know what free time leisure activities were, as they did not enjoy such free time. It is only when they finished with all their

farming work and household chores that they found the extra time to take care of their personal needs. This was typically the case with girls in the group discussions in 3 out of the 4 regions (Tamale, Offuman and Agona Nkwanta).

In their free time, the girls did their own laundry and washing, or fetched water and firewood for the house. Some of the boys reported that they also engaged in activities such as being a driver's mate and keeping the goal for school football matches.

Playing and chatting with friends were listed as leisure activities for children, as well as sleeping and resting.

Table 74: Leisure activities of children working on farms

Leisure Activities	Total %
Playing	52
Chatting	46
Sleeping	41
Reading/learning	26
Watching TV	16
Resting	3
Cooking	2
Fetching water	2
Hawking fruits on the road	2
Hunting grass cutters	1
Looking after a baby	1
Sweeping	1
Washing clothes	1

Wish to quit farm work

Nearly two-thirds of the children working on farms reported that they would like to quit. Eighty-eight per cent of boys and 86 per cent of girls confirmed this by stating that they would prefer not to be in this line of work. This is reflected regionally.

The girls in the group discussions did not come up with any specific preferences for jobs. The boys, on the other hand, asserted that they planned to stop their farming activities on completion of school, or when they acquired a chance of going to school or when they obtained work for regular pay.

Table 75: Preference for job change for children

Preference to change field (N=233)	Yes %	No %
Male	88	12
Female	86	14
Ashanti	93	8
Brong Ahafo	84	16
Eastern	81	19
Northern	93	7
Western	93	7

Although nearly all responses to the question about their preferences for job change were that children would like to change field of work, the Eastern province children seemed to be the group that answered more in the negative, followed by Brong Ahafo.

Table 76: Percentage distribution of what children would prefer to do

What would prefer to do (N=233)	Boys	Girls	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Northern	Western
Go to school	61	60	42	77	74	82	25
Learn a trade/ apprenticeship	38	38	56	23	24	18	71
Be with parents	–	1	–	–	–	–	2
Work that will give me salary	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Always learning/ further studies	–	1	–	–	2	–	–
Learn how to drive	2	–	–	–	–	–	2

Children opted to go to school in the majority of the instances or learn a trade/apprenticeship. Teaching, banking, trading, accounting, law, nursing, seamstress and hairdressing were mentioned as job aspirations.

Depending on the region, boys seemed to have more specific aspirations in mind in comparison to girls. This could be because girls have relatively lower enrolment in school than boys at all levels of the formal education system, as well as the socio-cultural expectations for girls in the future. Low opportunities for girls on the job market have been reported in previous research[225]. Other reasons for the lower aspirations of girls could be because of the trend towards early marriage, early pregnency and a desire for quick money before marriage rather than developing a career as such.

On the other hand, boys in Tamale were interested in being: ministers of agriculture and education, engineers, teachers, doctors or accounts clerks. Whereas in Techiman they were interested in being a mechanic, a radio /bicycle repairer, a lawyer or a chief farmer, in Kumasi most were interested in becoming mechanics – probably because of the large concentration of mechanics in the area. In Agona Nkwanta, they wanted to be welders, drivers, electrical engineers or carpenters.

Contact with governmental organizations or NGOs

With the exception of girls at Agona Nkwanta who had been visited by the NGO World Vision, all others had never been contacted by any group in relation to their work. Nonetheless groups had come to talk to girls in Nkawie and to boys in Tuobodom on health issues like AIDS and polio. But it is still worth noting that such visits were not on farming-related issues.

[225] Boakye, J.K.A. Synthesis of Research on Girls' Education in Ghana, October 1997, Ministry of Education, Ghana, GINS' Education Unit / Department for International Development.

5. Analysis of pathway to labour of girls and boys in agriculture and recommendations by the research participants

Poverty was a major factor for children in Ghana to begin working in agriculture. Rural families could not afford schools fees, and parents encouraged children to work in the only economic activity available in rural areas - farming. Few job opportunities were available. Children themselves wished to supplement family income, and many of them also wished to be economically independent. Many hoped to earn enough to start their own business, particularly in the Ashanti region. Many boys and girls hoped to gain experience and training through working.

Parents served as the most influential persons in getting boys and girls involved in agricultural activities, with about a quarter of children reporting this. Mothers were more influential for girls than for boys. Many children decide themselves, and peer influence was also important.

Suggested interventions and recommendations were offered by both the boy and girl child labourers, the parents, the farm supervisors and the researchers themselves, and are outlined below.

Suggested interventions from boy and girl agricultural labourers

- The government should provide financial support and free education for all school-going children to make it easier for those who do not have the means.
- The rich people in society should help the poor and needy children to acquire education.
- The children called on their chiefs to encourage their parents to send them to school.
- Organizations (multinational companies & donor organizations) should endeavour to offer sponsorships to needy children for their education.
- The boys pointed out the need for more school buildings as the lack of proper buildings in certain rural communities hinder their regular school attendance.
- The treatment of children in the schools should be revised and teachers should stop whipping as it deters some children from attending in the first place.
- Assemblymen were called upon to lend their support for children's education.
- Boys stated that fertilizers and tractors could make a difference in their farming activities and make their work easier.
- There was a call for awareness-raising on the need for more responsible parents and parenting.

Suggested interventions from the parents

- Parents recommended schooling for both boys and girls.
- The government should embark on the creation of more jobs with better pay to help parents pay their children's school fees.

- The government should give out loans to farmers to help them in their occupation.
- Chiefs should sponsor some of their needy children through school. This was said about the Chief of Nkawie, Kumasi, in the Ashanti region.
- More schools should be built in their local communities (the few private schools in their communities are very expensive).

Suggested interventions by farm managers/supervisors

- Financial support should be provided to farmers.
- Education and facilities should be made available.
- Society must be educated against child labour.
- The government should provide more employment.
- Parents must be more responsible towards their children by providing for their needs and not push them into working on farms to help make ends meet.
- Parents should work harder in order to cater for their children and their needs.

Recommendations from Ghanaian researchers

- The provision of more schools should be made a priority so that more children have the chance to pursue some education.
- Parents should be given loans to enhance their farming activities so they can get more returns to provide for their children's education.
- Income-generating activities in the rural communities are recommended to avoid over-dependency of farmers on what they can get from their farms and being tied down by the seasonality of their produce.
- Laws should be put in place to check the employment of child workers on farms and plantations.
- The provision of alternative trades and training should be offered, such as carpentry, tie-dye or hairdressing, to help develop skills for children, especially in the rural communities.
- Awareness-raising on the ills and woes of child labour must take place, and all that child labour takes from the child in the rural communities must be highlighted.
- Consistent and efficient monitoring of child labour should be in place through the labour offices.

6. Conclusions

In this RA study both boys and girls were found to work as wage earners in agriculture, on contract or as casual, temporary or part-time employees, or as unpaid family workers. The age range at which children began working varied according to the different categories of respondents (children, parents and farm supervisors). There was no indication given for the differences in the starting ages for boys and girls separately. The starting age for work in agriculture ranged from 9 years to 17 years, with regional differences clearly evident.

Regional differences were also evident in levels of education. Although 85 per cent of the children (of 231 children who responded to this question) had some form of education, some regions had much higher drop-out rates than others. Evidence of regional and urban/rural differences in education are also apparent from other studies on dropout rates in Ghana, leading other researchers to advocate regionally-based policies on child labour and education.

There was a striking difference between boys and girls in terms of educational levels, with boys favoured over girls for schooling, particularly when there were financial constraints to sending children to school. Girls generally completed primary level or junior secondary school, whereas boys tended to have had further levels of education.

Financial constraints were the major reason cited by both parents and children for dropping out of school. However, in disaggregating the responses of boys and girls, more boys cited financial constraints than girls as a reason for not continuing education, and significantly more girls than boys stated that they were not interested in school. Conversely not many children reported that they used their wages for continuing education.

It would appear that (apart from cultural factors favouring boys in access to education) the high fertility rate in Ghana means that there is an opportunity cost associated with sending girls to school – they may become pregnant and subsequently drop out of school (so it is not worthwhile sending girls to school). Pregnancy, coupled with the practice of girls staying at home to look after younger siblings, results in lower attendance rates for girls. Social roles and early pregnancy being the norm could be one reason why girls are less interested in studying. However, further probing on the lack of interest in education for girls did not figure in the study, and it is only possible to speculate on this aspect of the results of the RA.

According to other studies, child labour and lack of interest in learning are intrinsically linked in Ghana. Girls may already be mothers themselves, and hence be shy about returning to school, or lagging behind in their school-age level. If children are working either minding siblings or elsewhere, child labour leaves them too tired to learn and consequently less interested in school. Thus, a number of factors could explain the lack of interest in girls studying, including working in the fields, early pregnancy, domestic duties including minding siblings, and cultural preferences for educating sons, which was clearly evident in the survey responses.

Parents were seen to be the most influential figures in making the children work on farms, with mothers in this regard being more influential on their daughters than their sons. Across all regions, however, the fact that parents asked their children to engage in agriculture was the key to their commencing work. The highest percentage of responses from parents regarding what motivates children to work was to gain

experience or training. The lowest percentage of parents reported that it was to help pay family debts. On the other hand, the key reasons listed by supervisors were because the children had poor parents and the child had to earn some extra money for the family. Another reason according to supervisors was the result of coming from a broken home/marriage.

Hence a different emphasis/perspective/perception was given in the answers as to why children worked in agriculture. This difference in emphasis depended on whether it was the children themselves who answered, the parents or the farm supervisors. Farm supervisors notably highlighted the financial aspects of earning money, and parents - as well as mentioning the need to earn money - also highlighted the need to gain experience. Conversely, parents also asserted that only a third of children were paid cash for their jobs, so it is possible that children feel they are contributing through helping their parents in their tasks.

Although regional differences were noted in the children's responses regarding why they started working, unfortunately these responses were not disaggregated by sex. It was revealed that girls were mostly needed for harvesting and planting while boys were used for weeding and preparing the land for planting. Most girls were involved in crop cultivation, whereas more boys will be involved in livestock farming.

Children had to take along their own hoes, cutlasses, head bands and scarves to the farms. The issue of production technology was not discussed, nor was the issue of farm equipment available for boys and girls. The hand hoe is the tool most commonly used for tilling, hoeing and weeding. The handle may vary in shape and especially in length. Short-handled hoes may be more effective and faster for use by children, although if children have to bend forwards for long periods they may strain their backs.

Further disaggregated research on the ergonomics of farm equipment and the use of tools in child labour is necessary to understand the effects of agricultural labour on boys and girls. Obviously such effects will depend on the typical tasks carried out by boys and those carried out by girls in terms of their use of time, energy input, working posture, the size and weight of tools. Because more boy than girl respondents experienced backache, it could be that more boys were engaged in tasks with incorrectly sized tools and implements. More girls than boys experienced stress, fatigue and headaches.

Nearly half of the children surveyed in the research are likely to work all the year round. Only around a third worked during out-of-school hours, indicating that long hours are spent in the field.

Children who worked with their parents received payment in kind from their parents, and for girls this tended to be money towards their marriage, new clothes or 'pocket' money. In the North, for example, older girls were given cash while the younger ones were given items such as books and dresses. The supervisors who were interviewed countered this by reporting that children and adults were paid by the days' work or by output. This contradicted what the parents and children reported – that age is a major factor in pay determination. More girls than boys were engaged in earning additional income through selling farm produce. Both boys and girls carried heavy loads, with more boys than girls doing so, and both boys and girls were found to apply fertilizers (using no protective gear). Children were only supervised to ensure they did not steal expensive fertilizer, rather than to ensure that they were not harmed by contact with fertilizer. But it was reported that they were told to wash their hands afterwards.

Regarding non-farm work, more girls seemed to have domestic or household tasks to do, such as laundry, washing, or fetching water and firewood for the house. This lengthened the work duties of girls over boys, with many girls not having free time.

Another gender-related difference noted was that boys had more ambitious aspirations for the future than girls. For instance, this could be because girls are less educated than boys, or because of fewer employment opportunities for girls, or because of girls' early marriage expectations, and early motherhood (as mentioned earlier).

In conclusion, many future challenges remain for tackling girl child labour in agriculture in Ghana. Many girls (and boys) are involved in one of the worst forms of child labour, due to the hazards they experience, the hours they spend, and the effect they have on their school attendance. The girl child in Ghana is experiencing the most common form of children's work worldwide - unpaid labour working for their parents. Both boys and girls are toiling in conditions that are intolerable and unacceptable by International Standards, often applying potentially hazardous chemicals and experiencing physical pains and fatigue. Emphasis must be placed on the implementation of the numerous policy initiatives to protect and promote the development and survival of children (such as the 2002 Bill to Ratify Convention No 138 on the Minimum age for Work or the 1967 Labour Decree NLCD, Act 157[226]).

A focus on the cultural context and value systems of families and communities is required to respond to the situation of girls and boys working in agriculture in Ghana. In particular there is a need to address girl child labour in agriculture in an integrated manner, combining interventions aimed at better education for girls, with more vocational training in particular for girls, and a focus on health, family planning and life-skills development. Awareness-raising for parents about the consequences of girl child labour is crucial, in order to try to curb the circle of poverty associated with low education, early marriage and high fertility.

[226] See background information on Ghana, Table 5.

PART IV

Global conclusions and recommendations

In this section we have compiled some of the generic recommendations, common to the three countries (Ghana, Ecuador and Philippines), which can be used for programming and policy on child labour – with a focus on girls – in the 3 sectors covered by the study: domestic work, CSEC and agriculture, even beyond the context of the geographical boundaries of these studies.

Domestic Work

- Child domestic work can be a worst form of child labour. The very nature of domestic work and the arbitrary treatment by employers of CDWs makes the distinction between acceptable working conditions and hazardous working conditions very tricky. However, the working conditions of domestic workers can quickly become dangerous. In most cases, any support network is mainly informal and cannot easily penetrate the privacy of the employers' home. For that reason, they are hardly reached by institutions from government, trade unions, or religious and women's institutions.
- CDWs sacrifice education and other alternative opportunities. This is largely because of the difficulties they face related to combining work and schooling, such as the long working hours and the lack of resources for schooling.
- Researching the gender dimensions in parental expectations of their children provides interesting insights into child labour issues. In the three countries studied, there was an underlying cultural expectation for daughters to be dutiful and obedient by taking on household chores. Boys are less expected to help in household tasks.
- According to the findings, there is an urgent need for a multi-stakeholder framework for action. The first step is to address the lack of national and institutional policies to combat child domestic work. To develop a policy, it is not only necessary to set up a governmental framework for action, but also to involve a wide range of stakeholders in the policy-making process. There are groups and organizations already aware of and concerned about the issue of CDW, yet they remain unclear about how to act coherently. Developing a framework for action triggers actions and participation of others too.

- Working conditions have to be improved. Girls working as CDWs must be reached out to and informed about their rights and entitlements, otherwise they will not speak out about abusive actions suffered in the sphere of their employer's guardianship.
- Social norms and attitudes that hide the actual nature of malpractices against girl CDWs must be confronted. To improve employer-employee relationships is one key objective. There are many issues that must be clarified with respect to employer-employee relationships. For example, unclear terms of employer guardianship, non-recognition of gender dimensions/expectations of employing CDWs, approaching girl CDWs with adult expectations, disregarding their rights to education, leisure-time and socialization, and taking advantage of the girls' vulnerability due to the lack of alternatives and support networks.
- Educational opportunities too must be improved, and a major concern is to help girl CDWs to attain a balance between work and school. Schools are openings for CDWs who are otherwise isolated from the outside world. Lack of employers' support, on top of the inflexibility of many formal curricula, make school another burden for CDWs that proves too difficult to persevere with.
- It is desirable to institutionalize participation in group activities, since being part of a group or network formalizes and regularizes CDWs' contact outside their employers' home. This is a crucial lifeline and support through difficult times. Groups and networks also facilitate the CDWs' access to alternative options once they decide to quit domestic work. NGOs can provide personal and resiliency trainings, improving the girl CDWs' understanding of her rights and entitlements. They may also help to decrease the CDWs' vulnerability as a girl child.
- It is important to raise the awareness of communities to the dangers of CDW. The CDW phenomenon does not exist in isolation from the multiplying problems of families and communities. While allowing children to work brings economic benefits, it also entails latent social costs. In this context, families or source communities should be given sustainable alternatives to decrease the factors driving children into domestic work. In addition, these communities need to develop pro-active approaches in preventing illegal recruitment.
- Tri-partite networking on the special needs of CDWs must be encouraged. The issue of CDWs still has to be thoroughly introduced into the programmes and strategies of tri-partite and other social partners. Lack of extensively documentation of CDW hinders many organizations from embarking on programmes because they believe they do not have enough understanding of the intricacies of the issue. Some suggestions for moving forward include: Increasing focus on local media and their responsibility to raise the issue of CDW as one of the worst forms of child labour, exploring ways to raise the issue of CDWs in terms of a gender equality issue, and increasing the number of community-based efforts focused on children's problems.
- From the research findings it appears that most CDWs start working between very early and they work for very long hours - between 8 and 12 hours every day – and are not given sufficient time to rest.
- On the other hand, girls involved in domestic labour were provided with shelter and food in the homes of the employer and they seemed to enjoy better dwelling conditions compared to the homes where they came from. Nonethe-

less, most of the time there were no formal written contracts between employers and domestic workers. The CDWs were therefore put at the employer's mercy. Employers made a lot of promises with regard to taking good care of them and treating them well but this was not fulfilled.

- Some of the issues raised by the domestic girl child conflicted with what the employers and parents said when interviewed. For example, while the girls said they worked between 8-12 hours a day, the parents said they worked between 6-8 hours on the average. Employers said the girls did not work when they were sick. CDWs complained about working while sick. Employers were said by the CDWs to be afraid that the girls would not come back or would report to their parents the kind of treatment experienced at the hands of their employers or guardians. The parents who had their children working in their own household, as well as those whose children were externally involved in domestic work contradicted this, saying the girls were allowed to visit home when they wished. In future research, the anomalies that arose from comparing the girl domestic workers' responses with those of the parents (that have girls working in their own household as well as daughters involved in domestic work externally) should be assessed; this would help to establish how many are engaged in the worst forms of child labour.
- The governments and the public at large should be sensitized to develop positive attitudes towards the girl child. For instance, government officials, trade union officials, institutions protecting children, women's groups and religious organizations should be encouraged to get involved in issues concerning CDWs. A registering process of girls involved in domestic work could be set up that would help to set a minimum age for children to be recruited. The population at large requires more sensitizing regarding existing laws and legislation that protect the rights of women and girls.

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

- Both girls and boys, particularly those from dysfunctional and poor families, are extremely vulnerable to the effects of sexual exploitation. When they engage in prostitution, they are both subject to hazards including HIV and STI infection, but girls are also vulnerable to early pregnancies and resulting risky abortions, violent and abusive behaviour, not just from clients but also from the police and other members of the community. Interestingly, most of the boys interviewed particularly feared contact with the police.
- There is also no doubt that the majority of abusers and exploiters are men, although women may also be active as procurers, recruiters, intermediaries, suppliers, heads of needy families and, to a lesser extent, customers. Nevertheless, in the three countries, men form the overwhelming majority of customers and greater numbers of girls suffer sexual abuse than boys.
- Both boys and girls need protection and intervention, with the specific nature of the action dependent more on the circumstances of the abuse than on the sex of the child. Being both gender and culturally sensitive is required for dealing with children in prostitution and their offenders.

- Prioritizing girls does not mean neglecting or misunderstanding boys in prostitution. A gender analysis of the situation will highlight boys' and girls' situations in relation to each other. In summary, working to combat children engaged in prostitution requires that "gender dimensions" be reconsidered not only in terms of positively targeting girls in need of rehabilitation or at risk, but also in differentiating between the needs of girls and boys engaged in prostitution. There is a need for the child's as well as her family's participation in any healing process. Additionally a gender dimension should considering the role of both men and women as perpetrators of abuse and exploitation.
- More social work with families whose children are at risk is required. Such interventions must focus on preventive measures and more efforts and resources are needed, particularly at the local level. Rehabilitation social services are very limited and, hence, very little results are achieved in terms of providing the kind of assistance required by the children.
- The lack of information on the grave effects of engaging in premature and unsafe sex practices as well as substance abuse must be addressed. A massive information campaign on the consequences of contracting STDs and HIV/AIDS as well as of addiction to substance abuse would have a major effect on awareness-raising among these children. Any information campaign should disaggregate its target groups, taking into account the gender dimensions and power relations that are evident in prostitution, for instance, how girls can negotiate condom use.
- In the three countries, both boys and girls were also found to engage in sex work in tourist localities, and sex tourism appears to be a growing phenomenon. Highly sophisticated international networks of paedophile gangs and the immense threat of HIV/AIDS give cause for extreme concern for girl and boy children engaged in prostitution.
- Therefore, aside from signing up to all the relevant international treaties and conventions, it is imperative that as a second step, a concerted effort is made on the part of policy-makers to not only learn and document the successes and failures of past programmes and strategies but also to actively seek out *good practice models* for implementation from wherever they may occur in the world, with a view to adapting them if necessary to the conditions pertaining in the three studied countries.
- It appears that most child-related policy interventions made in Ghana, Ecuador and the Philippines have tended to exclude children in the design, planning, implementation, monitoring and follow-up phases. This trend should change, and a concerted effort should be made to ensure that the participation of children is integrated into the processes if future policies are to have any meaningful impact.
- In enhancing the institutional framework to give greater effect to the programmes and strategies that are designed at the policy level, it is imperative that a multi-pronged approach should be deployed to address the different capacities and approaches of the many stakeholders involved in the area of child rights. It is also important to strengthen the knowledge base, institutional capacities and operational capacities of all the key actors. The first step is to change hearts, minds and attitudes, before tackling the problem of poor or inadequate logistics and infrastructure. A top-down approach should be used

to tackle the problem at the levels of legislative or law-making, policing and judicial levels.

- Parliamentarians need to be fully sensitized and fully informed about the child labour problem and its gender dimensions, with all its implications (hidden and otherwise) – not only in Ecuador, Ghana and the Philippines but in every country of the world. If parliaments have a better understanding of the dynamics of the child labour problem, they will be better placed to agree on legislation that will address the legislative gaps.

Girl Child Labour in Agriculture

- Despite the many social and economic drawbacks of being engaged in child labour, according to the researchers for these RA, the girl who is engaged in agricultural work is not necessarily in a disadvantaged situation vis-à-vis the situation of her male counterpart (for example, in the CAR). Both young working males and young working females share similar fates and endure similar circumstances when they are out toiling in the fields. However the fact that more girls engage in domestic chores on top of child labour was not factored into the research and could be a considerable extra burden for girls.
- The definition of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) is an all-encompassing definition that tends to clash directly with widely and generally accepted practices. Under ILO Convention 182, Article 3(d) Standards, the girl child labourer in agriculture is considered a Worst Form of Child Labour because of its very nature or circumstance, the girl child being usually exposed to heat and chemicals, thus placing her health in undue danger of being harshly affected by such exposure. From the viewpoint of the girl child's particular cultural standards, her work is nothing out of the ordinary. To a society accustomed to toiling in the field, this is an honest and decent source of income. Yet by the standards set by the international community and even by national laws it is a prohibited practice, as it is considered a WFCL, a situation which clearly endangers the girl child's health, growth and development. This example shows how difficult it is to tackle the elimination of child labour within particular cultural and traditional contexts.
- From the research locations, it would appear that the more poverty-stricken the target area, the poorer the working conditions of the child labourers. The better the economic situation of a certain area, the better the working conditions of the girls and boys engaged in work. It is therefore clear that, in order to totally curb the practice of child labour and eliminate the practice of WFCL, the improvement of the overall economic situation or condition of the affected areas should be a foremost concern.
- Local government is in a better position to serve and protect the child worker than any regional or central agency of the national government. It can easily establish a registration programme so that the children and their employers may be identifiable, not only for purposes of facilitating research but for monitoring the withdrawal of children from the WFCL as well. However, it is also

necessary that local government formally recognizes that girls toil in the field as well as boys.

- Poverty as the foremost factor in the occurrence of child labour in agriculture has to be directly addressed. Poverty has to be countered by the careful preparation of long-term rural development plans. Government allocation and spending have to be strictly reviewed and guarded, in order that priority can be given to more urgent projects in relation to rural development over less urgent projects. A country definitely needs farm-to-market roads more than it needs more basketball courts and waiting sheds. Any planned rural development programme must take into consideration gender roles and relations. Failure to direct information to the man, woman, girl or boy responsible for a given activity may result in no increase – or even a decrease – of productivity and yields.
- No child labour programmes can take off without the support of the community where such programmes are to be executed. Communities are made up of men, women, boys, girls, elders, leaders, innovators, employers, and so on. However, it is obvious that most groups in the communities tolerate the persistence of hazardous child work because of traditional values and attitudes toward child labour. Changing traditional values towards boys and girls working in agriculture will be a long and slow process, and different methods are required for different members of the community.
- A continuous information campaign targeting an adult audience is required, remembering that adults too are both male and female. Such a campaign could be via the media (through radio and television), or through a direct community-based information campaign. Such a campaign should concentrate on practical and appropriate means to readjust societal values and attitudes so as to favour the protection of the girl and boy children's health and welfare over the income that they earn from work in a hazardous environment.
- Enhanced educational assistance programmes that explore livelihood opportunities could be formulated; offering assistance for tuition fees. Such educational and livelihood programmes could be formulated in co-operation with foreign and local corporations and non-government agencies. It is recommended that any stereotypes regarding boy and girl child labourers be explored in the development of livelihood schemes - for example, employing young women for low paid, repetitive tasks, or concentrating young women in only traditional occupations for women.
- Child labour is a reality in a country as long as poverty persists. The national laws have limited reach in those parts of the country where their implementation matters most. There is a need for more local regulations that cater to specific situations of child labour. Local legislative bodies should be pushed to formulate ordinances or regulatory measures that protect the rights and the welfare of the child labourer in their respective localities.
- Finally, it is recommended that more studies be conducted. Given the many problems that researchers face because of cultural and social differences, an immersion-type of research and appraisal should be conducted to further enhance the data that has already been gathered, along with the relevant materials that have been published. For example, many other studies have illustrated that the capacity of poor households to meet labour requirements for their agricultural activities is affected by women's and girls' overall responsibil-

ities within the household, both on- and off-farm. A lack of understanding of the household labour constraints, and particularly of women's and girls' time constraints, may lead to the non-implementation of child labour corrective measures. However, as mentioned, these alternatives are only palliatives for the urgent situation in which these children are caught. Only a change in family and social relationships will eliminate child labour and sexual exploitation.

- Because of negative attitudes amongst children and parents to schooling, and because of inappropriate curricula, any commitment to combating child labour requires major educational reform. For example, improvements are required in coverage, quality and affordability of education. A media campaign aimed at cultural change that leads to a greater acceptance of schooling at all levels of society is required. Greater incentives should be provided for parents and children alike to participate more fully in the education system.
- In all cases, parents were seen to be the most influential figures in making the children work on farms, with mothers in this regard being more influential on their daughters than their sons.

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ANNEX 1.

Institutions relevant for labour and children in the Philippines

All institutions which ought to provide services to children and target children as their clientele are embraced under the umbrella of the National Programme Against Child Labour. This is a multi-sectoral cooperation of organizations which evolved from years of interaction with a common goal of meeting the needs of the Filipino child.

1.1 Partner Government Institutions and Agencies

Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE).

As lead agency, the role of DOLE includes overall coordination of all activities in the various programme strategies and overall programme monitoring and evaluation as well as policy and standard formulation for legal protection of children in hazardous labour, particularly in improvement of conditions of work of children, banning of children from hazardous occupations, and enforcement of laws, standards and policies, and promotion of employment/livelihood opportunities for parents of working children.

Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG)

This is tasked with formulating programmes and coordinating activities for the capacity building of local government units and their local development councils (provincial/municipal/*barangay*) in development planning and project implementation. It is also responsible for monitoring project efforts in integrating child labour activities in the annual investment plans of LGUs and the improvement of the LGU socio-economic profile database system, including the child labour component. It also contributes to the provision of livelihood and other alternative income-generating projects to parents through the LGUs.

Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD)

This is the lead agency in conducting training of social welfare officers for community organizations and providing special social services to ensure the well-being and protection of children and improvement of living conditions of their families. It is likewise tasked with providing policy directions and standards for institution-based welfare services, and technical assistance in the conduct of LGU-based services.

Department of Health (DOH)

The DOH is responsible for the development and implementation of alternative/appropriate health interventions for child labourers as well as the provision of basic health and nutrition services to child labourers. It is also tasked with leading

the formulation of a national health plan for child labourers and the conduct of policy health research for children in hazardous occupations.

Department of Education (DepEd)

The DepEd is responsible for the development and implementation of appropriate/relevant alternative learning systems for in-school and out-of-school child labourers as well as the provision of non-formal education services and strategies for their parents. It likewise ensures the integration of the child labour component in the National Programme of Education for All (EFA).

Department of Justice (DOJ)

The role of the DOJ includes rendering legal assistance to the child labourers and their families through its Public Assistance Office (PAO) and the National Prosecutor's Office (NPO).

Philippine Information Agency (PIA)

The PIA is responsible for the provision of technical assistance in the conduct of information, education and communication efforts for advocacy and social mobilization. It is the lead agency for the implementation and monitoring of advocacy and social mobilization activities for the child labour project.

Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC)

The CWC is the apex agency of the Philippine government for the protection, welfare and development of children. It acts as lead advocate for the integration and operationalization of the Philippine Plan of Action for Children (PPAC) and its goals and strategies in all child labour plans and activities. It also provides technical assistance to LGUs in monitoring and evaluation of the PPAC.

National Economic Development Authority (NEDA)

This agency is responsible for the coordination and integration of the child labour programme in the UNICEF-assisted Fourth Country Programme For Children (CPC IV) and other related existing or prospective programmes of cooperation within the national development framework. It is also tasked with assisting in the formulation and advocacy of policies and other measures in pursuit of the objectives of the child labour programme.

Department of Tourism (DOT)

The Department of Tourism started its commitment on child labour in 1997 with the official signing of the Manila Declaration on the Special Impact of Tourism, which commits them to the prevention and control of tourism-related abuse and exploitation of people, particularly women and children and other disadvantaged groups.

National Statistics Office (NSO)

The NSO is the primary statistical arm of the government, which provides accurate and reliable information on various national and sectoral concerns, including

statistics on young workers, which are used as basis for policy formulations and decisions. In partnership with other agencies, it conducted in 1995 and 2001 a special national survey on working children.

1.2 Trade Unions

Labour Advisory Consultative Council (LACC) and Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)

TUCP is a solidarity of Philippine labour unions in all industries and associations or organizations of workers. Its child labour programme is attached to efforts in organizing the informal sector. The role of LACC and TUCP is to assist the National Programme Against Child Labour (NPACL) in the promotion of children's rights and protection of children from abuse and exploitation through their programmes and services. These labour groups may also focus their services/activities on child labourers in implementing specific undertakings such as the provision of para-legal service/mechanisms to protect child labourers, and the conduct of monitoring and surveillance for detection of child labour cases.

Federation of Free Workers (FFW)

The FFW is one of the largest single labour federations in the country, and has been reputed as a democratic, responsible and progressive labour organization espousing a coherent trade union and social vision. FFW implemented various activities and projects on child labour. Among them is the conduct of training courses for trade unionists, partner organizations, parents and youth organizations for better understanding and response to child labour issues in selected farming and fishing villages.

1.3 Employers' Sector

Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP)

ECOP is a non-stock, non-profit private organization of employers which aims to unify employers and employers' organizations, and to represent and advance their interests in the formulation of labour and socio-economic policy. Under the PPAC, it is responsible for assisting the NPACL management in advocacy activities and other social mobilization projects among employers towards the protection of child labourers from abuse and exploitation, and the promotion of the rights of child labourers in the formal industries.

Bishops-Businessmen's Conference (BBC)

The BBC is an association of leaders of the church and business sectors committed to uplift the quality of life of the Filipino people through the promotion of social justice and through the increase of the nation's wealth and its equitable distribution. Its involvement in child labour was strengthened with their creation of a Committee on Child Labour which aims to address the pressing issue of child labour in the country.

1.4 Non-Government Organizations

National Council for Social Development (NCSD)

The NCSD is responsible for the strengthening of advocacy activities to their member-NGOs to focus NGO services on child labourers in the areas of health, nutrition and special welfare services. It also assists the NPACL in the conduct of surveillance and detection activities in informal work situations.

Network of Advocates for Children's Welfare and Development, Inc.(ADNET)

ADNET is a community-based initiative against child prostitution. It is a multi-sectoral coalition of Barangay leaders and youth, parishes, schools, NGOs, POs and government agencies in Caloocan City which initiated a programme for the protection and rehabilitation of prostituted girls/children and seeks to contribute ultimately to reducing the incidence of child prostitution.

Educational Research and Development Assistance Foundation, Inc. (ERDA)

The ERDA Foundation aims to promote the moral, physical, social and economic development of poor children. Its main programme involves extending educational assistance so that beneficiaries can enter pre-school, elementary, high school and college. It has more than two decades of experience in facilitating children's access to education, particularly in Smokey Mountain, a former dumpsite in Manila. It also serves as a drop-in or halfway house for children, offering tutorial services, training and educational assistance.

End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT)

ECPAT is a network of individuals and groups working together for the elimination of child prostitution, child pornography and the trafficking of children for sexual purposes. It is active in information dissemination, community education and the provision of legal assistance to child victims.

Kamalayan Development Foundation (KDF)

The KDF is a non-government organization aimed at promoting workers' rights, including those who were rescued from the worst forms of child labour. It is also engaged in advocacy and rescue operations to free adults and children from bonded labour as well as the reintegration of those children into their families/communities.

Philippine Children's Television Foundation (PCTVF)

The PCTVF is a pioneer in educational television and radio within a commercial broadcast industry. The films and documentaries produced by PCTVF were compiled for use by teachers as child labour education tools in schools, and by concerned NGOs in their advocacy and training.

Visayan Forum Foundation (VF)

VF aims to address the root causes and effects of migration forced upon children and their families, particularly those from the depressed regions of Visayas. It

is focused on the protection, survival, participation and development of migrant working children, their families and communities.

Stop Trafficking of Philippinos Foundation, Inc. (STOP)

This organization seeks to promote the rights and welfare of women and children. It also aims to prevent the discrimination, abuse and exploitation of women and children; promote human rights; and promote institutionalized networking for total human development.

Adhikain Para sa Karapatang Pambata (AHRC)

Roughly, this is translated as "vision for the rights of the child", based in a partner law school, the Ateneo Human Rights Centre. It enhanced its involvement on child labour with the establishment of its child rights desk, known as the Adhikain Para sa Karapatang Pambata (AKAP) to respond to the growing demand for the legal protection of children. It is a pioneer in the legal protection and promotion of children's rights in the Philippines.

1.5 International Organizations

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

The Philippines is home to one of the earliest field domiciles of UNICEF in the Asian region. UNICEF established its presence in the country through a child feeding programme in 1947. This programme is characteristic of humanitarian services extended by the organization during its initial years of existence. The first formal agreement for cooperation was signed between the Philippine government and UNICEF in 1948. For the following three decades, the assistance that it extended was primarily concentrated in extending assistance to Filipino mothers and children, specifically in promoting the fight against diseases such as leprosy and tuberculosis, and in providing milk, medicines and other essentials to those in need.

In 1978, its services shifted to coordinating its package of assistance through its country programming for children. Through the country programmes, UNICEF assistance was more relevant to the country's peculiar needs and priorities as well as its economic conditions, resources and capabilities. The involvement of non-government organizations as actors contributing towards the survival and development of the child has become an added feature of the programmes.

UNICEF is currently implementing its Fifth Country Programme of Cooperation (popularly known as CPC 5). The CPC 5 is committed to supporting families, and even communities, in realizing the Convention on the Rights of the Child in the Philippines, which is its guiding framework. One of the approaches that it takes is by building goal-oriented, multi-sectoral partnerships for children, or a Child-Friendly Movement. The programme components span Communication; Health and Nutrition; Local Policy and Institutional Development; Education for All; Children in Need of Special Protection; and Gender and Development. Each component is a package of projects which, together, it is hoped will provide cohesive and holistic services for the survival and development of Filipino children[229].

[229] From http://www.unicef.org/philippines

International Labour Organization – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC)

ILO, through IPEC, is considered as one of the major pillars of the national child labour programme. In June 1994, the Philippine Government and ILO signed a Memorandum of Understanding concerning the implementation of ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour in the country.

Several months later, in February 1995, a corollary document, the Joint Statement for a Unified and Intensified Action Against Child Labour, was signed among inter-agency partners, clarifying their responsibilities under an integrated programme headed by the National Child Labour Committee. Within the same year, IPEC made significant contributions in the field of documentation, generation of data and development of advocacy tools. It supported the first national Survey on Working Children and helped in the production of two documentaries recognized as precedents for other advocacy films on child labour: *"No Time for Play"* and *"Minsan lang Sila Bata"*.[230]

From 1995 to 1997, there were 36 action programmes and 19 mini-programmes implemented, half of which involved direct action with working children and their communities. The measures were preventive, protective or rehabilitative in character and delivered where they were most needed, that is, in communities with high incidences or in sectors that were hazardous or exploitative. The 1998-1999 biennium work for IPEC was defined under a seven-point strategy for action. This gave greater attention to thematic evaluations; consolidation of support services at the community level; capacity-building institutionalization; integration of child labour issues across levels of governance including efforts on poverty alleviation and education.[231] Ensuing programmes included the setting up of sub-regional programmes for working children (fishing, footwear and small-scale mining industries), creation of organizational links and network, capacity-building among process holders and service providers for child labourers, advocacy for the creation of enabling policies and laws, continued improvement of knowledge base and advocacy for the ratification of ILO Convention 182.

Aside from supporting its established programmes, IPEC is currently in the process of developing an environment that will enable the implementation of a national programme to eliminate the worst forms of child labour through the Time-Bound Programme.

[230] BWYW, "Historical Milestones," Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labor: the Philippine Time-Bound Programme Advocacy Folder.

[231] ILO, ILO-IPEC in the Philippines, retrieved from http://www.ilo.org

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www.ilo.org/childlabour

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