– It's Time to Talk! –
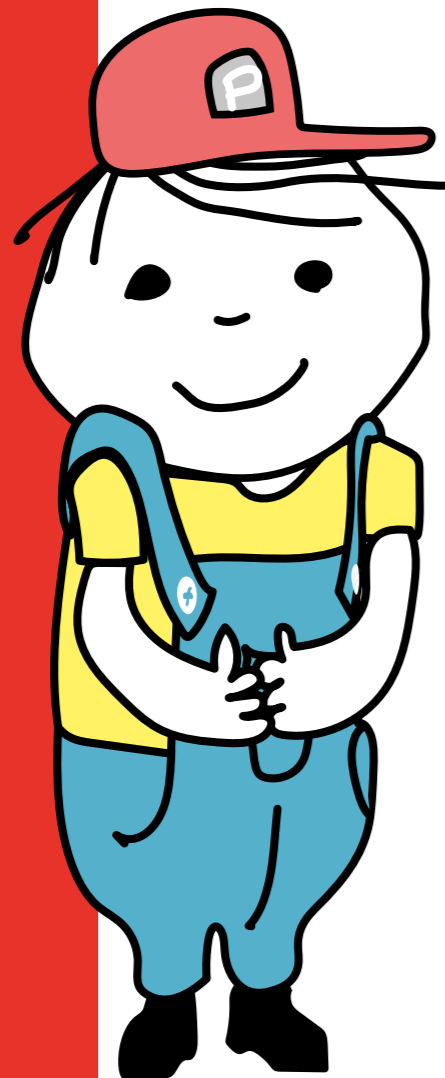# Children's Views on
Children's Work

Imprint

Hi there!
My name is Paul and I will share working children's views, reflections and experiences with you.

Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development

kinder not hilfe

Terre des Hommes
International Federation

Content

Hello, dear reader! I'm Supermaia and I will guide you safely through the hardfacts of the report.

Preface

The absence of working children and youth at the III Global Conference on Child Labour in Brazil in 2013 provoked a feeling of incompleteness among several child rights agencies namely Kindernothilfe, Save the Children and Terre des Hommes who had attended the forum. All three organisations agreed that the topic of child labour could be more adequately discussed and addressed by the global policy debates if working children themselves could integrate their voices and expertise.

Yet, it left them with the question on how meaningful participation of working children could be secured in such policy processes?

A multitude of exchanges and discussions about this question between the organisations, child rights experts and academics from different parts of the world shaped the idea to launch the global campaign and research project "It's Time to Talk! – Children's Views on Children's Work". The interest in the project idea after inviting local partner organisations, movements and working children to participate was overwhelming and thanks to the kind co-funding of the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development the project activities finally took off in March 2016.

Not only financial assistance was necessary to make a project of this magnitude possible, ideally political and moral support would accompany the endeavor to provide a neutral platform to both organised and non-organised working children to make their views taken into account in local, national and global decision-making processes. Under the patronage of Germany's Human Rights Commissioner Dr. Bärbel Kofler the project was further corroborated. Following regional workshops to train key partners in the Time to Talk methodology, consultations with working children were organised in more than 35 countries. With active support of local NGOs, the consultations were all aiming at the inclusive and non-judgmental collection of children's views about their working lives: how a working child feels about his/her work; what work children think they can and cannot do, and who working children see responsible for the enhancement of their protection and well-being. Children's advisory committees were also established in 12 countries enabling working children to actively inform the consultation methodology, analysis and advocacy work.

This research report is a vivid insight into working children's lives. It discloses the complex and diverse views of working children, and their wish that their views and suggestions are seriously considered and taken into account in all relevant policy and practice developments affecting them on children's work.

It cannot be said and repeated often enough, the Time to Talk organisers express their deepest thanks to all the children and young people involved in the consultations and to the children's advisory committees. Thank you to every child involved for the crucial time and rich insights shared during "It's Time to Talk". We thank our member organisations Kindermissionswerk "Die Sternsinger", Karl Kübel Stiftung für Kind und Familie and Kindernothilfe Austria for their enthusiasm towards the idea of child participation in the context of child labour; we thank our partner organisations for their incredible commitment to facilitate, collect and provide the necessary data to inform the analysis. We also thank members of the Adult Advisory Committee for rich discussions and debates that shaped and informed the methodology, analysis and reporting process. Without the diverse commitment of all involved, it would have been impossible to support over 1 800 children worldwide in their effort to be heard. Annex I of the report only roughly displays the long list of names of our Time to Talk supporters. ●

The Time to Talk - Team

Executive summary

Introduction

'It's Time to Talk! – Children's Views on Children's Work' (hereinafter: Time to Talk) was launched by Kindernothilfe, Save the Children Canada, and Terre des Hommes International Federation in March 2016. The goal of Time to Talk is that of enabling working children to have their views heard in local, national and global decision-making processes, including in the run-up to the IV Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour in Argentina in November 2017.

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around the world

Through collaboration with more than 50 civil society partners, 1 822 children (52% girls, 48% boys) aged 5 to 18 were consulted about their working lives in 36 countries across the world. Time to Talk provided neutral spaces in which to listen to the perspectives of girls and boys working in diverse settings, in order to gain increased understanding of: the different motivations and reasons for children's work; children's likes and dislikes about their work and working conditions; and their messages for different stakeholders on how best to support them.

Methodology

A commitment to children's rights shaped the research design, planning, implementation, monitoring, and follow-up. Fifteen children's advisory committees (CACs) were formed, involving working children in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. They enabled children to assume an active role throughout the research process as advisers, analysts, and advocates. The research used mixed methods, but was primarily qualitative and exploratory using focus group discussions and participatory activities with small groups of girls and boys. Individual questionnaire-based interviews also allowed the collection of background data concerning each child, their family situation, their work, and school attendance. The data sample was purposeful and was not representative of any particular country, region, or specific type of work. 43% of the children consulted had regular contact with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), 23% had occasional contact, and 34% had rare or no contact with NGOs prior to the consultation.

134 consultations with girls and boys aged 5 to 18 were organized across 36 countries between April 2016 and May 2017. 32% of the children consulted were from Asia; 29% from Latin America; 27% from Africa; 8% from the Middle East; and just 4% from Europe. The children consulted were engaged in a diverse range of paid and unpaid work in urban and rural settings, including: unpaid household and agricultural work; paid domestic work; paid agricultural work; small-scale vending; work in gold mines and stone mines; construction work; brick or stone making; waste collection; shop work; work in the weaving and textile industry; factory work; shoe-shining; hotel and restaurant work; making deliveries and transporting; carpentry; work in the fishing industry; cutting hair and styling; cleaning buses/cars; begging; work in massage and dance parlours; and sex work[1].

76% of the children consulted were studying (including formal, informal, or non-formal education), 22% were out of school, and 2% sometimes attended school. The majority of children consulted, 59%, worked before and/or after school, 10% only worked in the school holidays, and 5% worked at other times (for example, occasional seasonal work). 22% of the children consulted worked full-time, and 4% were former child workers. The children consulted included: children living with different caregivers; children from ethnic and indigenous minorities; 271 children from migrant families; 133 child refugees; 98 children who were internally displaced; 89 children with disabilities; and 17 children who were stateless. 19% of the children consulted were members of organised working children's associations, particularly in Latin America and Africa.

Application of the basic requirements for effective and ethical children's participation (CRC/C/GC/12, 2009) and additional guidance on ethical research with children (Feinstein & O'Kane, 2008b; Hart & Tyrer, 2006) was used to inform an ethical approach throughout the Time to Talk project. Findings from each of the consultations with children and from the children's advisory committee meetings were transcribed in English, French or Spanish. Template analysis was applied to support systematic thematic analysis, while seeking to balance flexibility and structure (King & Brooks, 2017). NVivo 11 was used as a tool to support systematic analysis of the qualitative data and Excel to support quantitative analysis. ●

Key findings

Diverse working realities:

Children are involved in diverse types of work, in the informal and formal sectors, some of which are paid and some of which are unpaid. Many children combine paid work with unpaid work and study. They work before or after school, at the weekends, or during school holidays. Some children have stopped attending school entirely and are working full-time or part-time. The majority of girls and boys consulted, emphasised their obligations to undertake household tasks to support their families. In many socio-cultural and religious contexts, there are different expectations about what work girls and boys are expected to do. In many countries, there are increased expectations on girls to help their mothers with housework, while there are sometimes increased expectations on boys to look after the livestock, to help with agricultural work, or to earn a living. Children living in rural settings tend to have more agricultural and animal husbandry work compared with children in urban settings or in camps. What's more, work in rural settings is more often influenced by seasonal changes. Elder siblings, both boys and girls, tend to have more responsibilities to support their families and to take care of their younger siblings. Conflict and disaster have multiple negative impacts on children and their families, and contribute to changes in work allocations based on gender and age, both inside and outside of households.

12-year-old boy drawing his working reality, Peru

Motivations and reasons for children's work:

Children shared different motivations and reasons for their work. The top eight reasons were[2]:

1. *to help their parents or family members*
2. *due to poverty and family struggles (e.g., poor health of a family member, conflict, migration, family debt) they need to earn money to meet their basic needs*
3. *a desire to earn money to purchase non-basic needs and to be more independent*
4. *to continue their education*
5. *for enjoyment*
6. *to learn skills*
7. *a desire for a better future*
8. *for health and sanitation*

Helping parents or family members was the top reason provided by both girls and boys across all regions, except the Middle East, where poverty and family struggles was the top reason[3]. For the second reason, there were interesting nuances with children from Africa and Latin America more frequently mentioning work to meet their basic needs, and children from Asia more frequently emphasising poverty and family struggles. Only in Latin America was enjoyment for work the third reason; while in Africa and Europe[4] the third reason was a desire to earn money to spend on themselves.

While some children felt obliged or compelled to work, other children were more active in taking decisions concerning their work. In response to a question about how much say they have in decision-making about their work 26.5% of children reported having no say; 18.5% of children had very little say; 31.5% had some say; and 23.5% of children had a lot of say. Proportionately, more children in Latin America felt that they had a say in decisions about their work compared with children from other regions. Children in the Middle East and Africa felt they had the least say. There were similar results for girls and boys, except in Asia, where girls have slightly less say than boys. As

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1 Kindernothilfe considers that it is not appropriate to classify child soldiers; trafficking, recruiting or providing children for prostitution or pornographic purposes; or using them in the production of drugs as being forms of child labour as these are all criminal practices and therefore illegal. (KNH, 2012) For better readability, any future references to these activities have been omitted from the report.

2 All the aspects mentioned by children are ordered in terms of frequency.
3 In the Middle East the sample was small (63). The majority of children consulted in the Middle East were Syrian refugees or internally displaced persons (IDP) within Iraq.
4 Europe was a small sample (57) so findings from this region are tentative.

children get older they have slightly more say: adolescents aged 13 to 18 years old have slightly more say than children under the age of 12.

Children's likes and dislikes about their work:

Children reflected on both the positive and negative aspects of their work. The most common recurrent themes expressed by children when talking about what they like about their work were:

- *good working conditions, which were characterised especially by respectful communication with their employers / parents / customers*
- *being praised and appreciated by family members, employers, and others*
- *feeling proud and responsible*
- *earning an income*
- *learning skills*
- *helping and spending time with families*
- *experiencing support*
- *solidarity and protection from friends, parents and other adults*
- *seeing and playing with friends while working*
- *working outside and appreciating nature*

The aspects that children like and dislike about their work reflect some of the reasons and motivations for their work.

The most common recurrent themes expressed by children when sharing what they dislike about their work were:

- *risk of violence (scolding, or emotional, physical and sexual violence) faced by both girls and boys. Girls faced an increased risk of sexual violence*
- *harm, injury and accidents*
- *poor working conditions: heavy work, too much responsibility or work pressure, not enough time to rest, and paid too little or too late*
- *frustrations relating to their work efforts and the way they are treated*
- *fatigue*
- *being negatively judged by others due to their work*
- *feeling sad and isolated when they have insufficient care and love from their family and when people do not listen to them*
- *negative impact of work on their studies*

Recurrent themes for likes and dislikes were very similar across every region, and each theme was emphasised by both girls and boys. However, children who were engaged in paid work placed more emphasis on the advantages of earning money than children who were involved in unpaid work. Furthermore, girls highlighted increased concerns related to sexual harassment and abuse in the workplace, and en route to and from work.

The consultations revealed how many girls and boys combine work and studies. In some contexts, children were able to balance unpaid work or paid work and study, rest and play, particularly when their parents and caregivers prioritised time for children's studies. In contrast, some children struggled to balance work and studies with play and rest, due to long working hours. This negatively affected their studies and left them with insufficient time to play or rest. Many children expressed a desire to have more time to study and to be able to continue their education. However, a few children, particularly those who had already dropped out of school, felt that work was more useful to them to meet their current and future needs.

A group of 15 to 17 year-old boys reflecting on likes and dislikes about their work, Kyrgyztan

*Work or working conditions that **help** children to fulfil their aspirations*

*Work or working conditions that **hinder** children from fulfilling their aspirations*

Work that allows them to continue their studies
when their work helps to pay school costs and when light workloads do not hamper studies

●

Learning skills from work
including household, agricultural, trade or business skills that will help them in current and future occupations

●

Earning money
that helps them meet their current and future needs

Work that hampers their education
when there is not enough time to study, when they are too tired to study, when they attend school irregularly or drop out

●

Manual work without skill development
or work that they have not chosen or prefer to do

●

Violence and hardships experienced while working
are harmful to their current and future well-being

Work children think they can and cannot do:

Children discussed and identified work they could and could not do, and any necessary conditions or reasons that informed their opinions. Many children suggested that they could do work that: is light and easy to do; does not harm them and is in a safe environment; is near to, or in their home; or is supported by family members. In addition, the work should not interfere with their education, should allow enough time to play and rest, and be paid fairly. Some types of work that were suggested as suitable by both girls' and boys' groups, included: housework; cooking; (light) agricultural work and gardening; fetching water; small-scale vending; working in a shop; washing clothes; and collecting wood. More girls' groups suggested that they could cook, wash dishes, fetch water, look after younger siblings, tailor or sew clothing and style or cut hair. In contrast, more boys' groups suggested they could be involved in agricultural work and gardening, mechanics or repair work. Thus, children's suggestions for work they could do reflected efforts by girls and boys to fulfil prevalent gender expectations.

There were many types of work that girls and boys felt they could not do including: carrying heavy things; construction work; selling goods on the street; difficult agricultural work (e.g. ploughing); driving; stealing; prostitution; producing or selling alcohol, and selling drugs; working in mines; and heavy digging. Boys' groups more frequently suggested that they could not do construction work, steal, sell drugs or do heavy digging. In contrast, more girls' groups suggested they could not be involved in prostitution, wood collection, mine work, or paid domestic work. Some groups of children had differing views regarding the appropriateness and safety of some types of work, such as small-scale vending, wood collection, or waste collection. For example, girls particularly emphasized the dangers of sexual harassment when searching for wood.

The most frequently mentioned, key reasons for work not being suitable for children included work that: is harmful, e.g. unhealthy, unsafe, or risks causing pain, injury or accident; is too difficult or heavy for their age or ability; is illegal or increases the risk of being in conflict with the law; carries a risk of abuse and violence; has a negative impact on their studies; is exploitative, for example, involves working long working hours; and/or is against their religion or culture.

Protection and risk factors:

In order to develop and implement policies and practices that enhance the protection, well-being, and development of children, it is important to identify and reduce risk factors that increase the likelihood of harmful outcomes, and to identify and strengthen protection factors that contribute to positive results of child work. Children's advisory committee members were actively engaged in activities to analyse risk and protection factors.

Key risk factors included
- *the child being requested to do heavy or hazardous work*
- *the child being forced to work*
- *the child working late at night*
- *the child working on the street*
- *the child not living with their parents*
- *the child having long working hours*
- *the child/family being affected by conflict or disaster (especially if they are refugees or stateless)*
- *the child's parents or caregivers not having stable employment*
- *the child's family being affected by poverty*
- *the child working for someone outside of their family*
- *the child/family migrating*
- *being a girl*

Key protection factors included:
- *the child regularly going to school or studying*
- *the child being a member of a working children's association*
- *the child's views being heard in decisions about their work*
- *the child being asked to only do light work*
- *the child experiencing love, care and guidance from their family*
- *the child's parents having good employment opportunities in their own villages and towns*
- *availability of government investments in school infrastructure and other basic services*
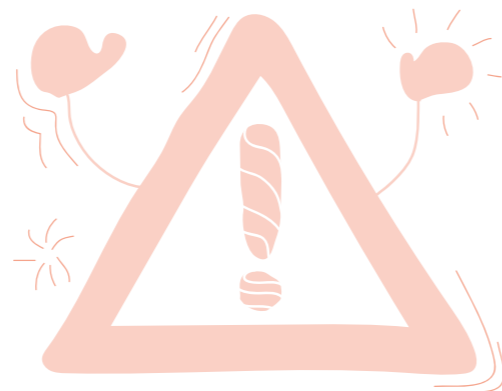
Children's messages to governments, parents/caregivers, NGOs, and others:

CAC members and children in 21 consultations analysed the strengths and weaknesses of existing policies and practices concerning working children. Furthermore, as an integral part of the consultation process, in 93 consultations children developed key messages to share with different groups of people whom they thought could help improve their lives.

In many countries, children were unaware of existing national or international laws, policies and practices that concerned them. However, some children were aware of their rights, and some children had been previously informed about some policies affecting them. Children identified the limitations of existing policies which did not adequately respond to the complex causes underlying children's work, including family poverty and poor access to quality education. Children expressed appreciation of child labour laws that protect children from harmful work, but described how these laws and policies are often poorly implemented and monitored. Children also recognised policies that supported free and compulsory education for children, while desiring increased investments in school infrastructure and quality teaching practices (especially in remote and rural communities) as well as increased investments in inclusive education for children with disabilities.

Children developed key messages for governments; parents and caregivers; national and international NGOs; other children; teachers and head-teachers; employers; police; community and religious elders; UNHCR; and others, including the media. Children especially emphasised the need for increased government programmes to better address family poverty to ensure that their parents and caregivers have access to decent work, good livelihoods, services, and assistance. They also emphasised the importance of quality education for every child, and the need to involve children in decisions affecting them.

Key messages of a group of 9-year-old girls, Indonesia

Conclusions:

The Time to Talk project provided crucial spaces in which to listen to the views, experiences and suggestions of girls and boys who are working in different settings around the world. The findings revealed the diversity of children's working lives, and thus the complexities of creating and implementing which support children's development, well-being, and protection. The concluding chapter provides a more detailed socio-ecological framework that can be applied as a practical tool to shape the assessment, planning, and monitoring of actions which will be in the best interests of working children. Drawing upon children's own experiences and messages, 12 key policy and practice recommendations to enhance children's protection, well-being and development are also presented. Governments, international agencies (the ILO, and other UN agencies, etc.), civil society organisations, Alliance 8.7, donors, and other key actors should implement 12 key recommendations:

Key actors should

Do you know what key actors should do?

1

Increase dialogue to agree on a common terminology relating to children's work, child labour, youth employment, and decent work for young people, to better shape data collection, and policy and practice developments

2

Ensure co-ordinated, child-focused, gender-sensitive, policy and practice developments that are locally relevant, flexible, and responsive to the needs, rights, and aspirations of children and families in their contexts

3

Increase investments in child-focused, family-strengthening strategies, schemes and interventions including: poverty reduction; decent work and livelihood schemes for parents and caregivers; child-sensitive social protection; improved infrastructure in remote, rural, urban, poor, and camp settings; and access to family support services

4

Strenghten realisation of children's rights to information, expression, and participation and association, to ensure genuine opportunities for decision-makers to listen to and take into account the views of working children in families, schools, work places, communities, and the policy and practice developments that concern them

5

Strengthen the development and participatory monitoring of education systems that provide inclusive, free, safe, relevant, quality education to all children in remote, rural, urban and camp localities

6

Refine, implement, monitor and enforce laws, policies and programmes to protect children from work that is hazardous, harmful, and/or forced (taking into account the views of working children)

7

Increase investments in human and financial resources for child-protection case management to ensure co-ordinated, multisectoral responses to child exploitation and violence based on children's best interests (informed by the views of the child and family members)

8

Strengthen child protection systems (local to international) to prevent and protect children from violence in families, work places, schools, streets, communities, and wider society

9

Increase investments in gender and disability-sensitive, vocational-skill training and on–the-job mentoring schemes for adolescents, while also promoting and supporting non-discriminatory access to formal education

10

Engage employers and businesses to apply children's rights in their business practices

11

Increase humanitarian support for children and families affected by conflict, disaster or other shocks. Increase government investments in emergency preparedness and disaster risk reduction to strengthen families resilience and to reduce vulnerability

12

Support ongoing, formative dialogue research, and participatory monitoring and evaluation to inform and assess th impact of child labour laws, policies and programmes

Road map for the reader

Introduction
Chapter 1 introduces the reader to Time to Talk, outlining the need to take into account the perspectives of working children in policy and practice developments.

Methodology
Chapter 2 describes the methodology for the Time to Talk consultations with working children, as well as the process for collaborating with children's advisory committees. It provides an overview of the background of the children who were consulted. Furthermore, it outlines the data analysis process and key limitations of the methodology.

'A day in the life of…': Children's diverse working realities
Chapter 3 shares illustrative examples of a typical day in the lives of girls and boys involved in different types of work, to introduce the diversity of children's working lives. It also includes an initial analysis of how gender, sibling order, rural or urban location, and seasons influence the type and amount of work children do.

'Why, why, why?': Children's motivations and reasons for their work
Chapter 4 shares findings from individual interview questions concerning the top three motivations and reasons for their work, as well as findings from different focus group discussions and activities about why they work. It also shares findings related to how much say children have in decisions regarding their work.

'Body Mapping': Children's likes and dislikes about their work
Chapter 5 provides rich insights into children's views and experiences on positive and negative aspects of their work and working conditions. In the final sub-section, there is more analysis regarding the ways in which children try to balance their various roles and responsibilities, and a reflection on work or working conditions that help or hinder children's aspirations.

'Mapping work children can and cannot do'
Chapter 6 shares results from mapping activities done by children in which they share their views and experiences on work they can or cannot do, work they should or should not do, and any necessary conditions or reasons why.

'Protection and Risk factors'
Chapter 7 shares key findings from the analysis of protection and risk factors by children's advisory committees.

'H assessment and Flowers of Support': Children's views on policies and practices and their messages
Chapter 8 shares key insights from children regarding their views on, and experiences of, existing policies and practices. It shares key messages from children to different stakeholders, including messages for: governments; parents and caregivers; NGOs; other children; teachers; employers; police; community and religious elders; UN agencies; and the media.

Conclusions
Chapter 9 recognises the diversity of children's work and the need to protect them from harmful and forced work, while also accepting the benefits for them of light, safe work, This chapter presents a socio-ecological framework that is presented to inform assessment, planning, and monitoring in the best interests of the child. Twelve key policy and practice recommendations are also presented to improve the lives of working children.

1 Introduction

Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

(_UNCRC, 1989_)

articulates that children have rights to express their views freely in all matters affecting them, while taking into consideration the age and maturity of the child.

1.1 Introducing 'Time to Talk'

Children have rights to participate in all decisions affecting them, and children's participation in decision-making, including policy and practice developments helps to protect children's rights (Asker & Gero, 2012; Lansdown, 2011).

In late 2013, the idea of a global consultation process with working children emerged after the III Global Conference on Child Labour, as working children themselves did not have sufficient space to influence global policy debates. Discussions among civil society organisations culminated in child-focused agencies – Kindernothilfe, Save the Children Canada, and the Terre des Hommes International Federation – launching the global campaign and research project *'It's Time to Talk! – Children's Views on Children's Work'* in March 2016, with cofounding from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Initially, Time to Talk was to be implemented in just 25 countries, however, due to interest among civil society partners regarding the importance of listening to working children's perspectives, the project expanded to 36 countries. Working in collaboration with 57 civil society partners across Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East, the Time to Talk project supported actions for working children's views to be heard and seriously considered. Children's advisory committees (CACs) were formed, involving working children in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe enabling children to take on an active role throughout the process as advisers, analysts and advocates.

Children's consultations were organised in 36 countries to listen to children's suggestions on how best to improve their protection, development and well-being. They also served to better understand the motivations and reasons, benefits, challenges, risks and complexities of work experienced by boys and girls in different situations. Diverse advocacy activities sought to secure platforms for children's perspectives to inform and influence current policy and practice debates at different levels, including at the IV Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour in Argentina, in November 2017. Child-led and collaborative advocacy initiatives by working children and civil society partners were also supported at local and national levels. ●

Working children during a Time to Talk consultation, Tanzania

1.2 The need for working children's perspectives to be heard

The ILO estimates that 152 million children worldwide, between the ages of 5 and 17, are engaged in child labour, and more than half, 73 million, are engaged in hazardous work, endangering their health, safety and moral development (ILO 2017). The root causes underlying harmful work and children's exploitation are complex. Poverty, inequality, unemployment and low parent earnings, conflict, migration, and limited access to quality education are just some of the factors that contribute to the exploitation of child workers (Hungerland et al., 2007; Morrow, 2015).

Manifold efforts have been undertaken to end exploitative child labour. In 2010, the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016 was adopted in The Hague (ILO & the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment of the Netherlands, 2010). At the III Global Conference on Child Labour in Brazil in 2013, government representatives and representatives from the employers' and workers' organizations reaffirmed their commitment to achieving this goal by 2016. Furthermore, the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals now includes goal 8.7, to 'take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.'

Interview between two working children, India

All state governments across the world, except The United States, have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN-CRC). Article 32 of the CRC focuses on the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation, and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous, to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health, or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. State Parties are obliged to take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of this article.

State governments and other duty bearers are also responsible for ensuring they keep in line with article 12, – a key principle of the UN-CRC. Article 12 states that children have the right to freely express their views on all matters affecting them. In addition, children have rights to access information (article 17); to expression through different forms of media (article 13); and to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly (article 15). All these provisions must be seen in light of other overarching principles, including Article 3 to consider the children's best interests, and Article 2 on non-discrimination.

Despite these rights and despite the existence of working children's associations, working children have rarely been involved in the global policy debates around child labour. For instance, in the last two global conferences on child labour, in the Hague and Brasilia, children's participation rights, and the principles of the UNCRC were not given due consideration (Holzcheiter, 2016; Invernizzi & Milne, 2002; Reddy, 2017). Notwithstanding efforts from the organisers to open an Online Dialogue Platform the perspectives of working children were not heard. What's more, working children's representatives have been largely excluded from global, child-labour conferences and their preparatory processes (Cussianovich, 2006; Holzcheiter, 2016; Hungerland et al., 2007; Liebel, 2003).

For more than 25 years, working children in some countries and regions, particularly in Latin America and Africa, but also in India, have been organizing themselves into associations and movements to defend and assert their rights (Hungerland et al., 2007; Liebel, 2003). Similarly, several civil society organisations support the participation rights of non-organised working children, and children who may not necessarily consider themselves to be child workers.

The experience of NGOs and community organisations on the ground has shown that in order to be effective, programmes need to actively involve concerned stakeholders, and interventions need to address the complexities of children's situations (Bourdillon, Levison, Myers & White, 2011; Boyden, Ling & Myers, 1998; Crivello & Pankhurst, 2015; Hungerland et al., 2007; Ladegaard, 2009). Childhood experiences are diverse and are influenced by gender; age; family structure; family income; sibling order; geography; culture; religion; and broader socio-political factors (Morrow, 2015). Therefore, different forms of children's work may have positive or negative outcomes for both girls and boys depending on the type of work, the working conditions, relationships, and wider contextual factors (Bourdillon et al., 2011). Children may work in

dignified situations that are neither harmful nor exploitative, where they are able to contribute positively to their families and learn technical, business or life skills. Conversely, children may find themselves working in

Consultation with an 8-year-old girl, Indonesia

unsafe and unhealthy environments, with little or no pay, where they are unable to pursue their education and other rights. Thus, it is crucial to develop policy and practice that ensure children's protection from hazardous and harmful work, while also allowing dignified, light work that contributes to children's well-being and development.

The key to understanding this complexity is the participation of the children themselves. This ensures accountability for policy and practice interventions that are in the best interests of the child. Understanding the realities of children's daily lives, from their own point of view, is helpful in exploring solutions to address their concerns. Recognising and appreciating the diversity of childhood experiences is only possible when policy makers and practitioners share information with children in accessible formats, dialogue with children from different backgrounds, and listen to children's perspectives at all levels, local to global. ●

1.3 An understanding of children's work for Time to Talk

On the ILO website[5] the term 'child labour' is defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:

●

'is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and

●

interferes with their schooling by:

·

depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;

·

obliging them to leave school prematurely; or

·

requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.'

However, the ILO also acknowledges that there are some forms of children's work that should not be classified as child labour:

[...] not all work done by children should be classified as child labour that is to be targeted for elimination. Children's or adolescents' participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling, is generally regarded as being something positive. This includes activities such as helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. These kinds of activities contribute to children's development and to the welfare of their families; they provide them with skills and experience, and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life.[6]

5 The International Labour Organisation, (n.d.). What is child labour. Retrieved from http://ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm
6 Ibid.

The challenge is that the term 'child labour' is inconsistently used by different agencies. Some governments and individuals use 'child labour' as a term to encompass all types of children's work, while others use it to denote only harmful children's work. This has the potential to create misunderstanding and cause harmful consequences, particularly when policies or approaches are proposed to end child labour in all its forms (Bourdillon et al, 2011).

Thus, at the outset of the Time to Talk project there were careful deliberations among organisers and advisory committee members[7] about what terminology to use. The project took into consideration existing international human and children's rights treaties and conventions including:

- **the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child:**
- **Article 32 to protect children from economic exploitation**
- **Article 12 for children to express their views**
- **Article 3 best interests of the child**
- **Article 15 freedom of association**
- **Article 27 right to an adequate standard of living**
- **the ILO Minimum Age Convention 138, and**
- **the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 182**

The project organisers acknowledged these conventions as legal frameworks. However, they primarily recognised a rights-based approach to children's work which meant understanding what is in the best interests of children and young people under the age of 18. This included seeking greater clarity on what

work is harmful, and on what work can enhance the well-being and development of children. Furthermore, in wanting to understand children's diverse working realities, and recognising that there are often blurred or nuanced boundaries between 'child labour' and 'children's work,' a more inclusive understanding of children's work was developed that encompassed both paid and unpaid work, including household tasks. Thus, the understanding of children's work communicated to civil society partners and children for use in each of the consultations was:

Children's work is any activity by children done for economical purpose or to help families, relatives or communities which is: based on mental or physical efforts; paid or unpaid; inside or outside the family in the formal or informal sector; forced, trafficked or voluntary; contract-based or independent; from a few hours a week to full-time, every day.

To avoid confusion and misunderstanding in this report the terms 'working children' and 'children's work' will be used exclusively in the sense described above, unless children themselves used the term 'child labour'. ●

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7 More information on the Adult Advisory Committee members and children's advisory committee members are shared in chapter 2.

2 Methodology
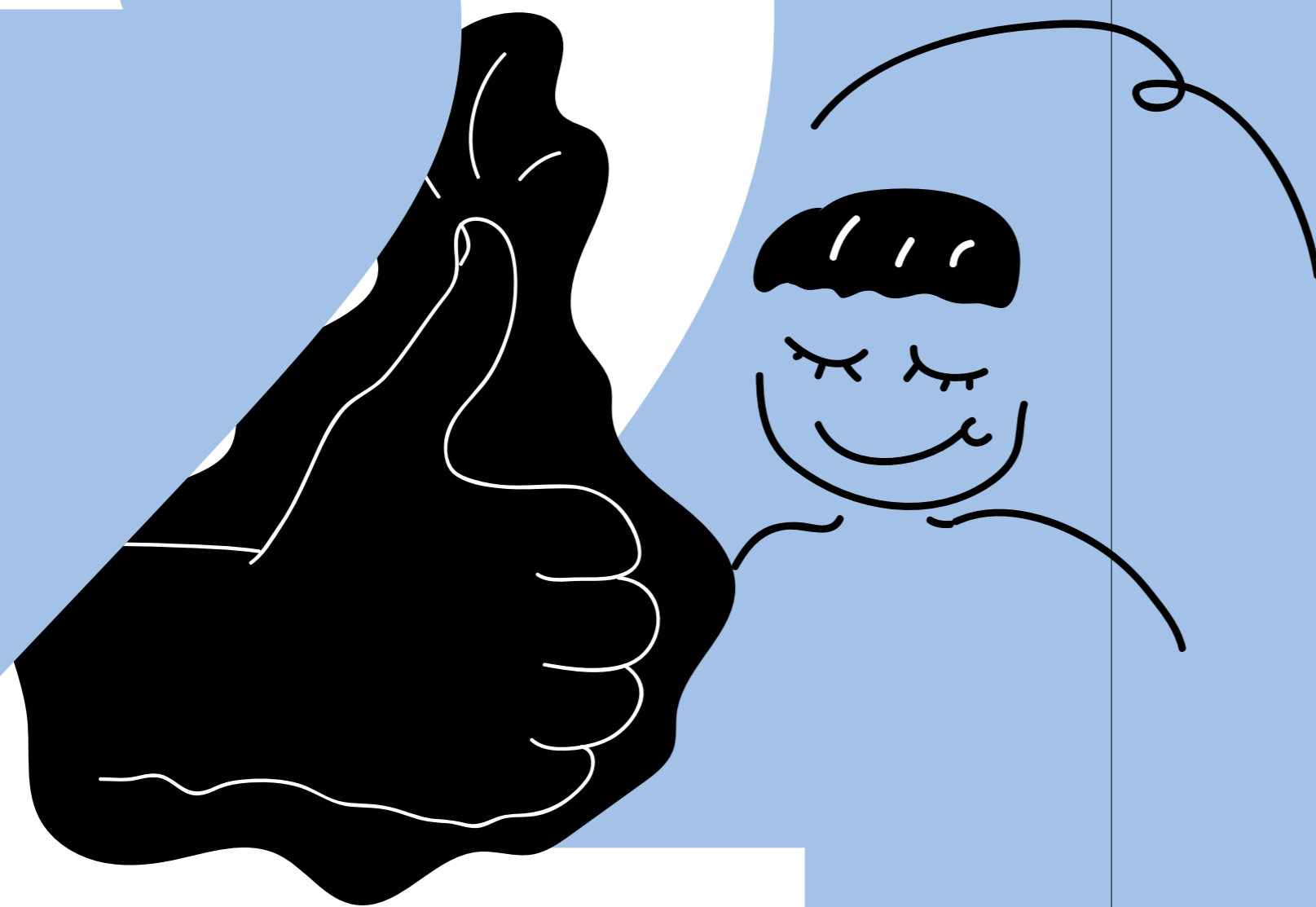
Nine basic requirements for effective and ethical child participation

(CRC/C/GC/12, 2009) were used to develop and guide the capacity building of civil society partners. When planning, implementing and following up on the consultations, the partners had practical guidance on how to ensure participation, that is:

1) transparent and informative
2) voluntary
3) respectful
4) relevant
5) child-friendly
6) inclusive
7) supported by training
8) safe and sensitive to risk
9) accountable

2.1 Introduction to the methodology

A commitment to a research approach based on children's rights

In line with the project goal, the participatory research and consultation process was designed to create spaces for working children from diverse backgrounds to express their views, experiences and suggestions about their work and realities, and to be heard. A commitment to a research approach based on children's rights informed the research design,

planning, implementation, monitoring and follow-up (Beazley et al., 2009; Lundy & McEvoy, 2012a, 2012b).

Lundy & McEvoy (2012a) have identified three core principles of research based on children's rights: the research's aims should be informed by the CRC's standards; the research process should comply with the CRC's standards; and the research outcomes should build the capacity of children, as rights-holders, to

claim their rights and support the capacity of duty-bearers to fulfil their obligations. This commitment to the research process, to the application of basic requirements for effective and ethical children's participation (CRC/C/GC/12, 2009), and to collaborating with civil society organisations working at local, national, regional and global levels, has enhanced opportunities for research based on children's rights with working children in diverse contexts. ●

The Time to Talk project has supported different types of participation (Lansdown, 2011) namely:

Consultation

of 1 822 children (52% girls, 48% boys) in focus group discussions and participatory activities, as well as through the use of individual interviews to complete questionnaires on each participant's key background information. Through the consultations, adults facilitated and documented children's views to gain knowledge and understanding of their experiences. The consultations were primarily adult initiated and facilitated.

Collaborative participation

of over 150 children aged 9 to 18 who were actively involved in **children's advisory committees** that accompanied the research and consultation process by drawing upon working children's expertise and insights as advisers, analysts, and advocates. Opportunities for collaborative participation, where there was a greater degree of partnership between children and adults, were also supported through the Public Action Events and National Exchange Programme[8]. They, in turn, supported collaborative initiatives by adults and children, giving opportunities to children to share their key advocacy messages and dialogue with concerned adult duty-bearers in Bolivia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nicaragua, Nepal, Peru, Senegal and Thailand.

Child-led participation

where working children had space and opportunity to initiate and plan their own activities, and to advocate for themselves on issues affecting them, were also supported through some of the Public Action Events. For example, child-led actions took place in Costa Rica, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Peru and the Philippines. Diverse types of actions organised by working children included rallies, workshops, press tours, video production, and press releases.

[8] The National Exchange between working children and government delegations in the run-up to the IV Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour was implemented with additional funding from the German Federal Foreign Office in ten countries between March and October 2017.

Key research questions:

Under which conditions do children work?

•

What are the reasons and motivations for children's work?

•

To what extent do children have a say in decisions about what and how much work they do?

•

What do girls and boys think about their work, what do they like and dislike about their work?

•

To what extent do children's current work and study opportunities help or hinder girls and boys in fulfilling their aspirations?

•

What type of work do they think children can and should do, or cannot and should not do?

•

What are differences in children's experiences and views, and how are they influenced by gender, age, disability, and socio-cultural or political context etc.?

•

What protection and risk factors can be identified which increase the likelihood of experiencing positive or negative outcomes of children's work?

•

What do children and young people know and think about current international and national policies, laws, and approaches? What do they think would work best for them?

•

How can children be protected from the worst forms of child labour and hazardous exploitative work?

•

What messages do children have for different stakeholders working to improve their lives?

Mixed methods, primarily qualitative and exploratory

Mixed methods encompassing qualitative and quantitative data collection with working children aged 5 to 18, were used to gather data that was relevant to the research questions. The research was primarily qualitative and exploratory, using focus group discussions and participatory activities with small groups of girls or boys of similar ages who were involved in similar types of work[9]. There was an emphasis on open-ended questions to allow more opportunities for working children to share their views and experiences, and to increase understanding of the complexity and diversity of working children's lives. Quantitative data collection through individual interviews to complete a questionnaire was also used to gather key background data concerning each child, their family situation, their work, and school attendance.

The consultation process was designed to provide a neutral, non-judgemental space for working children to share their views and experiences. Participatory research tools (see table on p. 34 - 35) were designed, adapted and used during one-day workshops, half-day workshops, and two-hour or one-hour sessions with small groups of children. Participatory research tools which worked well with children, included: drawings; body mapping; flow diagrams; play; matrices; skits; stories and songs (Boyden & Ennew, 1997; Crivello, Camfield & Woodhead, 2009; Hart & Tyrer, 2006; James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Johnson, Hart & Colwell, 2014; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; ODI, 2015; O'Kane, 2008, 2017; Veale, 2005).

[9] For example, focus group activities with a group of eight boys aged 13 to 17 who were waste collectors, or with a group of eight girls aged 8 to 12 who helped their parents with housework.

2.2 Scope, sampling and collaboration with civil society partners

Scope of the research and consultation process and purposeful sampling

Decisions regarding the scope of the research in terms of geographic locations, the number of children involved in consultations, and the number of children engaged in different types of work, were influenced by available human and financial resources. With intentions to consult more than 1 800 working children across five continents using qualitative and quantitative methods, and to encourage follow-up, collaborative and child-led action and advocacy initiatives, it was strategic and practical to collaborate with local, civil society partners.

Each of the project-organising agencies reached out to share information about Time to Talk with key, local civil society partners who had contact with working children. Most of them had been local partner organisations, branches or affiliates of the project organisers, others had responded to the invitation to join the project which had been shared via child rights networks. Civil society organisations were asked if they would be interested and willing to organise and support consultations with working children, and to be part of other ongoing collaborative action and advocacy initiatives relating to the Time to Talk project.

It was intended that through partnerships with different civil society partners, children working in different types of work such as paid domestic work, mining, vending, etc. would be reached and consulted.

The Time to Talk project promoted a neutral platform where children could freely share their views and experiences without judgement. Civil society partners had differing positions, or no position, in relation to child labour and children's work debates. Some civil society partners were supporting associations and movements of working children, for example in different countries in Latin America or Africa. Other civil society partners were active members of coalitions to end all forms of child labour; while many partners had no existing positions regarding children's work or labour (Annex II).

Development of a research toolkit, regional training workshops and online mentoring

A team of consultants developed a research toolkit to guide local, civil society partners in the planning, facilitation and documentation of the consultations (O'Kane, Meslaoui & Barros, 2016). The toolkit was available in English, French, and Spanish. It included consultation activities and additional tools to support children's involvement in planning and implementing advocacy and action initiatives. The tools could be combined in flexible ways depending on the availability of children and the consultation organisers. The first, draft set of tools was pilot-tested with two children's groups in India and Nepal to make it more child-friendly. It was updated based on feedback from the Adult Advisory Committee and the project organisers.

Three-day regional training workshops were organised for civil society partners' staff in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East/Europe (combined) to increase the knowledge, skills and confidence of civil society partners to effectively employ the research toolkit. The training materials were also made available as online, recorded tutorials. Furthermore, following the regional workshops, project organisers or the consultancy team members were available virtually to respond to queries in order to enhance quality consultation and documentation processes.

Consultations with children: Opportunities and limitations

Children and adults who have been involved in the Time to Talk consultations have recognised and appreciated the opportunities for children to express their views and experiences. The value of consulting children in terms of education, empowerment and advocacy, have been commented upon, both by children and adults during the process. For example, adolescent girls who were consulted in India reflected, '*We were able to share a lot about our lives – no one had asked us anything like this before… It makes us so happy to see there are people concerned about us.*' Similarly, a 16-year-old girl who worked as a small-scale vendor in Chad said, '*[we share] deep thanks to the organizers who have thought of us through this consultation… each time we want to come and be part of these kinds of meetings so that our grievances will be heard at international levels.*'

While consultations create important opportunities to seek children's views and experiences, the consultations are influenced by the quality of facilitation, and the values and skills of facilitators. These skills included encouraging dialogue among children to explore similarities and differences in perspectives, and knowing when to use increasingly probing questions to further explore issues raised by children. Children's views and messages are also influenced by their own experiences; their socio-cultural context; their exposure to discussions on children's work; and their access, or lack of access, to information. Similar to adults, children's views and opinions may develop and change through experiences, information, reflection, and dialogue. While 34% had had rare or no contact with NGOs prior to the consultation, the majority of the children had had prior contact with NGO partners who organised the consultations. Thus, it is recognised that children's perspectives on their working lives may have been influenced by their prior engagement in, and exposure to, NGO programme interventions, philosophy or values, and by the NGO staff members and their peers.

As the Time to Talk consultations were organised across 36 countries, each by different groups of facilitators, there was no way to maintain independent facilitation. Many of the partner agencies were able to make effective use of experienced staff or volunteers who were skilled in communicating with children, while some agencies had less experienced staff. Moreover, it was recognised that adults' and NGOs' own values and positions on children's work may influence the style of facilitation and the nature of probing questions. A steadfast rule for facilitators and documenters that was included in the research toolkit was: *Please try not to influence what children say. Even if you sometimes do not agree with children's perspectives, please do not influence or change children's views during or following the consultation.* However, despite such clear standards, adults may have inadvertently influenced children's views in some of the consultations. For example, on an observation and documentation form, one adult facilitator from India acknowledged that '*children are influenced by the motivation of the organisation that children should not work, but study.*'

During the Time to Talk project, the formation of children's advisory committee members provided valuable opportunities for more regular information sharing and dialogue with working children regarding their views on, and experiences with, children's work, and their messages for different stakeholders. CAC members were actively involved in the analysis of protection and risk factors, and their feedback on draft research findings and advocacy messages has informed the final report. CAC members have also taken on their own advocacy initiatives. However, challenges regarding potential adult influence remain.

Organising consultation workshops and use of core consultation tools

Between April 2016 and May 2017, 134 consultations with small groups of children were organised with girls and boys aged 5 to 18 years. 59% of the consultations were organised through one-day workshops; 29% were organised through half-day workshops; and 12% were organised in other ways[10].

The local civil society partners made significant efforts to create effective consultation teams including facilitators, documenters and a child protection focal point. During the research and consultation process, adults and children could share their feedback on the consultation process and this feedback was used to improve the quality of the process (see Annex III).

Core consultation tools

		Description	Number of consultations where tool was applied	Number of times used			
				Girl groups	*Boy groups*	*Mixed groups*	*Total*
'A day in the life of...' **Timeline**		Children individually wrote and illustrated a day in their life on: **a)** school day (if they went to school), and **b)** non-school day. In plenary they reflected on their roles and responsibilities.	**120**	**More than 1800 individual timelines were shared.**[11]			
'Why, why, why?' Exploring reasons and motivations for children's work		Working in groups, children had the opportunity to explore the different motivations for children's work (positive or negative), and the underlying reasons.	**24**	4	6	26	**36**
'Body Mapping' Likes and dislikes of children's work		Working in separate gender and age groups, girls and boys drew a body map and the body parts were used as prompts to encourage children to share what they liked and disliked about their work. For example, with the eyes: 'What do you see when you are working that makes you happy or sad?'; with the ears: 'How do people listen to you when you work that makes you happy or sad?'; with the hands and arms: 'What activities do you do when you are working that make you happy or sad?'	**118**	91	95	44	**230**
'Mapping work they can or should do, and work they cannot or should not do'		Working in groups, children collaborated to map work they felt they could or should do, and work they could not or should not do, and the reasons why. This enabled girls and boys to discuss what types of work they thought were and were not appropriate for children of their age, and the reasons why.	**82**	47	51	39	**137**
'Flowers of Support'		Children decided which groups of people they wanted to share messages with. They each prepared a paper flower petal with key messages for each group of people with whom they wanted to share notes in the hopes of improving the lives of working children. Together, the petals created a 'flower of support'.	**81**	23	21	53	**97**
H Assessment on existing policies, laws, and approaches		Working in groups, children shared their views about the strengths and weaknesses of current national and international policies, laws and/or approaches that are meant to improve working children's well-being and development; and their suggestions to improve them.	**21**	1		22	**23**
Draw and write, poems, stories, posters and drama		Individual children had opportunities to illustrate, write, and draft poems or stories to share their views and experiences on children's work. Working in groups, children also had opportunities to create posters and dramas to share their most significant, positive and negative experiences as working children.	**39**	**More than 200 creative contributions**			

10 Including 2, two-day workshops, some two-hour workshops, one-hour workshops, and some combined half-day workshops and individual meetings.
11 The timeline was used individually by children in 120 consultations. The school day timeline was used in 109 consultations, and the non-school day timeline was used in 106 consultations.

Collaboration with children's advisory committees and an Adult Advisory Committee

In line with a rights-based approach, partners were invited to form and supervise a children's advisory committee (CAC) in their project area, or to invite existing groups to support the process as a CAC[12]. Fifteen children's advisory committees in 12 countries were established, involving more than 150 children aged 9 to 18 with diverse working backgrounds (see Annex VIII).

Tasks of CAC members included:

Pilot testing the consultation tools and giving suggestions to improve them

•

Exploring opportunities for CAC members to participate in the Time to Talk project, including the areas in which they required further training to be able to contribute to the project

•

Identifying options for children's involvement in the preparatory process leading up to the IV Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour (2017), as well as options that would allow for children's meaningful participation during the conference

•

Supporting consultations with working children in their country

•

Helping to explore the reasons and motivations to work, as well as existing policies, laws and approaches

•

Action planning for joint advocacy and action initiatives at local levels in order to share the consultation workshops' key findings, including advocacy activities on International Child Workers' Day (30 April) or the World Day against Child Labour (12 June)
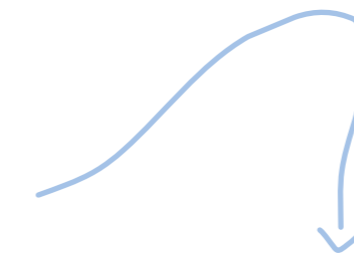
Supporting the analysis of key findings from child consultations around the world, with a special focus on protection and risk factors

•

Reviewing and giving feedback on the main findings (via child-friendly texts and illustrations of the results)

•

Helping to develop recommendations for different groups of adults (e. g. governments, employers, parents/caregivers, teachers etc.) to improve the lives of working children

•

Giving advice and supporting the development of presentations and child-friendly reports

•

Exchanging with decision-makers to discuss the key findings of the consultation and consequently, options for their implementation

•

Supporting the evaluation of the involvement of children as participants and CAC members in the consultation process

Interested partners had access to additional funds to realise a Public Action Event on or between, April 30th or June 12th.[13] Some partners received funds from the Federal Foreign Office of Germany to organise a complementary national exchange between CAC members and government delegations in 10 countries prior to the IV Global Conference[14]. While some CACS were able to hold the foreseen number of meetings, others reduced the overall number of meetings to three to four due to the busy schedules of both partner NGOs, and children.

In addition to the CACs, one virtual Adult Advisory Committee (AAC) was formed, including 24 members (16 women, eight men) who are academics and practitioners with significant experience in child rights and children's work issues (Annex IV). The AAC members provided constructive feedback used to improve not only the research toolkit and this report, but also other, related advocacy supporting children's participation in policy and practice developments that concern them. •

12 CAC countries included: Bolivia, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kosovo, Nepal, Nicaragua, Peru, Senegal, Thailand, and Zambia.

36

13 The International Child Workers' Day is held every year on April 30th and celebrated by several working children's movements. The origins of this day can be found in India and were promoted by a working children's movement there in the 1970s. The World Day Against Child Labour is held every year on June 12th. It was launched by the ILO in 2002 to draw attention to the global extent of child labour and the interventions needed to eliminate it.

14 This National Exchange was realised in the following countries between April and October 2017: Bolivia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nicaragua, Nepal, Peru, Senegal and Thailand.

37

Age of girls and boys consulted

No. of children

Legend: Others / Male / Female
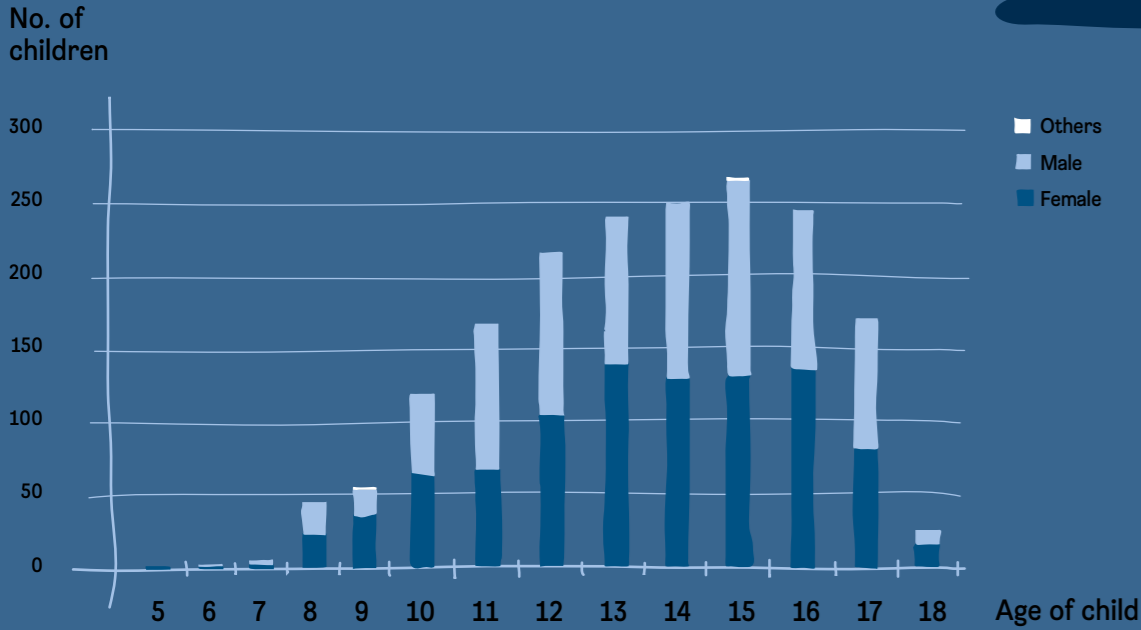
The children consulted were engaged in a **diverse range of paid and unpaid work**, and many children were combining different types of paid and unpaid work, especially unpaid household and agricultural work.

When do children of different ages work?

No. of children

Legend:
- Working before and/or after school
- Other
- Only working during school holidays
- Former child worker, no longer working
- Engaged in full-time work and not attending school

Children aged 13 years and under who were consulted were mostly working before or after school or during the school holidays. As children got older, there was a steady rise in the proportion of children consulted who were engaged in full time work.

2.3 Overview of consulted children

From across **36 countries**[15], **1 822 children (52% girls, 48% boys**[16]) were consulted (see Annex V). In terms of children consulted in different regions:

4 % from Europe

32 % from Asia

8 % from the Middle East

27 % from Africa

29 % from Latin America

When do children work?

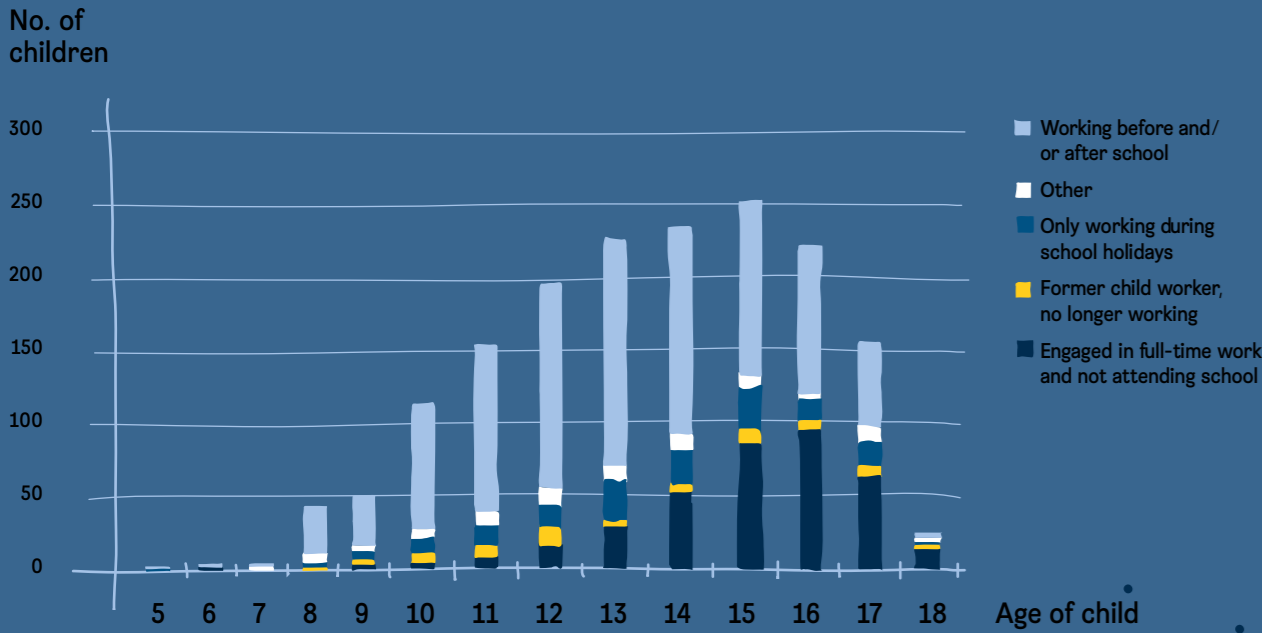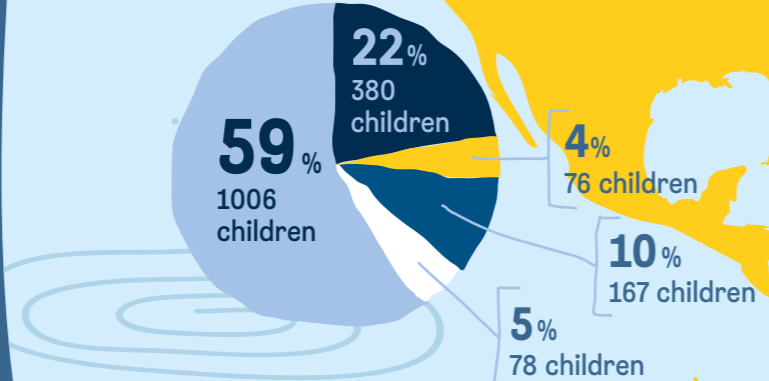- **59 %** 1006 children
- **22 %** 380 children
- **4 %** 76 children
- **10 %** 167 children
- **5 %** 78 children

Children 13 years and under who were consulted were mostly working before or after school or during the school holidays. Among older age groups, there was a steady rise in the proportion of children consulted who were engaged in full-time work.

The children consulted were aged **5 to 18**[17]. The majority of the children consulted were aged 10 to 17.

Urban, rural or camp location of children consulted:

- **23 %** 397 children
- **33 %** 580 children
- **40 %** 711 children
- **2 %** 33 children
- **2 %** 32 children

Legend:
- City
- IDP or refugee camp
- Rural village
- Other
- Small town

The children consulted were from **diverse backgrounds** and included: children living with different caregivers (see Annex VI); children from ethnic and indigenous minorities; 271 children from migrant families; 133 child refugees; 98 children who were internally displaced; 89 children with disabilities; and 17 children who were stateless.

19% of the children consulted were members of organised, working children's associations, particularly in Latin America and Africa.

43% of the children consulted had regular **contact with NGOs**; 23% had occasional contact; and 34% had rare, or no contact with NGOs (prior to the consultation).
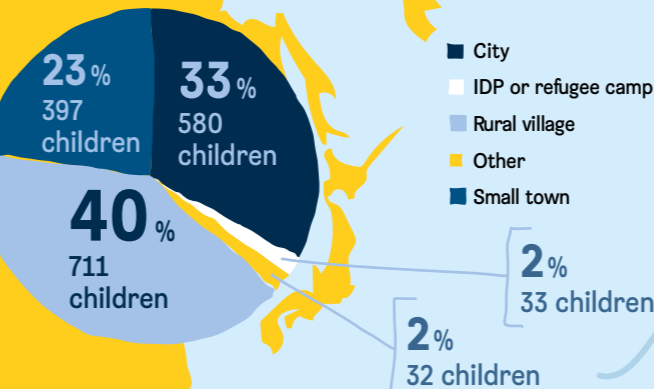
15 Albania, Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Chad, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Germany, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Mali, Mexico, Myanmar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, The Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

16 Two children identified themselves as other, rather than as male or female.

17 Four youths, aged 19 to 24, were consulted in Mali, and one 19-year-old in Turkey, but their data was not included in the final analysis due to their age.

18 Some children undertook more than one type of work.

19 Of those consulted, 159 boys and 239 girls were only doing unpaid household and agricultural work. Larger numbers of children consulted were also doing unpaid household and agricultural work, in addition to other types of work: 942 children consulted were doing housework and 429 were doing agricultural work.

Types of work undertaken by children who were consulted [18]

	Males	Females	Others
Unpaid household and agricultural work (only) [19]	159	239	0
Small-scale vending	111	124	1
Paid housework (for employer or family)	75	158	0
Paid agricultural work (for employer or family)	76	53	0
Work in a mine	47	47	0
Work in a stone quarry, or brick making	49	20	0
Waste collection	34	39	1
Construction work	64	13	0
Shop work	32	42	0
Handicraft making	12	42	0
Paid childcare (for employer or family)	15	40	0
Work in the weaving or textile industry	16	34	0
Shoe shining	26	18	0
Factory work	22	15	0
Hotel or restaurant work	17	18	0
Carpentry	22	4	0
Deliveries (newspaper, vegetables, other)	23	9	0
Prawn or fishing industry	20	3	0
Porter	18	0	0
Paid animal care (for employer or family)	15	5	0
Car/bus cleaning	16	2	0
Begging	14	4	0
Barber, hairdresser or beauty parlour work	6	12	0
Mechanic	12	3	0
Serving tea or running errands	7	8	0
Tourist guide	4	4	0
Repair shop work	6	2	0
Sex work	5	0	0
Ticket collector	2	2	0
Child associated with armed group (CAAG)	0	1	0
Other (for example, tailoring, tombstone cleaner, caterer, making tortillas)	50	53	0

76% of the children consulted were studying (including formal, informal or non-formal education), **22% were out of school** and **2% sometimes went to school.**

2.4 Ethics

Ethical practice in the Time to Talk research and consultation process included:

Application of the basic requirements for effective and ethical participation (CRC/C/GC/12, 2009) and additional guidance on ethical research with children (Feinstein & O'Kane, 2008b; Hart & Tyrer, 2006) was used to inform an ethical approach throughout the Time to Talk project. ●

Working with civil society partners who could either provide sensitive follow-up or make referrals to local services if a child disclosed significant abuse or distress during the consultations

●

The use of codes of conduct by facilitators and documenters to enhance child protection

●

Identifying risks that might be faced when organising consultations with girls or boys who work, and identifying and implementing strategies to deal with or minimise those risks prior to consultations

●

Sharing information with the child and their parent / guardian (orally and in writing) to ensure informed consent. Notifying them that they could withdraw from the study at any point

●

Identifying child-protection focal points to support the consultation process and follow-up

●

The use of individual codes rather than children's names to ensure privacy and anonymity, and keeping data in locked or secured places

●

Ensuring respect for children's views and working collaboratively with children as advisers, analysts and advocates, particularly through the children's advisory committees

●

Encouraging feedback and assistance from civil society partners to support child-led action and advocacy initiatives to enhance accountability

●

Developing and disseminating child-friendly newsletter updates, and a child-friendly report

2.5 Data analysis and reporting

Documenters formed part of each, local consultation team. Transcriptions, and completed individual questionnaires were compiled (or back translated) into English, French or Spanish. Observation and documentation formats (ODF) were also completed by the civil society partners responsible for conducting the consultation to ensure accurate contextual information was duly recorded. This included, but was not limited to: the number of children consulted and their gender, age, and initials; their country and location (rural, urban, camp, etc.) and type of work. Data from the questionnaires was entered into Excel, and notes of consultation findings and CAC meetings were transcribed and imported into NVivo 11, together with information about the consultations' context.

NVivo 11 software was used by the consultants to support systematic analysis of the qualitative data (Annex VII). Template analysis was applied by the consultants as it provided guidance on practical steps to support systematic and rich thematic analysis. This was all done while seeking to balance flexibility and structure (King & Brooks, 2017). Seven key steps to template analysis were followed (King & Brooks, 2017):

1) *Familiarisation with the data*
2) *Preliminary coding of thematic issues that were discussed during the consultations*
3) *Clustering*
4) *Producing an initial template*
5) *Developing the template*
6) *Applying the final template*
7) *Writing up*

At the outset of the analysis process, documents concerning the Time to Talk project's aim and research questions, along with transcriptions of findings from consultations completed prior to October 2016 were read in detail to familiarise researchers with the data. The Time to Talk research questions shaped the development of some pre-determined, over-arching themes on: reasons and motivations for working; work conditions; diverse childhoods; who decides when or how children work; likes and dislikes about work; aspirations; work children can or should do; work children cannot or should not do; protection and risk factors; policies and approaches; and the research process itself.

The initial transcripts were reread, and preliminary codes representing certain themes were developed. Once 15 transcripts had been assigned preliminary codes, the codes were re-examined to help identify and record clusters of similar codes. For example, in terms of 'likes', there was a cluster of similar codes regarding learning skills: household skills; agricultural skills; business skills; life skills; or a trade or profession. An initial template

was developed and the template was re-created in NVivo 11 using parent nodes, child nodes, and grandchild nodes to capture different nuances in the identified themes. For example:

- *Parent node = Dislikes about work*
- *Child node (one of many) = Harm, damage or injury*
- *Grandchild nodes = Injured or aching body parts; accidents; noxious dust or chemicals, etc.;*
- *Great-grandchild nodes (under injured or aching body parts) = injured hands; injured feet; sore head, etc.*

Based on the preliminary coding, a number of factors that seemed to influence negative or positive outcomes of children's work were identified. Accordingly, group activities were designed to engage the CAC members in analysing risk and protection factors (see chapter 7). Findings from each of the CAC meetings were also transcribed, imported into NVivo 11, and coded as part of the thematic analysis.[20] Furthermore, findings concerning work children can and cannot do were also extracted and recorded in an Excel document to support both quantitative, and qualitative analysis.

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[20] Coding of findings from the CACs was undertaken collaboratively by the consultants and Antje Ruhmann.

Each transcript was coded using template analysis, with additions and edits made to refine the template to better reflect nuances in the data. Once the data was coded, emerging thematic areas were studied in more detail to identify which groups of children had expressed which findings, and to determine if there were any differences in relation to gender, region, country, type of work, or other factors (such as being affected by conflict, being a refugee, etc.).

Results from the quantitative analysis were also triangulated with findings from the qualitative analysis. The report was written to reflect the key thematic findings and then reviewed by the children's advisory committees[21] and the Adult Advisory Committee in a feedback loop.

Key thematic findings shared in each chapter and sub-chapter of this report are **ordered in terms of frequency** in which the theme was mentioned by children and young people. For example, the themes which are initially presented in each chapter or sub-chapter are themes which were more frequently mentioned by children from different consultations around the world. In some cases, particular themes were mentioned by specific groups of children from a particular region, type of work, or gender group. Such distinctions are highlighted in the text. ●

Drawing by a 12-year-old boy who helps his family, Peru

21 Child-friendly texts and illustrations were developed to share the main thematic findings with CAC members in an accessible way. CAC members were asked to share their views on: i) findings they most agreed with and reasons why? ii) findings they disagreed with or were surprised by and their reasons why, and iii) their priority messages to improve their lives.

2.6 Key limitations

Key limitations identified by the Time to Talk team include:

1 **Selection of partners:** The project organisers' partner organisations, as well as other NGOs from around the world, were invited to join the project. Consequently, almost all children involved were linked to NGO-project activities, and therefore treated with the highest child protection standards. This ensured that sensitive information, such as harm or abuse that was disclosed by the working children during the consultations, was attended to accordingly. Thus, the random sampling of children involved in the research and consultation process was not possible.

2 **Data sample and quality issues:** The data sample was not representative of any particular region, country, or specific type of children's work. Due to the selection process described above, the sample per country is small (see Annex V) and does not reflect the sectoral breakdown of global estimates published by the ILO (2017). The research was exploratory and purposeful sampling was intended to reach children from diverse working backgrounds. Proportionately more children were consulted in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, with small samples from the Middle East, and Europe which made it harder to make regional comparisons.

The data sample included children from a variety of different types of work backgrounds, covering organised and non-organised work; self-employment, and contract-based work; and both paid and unpaid work. In terms of diversity of types of work,

there was over-representation of children doing unpaid housework. Moreover, working children that were at high risk of being traumatised through their activities, e.g. sex workers, were included to a very limited extent to minimize the risk of causing further psychological harm. More diversity in types of work could have been ensured by more careful planning and communication with civil society partners at the outset of the consultation-planning process.

It is also recognised that the Time to Talk project supported a learning process, as some children gained awareness and knowledge about policies and practices affecting their working lives through the consultation process — particularly children's advisory committee members. Thus, if the consultations were to be repeated, some of the findings may change, as children's views may have changed or become refined during the consultation process.

The research toolkit was provided in English, French and Spanish. Most of the children consulted spoke local languages. The processes of documentation and translation of children's views inherently carries the risk that some nuances in children's perspectives may have been lost during documentation, translation and transcription.

3 **Administrative issues:** Delays in the process of organising consultations were in part due to intensive budget discussions with the implementing partner organisations, and in part to the time needed to complete transactions with more than 50 NGO partners. Staff shortages contributed to data-processing delays, which in turn, shortened the time available for data analysis and reporting.

4 **Level of detail:** Consent forms and basic background details were secured for every child consulted. However, all sections of the individual questionnaires were not completed for every single child. Thus, some of the quantitative data analysis, including the individual reasons and motivations for working is based on a slightly smaller sample. Furthermore, due to the amount and richness of qualitative data collected, this report was not able to present all the findings from children. Instead, systematic and sensitive efforts were made to ensure that the most frequently mentioned findings and themes were shared. Care was also taken to emphasise divergent findings among different groups of children based on gender; age; region; country; type of work; family structure; geographic setting; and other contextual factors including refugee status or proximity to conflicts, when there were significantly different views among children within a particular focus group. ●

3 'A day in the life of ...': Children's diverse working realities
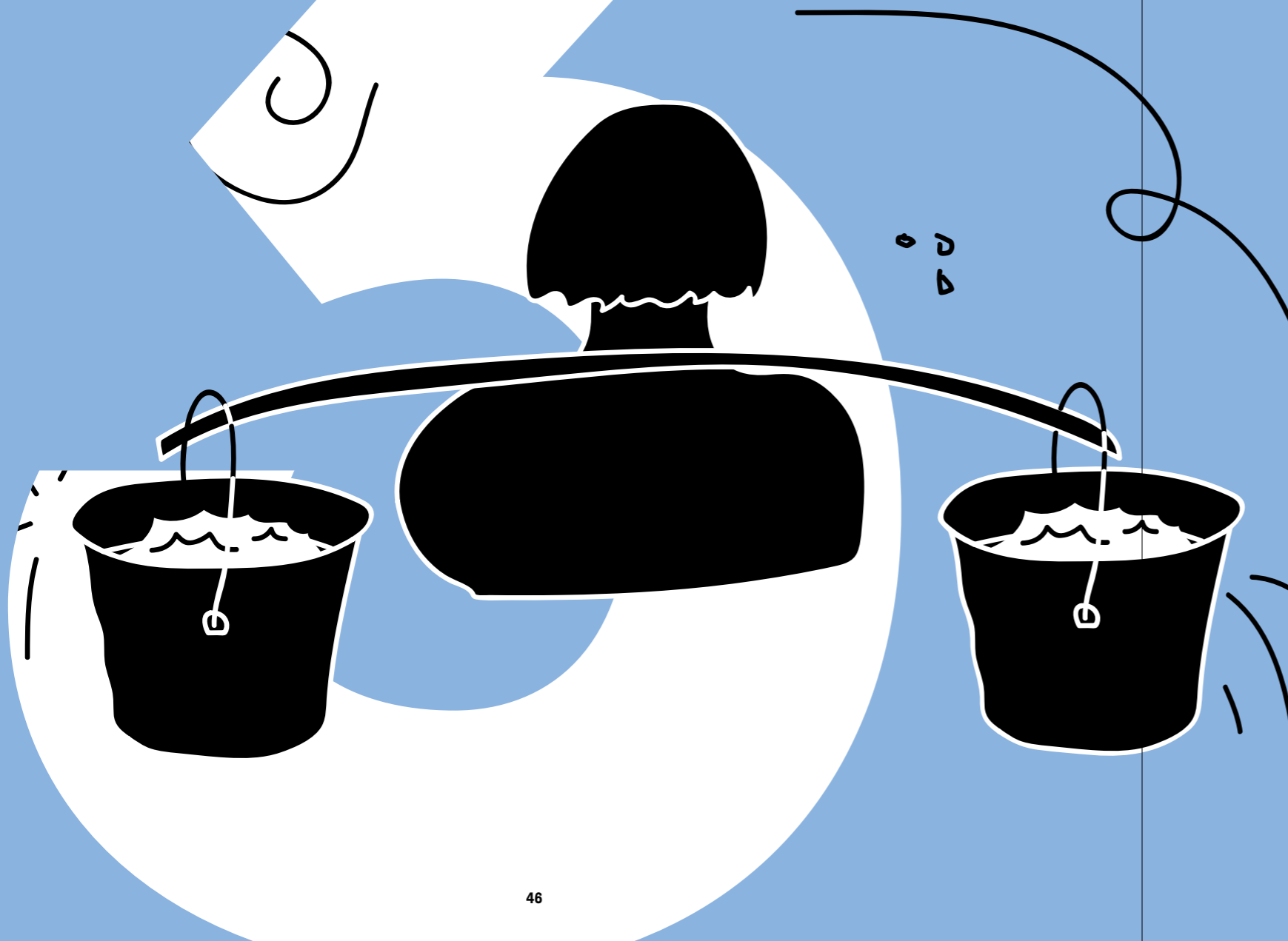
This chapter introduces the diversity of children's working realities and the importance of approaching children in a wider socio-ecological framework in order to develop and implement practices and policies that are relevant to and effective in supporting children's well-being, growth and protection.

3.1 Different types of work

This section shares brief examples of 'a day in the life of' girls and boys who were undertaking different types of work. It introduces the reader to the daily realities of children's lives, and the diverse ways in which children combine different types of work with study, play and rest. The types of work used as illustrations were the ones most frequently carried out by children who were consulted, including: unpaid household and agricultural work; small-scale vending; paid agricultural work; mine work; brick or stone making; waste collection; and domestic work for employers.[22]
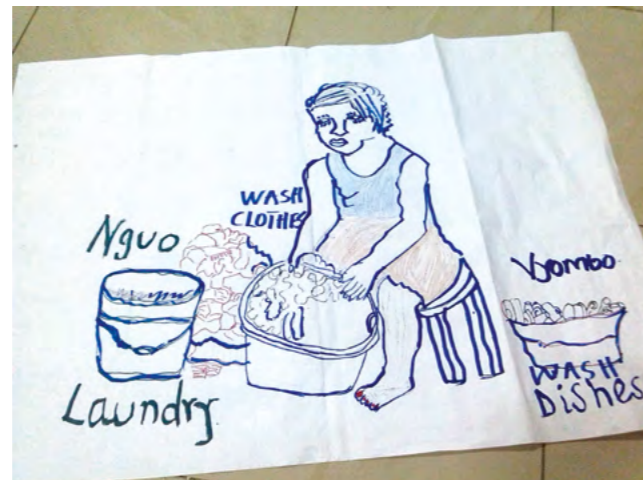
Drawing of household work by a girl from Tanzania
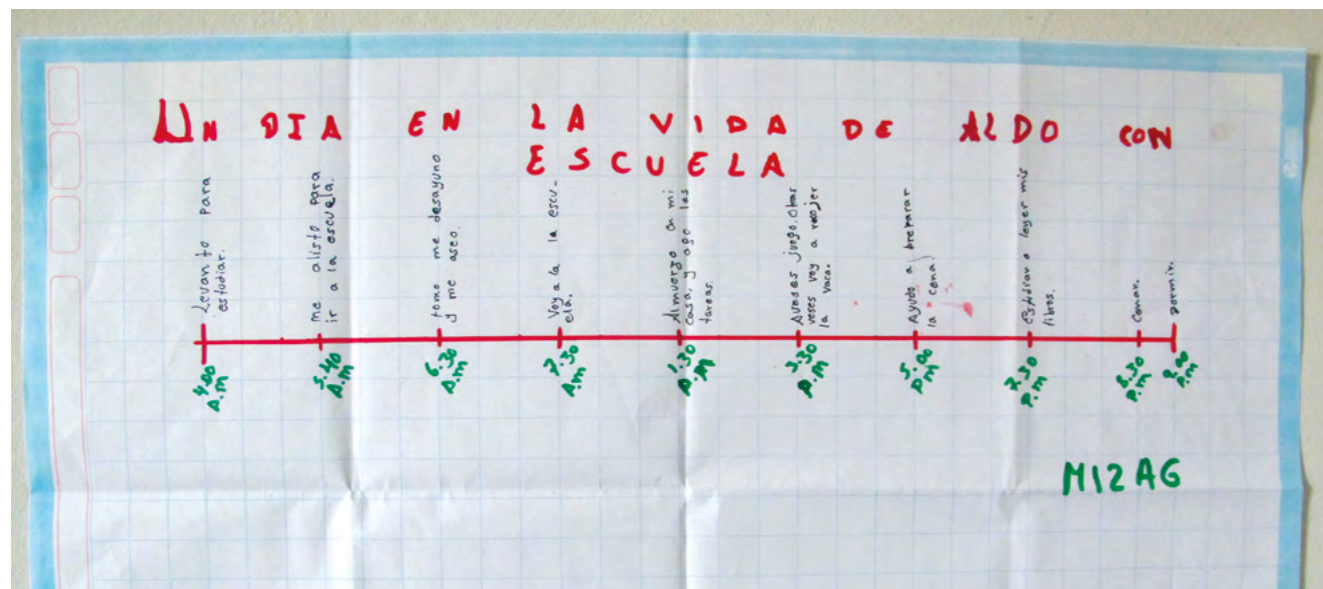
'A day in the life of…' a 12 -year-old boy in a rural area, Peru

22 As shown in the methodology section, working children who were consulted were also working in other formal and informal sectors.

Unpaid household and agricultural work

Recent data from the ILO (2017) indicates that the majority of working children are not in an employment relationship with a third-party employer, but rather they are working in family farms and family enterprises. During the Time to Talk consultations, girls and boys performing unpaid housework were consulted in each region. In diverse socio-cultural contexts, both girls and boys undertake household, agricultural, and animal husbandry tasks to support their parents or other caregivers in and around the household. These tasks include: sweeping; cleaning; washing clothes; cooking; feeding and looking after livestock; fetching water or wood, and a wide range of agricultural tasks (Bourdillon et al., 2011; Pankhurst, Bourdillon & Crivello, 2015). The majority of children undertaking unpaid household and agricultural work, were also attending school.

Timeline 1

A 12 -year-old rural boy from Peru who does unpaid housework and who attends school.

| I get up | I get ready to go to school | I have breakfast | I go to school | I have lunch at home / I do the homework | I bring the cow in, or sometimes play | I help cook dinner for my family | I study or read my books | I have dinner | I sleep |
| 4:00 am | 5:40 am | 6:30 am | 7:30 am | 1:30 pm | 3:30 pm | 5:00 pm | 7:30 pm | 8:30 pm | 9:00 pm |
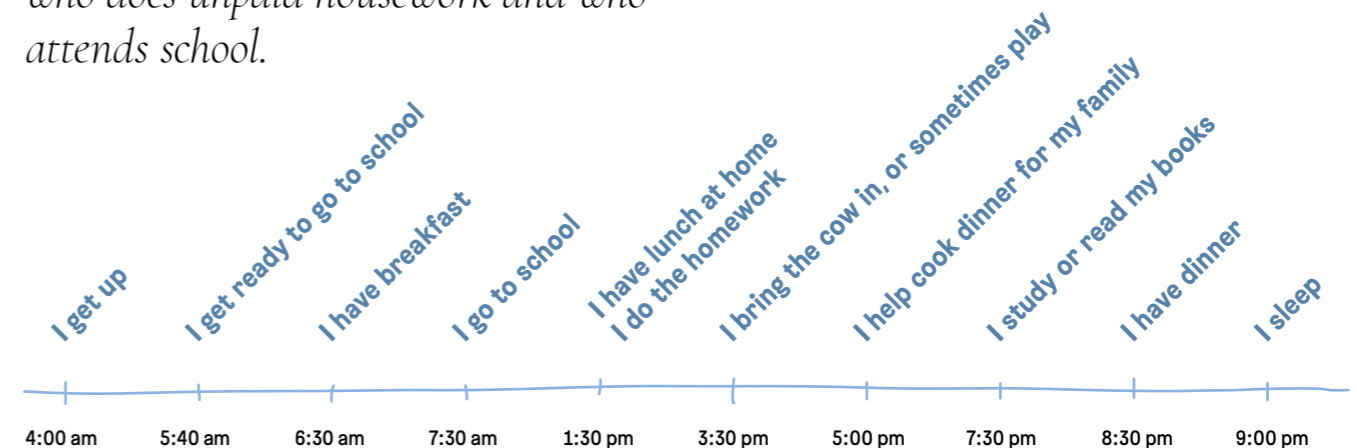
Read about the experience of a 13-year-old girl living in a city in Zimbabwe, doing household work:

Case example 1

My day starts at 4am every day. When I wake up early in the morning, I sweep the yard, clean the plates and fetch water. I bathe myself and then go to school. After school I'm busy in the field. It is hard digging the land. After all that, I fetch water, I collect firewood for cooking, and I start cooking. Come evening time, I become a sort of lawgiver, teaching my young sisters all the African rules, I do this to help and please my parents. My day starts at 4am and ends at 8pm. The only resting time is when I am sleeping. It is a blessing to be a working child because you will become self-reliant, but I should do children's work, not child labour, as you also should have more resting time as a child.

Small-scale vendors

The consultations included 124 girls and 111 boys who were working as small-scale vendors across all regions (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East). Girls and boys had experiences selling: fruit; vegetables; eggs; cooked food; clothes; jewellery and accessories; newspapers; and other items. Some children were self-employed, while others had employers. Some children were selling goods on the streets or in market places; others were working in food stalls or shops. Many of the children consulted were selling goods before or after school, while some were working full-time.

Paid agricultural work

Time to Talk consultations included discussions with 76 boys and 53 girls who were involved in paid agricultural work across each of the regions. Children were involved in harvesting cotton, coffee, vegetables and fruit. Some children, who were consulted, including Syrian refugees, were working full-time as agricultural workers, while other children were combining paid agricultural work with school.

Timeline 2

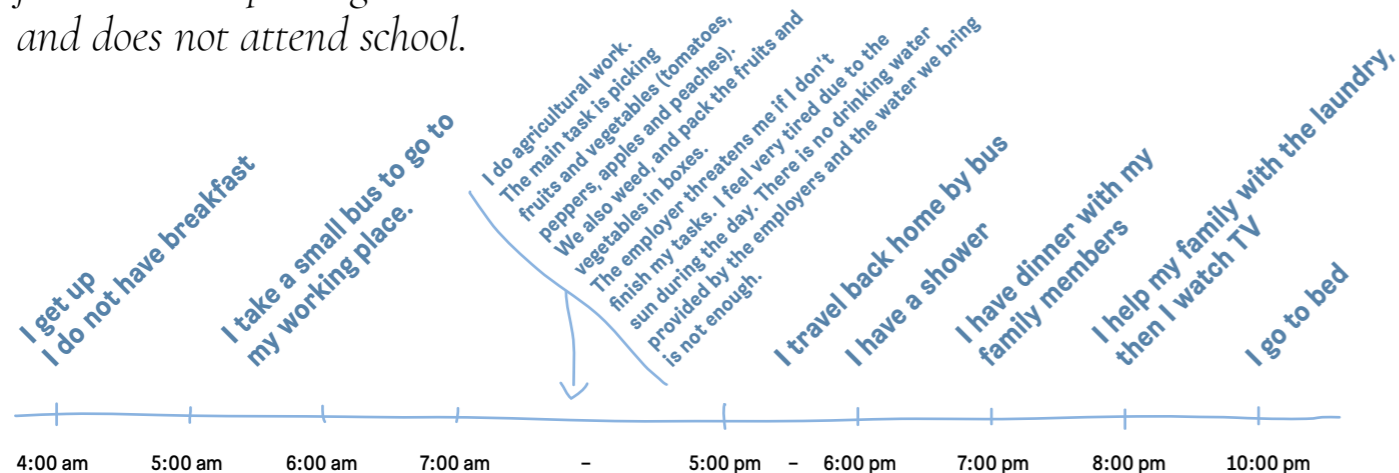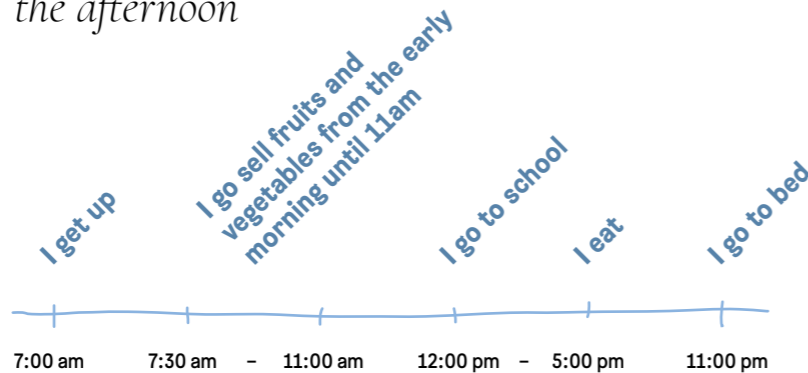*An 11-year-old boy from Kosovo who works in a market in the morning, and goes to school in the afternoon*

I get up — 7:00 am
I go sell fruits and vegetables from the early morning until 11am — 7:30 am – 11:00 am
I go to school — 12:00 pm
I eat — 5:00 pm
I go to bed — 11:00 pm

Small-scale vendor drawing by a 14-year-old boy, India

Timeline 3

A 14-year-old, female Syrian refugee living in Jordan, who works full-time as a paid agricultural worker and does not attend school.

I get up I do not have breakfast — 4:00 am
I take a small bus to go to my working place. — 6:00 am
I do agricultural work. The main task is picking fruits and vegetables (tomatoes, peppers, apples and peaches). We also weed, and pack the fruits and vegetables in boxes. The employer threatens me if I don't finish my tasks. I feel very tired due to the sun during the day. There is no drinking water provided by the employers and the water we bring is not enough. — 7:00 am
I travel back home by bus — 5:00 pm
I have a shower — 6:00 pm
I have dinner with my family members — 7:00 pm
I help my family with the laundry, then I watch TV — 8:00 pm
I go to bed — 10:00 pm

Mine work

47 girls and 47 boys who were involved in mining were consulted. These children included: gold miners in Burkina Faso and Mali, and stone miners in India and Indonesia. In Burkina Faso, the children consulted included 8 to 12-year-olds who were working in the goldmines and going to school; and 13 to 17-year-olds who had dropped out of school and were working full-time in the goldmines. In Indonesia, adolescent girls were studying in the morning and were involved in stone mining in the afternoon. Children in India were involved in tasks associated with stone mines, and were combining school and work. In Mali and India, a few children who were former mine workers were also consulted.

Drawing of stone-mining by a 15 year old girl, India

Timeline 4

A 13-year-old girl from a small city in Burkina Faso who works full-time in a gold mine

Get up — 7:00 am
Fetch water — 8:00 am
Cook lunch and take shower — 9:00 am
Breakfast and rest — 9:30 am
Go to the gold mine — 10:00 am
Dig — 11:00 am
Gold winnowing + lunch — 12:00 pm
Dig and winnow — 5:00 pm
Travel back home — 5:45 pm
Cook dinner — 6:30 pm
Have dinner — 7:00 pm
Take a shower — 8:00 pm
Play with friends — 9:00 pm
Go to bed
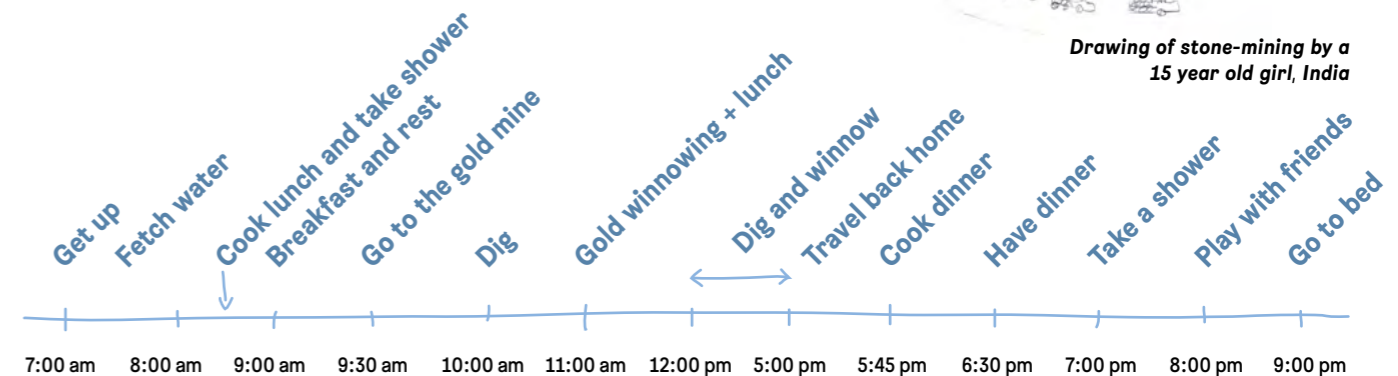
Brick or stone making

In Chad, Nigeria, Zambia, India, Nepal, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Peru, 49 boys and 20 girls who were involved in brick or stone making were consulted. The majority of these children were combining work and school. In Nepal, the girls and boys consulted worked long hours making bricks prior to, and after attending school each day.

Timeline 5

A 15 year old boy in Nepal, working as brick maker before and after going to school

Get up — 3:00 am
Involved in making bricks — 6:00 am
Tea — 8:00 am
Homework / study time — 8:30 am
Lunch — 9:30 am
Go to school and spend the whole day in school with friends and teachers with time for study and play. Play with friends in break times. — 4:30 pm
Return back home and go to brick kiln to make bricks — 7:00 pm
Dinner — 7:30 pm
Homework / study time — 8:00 pm
Go to bed — 10:00 pm – 10:15 pm
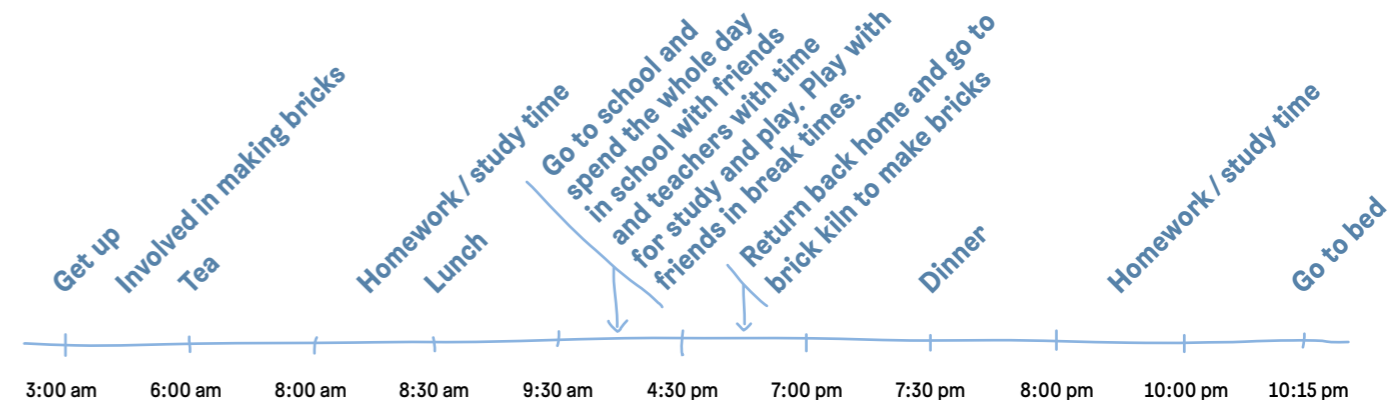
Waste collection

34 boys and 39 girls who were involved in waste collection were consulted from a variety of countries in each region. Children who were waste collectors tended to work informally without an employer. Girls and boys collected materials (bottles, tin cans, rubbish, etc.) and sold their goods to middlemen to be recycled. Many children consulted were combining waste collection and studies, while a few had dropped out of school.

Timeline of an 11-year-old boy who collects bottles after school, Myanmar

Timeline 6

An 11-year-old boy collecting bottles after school in Myanmar

I get up / I do cleaning tasks, sweeping the yard / I wash, clean my hands and face / I get dressed and prepare to go to school / I go to school and study / I pray at school / Study time, writing / I have lunch / I go back home / I collect and sell bottles / Playing time / I bathe / I have dinner and watch TV / I go to bed

3:00 am 4:00 am 5:00 am 6:00 am 7:00 am 8:00 am 9:00 am 11:00 am 12:00 pm 3:00 pm 4:00 pm 5:00 pm 6:00 pm 9:00 pm

Domestic work for employers

In Ethiopia, India, Guatemala, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Mali, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, and Senegal, 41 girls and 19 boys employed to carry out domestic work for employers were consulted. Some children were engaged in one or two hours of domestic work outside of their home and lived with their own families, while other children lived in their employer's home. While children working as do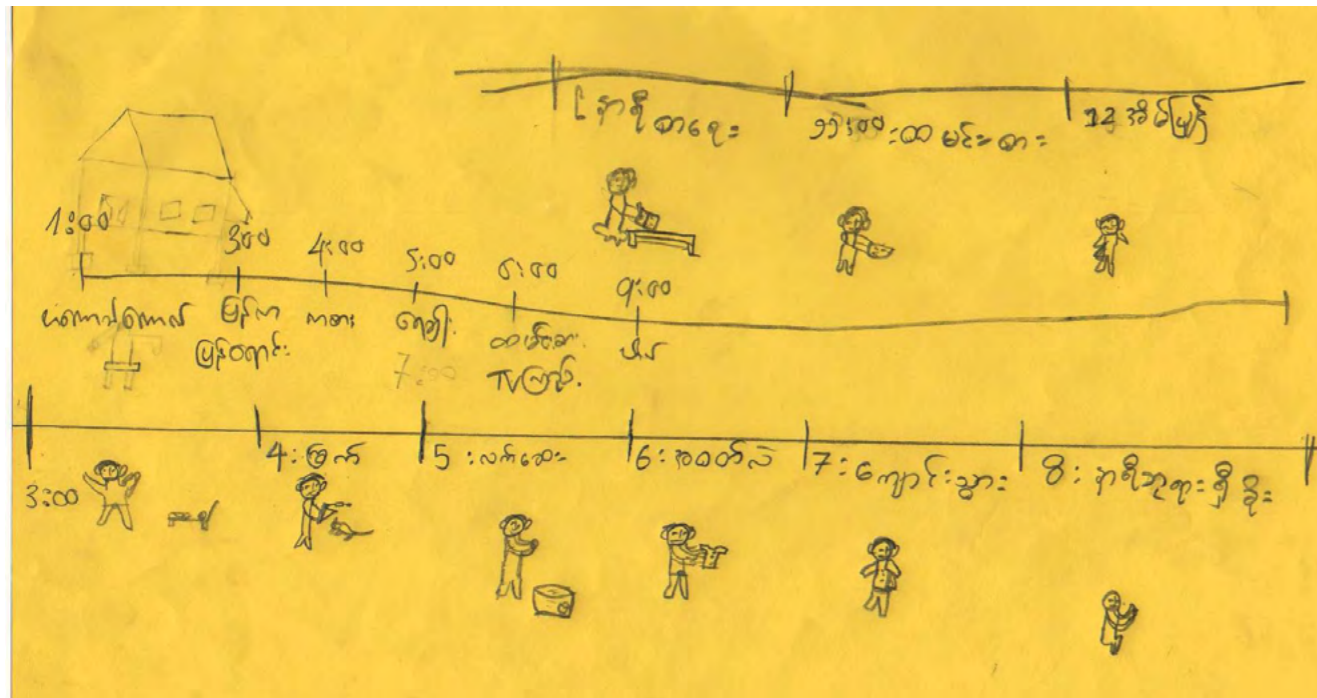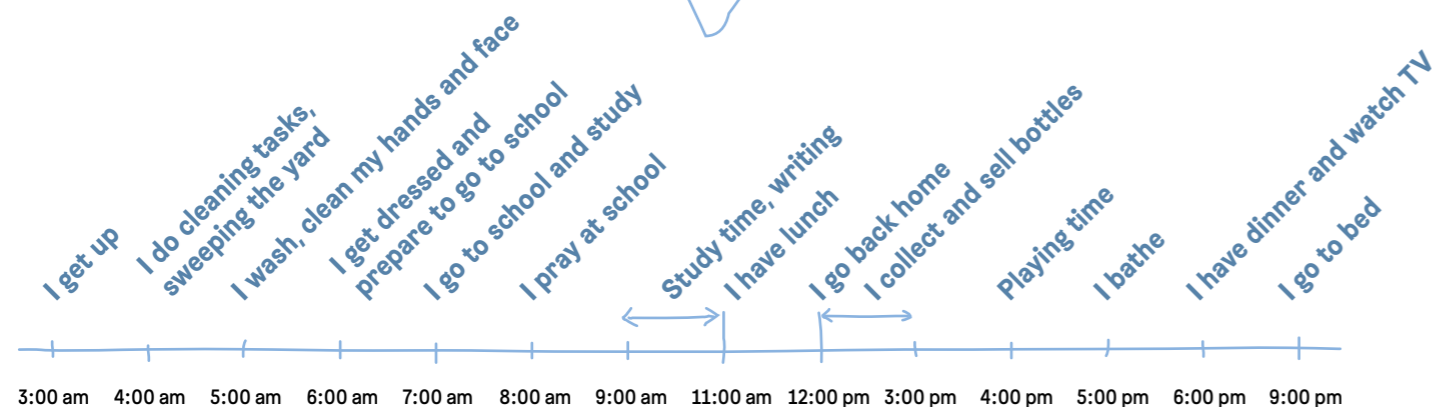mestic workers in some countries were paid, some of the children in Nepal received room and board from their employers and attended school, but received no payment.

Timeline 7

A 15-year-old girl working as a domestic worker for employers in Kenya, who does not attend school

Make tea / Wash dishes / Clean the house, mop and tidy the house / Wash clothes / Rest / Cook and eat lunch / Wash dishes / Watch TV, chat with others and walk around / Buy food to prepare supper / Cook and eat / Watch TV, chat and rest / Sleep

8:00 am 9:00 am 9:15 am 10:00 am 11:00 am 12:00 pm 1:00 pm 1:30 pm 2:00 pm 6:00 pm 7:00 pm 8:00 pm 10:00 pm 11:00 pm
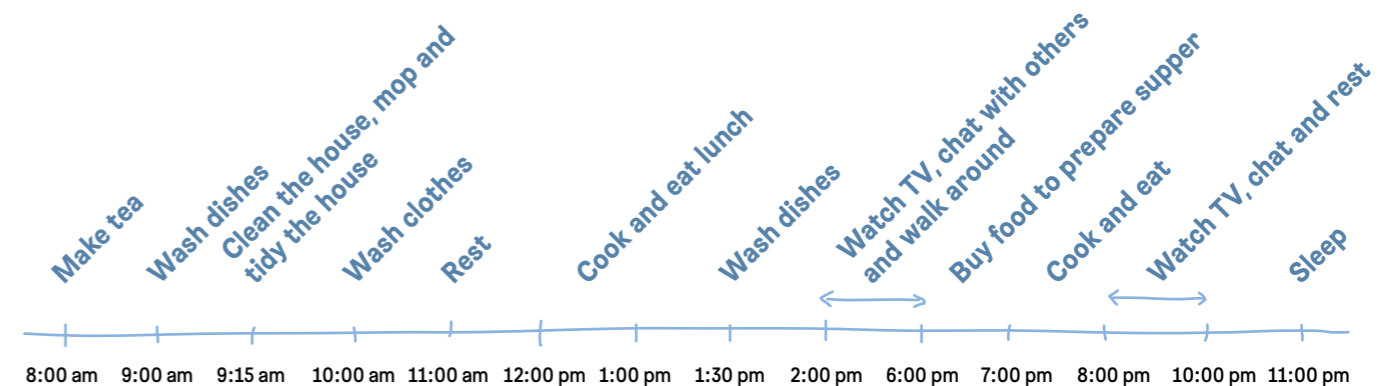
As shown in the methodology section, the children consulted were also working in other sectors including: construction work; working in a shop; paid childcare; making handicrafts; working in the weaving and textile industry: shoe shining; factory work; hotel and restaurant work; making deliveries and transporting; carpentry; work in the fishing industry; paid animal care; haircutting; cleaning cars, buses and tombstones; begging; work in massage and dance parlours; and sex work. Thus, the examples shared in this chapter represent just some of the types of work children are engaged in, in order to introduce the diversity of those tasks, and the ways in which children combine work and studies, and rest and play. ●

3.2 Diverse childhoods

Listening to the views and experiences of working children through the Time to Talk consultations highlights the diverse contexts in which children work, revealing the importance of approaching and understanding children and their work in a wider context. This section illustrates how gender, sibling order, rural/urban location, and seasons influence the type and amount of work children do (Morrow, 2015). Additional case studies and analysis concerning other factors that influence children's work such as, conflict, migration, family structure, disability, and sexuality, are shared in later chapters. We promote the use of a socio-ecological framewo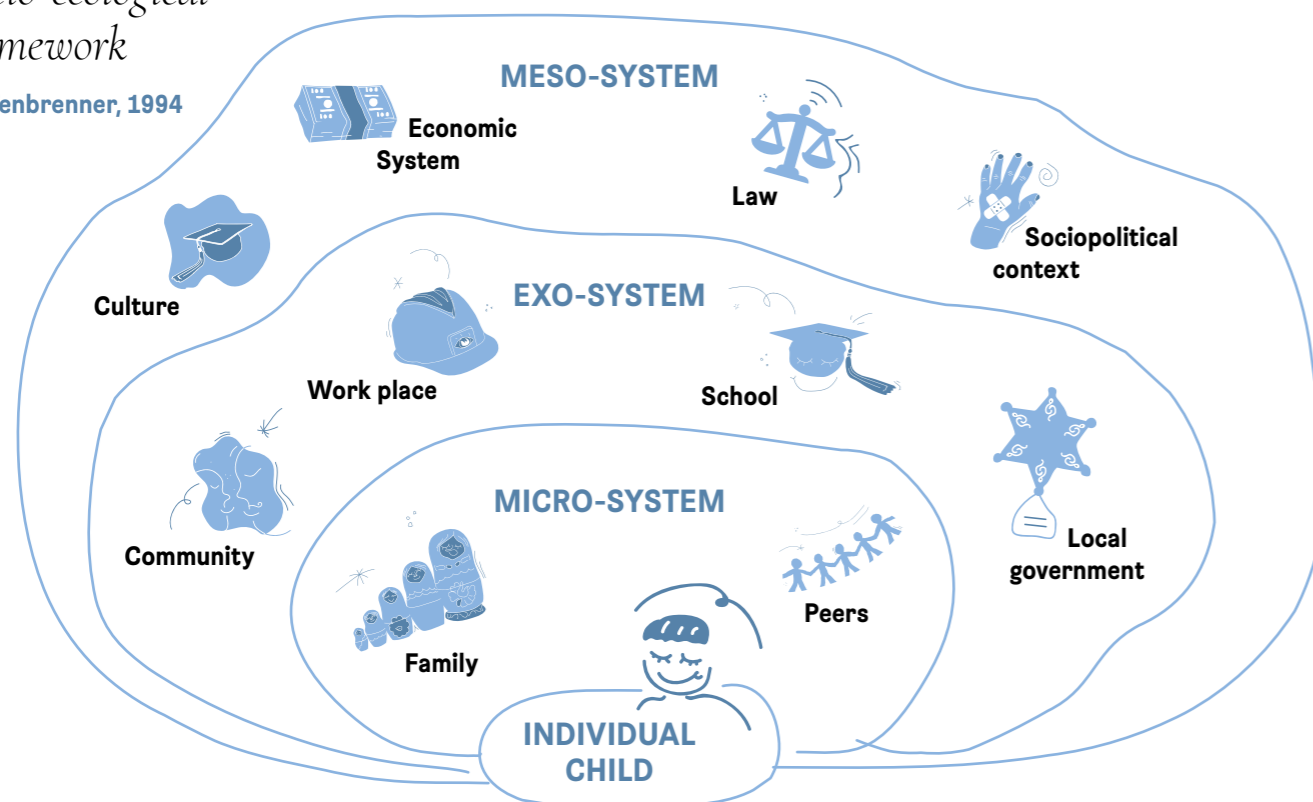rk to focus on the child as a social actor, in the context of their family, work place, school, community, and society (Brofenbrenner, 1994).

Children's development and well-being is influenced by the people and environment with which they interact, as well as by broader structural issues. Closest to the child is the micro-system which includes children's most immediate connections, usually comprising family members and peers. The next circle, the exo-system, includes immediate structures, people, and services with which the child regularly interacts including the community, school, work place, local government and local services. The meso-system represents the wider social setting, also known as laws, economic systems, and cultural and socio-political factors that influence the child and family (Brofenbrenner, 1994). The child is recognised as an active agent who can influence these systems, while also being influenced by them. Furthermore, these systems are inter-related; transformations in one can affect the others (Brofenbrenner, 1994). The socio-ecological framework also helps to recognise protection and risk factors which negatively or positively influence the outcomes of children's work, as well as identify working conditions that help or hinder children from fulfilling their aspirations (Woodhead, 2004).

Socio-ecological framework

Brofenbrenner, 1994

MESO-SYSTEM
Economic System
Law
Sociopolitical context
Culture

EXO-SYSTEM
Work place
School

MICRO-SYSTEM
Community
Family
Peers
Local government

INDIVIDUAL CHILD

Gender roles, household and agricultural tasks, and other work:

The majority of girls and boys consulted emphasised their obligations to undertake housework to support their families. Despite socio-cultural practices to assign some types of housework based on gender – such as cooking tasks to girls – many boys consulted also combined household responsibilities with school, or with other types of work. In diverse contexts especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America[23] both girls and boys took on housecleaning; dishwashing; cooking; water and firewood collection; care of younger siblings; care of animals; and agricultural work for their families. Furthermore, in different regions, both girls and boys were involved in diverse types of paid work including: agricultural work; brick and stone making; domestic work; gold mining; small-scale vending; textile and garment industry work, and waste collection.

Helping families with tasks at home was often taken for granted by children and adults. For example, CAC members from Kosovo did not consider household chores to be work.

Number of girls and boys consulted who undertake household and agricultural work

No. of children

Others
Total females
Total males

1000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0

Agricultural work
Household work
Looking after children
Looking after animals
Water or wood collection
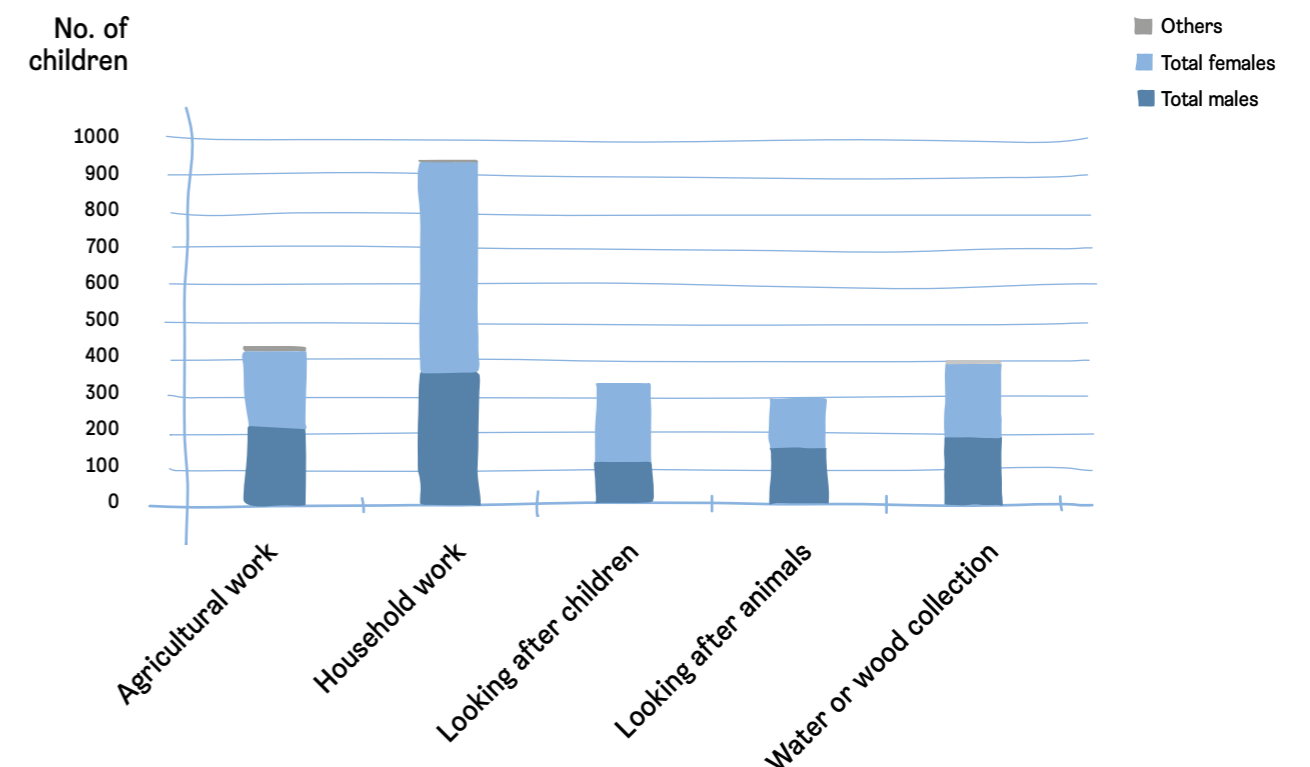
23 The sample of children consulted in the Middle East and Europe was very small, thus it is harder to identify patterns and trends in these two regions.

Although boys and girls are both taking on household and agricultural tasks, in many socio-cultural and religious contexts in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and the Middle East, there are different expectations about what work girls and boys are expected to do. Parents and caregivers tend to reinforce existing gender norms, assigning tasks that have been traditionally assigned according to gender (Chandra, 2007; Morrow, 2015; Woodhead, 2004). In many countries across each of the regions, there are increased expecta-tions on girls to help their mothers with housework; and there are sometimes increased expectations on boys to look after the livestock, help with agricultural work, or to earn a living. For example, adolescent girls from a rural community in Kyrgyzstan explained how *'mothers try to teach daughters to manage house chores from an early age since it is a shame not to be able to do housework such as baking bread, cooking well, doing laundry and milking a cow.'* In a rural village in Zimbabwe, children aged 9 to 14 de-scribed how *'boys tend to be involved in harder tasks than girls ... Girls mainly clean, fetch water and cook whilst boys are involved in ploughing, weeding and herding cattle.'*

Anecdote

In a plenary discussion among 8 to 12-year-old **Roma children** who worked in **Albania**, girls said that they were not obliged to do the housework, so they could have time to study. However, boys felt that they had to work so that they could contribute to the family's earnings.

je conduit le mouton à la pompe pour le faire boire

Drawings of an 11-year-old girl collecting water (left), and an 11-year-old boy looking after sheep (right), Burkina Faso

Role of elder siblings

In many socio-cultural contexts, elder siblings tend to take on more responsibilities within households, including caring for younger siblings, and/or taking on the responsibility of earning an income to support family members (Boyden, et al.; 2016; Morrow, 2015). For example, boys and girls in Kyrgyzstan, aged 11 to 16, mentioned that when their parents are at work, the elder children usually take care of the younger ones.

While some older siblings expressed pride in taking on extra responsibilities, some children identified it as a burden. A 14-year-old girl in India shared how *'being the eldest in the family, all work burden comes on me.'*

Read about a 17-year old Syrian refugee living in Serbia

Case example 2
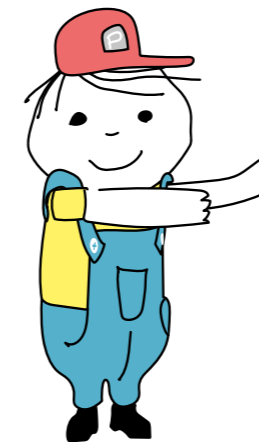
Farid[24] is a 17-year-old boy from Syria currently living in Serbia. Together with his parents and his two younger sisters, he left Syria because of the war. For the last two years he has worked as a mechanic for a private entrepreneur. He works eight hours a day, six days a week, with up to five hours of overtime. He receives cash in hand for his work, and is not provided with health insurance. He felt he had to start working because his father was sick. As the eldest child, it was presumed that he would to work and provide money for the family. Prior to working, he had completed seven years of study. He said he would prefer to not have to work, however, he believes that he has now mastered the skills of a mechanic and that it could be a chance for him to find employment in Germany. He is aware that, wherever he goes, he will have to work.

Urban, rural or camp location

The consultations' findings re-vealed that most children contribu-te to housework in urban and rural settings. However, children living in rural settings have far more agricul-tural and animal husbandry respon-sibilities, compared with children in urban settings or in camps (Cussia-novich & Rojas, 2014; Morrow, 2015). Furthermore, some children in rural areas generally have longer com-mutes to school, and less access to public transportation. Thus, some children in rural areas struggled to arrive at school on time, find time for all their household and agricul-tural work, and still make sufficient time for homework. Poor school in-frastructure and subpar teaching in rural areas led to some children dropping out of school, or migrating to urban settings just to have better access to schools (Morrow, 2015).

Children living in urban settings had more opportunities to earn an income through informal jobs such as waste collection, shoe-shining, and small-scale vending. Meanwhile, chil-dren in rural areas had more oppor-tunities to sell agricultural products that they had harvested, or animals that they had raised. Children work-ing in urban settings faced in-creased risks of abuse and vio-lence from members of the general public, as well as harassment from the police.

Children living in camps con-fronted an increased risk of drop-ping out of school due primarily to challenges in accessing quality education. The boredom faced in the camps was another push factor for children to engage in work (Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016).

24 Name changed to protect anonymity.

Different seasons

Different seasons influence the type or amount of work undertaken by children engaged in agricultural work (paid or unpaid). Seasons also have an effect on tasks associated with water collection. For example, children in Kenya and Zimbabwe described how they walk long distances in search of water for household use in the dry season. In the rainy season, they had to help their parents plant crops. After the harvest, children sold their harvested goods at the market.

In Nicaragua, adolescents spent nine months (February-November) in school while helping their parents with housework. From October to January, children helped their parents harvest coffee. Children living in rural communities in Argentina, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, and Tanzania also described how their agricultural work was more intense during the sowing and harvesting seasons. A 16-year-old girl from Argentina also explained, *'during harvesting season we do things like looking after younger siblings or cooking because our parents are not there, they are harvesting.'*

Some children consulted in Syria and Albania described how they change jobs according to the seasons. Female Syrian refugees who were consulted in Turkey shared how they work in a large wood workshop during the winter and then pick cotton in the summer. Some Roma children living in Albania collect hashish with their parents in the summer season, and are involved in waste collection and recycling in the winter.

In addition, a few children in India and Nepal described how they migrate with their families for work in different seasons. Other children are left behind, often with their grandparents or other relatives when their fathers, mothers or both, migrate for work. In one rural community in India, girls who were consulted aged 8 to 12, described how water shortages have led to seasonal migrations: *'If there is no cultivation in our village due to lack of water, we move to different places with our parents in search of work, or we are left with the relatives to take care of the sheep at home.'* Some boys who were shepherds in India spent a few weeks away with the sheep during the summer season. ●

— *Case example 3* —

Children involved in brick making in Nepal described the seasonal nature of their work. Most of the children came from their homes in villages to work at the brick kiln in the capital city during a particular season. Their families stay in 'Jhyauli,' temporary lodging for working parents and children during the brick-making season. During the off season, children go back to their village with their parents, some seek new jobs, and some children re-join schools.

Read about brick-kiln work by children in Nepal
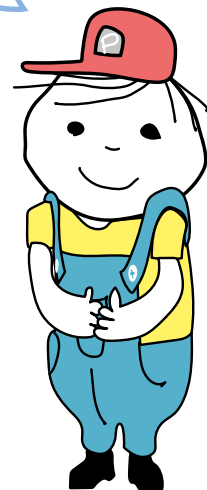
Key policy and practice considerations emerging from chapter three:

The socio-ecological framework can aide policy makers and practitioners in better understanding children and their work in the context of their families; communities; and broader socio-cultural; political and economic factors. Children and parent/caregivers' perspectives should be listened to and taken into account. Both will help to identify relevant policy measures in the best interest of the child, for each individual context.

●

Contextual understanding and analysis that is sensitive to gender; age; children's agency; family structure; sibling order; ethnicity; disability; sexuality; conflict; geography; and other factors is crucial to understanding childhood diversity. Contextual analysis is needed to inform the development and implementation of policies and programmes that are in the children's best interests.

●

Flexible school timetables and curricula which can be shaped to children's needs, adjusting for the seasonal work of children and families, may support child retention rates in schools and increase learning (Morrow, 2015; Orkin, 2010).
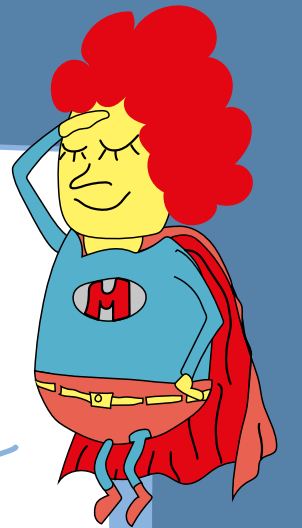
4 'Why, why, why?': Motivations and reasons for children's work
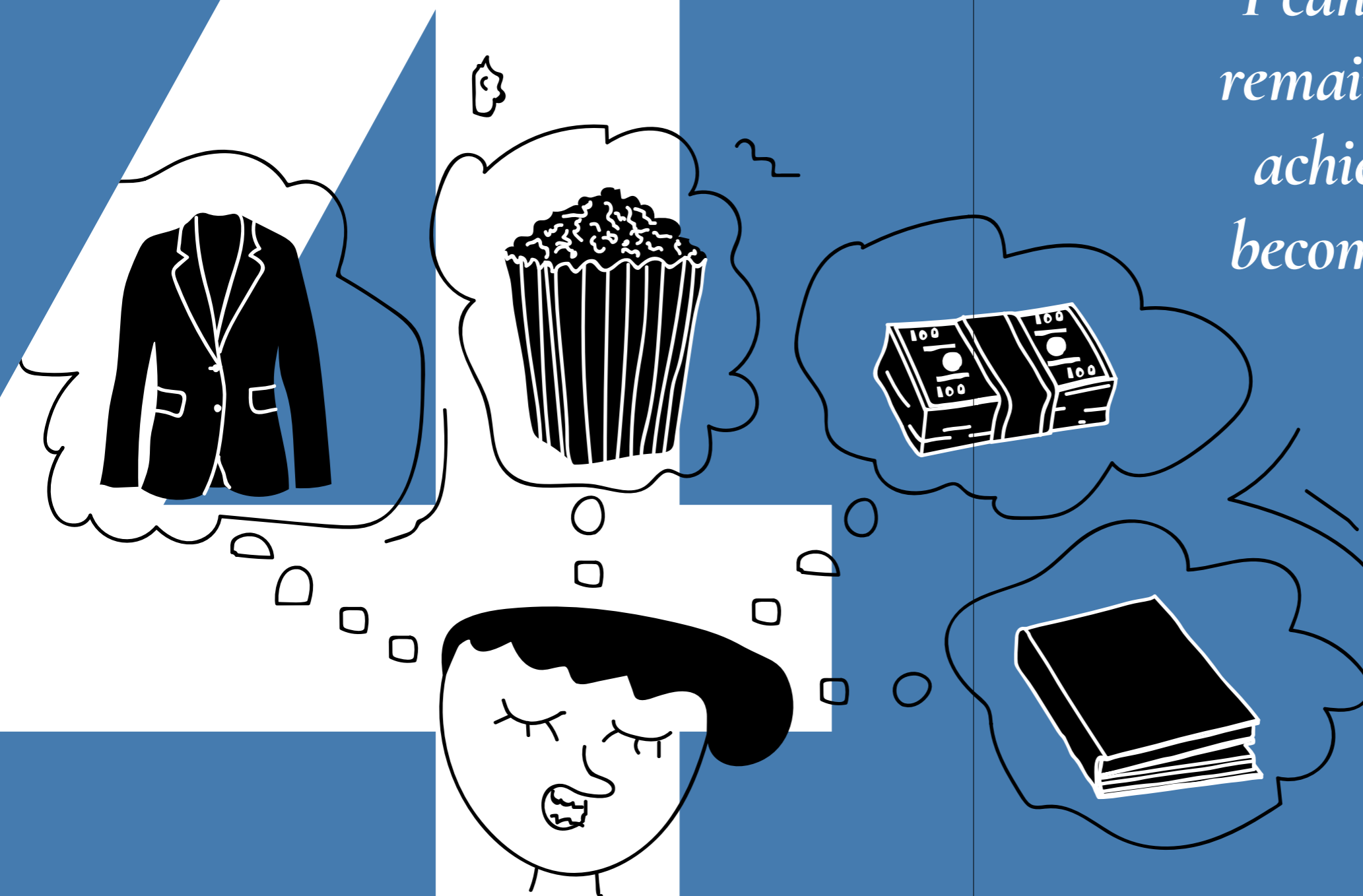
"My family is poor so I want to help in anyway I can, so that I can remain in school and achieve my dream becoming a teacher."

15-year-old boy, Zambia

4.1 Motivations and Reasons for Children's Work

It is crucial to understand the different motivations and reasons for children's work in order to inform practice and policy developments which support children's well-being, development and protection in diverse contexts. This chapter shares findings from individual interview questions concerning the top three reasons and motivations for why children work.[25] Findings from different focus group discussions and activities using the 'why, why, why' activity also revealed children's motivations and reasons to work. Seven children's advisory committees (in India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kosovo and Peru), along with working children in 24 consultations in Bangladesh, Germany, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Mexico, Peru, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia, and Tanzania openly explored reasons and motivations for children's work, including underlying causes through a 'why, why, why?' group activity.

Findings from individual questions regarding how much say children have in their work, as well as relevant findings from focus group discussions relating to children's contributions to decision-making processes, are also shared. It is important to consider the extent to which children's views influence decisions about their work.

Why?

* Total number of answers[26] per motive/reason

To help parents or family members (1066*)
To meet basic needs (591*)
Poverty/Family struggle (543*)
Desire to earn money (208*)
To continue education (346*)
Enjoyment (202*)
Desire for a better future (104*)
To learn skills (183*)
To stay busy (53*)
Parents place less value on education / Poor quality education (46*)
For health and sanitation (53*)

Family obligations
To be praised or rewarded / To avoid punishment
Desire to support families
Feeling compelled to help parents/caregivers

Low family income
Insufficient harvest

Family members poor health
Due to conflict/disaster/migration
Family Breakdown
Limited access to free, quality basic services

To purchase non-basic needs
To be independent
To pay school fees
To purchase educational materials

To spend time in nature
Like the activity
To earn money to have a home
To create a better life
To save money
To get married
To return home (in the case of migration)

To learn household skills
To learn professional or trade skills
To succeed in the future
To learn agricultural skills
To have something to do in their spare time or during school holidays
To learn traditional skills
To avoid boredom
To be more active

Lack access to quality education
Limited or no access to educational facilities
To keep the house/environment clean
To exercise

25 During individual interviews, children had the opportunity to list up to three main reasons for their work. These reasons were clustered by the research team and are presented in the table on page 65.
26 The calculation is based on the total number of answers provided by children to the question of their top three reasons and motivations for work based on a sample of 1599 who answered this question on the Individual Questionnaire and Consent Form.

Regional differences:

Helping parents or family members was the main reason provided by children in all regions except the Middle East.[27] For the second reason, there were interesting nuances with children from Africa and Latin America more frequently mentioning work to meet their basic needs, and children from Asia more frequently emphasising poverty and family struggles. Poverty and family struggles, and meeting their basic needs were the first and second main answers for children from the Middle East. Only in Latin America was enjoyment for work the third reason to work, while in Africa and Europe[28] the third main reason was a desire to earn money to spend on themselves.

Anecdote

In a plenary discussion on reasons and motivations for work among **Syrian children** aged 10 to 15, who were working in Serbia, the children described how it was normal to work to do something with your parents, or to help your family. Many children they knew were working to earn money for their family or themselves.

Top three reasons for work, per region
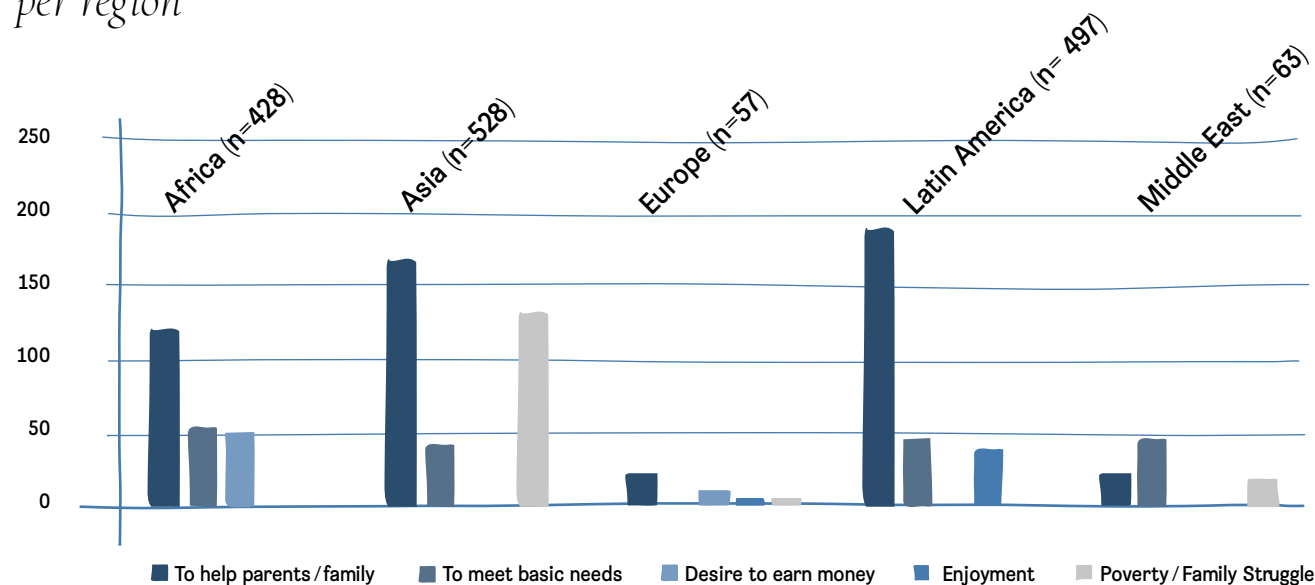
27 In the Middle East the sample was small (63) and the majority of children consulted in the Middle East were Syrian refugees or internally displaced persons within Iraq.
28 Europe was a small sample (57) so findings from this region are tentative.

66

Gender differences:

The top reasons and motivations expressed by girls and boys were similar, for both, their main reason was a desire to help their families. However, boys placed slightly more emphasis on the practicalities of working to meet their basic needs, while girls focused more on their family's struggles, most often how poverty was affecting their family (see table below). Both girls and boys were motivated to work to continue their education. Overall, boys placed slightly more emphasis on their desire to earn money, over a desire to acquire new skills, whereas girls placed equal emphasis on these two aspects. Enjoyment of work was similarly emphasised by both girls and boys.

*Top reasons mentioned by **girls**[29]*

To help parents or family members (585)

•

Poverty / family struggle (297)

•

To meet basic needs (280)

•

To continue education (190)

•

Enjoyment (118)

•

To learn skills (105)

•

Desire to earn money (103)

*Top reasons mentioned by **boys**[29]*

To help parents or family members (479)

•

To meet basic needs (310)

•

Poverty / family struggle (246)

•

To continue education (156)

•

Desire to earn money (105)

•

Enjoyment (84)

•

To learn skills (77)

Age differences:

Among 8 to 12-year-olds and 13 to 18-year-olds, the four most frequent reasons and motivations for children to begin working were similar, namely to: help families; meet basic needs, especially when faced with poverty or other family struggles; and to continue their education. However, in terms of other reasons and motivations, adolescents placed more emphasis on their desire to earn money to purchase non-basic needs, and to be independent, than younger children. Learning skills and enjoying their work was emphasised by some 8 to 12-year-olds and by 13 to 18-year-olds.

To help their family

In four out of five regions (Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America), helping families was often the first, and most frequently-mentioned reason for children to explain why they work. In diverse socio-cultural contexts, girls and boys of different ages help their families with work, especially with household and agricultural tasks. Furthermore, in many socio-cultural contexts in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, cultural norms also endorse children engaging in paid work. Members of a children's advisory committee in India described how *'parents think that children also have the responsibility to support the family financially by going to work.'*

Children's roles, responsibilities, and obligations as family members

Children are members of families, and they often have roles and responsibilities within their families to perform household tasks, look after animals, or engage in agricultural work. Children in each of the regions, especially in Asia and Africa, articulated how they had diverse responsibilities in and around their households, and many children emphasised how they themselves wanted to help their parents and other caregivers. Children's contributions to their families, and the importance of reciprocity among children and adults, was often valued and described by children in a positive light (Boyden et al., 2016; Morrow, 1996, 2015; Ramirez Sanchez, 2007; Wihstutz, 2007). For example, members of a children's advisory committee in Kosovo emphasised that children work *'to help their families. They raised us, helped us and we should do the same.'* Similar sentiments were shared by children in consultations in other countries and regions. An adolescent boy in Indonesia who attended school, worked as a bus cleaner, and helped cook food at home explained simply, *'I want to help my parents.'*

However, some children viewed their family obligations in a more negative light. For example, a 10-year-old girl in India said *'due to poverty, my parents are forcing me to work.'* When describing their individual reasons for work, a minority of children (2.7%), especially from Africa (and in particular from Ethiopia) emphasised that they worked either in order to avoid punishment, or to be praised. Children described how they were expected to obey their parents/caregivers, and if some children did not, they were scolded, beaten, or deprived of play or study opportunities. For example, a 14-year-old boy from Ethiopia explained that *'if I didn't work, I would not be allowed to go to school, and I would be punished.'* A girl (aged between 8 and 12) in the Philippines who sold eggs after school explained *'I am forced to sell eggs so my mother will not get angry.'*

Helping parents to be more productive, to rest, and to strengthen family relationships

Some children emphasised a motivation to specifically help their parents so that their parents could be more productive, or so that their parents could have more time to rest. For example, adolescents with disabilities in Bangladesh described how they *'work to support our families, to free our parents from busy tasks so that they can relax, because our parents have lots of work.'* A Syrian refugee boy who was working in Serbia said, *'I am helping my father to do his job, so he will be faster and more productive.'*

Some children work with, or for, their parents in order to spend time with them, and to maintain or improve harmonious family relationships. For instance, a CAC member in Peru explained that his motivation to work as *'experiencing more happiness with my parents and spending time with my parents.'* Children helping their parents with agricultural work in rural Tanzania also described how they worked to please their parents.

Poverty and family struggle

More than 500 children consulted emphasised that they were working because their families faced poverty or other struggles. Overall, children demonstrated knowledgeable insights into the toils faced by their families and how this impacted them as children. Furthermore, girls and boys were actively involved in efforts to help alleviate family difficulties, while also trying to pursue and fulfil their own aspirations. For instance, in describing his motivations to work, a 15-year-old boy in Zambia explained *'my family is poor so I want to help in any way I can, so that I can remain in school and achieve my dream of becoming a teacher.'*
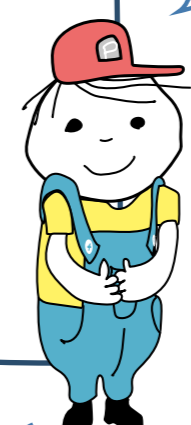
Many children felt compelled to work due to their family's struggles, especially when their parents did not earn enough income due to low-paid jobs, temporary jobs, unemployment or legal obstacles to securing work. Family poverty and hardships were compounded by conflict, disaster or other shocks, including poor family health, migration, family breakups, large family sizes, poor crops and debt. For example, an adolescent boy working informally in Peru said his earnings *'helped to pay off debts.'*

Children are working to meet their basic needs due to parents' insufficient incomes

Many children in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East highlighted that they were working in order to meet their own or their family members' basic needs for food, clothes, shelter, and healthcare. Boys working as butchers in Chad explained, *'we earn money to be able to meet some of our needs, for example, having clothes, eating, and getting healthcare.'* An adolescent boy in the Philippines said he earned money fishing *'to be able to buy rice.'* Children described how their parents' earnings were often insufficient due to low wages and lack of job stability. Thus, children were often asked to earn an income to complement the parents' earnings. Children's income was used to pay for food, healthcare, and rent, as well as electricity and water bills. Syrian adolescents who were consulted in Jordan and Lebanon emphasised that they were working *'to afford the monthly rent.'*

Children living on their own without the support of their parents were working to make ends meet for their own survival and basic needs. Some boys consulted in Kenya who were living and working on the streets had stopped attending school in order to spend more time earning an income to meet their needs.

Case example 4

It's Time to Talk about: Lack of money. Children must work because their father is sick; they do not earn sufficient income to help their family members who are sick.
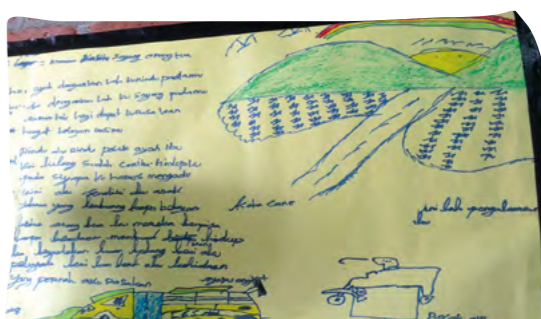
Have a look at a poster designed by working children in Guatemala

This is an illustration and text by a 16-year-old boy working as a waste collector and living on the streets, Indonesia

Case example 5

**Dear father, please listen that I miss you.
Dear mother, I love you very much.
But I cannot feel your love anymore.
I miss you badly, to hug you both.
Now, my happiness is gone.
I do not know where else to go.
Now, I am alone.
I am a street child without a parent's love.
God, please bring my happiness back to me**

Family members are in poor health and/or are unable to work

When parents or other family members fall ill, or are unable to work for other reasons, increased pressure is placed on children, particularly on the eldest children, to earn an income (Morrow, 2015). Some children who lived in families affected by a member's poor health explained how they were the only ones who could work to earn an income for their families. For instance, a 15-year-old boy who was internally displaced in Iraq explained, *'I am forced to work because I am the oldest in the family and I am the only person working in my family. My father can't find work.'*

Some children worked to save money for family members' medications or medical treatments. For instance, a 15-year-old girl from India explained that she worked because *'both my mother and father are very ill.'* A few children in Nepal and India mentioned that their fathers suffered from alcoholism, and they needed to work due to the limited family income. Sickness within families also contributed to household debts.

CAC members from India, Indonesia, Kosovo and Peru highlighted poverty and family struggles as their main reasons for working. The children felt responsible for helping their family during difficult times. CAC members from Kosovo said *'helping our families is our goal, because our parents take care of us, and we should do something in return.'*

Negatively affected by conflict or disaster

Conflicts and disasters have multiple, negative impacts on children and their families, and they contribute to changes in work allocations based on gender and age, both within and outside of households (UNICEF, 2009). Syrian refugees who were consulted in Jordan, Lebanon, Serbia and Turkey, as well as children who were IDPs in Iraq emphasised how political conflicts had led to family separation; migration; poverty; lack of access to education and health services; and discrimination, all circumstances that had compelled them to work and earn a living (Child Protection Working Group, 2016; Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016).

In Jordan and Lebanon, children consulted mentioned that it was illegal for adult Syrian refugees to work without work permits. This, combined with the high cost rent, pushed children to find work. Syrian refugee children described how the UNHCR assistance was not sufficient, and cash assistance had been stopped for some families when they left the refugee camps. Despite socio-cultural religious beliefs that dictate that girls remain at home in order to take on housework, Syrian girls were being sent out to earn an income. Adolescent Syrian girls who were working in the agricultural sector in Jordan, explained how they were working as *'the police do not focus on and chase girls when compared to boys and adults, as adults need a work permit.'* Furthermore, some Syrian girls were married, and they were working both inside and outside of the home to meet their families' needs. For instance, a 15-year-old Syrian girl in Jordan said she was *'working to support my husband for the apartment rent and other expenses.'*

Syrian children also mentioned the challenges they faced in accessing quality education in host countries, including discriminatory and violent experiences that contributed to poor-school attendance. Syrian boys in Jordan mentioned that they used to attend school intermittently, but they quit, due to bullying and harassment from the Jordanian students.
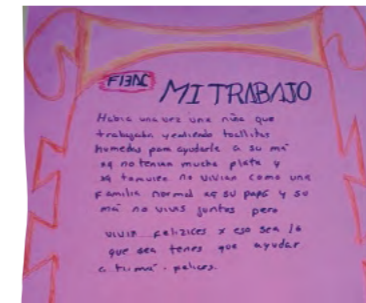
Family structure and family size

Changing family structures and family size were also factors that contributed to the pressure placed on children to find work. For example, some children in Costa Rica, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Tanzania, Thailand, and Peru described an increased need to work when they were orphaned; separated from one or both parents; living with a single or elderly caregiver; or when they were living with relatives. A 16-year-old boy in India said *'I work from 9am to 9pm as a lorry driver. Before, I was a cleaner, but now after the death of my father, I have taken on the responsibility of managing the family'.* Children living in poor families with lots of children also faced greater struggles in meeting the needs of all individual family members. A CAC member in India described how *'our parents cannot afford to send all the children to school. At least some of us have to be earning members.'*
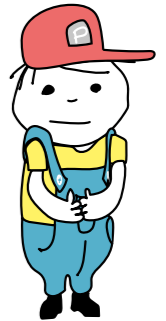
CAC members in Kosovo said children sometimes work because they have to replace their parents when they are sick, or too old to work.

— Case example 6 —

Once upon a time, there was a girl who worked as a towel vendor to help her mum because they did not have enough money and because they did not live as a normal family as her dad and mum were not living together. But they were happy and you must do whatever it takes to help your mum.

Desire to earn money to spend on themselves and to be more independent

Desire to earn money to spend on themselves

Children expressed a desire to work in paid jobs so that they would have money to spend on themselves. Children, particularly adolescents, wanted money to go out with friends, and to buy snacks; clothes; shoes; games; jewellery; make-up; and mobile phones, etc. CAC members in India described how *'we work to earn money to fulfil our wishes. Our parents do not give us extra money to buy the things we like.'* CAC members in Kosovo said they work *'to have personal earnings… for fun and games.'* In Germany a 13-year-old boy earned money looking after animals to pay for a smart phone, and a 13-year-old girl earned money for clothes.

Desire to earn money to be more independent

Some children, especially adolescents, described their desire to earn money to be independent. Boys who were porters in Chad said they work *'to be financially free and fulfil our needs in complete peace.'* A 16-year-old boy who undertook agricultural work in Guatemala said, *'work is the means to achieve my goal as I want to be independent from my family and I want to buy something or go out with my friends and not depend on my parents.'*

To continue their education

Both girls and boys of different age groups from across different regions[30], stressed that one of their main motivations to work was to be able to continue their schooling. Children earned money to pay school costs, transportation costs or to buy educational materials (Ames, 2013; Boyden et al., 2016; Morrow, 2015; Orkin, 2012; Tafere & Pankhurst, 2015). Adolescents with disabilities who were working in informal sectors in Dhaka, Bangladesh said they work *'to bear their education costs, to provide tuition fees, to buy school uniforms, to buy books, pens and other stationary.'*

Some children from rural areas of Nepal described how they had migrated to urban centres to stay with other families to work as domestic helpers in order to attend schools which had better, quality education. They emphasised *'though there are schools in the village, there is no quality education, as the village is in the rural area and its development activities are out of sight of the government.'*

30 Except Europe where the sample was very small (57).

Members of one CAC in India were surprised that some children were able to continue their education while working, as in their experience, work was what had deterred them from continuing their education.

For enjoyment

Children in the individual interviews cited the fun and enjoyment of work as one of their main reasons for working. During the focus group activities, some children from Albania, Bangladesh, Germany, India, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and Peru mentioned that they enjoyed some types of work, and they especially enjoyed spending time with their friends or family members while working. Some children also explained that they particularly appreciated interacting with animals or having fun in other ways, while working. A 12-year-old girl in Peru said *'I help because I have fun when I'm going to graze my cow.'* A 12-year-old girl in Germany said *'I love babysitting.'*

CAC members from India, Kosovo and Peru were surprised that some children enjoy their work. CAC members from India said 'we never have the chance to play during our work. If we play during work, then we are harshly scolded by the employer.' Children from Kosovo said they do not have fun working and if they want to have time with their friends, they would rather not be at work. Children from Peru said children generally do not work for pleasure, but rather to meet their basic needs for food and studies.

To learn skills

Some children and adolescents from each region, of varying ages, were motivated to work in order to learn various skills, such as: household skills, agricultural skills, business and trade skills, traditional skills and life skills. These were identified as things that could benefit their current and future lives and occupations, particularly if there was an explicit focus on teaching or mentoring children, and developing these skills.

Children learned household and agricultural skills through both their paid and unpaid, domestic and agricultural work. Girls who were paid domestic workers in Kenya said that through their work they *'add to their day-to-day survival skills e.g. cleaning, cooking.'* Children with disabilities in Bangladesh emphasised the need to know how to plough and plant, in order to work in the future.

Children, especially adolescents, were motivated to learn business,

trade and professional skills through their work. They were interested to learn trades such as, baking; carpentry; handicrafts; masonry; mechanics; tailoring; and selling things. For instance, stateless adolescent girls in Thailand described how they learned embroidery so that they could earn a living. Adolescent boys in Chad said, *'we should be in a carpentry workshop, so that we can become great carpenters.'*

Children in Tanzania said a reason they worked was *'to learn life skills, to get knowledge and experience.'* Children described how they learn the importance of taking on responsibilities, and of gaining life skills through work. In addition, children were able to learn traditional skills from their parents, relatives, and neighbours. Children in a rural community in Peru described their incentive to learn artisanal pottery techniques as it was part of their culture. Boys who were working in the informal sector in Kenya also described how *'our culture encourages children to do a lot of work as it is believed that it trains us, so that when we grow up we will not be lazy.'*

> Poem by a working child, Peru [31]

— Case example 7 —

I work in order to learn
I work to be praised
I work to be praised
A decent work, without exploitation
I work because I want to
I work for myself
I work to help
I work to have knowledge
And much more.

YO TRABAJO, PARA PODER APRENDER
YO TRABAJO, PARA SER RECONOCIDO
TRABAJO, PARA SE RECONOCIDO
UN TRABAJO DIGNO, SIN EXPLOTACION
TRABAJO POR VOLUNTAD
TRABAJO POR AYUDAR
TRABAJO PARA MI
TRABAJO POR AYUDAR
TRABAJO PARA TENER CONOCIMIENTO,
Y MUCHO MAS ♡

31 Age and gender of the child who wrote the poem was not shared.

Desire for a better future

Children from different geographic and socio-cultural contexts stressed that they earned money for a better future. Girls and boys wished to earn money to have better conditions for younger siblings or for their own future children. They also wished to save money to get married, to buy a home, or to return home if they were far from their own homes or countries. Members of a CAC in India described their drive to earn money *'to get a house of our own... as we get exploited by police and other people if we stay on the street, so we need a house'.* A 15-year-old Syrian refugee girl who was working in the agricultural sector in Jordan said, *'I am collecting money to re-build my house in Syria.'*

Parents place less value on education; poor quality education; and being out of school

Some children were not attending school, because they were sent by their parents or caregivers to work. Other children had stopped attending school altogether for other reasons, due to the poor learning environment or high tuition fees. However, once they were out of school, they were often expected to work. Children working as small-scale vendors in Tanzania described how *'children who do not attend school spend more time on the streets selling items such as food stuffs... Children have run away from school because parents are traditional and do not see the use of education, and the learning environment is not conducive to study.'*

Some children mentioned that their parents did not value education. For instance, CAC members in India described how their parents prefer-

red them to work, as they did not feel education was important. Prompted to explore the underlying causes, the CAC members reflected that *'our parents were not educated so they do not understand the importance of education... and our parents' earnings are not enough to take care of the family.'*

Members of one CAC in India felt that if their parents had understood the importance of education they would have sent them to school even during financially-difficult times. Some children also said that the quality of education in their schools was very poor and because of this, they constantly failed their exams examination. This constant failure resulted in them dropping out of school and being obliged to work.

Children and parents placed less value on education when access to quality education is lacking. For example, when the teacher turns up irregularly, when teaching is poor quality, or when children experience violence or discrimination in their learning environments. These factors increase the likelihood that children will attend school irregularly, or stop attending school altogether (Boyden et al., 2016; Morrow, 2015). CAC members in another rural part of India described how they were sent to work by their family members, simply because they were not attending school. They said they did not go to school because *'there is no school in the village, there adequate numbers of teachers are lacking in school, children can't understand what is being taught in school, there is physical punishment, and children don't speak the teacher's language.'*

As described above, Syrian refugee children who were living in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey described barriers to education that contributed to school dropout rates. Once children had stopped attending school, they were often bored, so children were also enthusiastic about working to have something to do. Children from ethnic minorities, and children with disabilities, also faced barriers to inclusive, quality education. Children with disabilities who were living in rural villages in Bangladesh underscored the fact that working children with disabilities are not getting proper education due to the lack of disability-friendly educational systems. Furthermore, in a plenary discussion among Roma children who were working in Albania, they described how children were forced to beg and work to maintain their families' incomes. Consequently, in their community, there were low rates of school enrolment, and high rates of non-regular school attendance, and large numbers of school dropouts.

For health and sanitation

Children, particularly girls who were engaged in more housework, described how they worked to improve sanitation and cleanliness, in addition to their own health. For example, adolescent girls with disabilities in Bangladesh said, *'we should wash dishes and clothes to help the family and to maintain hygiene.'* Children described how they helped grow vegetables so that they could eat nutritious food. An adolescent girl in Indonesia described how she cleaned the house so she could be clean and healthy, and she cared for the cattle so they would be healthy and fat. Similarly, a 13-year-old girl from Paraguay said that her motivation was simply *'to keep the house clean.'* ●

4.2 Children's participation in decision-making about their work

It is important to understand the degree to which girls and boys express their views and whether their views influence others' decisions about their work. However, understanding the extent of children's participation in decision-making about their work is very complex. Decisions relating to children's work (whether the child works, what types of work they do, with whom, for how long they work, and in which conditions etc.) often transcend decision-making processes across different settings (family or workplace), and may involve a range of different stakeholders. Many decisions about whether children work and what type of activities they do, are made within families and do not necessarily involve explicit decision-making processes. Moreover, local constructions of childhood and gender norms, impact whether or not girls and boys feel free to express their views concerning decisions affecting them, both within their families and in wider settings. In many socio-cultural contexts, particularly in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, girls and boys are not encouraged to speak up in front of adults or to ask questions, rather they are expected to obey their parents and other elders (O'Kane, 2003a). However, even in contexts where children are not expected to have a say, girls and boys often find ways to navigate and influence social relationships, decisions and actions that concern them (Boyden, 2009; O'Kane, 2003b; Morrow, 2015; Pankhurst, Crivello & Tiumelissan, 2015; Punch, 2003; Woodhead, 2004).

While recognising the limits of the question, children's responses to questions about how much say they have in decisions about their work revealed that: 26.5% of children felt that they had no say, 18.5% of children had very little say, 31.5% had some say, and 23.5% of children had a lot of say.[32] Proportionately more children in Latin America felt that they had a say in decisions about their work compared with children from other regions. Children in the Middle East and Africa had the least say. This finding is in line with socio-cultural traditions, beliefs, and practices regarding the place and role of children in their families, and in societies in the Middle East and Africa. In those regions, children are traditionally expected to obey their elders. Considering the prevalent patriarchy in many regions and countries, we had expected boys to have more say in decision-making than girls. However, there were similar results for both girls and boys, except in Asia where girls felt they had slightly less say than boys. As children get older they have slightly more say. Adolescents aged 13 to 18-years-old had slightly more say than younger children under the age of 12.

[32] Based on a sample of 1 566 children (434 from Africa, 539 from Asia, 472 from Latin America, 58 from Europe, and 63 from Middle East) who answered questions about how much say they have in decisions about their work. More precise indicators as to whether children felt they had a lot of say, some say, very little say, or no say were not elaborated, thus the responses depend on the child's own interpretation of their experiences.

11-year-old boy displaying a drawing about his life, Peru

How much say children have in decisions about their work

No. of children

- A lot of say
- Some say
- Very little say
- No say

Regions: AF, AS, LA, EU, ME
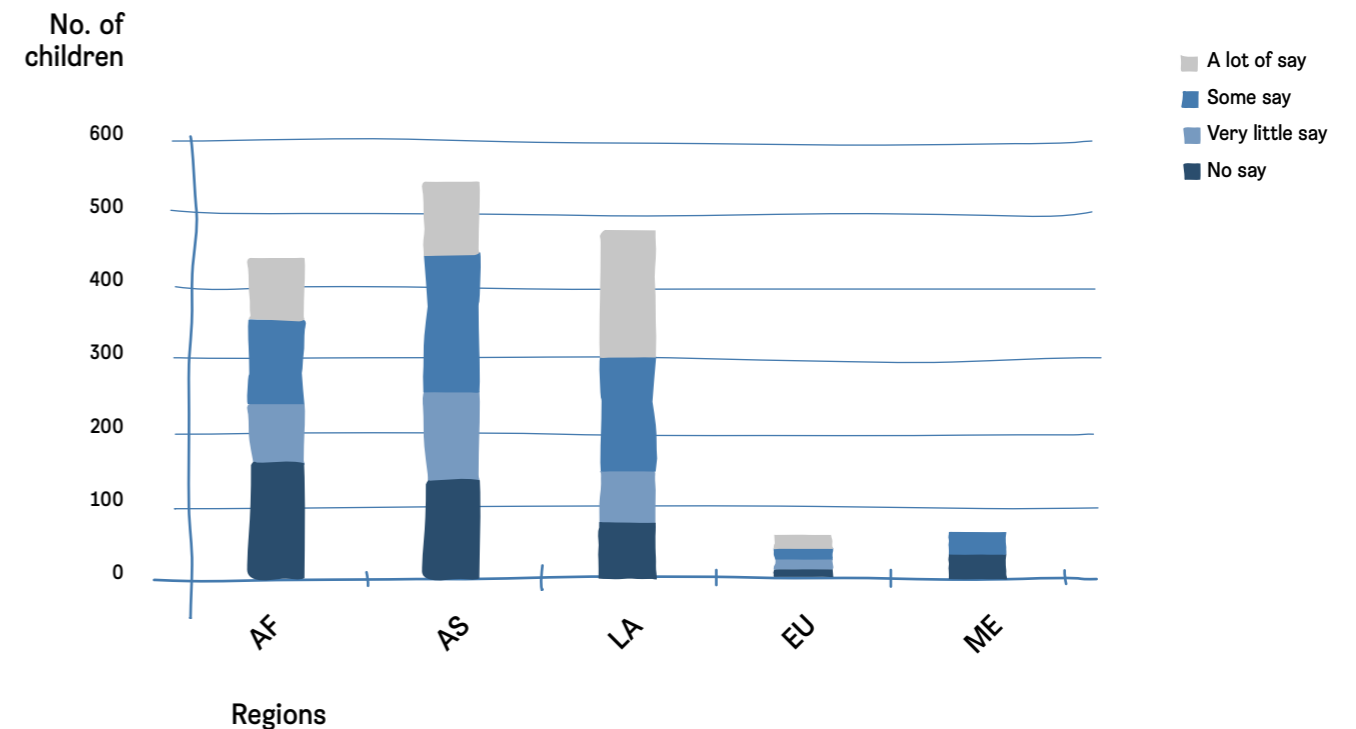
Some children have little or no say in the work they do

26.5% of children consulted said they had no say, and 18.2% had very little say in decisions about their work. One group of children who were consulted in rural Ethiopia said, *'all children's work has been influenced by our parents. They control what, why, when, and how children work.'*

During individual interviews and group discussions, some children from different geographical contexts and working backgrounds emphasised that they felt pressured to work by their parents or caregivers. For example, adolescent girls and boys who were working in the textile and carpet industry in India, described how they had to work against their wishes due to pressure from their families. In a plenary discussion among working boys in Kenya, children explained that *'when our parents demand that we miss school to go and work, the child cannot refuse.'*

Poverty and family struggles compel many children to work. A 14-year-old boy who worked in a market in Iraq said, *'I am forced to work because of our economic situation.'* A 17-year-old stateless girl living in Thailand described how, due to poverty and a large family size (21 members), she was forced by her father to working when she was just 14-years-old. Her father made her do construction work, rather than study, and this made her feel dejected and hopeless.

Some children's wages are paid directly to their parents, and as a result, the children do not have a say in how their earnings are spent. For instance, female domestic workers in Kenya described how their families sent them out to work for rich people and their pay is sent back home, directly to their parents or guardians. Consequently, the child's needs are not met despite having worked for the money.

Some children have some say in the work they do

In the individual interviews, 31.5% of children said they have some say about the work they do. Children's parents or caregivers may request them to do certain types of paid or unpaid work, but the child is able to negotiate, and therefore influences some of the decisions about their work. Many girls and boys across different socio-cultural contexts described how they liked to help their parents and they actively participated in household and agricultural tasks and took on other jobs in order to be helpful. For example, an 11-year-old girl from Peru who undertook agricultural and housework explained her motivation thusly: *'I help because they dress me, they feed me, because they are my parents, and I want to learn.'* Children who were working to help their families in Burkina Faso said *'we work well to please those who make us happy - our parents.'*

Some children were allowed to control some, or all of their earnings. For example, a 15-year-old Syrian girl who undertook paid agricultural work in Jordan said, *'I feel so happy when I have the money in my hand, and when I get some tips, because the salary is for my family and the tips for me.'* Children were grateful for moments when they had some say and influence on how their earnings were spent.

Some children have a lot of say in work they do

Overall, only 23.5% of children consulted had a lot of say in decisions about what work they do. Regional variations for this group are interesting. For example, 36% of children in Latin America have a lot of say in decisions about their work, compared to 19% in Asia and 18% in Africa. These differences are likely to be rooted in local cultures, but may also be influenced by the increased visibility and status of organised working children in Latin America. However, further research is needed to explore the cultural and socio-political dimensions underlining these differences.

Some children take the initiative to find work and therefore actively influence decisions about what type of work they do. Adolescent boys working as shoe-shiners in Bolivia emphasised that they were working on their own will. Some children sought out work that provided them with opportunities to learn skills or practice a trade that interested them. For example, an adolescent Syrian boy who was working in a clothes shop in Jordan, said, *'I am learning how to sell and I hope to have my own shop one day.'* Furthermore, many children took pride in managing their responsibilities to support their families and earn a living through honest work. ●

Participants of the consultations in Nepal

Key policy and practice considerations emerging from chapter four:

Culturally-sensitive approaches to understanding the different motivations and reasons behind children's work are needed to inform differentiated practice and policy developments in specific socio-cultural political contexts.

●

The relationship between children's work and education must be further explored and reflected in policy and practice developments, as some children are working in order to continue their education, and children can learn skills through their work (Morrow, 2015).

●

Multisectoral, holistic, child-focused approaches are needed to reduce the contributing factors to families' vulnerability (especially poverty), and to increase families' resilience to shocks (bad crops, poor health of a family member, disasters, conflict).

●

Humanitarian support is needed for children and families affected by conflict, disaster or other shocks. Furthermore, opportunities for parents/caregivers to access decent work and fair wages would reduce the risk of children being involved in forced or exploitative work.

●

Increased, multi-agency efforts are needed to transform socio-cultural and political barriers to children's expression and participation in decision-making at different levels (families, schools, communities and workplace). Coordinated efforts at local, national, and international levels are pivotal for policy makers have the opportunity to listen to and take children's views into account.

5 'Body Mapping': Children's likes and dislikes about their work

"We are always united in the good and bad moments"

Small-scale vendors, Peru
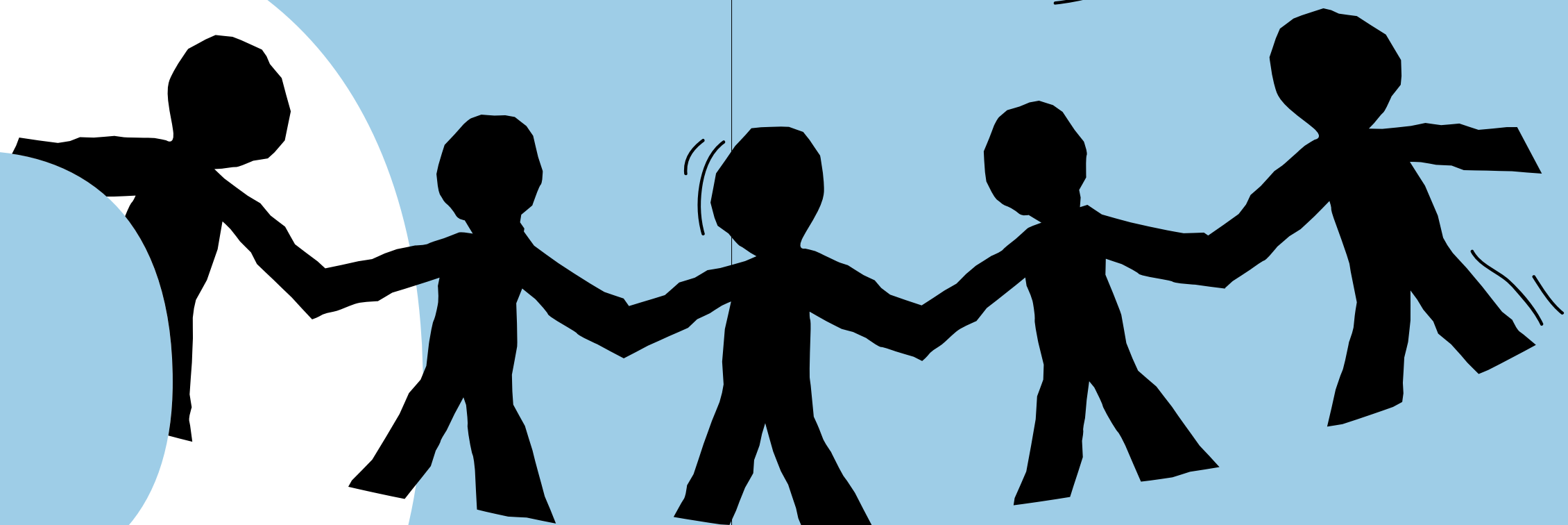
*Overview of
'Body Mapping' findings
on children's
likes and dislikes:*

Ears: Good working conditions,
especially characterised **by respectful
communication** with their employers/
parents/customers (80%)[33]

Shoulders: Feeling proud and responsible (76%)

Heart: Being praised and appreciated by
family members, employers and others (80%)

Arms: Earning an income (69%)

**Wrist: Helping and spending
time with families** (60%)

Hands: Learning skills (62%)

**Legs: Experiencing support,
solidarity and protection**
from friends, parents, and
adults (34%)

**Feet: Seeing and
playing with friends
while working** (30%)

Head: : Experiencing violence (89%)

**Ears: Being negatively judged by others
for being working children** (58%)

Shoulders: Bad working conditions,
work that is too **difficult or**
carries **too much responsibility** (80%)

Heart: Feeling sad and isolated (54%)

**Arms: Experiencing harm,
injury and accidents** (86%)

Hands: Negative impact on studies/education (30%)

Legs: Fatigue (62%)

**Feet: Frustrations relating to their work efforts
and the way they are treated** (74%)

33 Out of the consultations that used body-map-
ping activities, the percentages reflect the
number of consultations where children men-
tioned this particular theme.
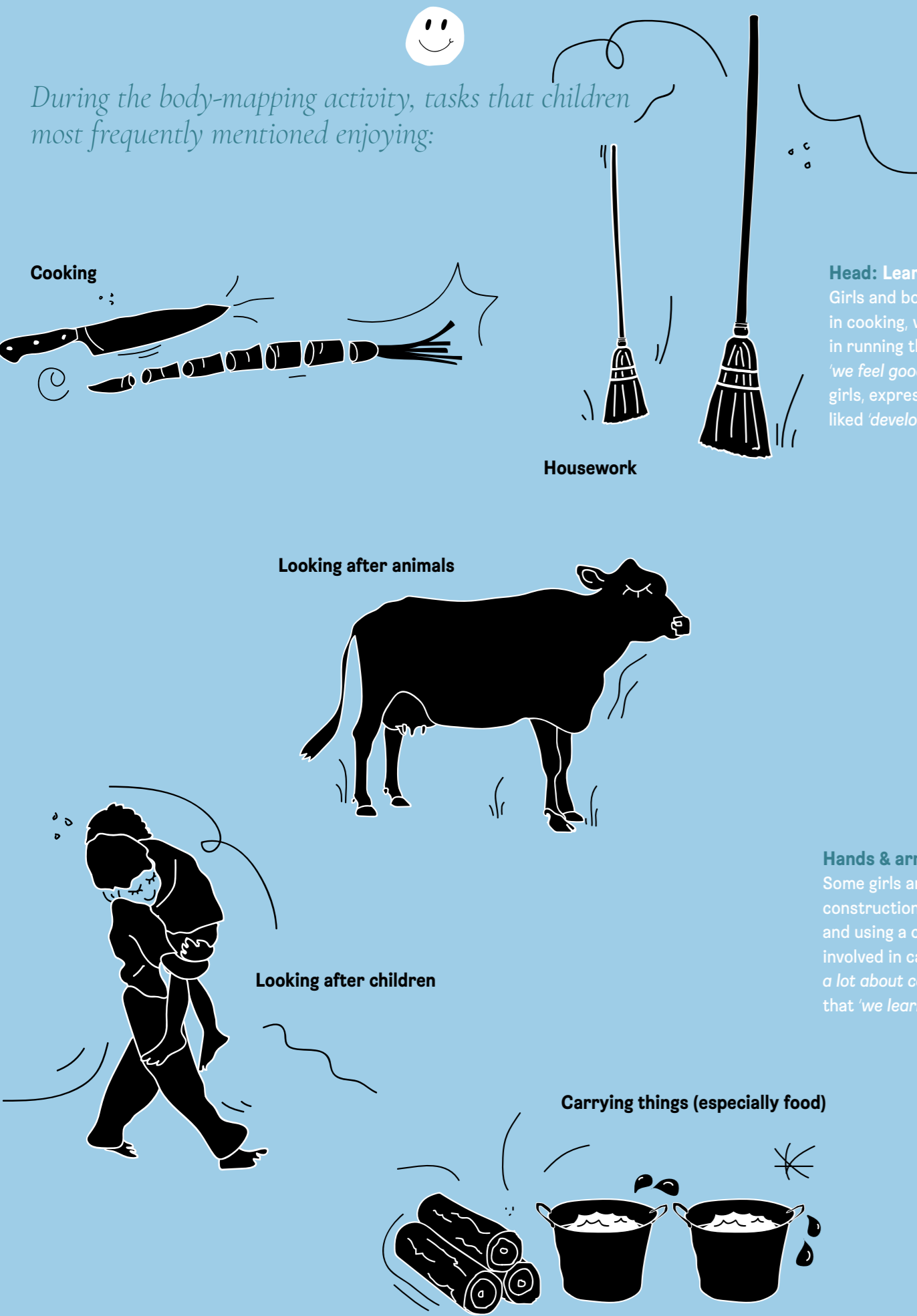
During the body-mapping activity, tasks that children most frequently mentioned enjoying:

Cooking

Housework

Looking after animals

Looking after children

Carrying things (especially food)

Body-Map summary of different types of skills that children acquire through their work:

Head: Learning household skills, including cooking skills
Girls and boys of different ages recognised that they learned various household skills, including skills in cooking, washing, and sweeping. Some children described how these skills would also help them in running their own households in the future. For example, 10 to 14-year-old girls from Guatemala said, '*we feel good learning to do tasks well that will serve us in the future.*' A number of children, especially girls, expressed interest and pleasure in learning to cook. For example, 10 to 13-year-old girls in Zimbabwe liked '*developing skills in cooking, trying recipes and recalling methods of cooking.*'

Shoulders: Learning life skills
Through their paid and unpaid work, children and adolescents were happy to learn life skills, including: communication skills; problem-solving and negotiation skills; planning and manage-ment skills; and mathematical skills. For example, a 12-year-old girl who attended school and worked as a small-scale vendor in Myanmar said, '*I have learned to talk better with other people and I have learned calculation.*' A 17-year-old boy in Mexico who worked in a restaurant said, '*I learn to make food and be responsible and organized with my schedules. I learn to look for solutions and I learn to take criticism.*'

Hands & arms: Learning trade or professional skills
Some girls and boys, particularly adolescents, learned skills in: business; carpentry; construction; fishing; gold mining; making handicrafts; masonry, sewing and tailoring; and using a computer, among others. Adolescent boys who attended school and were involved in carpentry work in Costa Rica described how they were happy to '*learn a lot about carpentry, types of wood and the use of power tools,*' and they emphasised that '*we learn things that we are not taught at home.*'

Feet & legs: Learning agricultural and husbandry skills
Children liked learning agricultural skills and husbandry skills through their paid or unpaid work. For example, boys in Burkina Faso expressed how they liked having knowledge of agricultural and livestock techniques, and one adolescent said he appreciated that he '*knows how to plant, space seedlings, the number of grains per hole.*' Adolescent girls with disabilities in a rural village in Bangladesh, appreciated that they were learning how to plant an orchard and grow vegetables. Adolescent girls from a rural village in India said they were happy to have '*knowledge to increase efficiency in agricultural activities*'.

Body-Map summary of different types of risks (harm and injury) children encounter when working:

Head: Eye problems & breathing problems due to dust, chemicals or pesticides
Children from 34 consultations in 17 countries expressed their dislikes concerning harm associated with dust, chemicals or pesticides. For example, Syrian adolescent girls who were undertaking agricultural work in Jordan, described how '*the employer uses different chemical substances which create allergies, and skin and chest diseases*'. Girls from a rural village in Tanzania also described how they did not like to touch poisons and chemicals when planting tobacco. Children who were engaged in brick and stone making; carpentry; construction work; housework; gold mining; small-scale vending; street or bus cleaning; textile or carpet work; and waste collection conveyed problems they encountered associated with breathing in dust and smoke. Children described eye irritations from dust, chemicals, or pesticides.

Shoulders: Sore shoulders & headaches
Children carrying heavy loads experienced pain in their shoulders, necks or heads. For example, a girl carrying out unpaid work in rural Ethiopia described how, '*collecting firewood leads to pain in my body.*' Boys from the same community also mentioned how they get sore shoulders when they have to carry their younger siblings. A 14-year-old girl who worked in stone mining in India said she disliked the pain that was caused by cutting stones, bending her neck and carrying heavy weights. Some children also described how they experienced headaches in the workplace due to noisy work environments, work pressure, or extended sun exposure.

Stomach: Stomach problems, hunger and feeling sick
Children from 102 consultations from 31 countries described hunger caused by the short supply of healthy food. Due to hunger, children from 41 consultations described how they eat leftover or rotten food that they find on the streets. This increased the risk of various stomach problems. For example, boys who worked as butchers in Chad said, '*we eat the food leftovers and parts of meat that are not good. It hurts our stomach and we have diarrhoea sometimes.*' Furthermore, working in different seasons, like hot summers, or cold, wet winters increased the risk of children developing colds, fever and pneumonia.

Hands & arms: Aching or injured hand & arms
Children from 62 consultations covering a wide variety of types of work from across 21 countries told of their aching or injured hands or arms due to work that is heavy, repetitive, or risky. For example, a boy who carried out agricultural work in Burkina Faso said, '*when we cultivate for a long time, we hurt our hands and we have blisters.*' Children also experienced injuries to their hands when waste collecting, picking up broken bottles or sharp metal. Children faced increased risks of accidents when carrying heavy things, working with heavy or sharp tools, or working with machinery. For example, a Syrian adolescent boy who was working in a textile workshop in Turkey had injured his hand using an industrial sewing machine.

Feet & legs: Aching or injured legs & feet
Children from 56 consultations from 22 countries shared work experiences that resulted in aching legs or due to having to stand or sit for long periods, to walking long distances, or due to injuries incurred while working. For example, an adolescent girl from Kyrgyzstan who sold bracelets said, '*my legs and feet ache when we have to stand in the shop all the time.*' A boy who was involved in gold mining in Burkina Faso described how he sometimes injured his feet with his mining tools used for digging; and a girl from a rural village in Ethiopia described how '*during grass collection and ploughing my legs become cold and weak.*'

During the body mapping, specific tasks that children most frequently mentioned disliking:

Carrying heavy things:
water, a baby or child, wood, stones, etc.

Cleaning and washing dirty things:
washing the toilet or dishes, cleaning up animal waste, changing babies' nappies, collecting rubbish

Stealing

5.1 What children like about their work and good working conditions

Members of one CAC in India said, 'we feel insulted when we are only asked to do cleaning tasks like cleaning toilets, washing utensils, carrying out the rubbish, or selecting rags from dustbins.'

This chapter on children's likes and dislikes about their work and working conditions provides rich insights into children's views, experiences and feelings about positive and negative aspects of their work and working conditions. Some of the things that children like and dislike about their work reflect some of the reasons and motivations for children's work.

The most recurrent themes were very similar across every region, and each theme was emphasised by both girls and boys. However, children who were engaged in paid work placed more emphasis on the advantages of earning money, than children who were involved in unpaid work. In terms of aspects children enjoy about their work and working conditions, the findings indicate that children place a lot of importance on their immediate relationships with their parents/caregivers, employers,

and peers and the ways they communicate among each other. Woodhead (2004) describes how the psychosocial impact of children's work is embedded in social relationships and practices, and it is mediated by the cultural beliefs and values of parents, caregivers, employers, and children themselves. Children are strongly affected by how others value and appreciate their work, and children's pride in their own achievements contributes to their self-esteem (Aufseeser et al., 2017; Boyden, 2009; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Morrow, 2015; Woodhead, 2004). Appreciative, non-violent communication between parents/caregivers and children, supports children's individual development and acts as a protective safeguard (Bireda & Pillay, 2017; Mathews et al., 2014; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 2004). Conversely, if children feel humiliated or shamed by their work this could be a risk factor and could undermine children's self-esteem and self-worth (Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 2004).

Children like it when they have good working conditions

When discussing what children liked most about their work, girls and boys revealed characteristics: of relationships and styles of communication; amounts of work and types of work; and support or benefits that enabled good working conditions. In particular, respectful communication was emphasised by children as a key factor in creating a positive working environment.

Good and respectful communication with employer, parents and others

During the body-mapping activities, children from 94 out of 118 consultations[34] across 30 countries covering all the regions (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East) shared experiences concerning situations where their parents, employers, clients, or other concerned stakeholders communicated with them politely and listened to them. For example, adolescents with disabilities in Bangladesh said they like it when '*we speak to parents about our work… when we share our willingness or unwillingness regarding work… and when our parents and others listen to us.*'

CAC members in Peru who worked as porters, brick makers and small-scale vendors said, 'at work there are no good working conditions, good conditions are when they pay you well, they treat you well and here that does not exist, it is very difficult.'

Children who were working for employers appreciated it when their employers spoke to them politely and respectfully, and when they encouraged them, rather than scolding them. A 14-year-old Syrian boy working in a factory in Turkey said, '*my employer talks to me in a nice way, which makes me feel happy, and if I mess up something he doesn't yell at me.*' An emphasis on good communication by employers was particularly emphasised by children who were engaged in paid agricultural work, brick-making, construction work, factory work and shop work in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

Children also enjoyed it when customers, neighbours, and members of the general public communicated with them politely, or gave the children advice. For instance, a 13-year-old girl who was involved in stone mining in Indonesia said she liked it when people told her to be careful at work.

Do easy light work, and work that is not harmful

During the body-mapping activity children from six countries emphasised that they liked it if work was light, easy and harmless. For example, a 14-year-old boy involved in household and agricultural work in Nicaragua, said he likes it when he works somewhere close to where he lives, when people take good care of him, and when his job is easy. Adolescent Iraqi boys who were involved in market work emphasised that they liked it when they carried light things or when the cart they used was not overloaded. Adolescent Syrian girls employed in woodworking shops, and cotton harvesting in Turkey also said they felt happy to carry lightweight things. As we will see in chapter six, children from 17 countries across each region emphasised the importance of light or easy work as a necessary condition for work they can do.

During the body-mapping activity, specific types of work that children most frequently mentioned liking were tasks that they commonly do, or that take place in and around the household. These preferences often reflected gender expectations. Some girls expressed how they liked doing housework, cooking, and looking after children. Meanwhile, some boys where more inclined to enjoy looking after animals. Even so, some boys still mentioned liking housework. Both girls and boys liked carrying lightweight items; and some girls and boys liked looking after animals.

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34 Body mapping activities were used in 118 consultations with groups of children. Furthermore, with the consultation the body mapping was usually undertaken separately with girls and boys.

Read about a 14-year-old girl involved in house-work, Zimbabwe

— *Case example 8* —

'My experience as a working child is expressed through cooking, washing dishes and clothes, ironing, fetching water, watering the garden. I enjoy cooking and preparing meals as part of my daily work. I also enjoy watching cooking shows on television and following instructions to cook my delicious meals. I listen to advice from my mother to make my meals so special. Washing clothes is part of hygiene, and when I make clothes clean, my work is always acknowledged by the elders. Laundry is a form of cleanliness. I enjoy washing white clothes. I don't enjoy fetching water and watering plants because it is very hard for me as a girl. Although, fetching water and watering plants is part of my tasks. It is very good to help parents by doing all our chores, but we also have our responsibilities to go to school, and we also should have some fun.'

Regular breaks; fair and timely pay; support materials and benefits are provided

Other aspects that made for good working conditions, that were explicitly mentioned by children during the body-mapping activity, included: having regular breaks and time off work; being paid fair wages and being paid on time; being supplied with supportive materials (e.g. gloves, goggles, hat); and being given food, clothes, health care or bonuses. For example, children involved in brick making in Nepal appreciated that they wore protective gloves.

Praised and appreciated by their families, employers, and others

Children from 94 consultations across 29 countries, from each region, highlighted how they like it when they are recognised by their parents, caregivers, employers or others for the work they do. *Being appreciated and praised by parents, caregivers or other family members* was commonly mentioned by both girls and boys of different ages who were working in different occupations. Recognition was particularly emphasised by girls and boys undertaking housework, thus indicating the importance of being appreciated by parents and caregivers within their home. For example, 8 to 16-year-old boys undertaking agricultural work for their parents in rural Ethiopia, described how they were *'delighted when our parents appreciate and reward us with new clothes after we do different farming activities.'*

Children's recognition of their own work efforts and others' appreciation of their work contributed to some children forming a positive identity as workers (Invernizzi, 2003; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Morrow, 2015; Woodhead, 2004). Some children liked it when they were recognised and appreciated as good people due to their work contributions. For example, an 11-year-old boy who helped with household and agricultural work in Nicaragua said he liked it when his parents told him he was *'a good son and a good person.'*

CAC members in Indonesia emphasised that earning money and giving it to their parents was what they liked most about working. By doing this, their parents usually praised them and the children were proud of the financial support they could give their families.

Children's contributions as paid or unpaid workers within their families appeared to influence the way children were valued within families. Their work and financial contributions interacted with other factors relating to their gender and disability. For instance, girls with disabilities engaged in agricultural work in Bangladesh explained that their family saw them in a more positive light (despite their sex and disability) due to the work they carried out, and they liked being complimented for their work.

Being appreciated by neighbours, customers, or others, and recognised as a hard-working person was also enjoyed by children and it motivated them to carry out their tasks. For example, an 11-year-old, Syrian refugee boy who worked as a waste collector in Jordan liked it *'when people thank me and say that I am cleaning their country.'* Children also liked it when their neighbours or customers appreciated how hard-working they were. For example, a 13-year-old girl who was engaged in stone mining on non-school days in Indonesia said, *'I heard people compliment me because I am working to help my parents and they see me as a smart girl.'* A 16-year-old boy who helped his parents with coffee harvesting and housework in Nicaragua liked it that people recognized him as an honest, hard-working, responsible and humble person.

Being praised by their employers was highlighted frequently by children from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. They were engaged primarily in paid agricultural work; bidi making (cigarette making); carpentry; construction work, dance and massage parlour work; domestic work; gold mining; shop work; and as small-scale vendors. Adolescent boys aged 13 to 17 who were involved in gold mining in Burkina Faso said they liked it when they *'hear encouragement in our work and congratulations.'* A 16-year-old, Syrian refugee undertaking paid agricultural work in Jordan said she liked it when the employer thanked her for her efforts.

Proud and responsible

During the body mapping, children from 90 consultations, in 29 countries, across every region, emphasised how proud and responsible they feel about their work. Many working children involved in various types of work were proud of their achievements (Morrow, 2015; Woodhead, 1999). Furthermore, some working children stressed that they were proud to earn an honest living.

Feeling responsible and proud Children and adolescents from different regions and different working backgrounds described positive feelings of pride associated with taking on and exercising responsibilities for their families. For example, 15-year-old girls and boys in India who were involved in handicraft and shop work described how *'taking responsibilities gives happiness ... When our mothers give us responsible work we love it.'* Some children also shared positive feelings about taking care of their younger siblings.

Illustration and text by a 9-year-old boy in Peru involved in agricultural work with his family

— *Case example 9* —

'The story of the potato harvest'
I like harvesting potatoes because they are easy to harvest, and are necessary for nutrition.
Materials: Shovel and sack
And it is done as follows:
First, grab the shovel with both hands.
Second, start digging from right to left and the potato will come out.
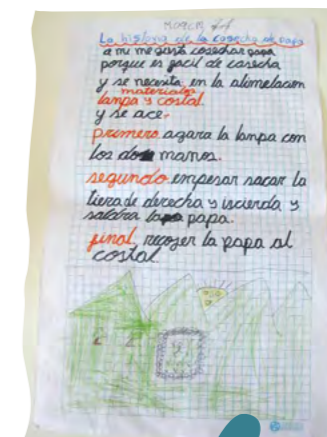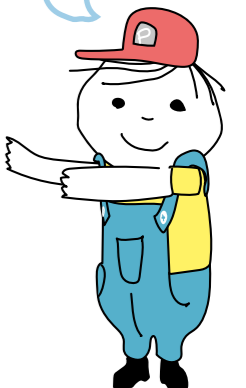Finally, put the potato in the sack.

Proud of their achievements

Girls and boys of different ages who were involved in a wide variety of work including: agricultural work (paid and unpaid); bidi making (local cigarettes); brick making; dance work; fishing; hotel work; housework; massage work; paid domestic work; small-scale vending; tailoring; textiles and carpet industry work; waste collection; and shop work, all expressed pride in some of their work achievements. For example, 10 to 14-year-old boys undertaking household and agricultural work in Zimbabwe stated being happy *'seeing the fruits of our hard work, especially when we harvest in the fields.'* A 13-year-old girl working in the textile industry in India shared *'the neatness with which the cloth is stitched makes me truly happy.'*

Earning money

Girls and boys who were engaged in paid work particularly emphasised the benefits of earning money. Children from 82 consultations in 28 countries, from each region underscored how they like it when they earn money. Children in diverse contexts also expressed their joy at the prospect of earning money. For example, a 13-year-old boy working as a bus cleaner in Indonesia said, *'I am happy if there are a lot of buses, as it means that I have many buses to clean and I can give my money to my mother.'*

Interestingly, findings on the topic of earning money mirror the perspectives shared by children under the same category in chapter four ('Motivations and reasons for children's work'). This result sheds light on the fact that some of children's main driving forces for working are directly correlated to what they enjoy most about their work.

Children particularly emphasized how they like to earn money to meet their own basic needs, or those of their family; to have money for themselves and be more independent and able to buy things; as well as to use their earnings to pay for school materials or school fees to continue their education. Boys from an indigenous community in Peru, aged 12 to 14, who worked in the school holidays described how they feel *'joy because I'm bringing money to my house and my family.'* An 11-year-old Syrian refugee, who worked as a waste collector in Jordan, shared how he liked to take responsibility and support his family with the rent. An adolescent boy who was involved in paid agricultural work in Kenya said he was *'feeling happy whenever I make a lot of money, and when I have money to pay my school fees.'*

Children, and especially adolescents, described how they were happy to gain some financial independence, and have money to spend on themselves to buy clothes, shoes, jewellery, or snacks. They also spent some of their earnings to socialise with friends, go to the cinema or on other activities that they enjoyed. Adolescent girls who worked in dance or massage parlours in Nepal also emphasised how they liked being confident enough to make their own, to earn money to support their families and to manage their own expenses.

Learning skills

Girls and boys who were engaged in a variety of tasks and jobs called attention to the fact that their work helped them acquire

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Case example 10

Marta[35], a 15-year-old girl in Mexico, was involved in roasting and packing the coffee, as well as housework, caring for sisters and little brothers. Sometimes her parents buy her something she wants in return for her help with the coffee work. This girl said "I like what I learn from coffee because I learn the varieties of coffee and it makes me happy because if I finish studying and cannot work in the field I studied, then I already have a tool to be able to start a business. I learn to pay attention, for example when toasting coffee because I am very distracted. I like to be rewarded in my work."

Learning skills from toasting, and packing coffee by a 15-year-old girl, Mexico

[35] Name changed to protect anonymity.

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useful skills. Through their work, some children were able to learn household skills, agricultural skills, trade or professional skills, and life skills (Bourdillon et al, 2010; Morrow, 2015). Children from 73 consultations across 28 countries, covering all the regions, emphasised the benefits of learning skills through their work. In plenary discussions on the most beneficial aspects of work, learning skills was identified as one of the most important benefits of working by both girls and boys. Girls and boys commented how they often learn traditional, household and agricultural skills from their mothers, fathers and other community members. Children also learned skills from working in various trades, particularly if they were trained or mentored with a focus on developing skills.

Helping and spending time with families

During the body mapping, children from 70 consultations from 25 countries across every region, emphasised how they like to work in order to help their families and spend time with them. Some girls and boys worked collaboratively with their mothers, fathers, or other caregivers, while other children worked alone, with siblings or other friends. In plenary discussions, helping their families by working was identified by boys and girls as one of the most important benefits of work. For instance, a 14-year-old boy from India who sold bangles, balloons and rings to tourists said, *'we are happy that we have been able to help our family members.'* 10 to 14-year-old girls who helped with housework in a rural village in Ethiopia felt that *'helping parents resulted in blessings from God.'*

Some children described how they benefited from spending time with their parents when they helped them with their work. Other children, especially children from rural indigenous communities in Latin America, mentioned how children's help with work contributes helps to strengthening family ties. For example, an adolescent boy from one rural indigenous community in Ecuador emphasised how *'I feel happy because I can spend more time with my father and I can talk about family things.'*

Experiencing support, solidarity and protection

Working together with friends, siblings, parents, other relatives or supportive adults, provided an important source of solidarity and protection (Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 2004). Children from 40 consultations in 18 countries, across every region (except Europe[36]), emphasised mutual solidarity and support that they received from friends, siblings, cousins, or other supportive adults. For example, an adolescent boy who worked as a gold miner in Burkina Faso said, *'I am happy when a friend gives me a part of his gold or when I earn gold and I give him a part of it.'*

[36] In Europe the sample was very small (57).

Working together provided a source of protection. For instance, a 16-year-old girl in India said, *'when I see other girls accompanying me in work, I don't feel isolated.'* An 11-year-old boy undertaking agricultural work in Ecuador also explained how he was grateful that his cousin took care of him while he worked. Children from India, Nepal, and Thailand described how when they were sick or unwell at work, it was their friends who looked after them. Adolescent boys who were street cleaners in Nepal described how the older ones often took care of the younger ones. Other, young friends who are involved in similar work can understand working children's feelings and emotions and can better support and motivate them. Adolescent girls who worked as small-scale vendors in Peru treasured that *'we are always united in the good and bad moments.'*

Seeing and playing with friends while working

During the body-mapping activities, children from 35 consultations across 12 countries from all regions except Europe, mentioned that they liked seeing, chatting, joking, playing, and spending time with friends while working, or while travelling to and from work. Children who looked after animals often had the space and freedom to play with their friends while working. A girl in rural Ethiopia said, *'when we are looking after the cows we are happy because [we are both] helping my family, and playing.'* 8 to 12-year-old boys working as shepherds in India also described how it was fun to work alongside their friends. Boys who were working as small-scale vendors in Paraguay explained how they liked to share and play football matches with their friends.

Children participating in 31 consultations from 13 countries also mentioned how they liked to listen to music or sing while working, and that this gave them pleasure. For example, girls in Zimbabwe liked *'hearing music whilst sweeping the house'*. A group of girls who were working in the textile industry in India shared how they *'like to sing songs while working.'*

Working outside and appreciating nature

During the body-mapping activity, when talking about things they like to see and smell while working, girls and boys of different ages from diverse contexts emphasised nature and the environment. Children who worked outside had more opportunities to breathe and smell fresh air, particularly if working in rural areas. Girls and boys also liked to see flowers, birds, animals, mountains, lakes and other natural things while working. Boys who looked after cattle and sheep, and fetched firewood in rural Ethiopia, described how they *'become happy when we are travelling around natural and green areas and when we see the sheep give birth.'* ●
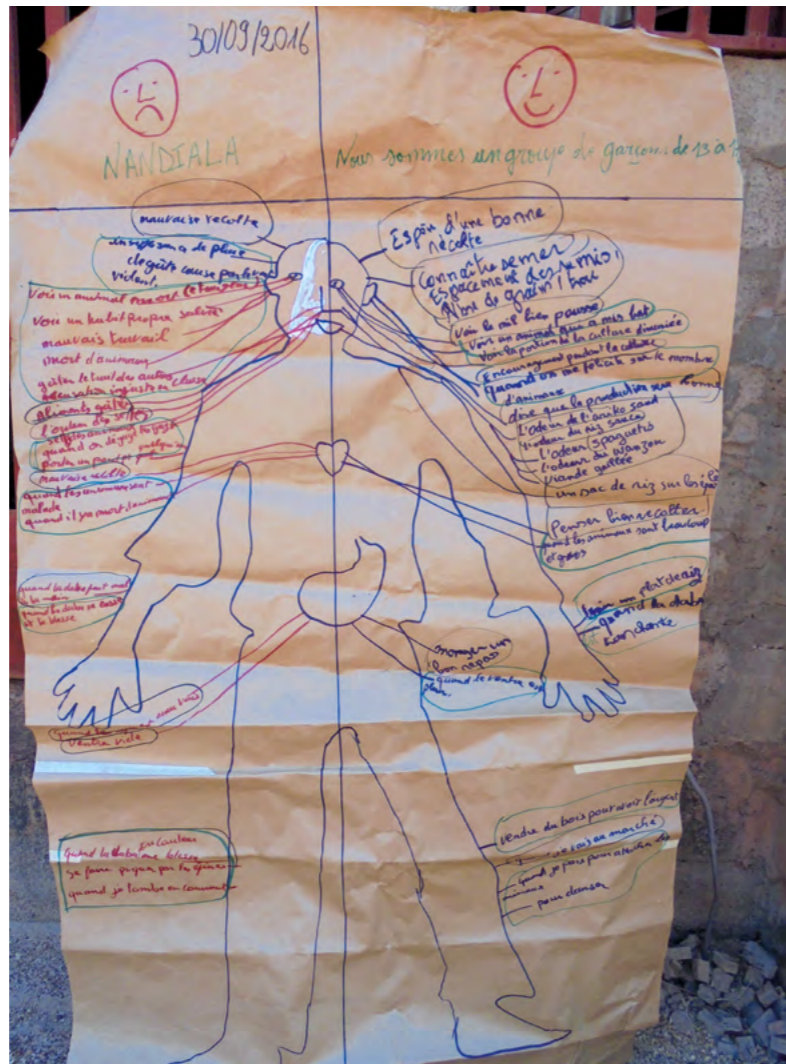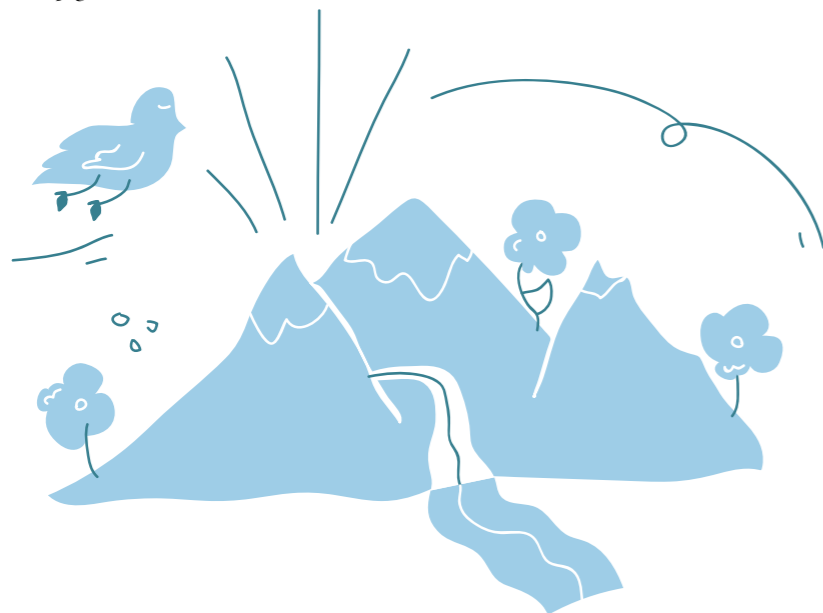
Body map with boys in Burkina Faso

5.2 What children dislike about their work and working conditions

The most recurrent aspects that children dislike about their work were very similar across every region. While themes were similar for girls and boys, girls placed more emphasis on the dangers of sexual abuse and harassment while working. Children's dislikes concerning their working lives primarily related to violence, harm, mistreatment and being judged. These have negative impacts on individual children's physical, social, and emotional development and wellbeing (Guarcello, Lyon & Rosati, 2004; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 1999, 2004). Across the world, adult/child power relationships contribute to environments where children face an increased risk of harm and in the workplace, as well as to situations where children might be requested to compromise their time for studies in order to work (Boyden et al., 2009; Morrow, 2015).

Experiencing Violence

In 105 out of 118 consultations[37] across 33 countries from all regions, children their shared concerns of, and experiences with, different forms of workplace violence. The consultations revealed widespread instances of verbal abuse and scolding and threats from employers, parents and others, both in the household and in wider work settings (Bourdillon, 2007; Woodhead, 2004). Children also shared their experiences of physical abuse and violence in the

workplace. Furthermore, some children, particularly girls shared their concerns of facing sexual harassment and abuse at the work place or while travelling to and from work. When discussing the most significant challenges associated with children's work, some groups of children, particularly children from Asia and Latin America, emphasised the risk of violence and abuse.

CAC members in Kosovo mentioned that being abused during work was the thing they hated most. Emotional and physical abuse discouraged them. Nevertheless, if their families were experiencing difficulties, they would continue working, despite the violence they faced, in order to help support their families.

Facing verbal abuse, scolding or threats from employer, parents, or others

When discussing what they most condemned in their work, children from 30 countries from every region, shared concerns of verbal abuse, and/or scolding and threats from their parents, employers, co-workers and clients.

Being scolded, threatened or insulted by their employer was a commonly reported reason for resenting their work. Some children described

how they were scolded for being late, for not working fast or hard enough, or for making mistakes. 11-year-old boys who were involved in agricultural work in Nicaragua said they didn't like it when, *'we are scolded by employers or parents when we do something wrong.'* Many children were verbally abused or insulted without any reason. For example, an 11-year-old girl who was working in a shop in India said she did not like it when, *'I am scolded by my boss despite having done good work.'*

Some children's employers threatened by saying that they would not be paid, or would be paid less, unless they worked harder. Being scolded, threatened, or verbally abused, generally made children feel dejected, and resentful. A boy who worked as a brick maker in Peru shared *'my heart hurts when they shout for me to move forward and I'm sad, I'm angry.'*

Being scolded or insulted by clients, the general public or co-workers was also mentioned by children. For instance, adolescent boys in Chad who worked as porters, said they didn't like it when *'people scold us when we drop luggage'*. Some children with disabilities who were working in Bangladesh commented that some people teased or insulted them because of their disabilities.

This behaviour was not only limited to clients and co-workers, as some children also cited being **scolded or threatened by parents or**

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37 The body mapping was used in 118 consultations.

caregivers. Some girls and boys were scolded by their parents or caregivers for not completing all tasks that were expected of them, or for making mistakes. A boy in rural Burkina Faso who had to look after the cows explained how he did not like it *'when our parents scold us because we lost an animal, they reproach us for having fun and not being attentive.'* Some children were also threatened with a beating if they did not work.

Hearing people use bad language, arguing or fighting was also brought up in consultations. Many children mentioned that they hear their employers, parents, co-workers or members of the general public fighting or using bad language in their workplace. Children were also exposed to bad language and fighting when working on the streets.

Facing physical abuse and violence from employers, parents, caregivers, and others

Children from 25 countries covering every region shared their dislikes worries of experiencing or witnessing physical abuse and violence while working.

Being beaten by parents, caregivers or other relatives was highlighted by both girls and boys from different working backgrounds in diverse locations. Adolescent girls from Bangladesh described how their parents, uncles or aunts beat them if they did not complete their work. A 13-year-old boy who worked as a waste collector in Indonesia said, *'I am sad if my mother does not allow me to play and hits me.'* Girls from the same Indonesian community described how they despised it when they were made to kneel in salt as a form of punishment.

Case example 11

I wake up in the morning and I brush my teeth.
My Grandmother told me that I should dig in the garden
and I told my grandmother that I do not like that work.
My grandmother hits me. I cry and cry a lot.
I see some children were playing many games.
That day I was not happy because I did not
have time to play many games
This is the child labour

Poem about child labour by a 10-year-old girl working in her grandmother's house, Zimbabwe

Instances of **being beaten and kicked by employers or other workers** was revealed by both girls and boys from different working backgrounds, and diverse working locations. For example, a girl engaged in domestic work in Mali said, *'I do not like to hear the bosses hitting the maids.'* Children described how they were beaten by their employers for making mistakes. For instance, a 15-year-old boy who worked in a stone mine in India said he didn't like it *'when the owner thrashes us for making small mistakes in our work and the older children threaten us.'* Adolescent girls who worked in dance and massage parlours also described how they were beaten by their employers if they made mistakes, and how the emotional and physical abuse made it difficult for them to envisage a better future.[38]

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[38] Terre des Hommes in Nepal was directly engaging with these young people in an ongoing programme to enhance their protection from sexual exploitation.

Sexual harassment and abuse, especially for girls

Children from 14 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East highlighted concerns about sexual harassment and sexual abuse. Worries relating to sexual harassment were particularly emphasised by girls from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East who were working as agricultural workers; domestic workers; small-scale vendors; in textile or woodworking shops; and as waste collectors. Regardless of the type of work, girls expressed fear of sexual abuse in the work place, and while travelling to and from work, including being abused when collecting firewood or water.

Girls often heard sexual comments and teasing from male employers, co-workers and members of the general public. Adolescent girls working in shops in India described how they did not like it *'when the wrong people touch them in the wrong places.'* Syrian adolescent girls who were engaged in agricultural work in Jordan, also described their employers' inappropriate behaviour, like touching them while showing them how to work. Adolescent girls who worked in massage parlours and as dancers in Nepal faced increased risks of sexual harassment.[39] One 16-year-old Nepalese girl who was a dancer described how the clients were abusive as *'they sit very close to us, dancing with us, asking for our contact numbers, and they propose that we go with them and stay the night.'*

Some boys also mentioned concerns about sexual abuse from their peers and from adults in the workplace. A boy who was working as a waste collector in Indonesia said, *'I feel really ashamed when my friend asks me to open my pants and touches me in my private area.'* An adolescent boy working as a small-scale vendor in Peru also described his fears when female prostitutes and transvestites suggested that he go to hotels with them.

Fear of gang violence and violence on the streets

Some children who worked as small-scale vendors and waste collectors in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East expressed fears of gang violence, drug use, and street violence. For example, a boy[39] who worked as a waste collector in the Philippines said, *'I should not stop anywhere when scavenging because it is dangerous, there*

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[39] In a group of boys aged 10 to 17 years old.

are drug users everywhere.' An 11-year-old Syrian boy who was working as a waste collector in Jordan described how there was a gang of children who carried knives, who had once beaten him up and stolen the things he had collected.

Police harassment

Children working on the street as small-scale vendors, waste collectors, street cleaners, and shoeshiners, in addition to refugee or stateless children working in broader sectors, faced increased risks of police harassment. Many children had been scolded and threatened by the police and some children had even been arrested. Some children selling goods on the street had had their goods confiscated. Girls who worked as small-scale vendors in Peru said they did not like it when *'the police come and will not let me work, and when municipal officials remove merchandise from vendors.'*

Experiencing harm, injury and accidents

Previous experience with and the potential of bodily harm, injuries and accidents in different types of work was underscored by girls and boys of different ages from diverse contexts. Children from 101 consultations across 31 countries covering all the regions shared their dread of experiencing harm. Through different forms of work children experience fatigue, injuries, accidents and other forms of harm (Crivello & Boyden, 2014; Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Morrow, 2015; Morrow & Vennam, 2012; Woodhead, 2004). One of the most significant challenges of working, for children from Africa, Asia and Latin America was the potential risk of harm and accidents.

The table on the following page illustrates different types of harm or risks that were most frequently mentioned by children engaged in different types of work:

> **CAC members in Indonesia and Peru said children sometimes faced accidents or injuries when they worked. In addition, working long hours also resulted in fatigue, stress and frustration.**

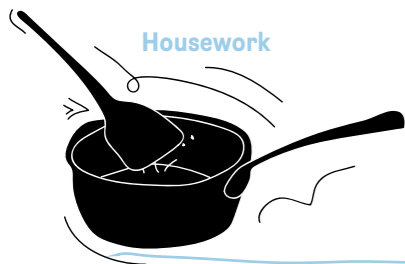| *Type of children's work*	*Most frequently reported types of harm for this type of work*
Agricultural work	1. Aching or injured hands or arms 2. Harm due to pesticides & chemicals 3. Aching or injured feet or legs 4. Aching shoulders 5. Eye problems
Construction work	1. Aching or injured feet or legs 2. Harm due to dust 3. Aching or injured hands.
Housework	1. Harm due to dust or smoke 2. Aching or injured arms & hands 3. Aching or injured feet or legs 4. Accidents at work 5. Aching shoulders 6. Headaches
Mine work	1. Accidents at work 2. Harm due to dust 3. Aching or injured hands or arms 4. Aching or injured feet or legs, 5. Eye problems
Textile & garment work	1. Harm due to dust 2. Aching or injured hands or arms 3. Aching or injured feet or legs 4. Accidents at work 5. Sore eyes 6. Sore shoulders
Brick & stone making	1. Aching or injured hands or arms 2. Aching or injured feet or legs 3. Harm due to dust 4. Sore shoulders 5. Eye problems
Small-scale vending	1. Aching or injured hands or arms 2. Aching or injured feet or legs 3. Eye problems 4. Sore backs
Waste collection	1. Aching or injured feet or legs 2. Harm due to dust 3. Aching or injured hands or arms 4. Sore shoulders 5. Headaches

Bad working conditions

Children from 94 consultations across 33 countries from all regions shared their experiences with negative working conditions including: carrying out work that is too difficult; facing too much responsibility or pressure at work; being paid too little or too late; and not having enough time to rest. Some children emphasised having too much responsibility and being exploited as the most significant challenges they faced while working.

Work that is too heavy

Children from 75 consultations from across 28 countries who were involved in agricultural work; brick making; construction; paid domestic work; gold mining; housework; small-scale vending; stone mining; textile and carpet work; and waste collection shared their opposition with carrying heavy loads. For example, boys who were working in gold mines in Burkina Faso described how they did not like lifting iron bars to crush ore, nor having to lift 20 litres of water at a time. A girl doing housework in rural India said she disliked it when she had to carry fire wood and heavy sacks. Adolescent boys who were working in markets in Iraq explained how they did not like to carry heavy boxes of vegetables, and that sometimes they were *'requested to carry heavy things to the car and we were beaten when we could not carry such heavy things.'*

Work pressure and too much responsibility

Work pressure and too much responsibility was emphasised by children in 44 consultations from across 25 countries. These children felt that they were given too much responsibility or that they faced too much pressure to complete their work in the allotted time. For example, a 14-year-old Syrian boy, who worked in a textile workshop in Turkey, described how he felt pressured, as they always hear *'work, work, hurry, hurry, work, work.'* Some girls and boys felt that their work made them feel anxious or stressed due to their heavy workloads. Adolescent boys who were involved in factory work and carpentry work in Costa Rica, who were also attending school, said they did not like it *'when there are many orders, we are pressed hard to finish fast, it is very stressful.'*

Although some children felt proud to contribute to their family's survival, some children felt overwhelmed under the weight of so many responsibilities. An adolescent

Drawing by a boy in Rwanda

girl who worked as a small-scale vendor in the Philippines said, *'I have big responsibilities that are hard to carry.'*

Some children despised that they were expected to do things beyond their ability. For instance, adolescent boys who worked as paid domestic workers *in Nepal,* said they did not like it *'when the employer treats us as adults and makes us work beyond our ability, like when we have to lift heavy loads.'*

Not enough time to rest

During the body-mapping activity, children from 12 consultations in 8 countries mentioned their insufficient time to rest. This was also significantly highlighted by children during the timeline activity ('A day in the life of...'). Children with disabilities in Bangladesh who worked as small-scale vendors said, *'we don't get time enough to play with our friends and we feel bored.'*

Paid too little or too late for their work

A few children mentioned that they detested it when they were paid too little or too late for their work. Boys working as butchers in Chad said, *'while working, what we think we do not like is that we are badly paid and badly treated.'* Girls who worked as small-scale vendors in Bolivia expressed their disappointment when they do not earn much.

Frustrations relating to their work efforts and the way they are treated

Children from 87 consultations from 28 countries from all regions shared frustrations relating to their work efforts and the way they were treated, especially when they worked hard without achieving results.

Children work hard but do not get intended results

Children from 44 consultations in 18 countries expressed frustration that despite their hard work, they did not get their intended results, such as reaping a good harvest, selling enough goods, finding gold, or completing their tasks. An adolescent boy who worked as a gold miner in Burkina Faso said, *'it is terrible to enter and leave the earth without gold.'* Girls who were small-scale vendors in Bolivia said, they do not like it *'when we do not finish selling our products, we lose capital and our products spoil.'*

Mistakes or mishaps at work, including false accusations

Children from 37 consultations in 15 countries shared worries and frustrations about making mistakes or experiencing mishaps at work. For example, adolescent boys who were brick makers in Chad emphasised that *'the failures are enormous when one does not master brick making.'* Children did not like it when they were falsely accused of stealing or breaking something while at work. Some children described their fears of becoming domestic workers due to the increased risks of false accusations that that job carries. Adolescent girls who were domestic workers in Mali reiterated this fact when they described how they were falsely accused of stealing.

Employer, caregiver, or client dissatisfied with their work

Children from 28 consultations in 14 countries shared their feelings of irritation and sadness when their employers, parents, caregivers, or clients were not satisfied with their work. A 17-year-old girl who sold goods in Peru said she did not like it when *'customers are disappointed in my work.'*

Adolescent girls who were tailors in Chad described how they sometimes made mistakes when cutting patterns and this created conflicts with their customers.

Feeling tired

During the body mapping children from 73 consultations across 27 countries from every region shared experiences relating to on-the-job fatigue. Some children explained how they were tired due to; long working hours; getting up early to work or going to bed late after work; walking a lot during work; standing up or sitting down for too long while at work; carrying heavy things; or due to working under the hot sun.

CAC members in Indonesia who worked as waste collectors and small-scale vendors in urban settings said they were sometimes judged and humiliated by people around them and this made them feel shy and sad. CAC members in Peru also did not appreciate it when people made fun of them as they were working, when they looked at them differently or when they did not understand them.

Walking a long way while working or continued standing up while working:

A number of tasks undertaken by children, such as looking after animals, fetching water or wood, small-scale vending, and waste collection involve significant physical effort, (walking or standing up for long periods of time) which makes children tired. For instance, a 10-year-old girl who worked as a small-scale vendor in Guatemala said *'I get tired of standing and walking a lot.'* A 12-year-old girl who was a brick maker in Peru described how *'I do not like it because we're always standing and cannot sit down and we are tired, hurt, and scraped by work.'*

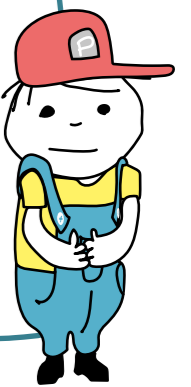### Being negatively judged by others for being working children

Being negatively judged by others due to the fact that they work was emphasised by children from 68 consultations across 26 countries covering all regions, especially by children from Latin America. It was mentioned by children working in a wide variety of jobs, especially paid work, including: agricultural work; construction work; domestic work; factory work; shoe-shining; small-scale vending; waste collection; and sex work. Woodhead (1999) highlighted how *'working children (like all children) are deeply sensitive to what others say about them. Negative labels, degrading treatment, humiliation and verbal abuse are all very hurtful, whether this comes from employers, customers, parents, teachers, police or the mass media. There is even a danger that insensitive public debate can contribute to the process.'* (p.46)

Children described different ways in which members of the general

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Read about a 17-year-old Nepalese girl who studies and works in a massage parlour[40]

Case example 12

Madhu[41] lives with her family. She gets up early and reaches school by 6.15am where she studies until 10.45am. After food and some rest she goes to work in a spa and yoga centre. She usually spends one hour in the yoga centre office learning how to use the computer. She then works as a masseuse until 8pm. At 8pm she goes home, does her homework, watches TV, eats and goes to bed at 10pm. While reflecting on her daily experiences, Madhu expressed her frustration about her work as she often confronts difficult situations with clients in her work place. She has also experienced judgement and stigma from members of society as people 'name her profession as a prostitute.' Only a few clients reat her kindly and use nice words with her, such as calling her 'doctor' because she is working as a massage therapist.

public judged them and looked at their work negatively. Children were unhappy when people made the assumption that they were forced to work, or that they were not going to school. A 17-year-old girl who worked as a small-scale vendor in Bolivia said, *'I hear arguments when I sell, some see me as wrong, some say I should not be working.'* A 12-year-old boy from Kosovo who worked as a waste collector after school, said he did not like it when people told him not to collect cans, but rather to go to school. A 15-year-old girl who worked as a small-scale vendor in Peru explained that she didn't like it when *'they feel sorry for me, because they think that I am obliged to work.'*

Some children who were working hard to earn a living as waste collectors, street cleaner, shoeshiners, small-scale vendors, or domestic workers were perceived by some to be thieves, gang members or prostitutes. For example, girls who worked as domestic workers in Senegal said, *'people view domestic workers as thieves and prostitutes, while we just want to work.'*

Some children also felt discriminated, judged, and neglected by members of the general public. For example, adolescent boys who worked as 'pushers' (porters) in Chad said, *'the others neglect us by their looks as we are simple pushers.'* 17-year-old girls who worked in dance bars and massage parlours in Nepal also said, *'we worry when people think our job is a bad job.'*

Feeling sad and isolated

Children from 64 consultations across 24 countries from all regions shared aspects of their work or working conditions that caused them to feel despondent or isolated.

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40 Terre des Hommes in Nepal was directly engaging with these young people in an ongoing programme to enhance their protection from sexual exploitation.
41 Name changed to protect anonymity.

Sad when neglected or do not have sufficient care and love from family

Children from 21 consultations, including girls and boys engaged in a variety of different jobs in 12 countries stressed that they often felt discouraged due to receiving insufficient care or love from their family members, or due to having lost certain family members. For example, some girls who were working in their homes, for their families in Zimbabwe, said they lacked care and were *'feeling depressed and unwanted.'* Some children lived separately from their parents and consequently lacked close family care. Adolescent girls who were domestic workers in Nepal described how they were disappointed at being apart from their parents, and they were not given proper care by their employer.

Sad when people do not listen to them

Children from 21 consultations in 10 countries (covering each region) emphasised that they felt discouraged when people did not listen to them. Girls and boys in diverse

5.3 How children balance their responsibilities and aspirations

The previous sub-sections have revealed children's views on positive and negative aspects of their work. Hobbs and McKechnie (2007) recognised that the good and bad cost/benefit ratios of children's work co-exist. They promoted use of the balance model which explores the costs and benefits of work in order to seek a clearer understanding of the complexities surrounding children's work. They also promoted dialogue among children, researchers and policy makers to ensure children's perspectives impacted more relevant and effective decision-making (Hobbs and McKechnie, 2007). This final section reflects on the ways in which children attempt to balance their various roles and responsibilities. It also explores children's views on the most important benefits and challenges of child work, including their views on whether their work helps or hinders their well-being and future goals.

Many children shared a common aspiration to continue their education in order to improve their knowledge and have better future prospects. Many of the children consulted had aspirations to become: accountants; civil servants; dentists; doctors; electricians; engineers; farmers; film directors; firefighters; football players; lawyers; mechanics; motorbike racers; singers; soldiers; social workers or teachers. A number of children also shared their dreams of becoming parents, and having a home and a healthy family of their own.

Children's efforts to balance work, school, rest and play

Primary school enrolment rates, and the value placed on education have increased globally (Boyden, 2009; Morrow, 2015). As school systems expand, Morrow (2015) explains that children's time becomes

contested. Despite increasing expectations that children attend school, children are often still expected to maintain their traditional working roles and contributions to the household (Morrow, 2015; Morrow & Vennam, 2012). In this study, some children managed to balance their various work and study responsibilities, and consequently had a more positive view regarding their work. Other children were struggling to balance their work and studies, and therefore felt that their work was hindering their aspirations. Many children expressed a desire to have more time to study and to be able to continue their education. However, a minority, particularly those who had already dropped out of school, felt that work was more useful to them to meet their current and future needs.

Negative impact on studies

Children from 36 consultations across 19 countries from all regions shared the negative impact that work has on their studies. As will be further explored in the next section, during the timeline activity and other creative expressions, additional numbers of children emphasised their challenges juggling work and school. Work interferes with children's education, particularly if their parents do not prioritise their studies, or if children work long hours, late at night, or very early in the morning (Bourdillon et. al., 2010; Orkin, 2012; Morrow, 2015). Children clearly identified the negative impact of work on their studies as one the most important challenges of working. Children particularly underscored how work

can hamper their education and therefore hinders them from fulfilling their aspirations. Additionally, as will be explained in chapter 6.2, children across 13 countries from all regions explained that work would be viewed as not being suitable for them, especially when it had a negative impact on their studies. Conversely, regularly attending school was identified as a strong protection factor, increasing the likelihood of having positive views towards children's work.

contexts described how adults did not pay them much attention, listen to them or take their views into consideration. A 14-year-old boy in Nigeria said, *'I don't like it when adults shun our views.'* Adolescent girls who were domestic workers in Nepal said, *'usually our voice is not heard by the employer and we are neglected.'* Due to children's low status in society, it is very difficult for many children to complain about rights violations in the work place. For instance, a 16-year-old boy engaged in construction work and petty work in the mines in Senegal said, *'raising our rights and issues to employers is a challenge.'*

Balancing work, study, rest and play

Some children felt that they were able to balance their work with school, and still have sufficient time to play and rest. Children were better able to find a balance if their parents prioritised children's education. These children had fewer work responsibilities on school days. Adolescents who studied and worked in the informal sector in Paraguay, described how *'our parents always stress that we must first resolve all school responsibilities before doing other things.'* Adolescents who were engaged in a range of household, construction, and shoe-shining work in Bolivia explained how they were *'dedicated to their study because it is important to complete their baccalaureate and then study a profession.'*

Some children found it easier to balance their responsibilities if their school sessions were only scheduled in the mornings or in the afternoons (see timelines Two and Six, in Chapter 3). Adolescents in Bolivia who worked as small-scale vendors and tomb cleaners and attended school (either in the morning or afternoon) said, *'we feel balanced in our lives. Even though we have to get up early to fulfil our school responsibilities and work, we*

are happy because we enjoy our work and we share with each other and have room to play and do our work, and study.'

For some children, going to school provided opportunities to rest, and play with friends, compared with non-school days when they were expected to work longer hours. For example, children who were involved in different types of work in Nigeria said, *'[they] have some time to play and have fun during school days before going to their working places but on holidays after their normal morning chores they go to their working places from morning till night.'* Similarly, girls and

boys who worked as brick makers on both school and weekend days in Nepal described how the school days were easier, as they were expected to work the whole day in the brick kilns during the weekend. In contrast, in other countries, children described how they had more time to rest and play on non-school days. For example, adolescent girls who worked as waste collectors, small-scale vendors, and stone miners in Indonesia described how they did not study or work on Sundays as this was a day dedicated to prayer and rest.

Anecdote

Children who worked as small-scale vendors, waste collectors and fishermen in the Philippines explained how on school days they divide their day between school and work time. Children with morning class shift work in the afternoon until evening and children with afternoon class shift work in the morning or evening. On non-school days the children spend more time working and doing housework.

Case example 13

'We get up; wash; study; eat breakfast; go to school; return home; and eat lunch. Some then go for tuition; make bidis; help siblings with homework or play with them; help in the kitchen; watch television; study; eat dinner; and sleep.' These adolescents felt that they achieved a good balance as they were usually involved in making bidis during their leisure time and during holidays, and thus this activity did not affect their schooling.

Learn about a typical day for adolescent children in Nepal who are attending school and making bidis[42]

42 local cigarettes

Case example 14

Six adolescent girls who participated in one of the consultations in Jordan were the main breadwinners of their families. Most of their fathers had stayed behind in Syria, or were living in Jordan, but were not allowed to work. The girls felt they could not achieve a work/life balance, as their work prevented them from having any free time. Most of the girls were working from 5am to 6pm, 7 days a week, undertaking paid agricultural work. The girls were paid 5 JOD ($7) a day. By the time they returned home, they were so tired, they were unable to relax or participate in any leisure, sport, or entertainment activities.

Adolescent, female, Syrian refugees working in the paid agricultural sector in Jordan

Many children mentioned that during both school days, and non-school days they found some time in the evenings to watch TV or relax. Some children played games and sports with their peers or with their siblings, and some children read books to relax. Some children, particularly adolescents, from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East mentioned that they spent time playing games on their mobile phones or computers, or socialising with others on social-media sites. Some children participated actively in children's clubs or cultural associations. Furthermore, time for prayer and other religious activities (Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, or Islamic) were also clearly featured in some children's daily timelines.

Struggling to balance work, study, rest and play

Children from 89 consultations covering each region shared their struggles with balancing their study, work, rest and play. It was particularly hard for children to balance their responsibilities when they were combining paid and unpaid

work on school days. Children in 59 consultations (covering each region) described how they had insufficient time for leisure, play and rest. Children also emphasised that they did not have enough time to study or do their homework. Children who were attending school and undertaking informal work in Tanzania, expressed how they *'have no time to play, as when we are in school teachers want us to study, and when we are at home parents want us to work.'* Some children described how they take on unpaid housework on both school days and nonschool days, and as such they struggle to find a healthy balance. Children who were working in rural Paraguay felt they did not have a good balance as they were required to get up early for school and work responsibilities. Their agricultural and household tasks required a lot of physical effort that tired them, and they had insufficient time to rest.

When children worked long hours it negatively affected their studies. Adolescents who were work-

ing in gold mines in Mali highlighted that *'we do not have enough time to revise lessons at home. Many of our comrades have dropped out of school to devote themselves to working full-time on goldpanning sites'.* Although some children had dropped out of school entirely, they took on even more work that still make it difficult to get sufficient rest and leisure time.

Most important benefits and challenges of children's work

Following the body-mapping activity, children had opportunities to discuss and identify the most important benefits of their work, along with its most significant challenges. Children in 47 consultations[43] discussed the most important benefits and challenges of their work. The most frequently mentioned aspects across different countries and regions are shown in the table on the following page:

43 Nine from Africa, 16 from Asia, 1 from Europe, 20 from Latin America, and 1 from Middle East
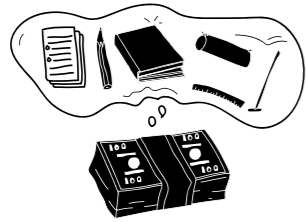
The most important benefits of work

Helping families by working

•

Learning skills and responsibilities

•

Earning money and meeting basic needs

•

To continue their education as the work they do helps to pay for costs related to schooling

The most important challenges of work

Risk of accidents, including bodily harm

•

Risk of being victims of violence and abuse

•

Being exploited

•

Negative impact on studies

Some children developed dramas, posters or poems about the most important benefits and challenges that they experienced.

Many children recognised that there were both benefits and harms associated with their work. For example, children who were involved in informal work in Kyrgyzstan listed the advantages of their w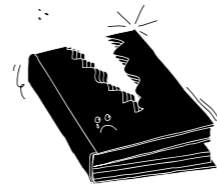ork as: financial independence; life experience; improved communication skills; and helping to support their parents financially. The disadvantages they listed were: not having enough time to study, missing classes, and lack of safety and security.

Some children recognised that different types of work carry different benefits and risks. Adolescent girls who attended school and worked in stone-mining in Indonesia, said the most significant benefit of their work was the fact that their family had additional income to buy food and pay for school fees. In their case, the most important disadvantage was that children had been injured on the job, and they were often tired which made it harder to study. Boys

working on the streets in Kenya identified the most significant advantages as: earning money to support themselves and their families, and learning useful survival skills. Disadvantages were: facing physical injury and fatigue; emotional and psychological disturbances due to harsh working conditions; and an increased risk of dropping out of school. Boys and girls who were working as small-scale vendors in Paraguay said the most significant advantage was selling things to be able to buy things they needed, while the most significant disadvantages were the dangers of accidents and risks of violence, including sexual abuse.

Case example 15

Benefits of work:

1. When they work in a shop, they can leave early.
2. If they earn money, they are happy.
3. They sometimes get a gift from the shop owner as they work well.
4. At the time of their exams, if they are granted leave, it is good for them.
5. They can buy things based on their own choices.
6. If the owner arranges food and snacks it is a very good initiative for them to work harder.
7. If they have a good environment and pure water at the work place, they feel happy.

Challenges faced in work and the working environment

1. They are being sexually abused on the road or at the work place.
2. They don't get equal and proper salary.
3. If they spoil anything at the time of work, the employer admonishes and beats them.
4. They have to work in a bad environment where there are hazards.
5. They cannot commute safely and securely on the road to work due to their disabilities.

Children's views on the most important benefits and challenges of children's work by adolescent girls with domestic workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh
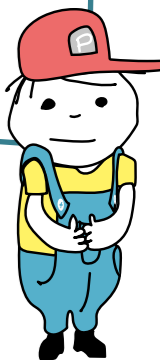
—— *Case example 16* ——

Eleven males aged 16 to 18-year-old who were sex workers were consulted in a city in Nepal. Three of the boys were attending school or university, while eight of the boys had previously dropped out of school. Some of the boys met clients in hotels, and others met their clients on the roadside. Some of the boys were transgender, and a majority of them would dress up as girls to work. The boys explained that the most significant benefits of their work were: meeting friends in similar situations who understood their feelings well; and learning the art of adaptation, which enabled them to adjust to difficult situations on their own. The most difficult challenges they faced while working were: they are prone to different forms of abuse from different people; they are underpaid; and as a result of inadequate academic qualifications, they may not be able to get a better job in the future. In order to have a better future, it was important for them to receive proper, income-generating skill training and access to formal education, which would focus on cultivating their inherent talents, and help them get off the streets. They also suggested that their parents should find employment, which would allow them to focus on their education. Furthermore, the boys emphasised that the government must ensure the enforcement of non-discrimination laws in the workplace. They despised it when people called them humiliating names such as: Chakka (Hermaphrodite), Hinjada (Hermaphrodite), Maal (Item/Thing), prostitute, or drama queen.

16 to 18-year-old males and young transgender people making a living as sex workers in Nepal[44]

Working conditions that help and hinder children's aspirations

Children identified working conditions that helped and hindered them in reaching their full potential:[45]

The importance for children of finding a balance and only participating in light work is critical. While for some children their work enables them to study, for others work inhibits their education and keeps them from reaching their goals (Morrow, 2015). Furthermore, while some children were learning skills from their work which would help them meet their current and future aspirations, many children were engaged in manual work with limited or no skill development that was not in keeping with their future aspirations. The economic benefits from earning an income often came at a cost due to the hardships faced in their working environments, including the increased risks of emotional, physical and sexual violence. These hardships have long-term effects on their emotional well-being (Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 2004).

Work that allows children to continue education can help them reach their aspirations

As described above, some children were able to balance their work and studies, especially when their parents or caregivers prioritised children's education, giving children less work on school days. When children were engaged in easy work, they were better able to focus on their studies. Adolescent, working boys in Chad said, *'for children who work one day a week, their opportunity to study allows them to realise their hopes.'* Some children emphasised that is was thanks to their work that they could continue their education and reach their full potential, as their earnings helped pay for their school costs. A 10-year-old boy who studied and worked in the markets in Mexico said, *'work and study helps me. When I finish school I can find a good job, and my job in the market helps me to pay for my studies.'* By helping with household and agricultural work, children also supported the family income to cover school costs. Children in Zambia explained, *'by helping our parents through working in the maize and tobacco fields, our parents will be able to pay for our school fees and we can realise our dreams.'*

44 Terre des Hommes in Nepal was directly engaging with these young people in an ongoing programme to enhance their protection from sexual exploitation.

45 Chapter 6 provides more detailed information on the types of work children consider they can and cannot do, as well as any necessary conditions for success.

Working conditions that help children to fulfil their aspirations	Working conditions that hinder children from fulfilling their aspirations
Work that allows them to continue their studies – when their work helps to pay school costs and when light workloads do not hamper studies	**Work that hampers their education** – when there is not enough time to study, when they are too tired to study, when they attend school irregularly or drop out
Learning skills from work including household, agricultural, trade or business skills that will help them in current and future occupations.	**Manual work without skill** development or work that they have not chosen or prefer to do
Earning money that helps them meet their current and future needs	**Violence and hardships experienced while working** are harmful to their current and future well-being

...Conversely, work that hampers their education can hinder them in fulfilling their aspirations

Many of children emphasised how work hampers their education and hinders them in reaching their goals, in cases where they have too much work to do, or if they attend school irregularly. A 16-year-old Iraqi boy who worked in the markets said, *'it affects my education because I have to work, so I cannot focus on my education. This will affect my future.'* When children have too much work to do they are too exhausted and have insufficient time to study and do their homework. Children doing housework in rural Ethiopia said, *'our current work takes time so we haven't got enough time to read, so if we want to be doctors it is difficult to achieve our vision.'* Children in Nepal who were working before and after school in the brick kilns, found it hard to concentrate on their studies because they were so tired. They also described how they were punished in school for not submitting their homework on time, and these experiences discouraged them form following their hopes and dreams. Children who had dropped out of school often had diminished aspirations. For example, a group of adolescent boys in Tanzania who had dropped out of school to work alongside their parents to grow crops, lamented that their dreams for education were no longer achievable.

Learning skills from work can help reach their aspirations

Learning skills from their paid and unpaid work was helpful for some children in meeting their aspirations, especially if they were working in areas that interested them and if skill development was actively supported by adults. The benefits of learning trades and professional skills were particularly emphasised by adolescents, as skills training could form the basis for current livelihoods and career development. A 17-year-old boy who was involved in construction work in Costa Rica wanted to be an architect and he felt that by being *'in construction I learn how to work.'* A 14-year-old Syrian boy who was working in a mechanic's workshop in Turkey said, *'it is a start to accomplishing my dream of becoming a mechanic.'*
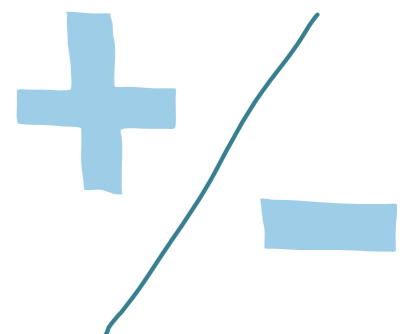
... However, manual work without skill development can hinder them in fulfilling their aspirations

When children have to undertake work that they have not chosen, or work they would prefer not to do, this prevents them from attaining their goals. Moreover, children emphasised that when they work long hours doing manual tasks that do not develop their skills, they feel discouraged. For example, adolescents who worked as waste collectors in Indonesia said their current work does not help them reach their future dreams because '*the work does not have any education or skill values.*' Children's engagement in mundane and monotonous work can undermine their self-esteem (Woodhead, 2004) and can limit their aspirations. Adolescents working in stone mines in India described how it was impossible for them to realise their dreams of becoming doctors, teachers or professionals by continuing their work as daily wage labourers in the mines. Their work was unskilled labour and they felt their experience would never allow them to become skilled professionals. A 14-year-old Syrian boy who worked in a shop in Turkey said, '*I wanted to gain a new profession, but all I do is to make tea.*'

A drawing by a child from Indonesia, which says: 'A child must get education and protection from the people around them.'

Earning money for a better future

Children from diverse contexts emphasised the benefits of earning an income which could support their current needs and aide them in meeting some of their future goals. A 14-year-old boy engaged in agricultural work in Peru explained, '*I give my money to my mum to keep in the bank as it is for university.*' Some of the Syrian children were working in Jordan were saving money to return to and re-build their homes in Syria.

... Nevertheless, violence and hardships experienced at working are harmful

to their current and future well-being. Children face increased risks of emotional, physical and sexual violence, as well as accidental physical harm and other hardships when working. Violence and abuse, as well as physical harm can have long-lasting, negative impacts on children's self-esteem and well-being (Woodhead, 2004). For example, adolescent Nepalese girls working in dance and massage parlours, described how their experiences of verbal abuse, physical abuse and other forms of violence coming from employer and clients contributed to emotional stress. As victims of psychological trauma, they had difficulty concentrating on their schooling, and consequently felt their future dreams were unattainable.
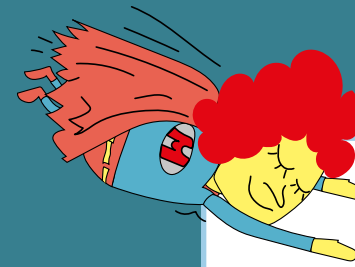
Key policy and practice considerations emerging from chapter five:

It is inevitable that the positive and negative aspects of children's work co-exist (Hobbs & McKechnie, 2007). Dialogue among children, researchers and policy makers can be used to better understand and respond to the complexities of children's work.

Children place great importance on their immediate relationships and the positive styles of communication that they have with their parents/caregivers, employers, and peers. As a result, practices and policies to improve the lives of working children should include a specific focus on efforts to strengthen and improve relationships and communication.

Children are especially vulnerable to different forms of violence and abuse in the home, workplace, community and in wider society. This increases their risks of being exploited and harmed in both informal and formal work settings. Girls especially face increased risks of sexual harassment and abuse within the work place and en route to and from work. Thus, increased efforts are needed by policy makers and practitioners to prevent violence affecting children, including gender-based violence. They must also make an effort to protect children from sexual and economic exploitation.

Child-friendly, complaint and feedback mechanisms must be developed and implemented in formal, and informal workplaces and communities, and made easily accessible to children.

Increased efforts should be made to: support strengthening families financially; to improving access to free, quality, inclusive and non-violent schools in all locations; and to working with parents and caregivers to prioritise children's time for study.

Policies and practices should allow and encourage children and young people to take skill learning opportunities, while ensuring children's protection from harm and exploitation. Opportunities for ongoing formal education, vocational-skill training, and on-the-job mentoring schemes, should be especially developed and encouraged among adolescents.

6 'Mapping work children can and cannot do'
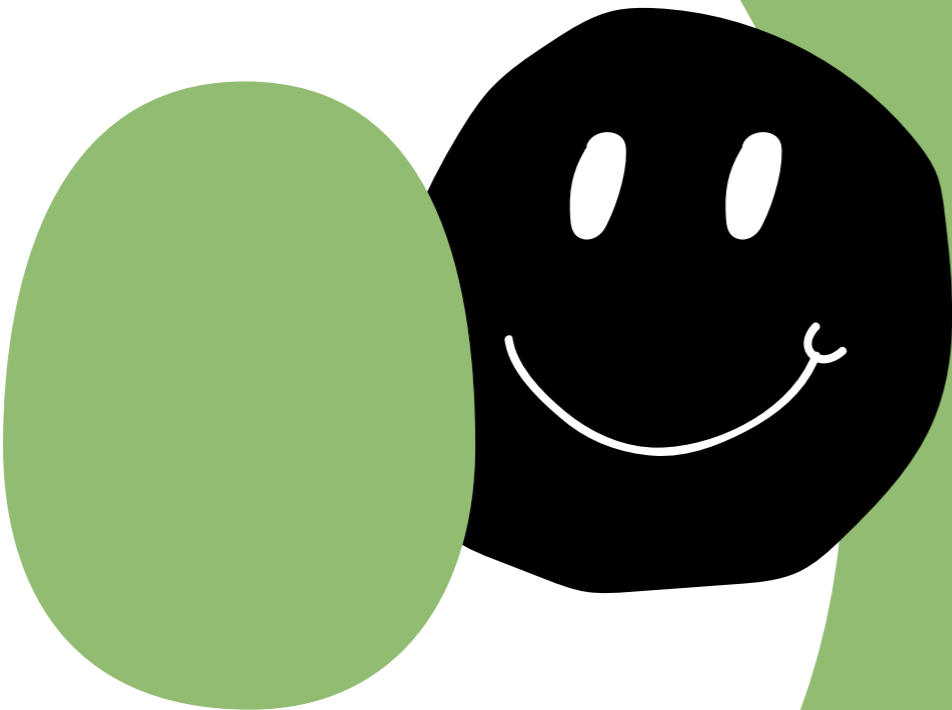
Overview of work children think they can and cannot do

In 82 separate consultations of girls, boys, and mixed-gender groups, children participated in a mapping activity to list tasks that they thought they could do at their age and any conditions necessary to undertake this work, as well as work that they thought they could not do and their reasons why. Children were also encouraged to underline work that they thought they should do, or should not do. The following tables provide an overview of the types of work that children most commonly suggested they could do and could not do.

Necessary conditions for work that children can do,
(in order of frequency) included:

- Work that does not harm them and is in a safe environment
- Work that is light and easy to do
- Work that is close to their homes or in their homes and/or where they have support from family members or adults
- Fair wages
- Work that does not interfere with their education
- Provision of necessary tools and materials
- Work that allows them enough time to play and rest
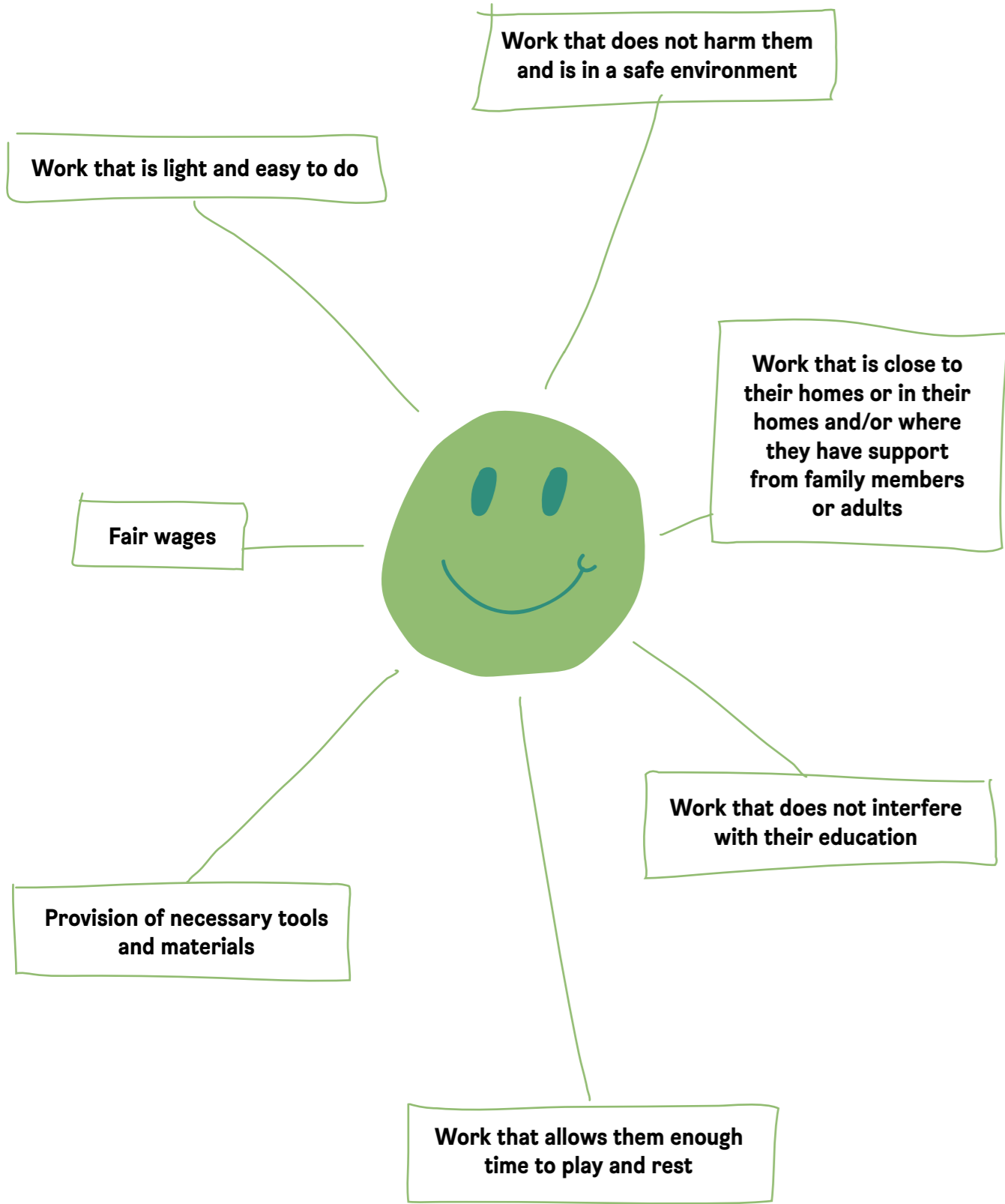
Types of work children **can do**

Tasks that are underlined is work that some children think they should do [46]	Number of groups [47] consulted that suggested they could do this type of work			
	Female-only groups	Male-only groups	Mixed-gender groups	Total number of groups
Housework – sweeping, including cleaning the yard	24	22	14	60
Agricultural work and gardening	12	16	7	35
Cooking	18	10	6	34
Small-scale vending	12	13	7	32
Washing dishes	17	9	4	30
Fetching water	16	11	2	29
Looking after children	12	6	9	27
Looking after animals	9	11	6	26
Washing clothes	10	9	5	24
Work in a shop	3	9	5	17
Collecting or cutting wood	6	6	1	13
Tailoring or sewing	7	3	1	11
Hairdresser, barber or beauty parlour work	5	3		8
Helping parents to do their work	3	1	4	8
Going to the shop to buy things	3	1	2	6
Mechanic and repair work		5		5
Brick and stone making	2	1	2	5
Waste collection	3	2		5

46 During the consultations, most groups completed the mapping for work they could and could not do. Some groups of children also indicated work they should do or should not do. Work that at least five groups of children mentioned they should do, is underlined.
47 The number of children in each of the groups varied from 3 to 17 members. The majority of groups included five to nine members.
48 During the consultations, most groups completed the mapping for work they can and cannot do. Some groups of children also indicated work they should do or should not do. Work that at least five groups of children said they should not do is underlined.

Types of work children **cannot do**

Tasks that are underlined is work that some children think they should not do [48]	Number of groups consulted that suggested they could not do this type of work			
	Female-only groups	Male-only groups	Mixed-gender groups	Total number of groups
Carrying heavy things	16	22	8	46
Construction work	7	11	7	25
Small-scale vending / selling goods on the street	9	12	1	22
Difficult agricultural work (e.g. ploughing, fertilizing)	8	8	4	20
Stealing	4	9	2	15
Driving or being a co-driver	4	7	3	14
Selling drugs	3	9	2	14
Collecting or cutting wood	7	4	2	13
Prostitution	7	4	1	12
Work in mines (goldmines, stone mines)	6	4	2	12
Waste collection	4	3	5	12
Factory work	3	3	5	11
Fishing or hunting	4	4	3	11
Producing or selling alcohol	4	1	5	10
Heavy digging	2	7	1	10
Paid domestic work	7	1		8
Begging	2	2	2	6
Painting cars or walls		2	4	6
Brick making	1	4	1	6
Working in a restaurant late at night	2	3	1	6
Washing other people's dishes	3	2	1	6
Wage labourer	2	3		5

Conditions and key reasons for work that was not suitable for children
(in order of frequency) included:

- Too difficult or heavy for age or ability
- Harmful – unhealthy, unsafe or risk of pain, injury or accident
- Illegal or increases the risk of being in conflict with law
- It is against their religion or culture
- It is exploitative / long, working hours
- Increased risk of abuse and violence
- Negative impact on study

6.1 Work children think they can do and necessary conditions

Across the regions, some types of work that were suggested as suitable by both girls and boys included: housework; cooking; agricultural work and gardening; fetching water; small-scale vending; working in a shop; washing clothes; and wood collection. Across all regions, girls and boys of different ages and backgrounds described how they should be involved in household chores to help keep the house clean. This falls under their responsibility as members of the family, and is light and easy work.

Mapping of work children can do, Philippines

Gender differences:

Overall, slightly more boys' groups than girls' groups were consulted using this mapping activity, thus the data from both groups cannot simply be compared.[49] However, there were some types of work that were more frequently suggested by girls or boys. For example, more girls groups suggested that they could cook; wash dishes; fetch water; look after younger siblings; tailor clothing or sew; and hair styling or cutting. In contrast, more boys' groups suggested they could be involved in agricultural work and gardening, mechanics or repair work. Thus, children's ideas of work they *could do* clearly reflected efforts by girls and boys to fulfil prevalent gender stereotypes and expectations[50] (Chandra, 2007; Woodhead, 2004). Some girls and boys mentioned feeling dissatisfied if they were

asked to do work that was not considered 'gender-appropriate' (Bourdillon, 2007; Morrow, 2015). For example, boys in Kosovo described how *'boys should do the 'boys' jobs, and girls should take care of their siblings and do chores at home.'* However, in some consultations in Guatemala and Argentina, girls questioned the division of tasks along gender lines. A 13-year-old girl from Argentina said, *'I think that there is a bad division of roles between what we [girls] do and what boys do, I do everything, even making my brother's bed.'*

> **CAC members from Indonesia suggested that children could graze cattle, help parents do housework (cooking and cleaning house), keep a shop and take care of a younger siblings. However, they suggested that collecting firewood or water, gardening, and sewing can be harmful for children if the work is difficult. Coming across wild animals, or having to cross rivers, using tools that might injure them, or having to work for long hours may all cause children harm. They also said being a hair stylist or barber often carried a risk of being involved in sex work. In some areas, many salons and spas also offered sex services. Thus, if a child worked in such a salon or spa, he or she would be more vulnerable to prostitution.**

Differences based on work experience:

In earlier research with working children, Woodhead (1999) identified that children have a tendency to prefer the work they are currently engaged in, as compared to other work. He suggested that children's positive evaluation of their own occupations can be taken as an indicator of personal and cultural investment in coping with familiar situations, even when they are hazardous and exploitative. Similar findings were revealed in this study. For example, three out of the five groups who suggested they could take part in brick and stone making, were currently working as stone miners or brick makers in India and Indonesia. The other two groups were girls and boys with disabilities from Bangladesh. A 15-year-old boy in India said, *'I can do work related with rocks to support my family financially.'* However, six groups of children (one female, four male, and one mixed) also identified brick and stone making as work that children are unable to do. This included some children who were then involved in brick-making in India and who particularly emphasised health hazards arising from this work.[51]

Our findings indicate how children who are currently working have knowledge specific to the work they are doing. They distinguish between different types of activities that they are involved in, identifying some work activities as acceptable, and others as inacceptable. For example, adolescent boys who were involved in gold mining in Burkina Faso described how most gold-mining activities were harmful and risky and were thus tasks they should not be engaged in, such as going into mining wells, crushing stones, carrying heavy loads on site, or handling mercury and cyanide. However, they also identified a few gold-mining-related activities which carried fewer risks of harm, and consequently suggested they were still capable of *'look[ing] for gold in the earth that has already been extracted by grown-ups because it presents less risk of collapse.'*

Similarly, 14 and 15-year-old boys who attended school and worked in the fishing industry in the Philippines, identified different types of activities they could do: fishing with nets, fishing rods, arrows, etc.; collecting crabs at night; and selling fish. The same group of boys also identified two types of fishing that they *cannot* do due to the danger and illegality of these activities: using dynamite to fish, and catching fish during the night.

> ## *Anecdote*
>
> ## *Different perspectives were shared regarding small-scale vending:*
>
> **22 groups of children (from 11 countries covering all regions) said they could not be small-scale vendors, particularly if it involved carrying heavy goods, or selling things on the street where girls and boys could be exposed to increased risks of accidents, violence, kidnapping, and police harassment. However, 32 groups of children from 16 countries (from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East) suggested that they could be small-scale vendors. When discussing why they felt they could do such work, girls and boys placed more emphasis on the benefits of earning money to help their families, meet their basic needs, pay for school fees, and become more independent. Some children also emphasised that they could sell items close to their homes, and that children felt safe if they were accompanied by their parents or other family members. More than 50% of the children's groups who said they could work as small-scale vendors included children who had direct experience with vending. Even so, 45% of the groups who felt children could not be small-scale vendors also included children with past experience as small-scale vendors.**

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49 See breakdown of tools used for gender groups in chapter two on the methodology.
50 Unless they lived in a context that was characterised by significant social change, such as being displaced and affected by conflict.

51 Children who were involved in brick making in Nepal and Peru did not use the mapping we can and cannot do tool.

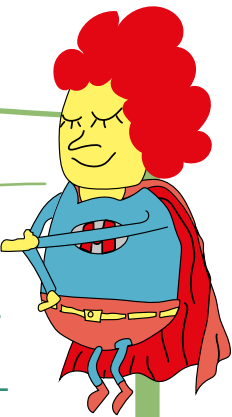## Work that is light, and easy to do

Children from 39 consultations in 17 countries across all regions emphasised that they can do certain types of work that are light and easy to do, such as sweeping the floor; washing dishes; light agricultural or gardening work; looking after younger siblings; being a waiter; working in a shop; or hairdressing. For example, girls from a rural village in India said, *'sweeping, cleaning dishes, mopping and washing clothes is small work, it is easy to do.'* Some work was considered easy and fun. For example, a 12-year-old boy from Indonesia described how *'looking after my younger siblings is my hobby and it is fun.'* Some girls and boys found water collection easy and light to do if the water source was close to their home, and if they did not have to carry too much water. For example, an 8-year-old in Indonesia said she can collect water as, *'I just collect water in small amounts and it is easy to do.'*

Some children also emphasised the importance of assigning children tasks in view of their age and ability. For example, adolescent girls in Thailand said they could wash dishes, harvest and pick beans, corn and chillies, and help their parents sell something but, *'the work should be according to their ages and should not be overloaded.'*

Small-scale vendor's drawing of a girl, Guatemala

Safe environment and work that does not harm them

In describing work that they can do, girls and boys from 20 consultations in 12 countries (from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Middle East) [52] emphasised that it is important to work in a safe environment and to only carry out tasks that do not harm them physically, emotionally or sexually. For example, adolescent boys in Guatemala described how they could work in a store, help in the home, or serve in a business *'if we do not suffer any risk, if we do not suffer any mistreatment, and if we are treated well.'* Adolescent, Syrian boys who were working in the agricultural sector in Lebanon said they could pick and carry fruits and vegetables as it was easy work and close to their shelter.

Some girls emphasised the importance of working situations that did not expose them to increased risks of sexual harassment and abuse. For example, girls in India emphasised that they preferred to take on tasks inside their homes, because they did not feel safe going outside of their home to work, unless accompanied by their parents. In contrast, boys from the same community said they were comfortable working both at home and outside their homes, even if they had to work alone. Girls in Chad who were working as small-scale vendors stated that they could do sewing which would be home-based work, so as *'not to be raped and assaulted by boys.'* Adolescent, Syrian girls who were working in Jordan suggested they could work in beauty salons, or in home-based wool or embroidery making where girls and boys have separate working areas. Iraqi and Syrian boys also emphasised the importance of girls working in safe locations within the home.

52 The sample of children consulted in Europe was small (57). Thus, just because children in Europe did not mention the importance of a safe environment, it does not mean it is not important to European children.

Support from family or adults

Children from 13 consultations in 7 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America emphasised the importance of working alongside their parents or other adults in order to help their families, to form good family relationships, and to learn skills or receive support from adults. Adolescent boys who were small-scale vendors in Guatemala suggested that their work was acceptable for children if they *'sell with their father or with someone of age so that the boy or girl does not run into any incident and can be out of danger.'* As described in earlier chapters, children are able to learn skills by working closely with their parents or other adults.

Work that does not interfere with their education

Another key, necessary condition for working being suitable for children, was work that did not interfere with their education. This was emphasised by children in 12 consultations from 7 countries, primarily from Asia and Latin America. Adolescents girls and boys who were engaged in paid agricultural work in Peru described how the agricultural tasks they were involved in were fine for them to do as the tasks were easy, and they could finish them fast and go to school. As described in earlier chapters, some children are able to continue their studies as a result of their work, as their earnings pay for their school fees or school materials. Children from a number of countries also described how they encouraged and supported their younger siblings to attend school and do their homework. Children from diverse contexts suggested that they, and their parents, should prioritise time for children to be able to study and rest. Adolescents who were working as small-scale vendors in Peru said they can *'sell but only in the holidays, and in hours that we do not run risks. They go out to sell on vacation so as not to harm our studies.'*

Having enough time to play and rest

As part of the 'mapping work we can do' activity, children from 9 consultations in 7 countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America shared their need to have sufficient time to play and rest. [53] Children preferred to do tasks that could be quickly and easily completed so that they had sufficient time to play and rest. For example, girls in India who were doing agricultural and housework with, and for their parents, said, *'this work is not physically taxing, we can relax and work.'* Adolescent girls in Guatemala said they could work in a store, do housework or care for a child as *'these jobs are less dangerous and give us more time to play.'* Some children also emphasised the importance of informal jobs that allowed flexible work schedules, giving them sufficient time for study, play and rest.

Fair wages

Some children from Argentina, India and Guatemala suggested that fair wages was a necessary condition to considering work as acceptable for children. For example, a group of adolescents in Guatemala suggested that they could work selling crafts or tortillas, as kitchen assistants or as shoe shiners if *'they are paid well.'* ●

53 Chapter 5.3 explores children's efforts and views on how to balance their work with sufficient time to play and rest.

6.2 Work children think they cannot do and necessary conditions

Many types of work that children thought they *could not* do were mentioned by both girls and boys groups, including carrying heavy things; construction work; selling goods on the street; difficult agricultural work (e.g. ploughing); driving; stealing; prostitution; producing or selling alcohol and selling drugs; working in mines: heavy digging; and others tasks.

Mapping with girls, Philippines

Gender differences:

As mentioned above, the data between gender groups cannot simply be compared, however, boys groups more frequently suggested that they could not do construction work, steal, sell drugs or do heavy digging. In contrast, more girls groups suggested they could not be involved in prostitution, wood collection, mine work, and paid domestic work. Al-

though both boys and girls had reasons they felt they could not do specific types of work, sometimes these reasons diverged along gender lines. While both boys and girls emphasised risks of physical harm, such as cutting themselves when chopping wood, girls more often than boys pointed to the risks of sexual harassment that are faced when searching for wood.

Harmful: Unhealthy, unsafe or risks of pain, injury, or accident

Children from 71 consultations across 27 countries (covering all regions) emphasised that they should not be engaged in work that is harmful or causes poor health, including physical pain, injury, accident or mental/emotional stress. The types of work that were most frequently mentioned as work children could not do, such as carrying heavy things, construction work, selling goods on the street, and difficult agricultural work were equally described as tasks that were harmful, unsafe or risky.

Carrying heavy loads leads to body pain and poor health

This was emphasised by girls and boys from diverse contexts. For example, adolescent boys who worked in goldmines in Burkina Faso said that it was not good for them to *'carry heavy loads on site as this work is painful.'* 8 to 12-year-old girls living in a rural community in India said they *'cannot carry heavy sack from fields as they have hand and body pain.'* Children also suggested that small-scale

vending was not fine for children if they had to regularly carry heavy loads which could lead to back ache or body ache.

Increased risks of accidents, injuries and body pain

were identified by children especially if they were engaged in construction work; factory work: mining; agricultural work (that was heavy or involved pesticides); carrying heavy loads as vendors or porters; or working as waste collectors. For example, adolescent boys in the Philippines said, *'construction and masonry work is dangerous to children and are physically draining.'* Children in Burkina Faso said they should not participate in gold mining due to *'disease, risk of injury with pickaxe, dust, landslides that can lead to death, slippage that can lead to fracturing a limb, or taking narcotics to be effective in mines.'* Adolescent girls in Chad said they should not be involved in *'prostitution due to risks such as diseases, STIs, AIDS, hepatitis.'*

As described in the earlier chapter on aspects that children dislike about their work, jobs that expose children to dust, chemicals or pesticides or otherwise causes harm and injuries should be avoided. In addition, children said they should avoid work that exposes them to fire and the risk of accidents and burning; or work that entails long hours in the sun as this can lead to various illnesses. Being a driver or co-driver (on a bus, rickshaw, or boat) was also identified as work they could not do, both due

to increased risks of accidents, and the illegality of under-age driving.

Too difficult or heavy, for age or ability

Children and adolescents from 37 consultations across 19 countries covering each of the regions emphasised that there were some types of work that were not suitable to them as they were too difficult or too heavy for their age or ability. Girls and boys from different age ranges described how they did not like to carry goods that weighed a lot (such as large quantities of wood, water, fruit, vegetables, rice, grains, minerals, heavy sacks or luggage, cement, brick blocks, or heavy children). For example, a 10-year-old boy in Nigeria said children his age were too small to be carrying cement or blocks. A group of 10 to 13-year-old children in Myanmar said, *'we shouldn't work for others, as we are not old enough.'* Adolescent boys in Chad said, *'we do not*

have to take other heavy luggage, our age does not allow us to take what is too heavy.'*

Illegal or increases risks of being in conflict with the law

Children from 31 consultations across 18 countries, covering each of the regions, emphasised that there are some types of work that they could not do either because they are illegal, or because they carry increased risks of being in conflict with the law. Children highlighted that they should not get involved in stealing or robbery, prostitution, or selling drugs or alcohol because these activities are illegal. For example, girls in Kenya said they should not *'peddle drugs as it is harmful, you might be arrested, and it is against our rights.'* Syrian boys who worked as small-scale vendors in Jordan suggested that they should not work in mobile stalls in the streets as it was illegal and may lead to being fined, or receiving jail

time. Driving or co-driving buses, auto rickshaws and boats was also illegal for young people under a certain age in many countries. Adolescent boys in Indonesia explained although working as waiters at a billiard cafe or as a drug couriers may earn them money, but these jobs are very dangerous. Children shared stories how some of their friends had become involved in drugs and had been caught by the police.

Some groups suggested that children should not be involved in waste collection, small-scale vending on the streets, or begging as these increase the risk of being in conflict with the law. For example, 10 to 13-year-old children in Myanmar said they should not collect waste as they could get caught by the police. Eight to 12-year-old girls in the Philippines warned against children being small-scale vendors (e.g. selling eggs, spices or snacks) as they recalled their own experiences of being reprimanded by the police, especially if they worked at night. Eight to 12-year-old Roma children in Albania said children should not *'beg or collect recycled materials as our life is at risk, this work is not allowed, and you could be arrested.'* Some children also advised against working as domestic workers in case they were unfairly accused of theft.

> *Anecdote*
>
> **In a plenary discussion among**
>
> ## boys who worked as waste collectors in a town in Indonesia,
>
> **they summarised it this way: although some children think that they can collect waste because they must earn money for their families, some children do not think they are supposed to, because it is dangerous work, putting them at risk of being abused by other people, adults and peers, not only physically, but also verbally and sexually.**

> **CAC members from Peru did not consider stealing or prostitution as forms of work, but rather as criminal activities. CAC members from Indonesia highlighted that being a prostitute or selling drugs seller would be very harmful to their future, both physically and mentally.**

Increased risk of abuse and violence

Children of different ages from 20 consultations across 12 countries covering each region [54] highlighted that there are some types of work, working hours, or types of employer that increase risks of children experiencing abuse and violence. For example, children in a number of different countries emphasised that children should not work late at night as this increases the likelihood of abuse and violence, including risks of kidnapping and human trafficking. Further stressing this point, adolescents in Peru suggested, *'we should not work in dangerous places, discos or bars due to dangers in the street. When we work late, we see drunken men, prostitutes, and we are victims of robberies.'*

Children in a few contexts suggested that they should not work for people that are unknown or unrelated to them as this could open them up to instances of abuse. For example, girls from Kenya, India, Syria, and Indonesia suggested that girls should not be employed as domestic workers as *'they are vulnerable to sexual abuse by their employer'* (Indonesia), and there are increased risks of *'mistreatment and denial of rights'* (Kenya). Adolescent girls in India suggested that they should not be engaged in any type of wage labour as they expressed concerns about the lack of security and possibility of molestation. Adolescent boys in an Indian town suggested that neither boys nor girls should be selling things in the street, as both girls and boys were vulnerable to different forms of abuse when working in the streets. Girls in different countries also highligh-

Mapping of work children cannot do, Bolivia

ted risks of sexual abuse when they travelled to collect wood or water.

Negative impact on study

Children from 19 consultations across 13 countries covering all regions emphasised that children should not be engaged in any type of work that has a negative impact on their studies. For example, girls aged 8 to 12 years in rural Ethiopia said they should not be engaged in *'petty trading, cooking enjera* [55] *or preparing maize for the local beer as it puts pressure on schooling and studying time.'* A group of former, working children in India further advised that children should not work in any sector that pays them as it deprives children of their right to education (by motivating them to work more). The majority of children emphasised that children should not work full-time, nor should they work during school hours, as it hampers their education. Adolescent girls in Indonesia also suggested that children should not be involved in any late-night work as

'if they go home late, they will be sleepy at school.'

It is exploitative, too long working hours

Children from 12 consultations across 8 countries from Africa, Asia and the Middle East, especially from consultations involving former child workers, said children should not be engaged in work that is exploitative, where they have to work long hours without sufficient time for study and play. Children in India and Kenya suggested that children should not be wage labourers, daily labourers, bonded labourers, or work in factories as it is much more exploitative than other forms of work. Adolescent Syrian girls who were living and working in Jordan also suggested that children should not do *'factory work as there will be too long working hours.'* Girls from Indonesia indicated that children should not be employed as domestic workers as this work is too demanding for them. Adolescent girls from Nepal also indicated that girls

and boys should not be given too much housework as children should not be expected to *'work continuously from morning till late night.'*

It is against their religion or culture

A few groups of children from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, particularly groups of Syrian refugees, emphasised certain types of work or work places that were not suitable for girls and/or boys due to their religion and culture. While the majority of children suggested that they should not steal because it was illegal, other children, including Muslim children from Bangladesh and Syria, and Christian children from the Philippines, placed more emphasis on stealing being something that they should not engage in as it was *'immoral'.* Syrian adolescent boys in Jordan said they should not be involved in any *'illicit trade - alcohol, trafficking human beings, prostitution, or stealing because it is against Islam.'*

> **Members of one CAC in India emphasised that children should not beg as it is against their dignity. In tribal society people generally don't believe in begging, rather than they prefer working hard to earn a living.**

Key policy and practice considerations emerging from chapter six:

Rather than simply classifying some forms, occupations or sectors of work, as labour that is harmful and should be abolished, children's experience and views on work they can and cannot do should be taken into account. Ideally, harmful occupations and sectors are identified jointly with children from each country.

•

A gender and non-discrimination lens is required to inform assessments, planning and ongoing monitoring of policies and practice that are designed to improve the lives of working children from diverse backgrounds (including children with disabilities, stateless or refugee children, etc.).

•

Increase government and donor investments for human resources to undertake child-protection case management, to ensure assessment and action planning in the best interests of the child (taking into consideration the views of the child, their family members and other key stakeholders).

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[54] Except Europe where the sample of children consulted was small (57).
[55] A traditional food.

7 'Protection and Risk factors'

From the consultation findings it is clear that there are mixed outcomes for children who work.

Some children benefit from working, for example, because their earnings help meet their basic needs, they feel appreciated and proud to contribute to their families, and they learn new skills. Conversely, some children face negative outcomes from working, for example because they face exploitation, harm, injury, abuse or violence, or they have insufficient time to study, play and rest. Moreover, for most children, the benefits and costs of children's work co-exist (Hobbs and McKechnie, 2007). Thus, in order to develop and implement policies and practices that enhance the protection, well-being and development of children, it is important to identify and reduce risk factors that increase the likelihood of harmful outcomes of children's work, and to identify and strengthen protection factors that contribute to positive outcomes of children's work.

Through the initial process of analysing and coding the consultation findings by the consultants, some factors quickly emerged that were identified as possible protection and risk factors. For example, there were a number of different scenarios where children described how they felt safer working at home or close to the home, thus this was identified as a potential protection factor. Conversely, children described how family poverty compelled them to engage in some risky work, so this was identified as a likely risk factor. A list of 20 factors was incorporated into an exercise for use by children's advisory committee members. This enabled working children to analyse and share their views and experiences concerning these factors to clearly identify them as either influencing positive or negative outcomes associated with children's work. In addition the CAC members had the opportunity to identify additional protection and risk factors through these discussions.

Protection and risk factor activity by children's advisory committees:

Members of 11 children's advisory committees undertook this activity (Four in India, and one each in Indonesia, Jordan involving Syrian refugees, Kenya, Kosovo, Nepal, Peru and Thailand). CAC members were given: flipchart paper with the protection/risk factor headings and +5 to - 5 scores; a set of 20 sticky notes, each with a factor written on it; and some blank sticky notes. The activity was introduced to the group and they were asked to read each sticky note and to discuss and decide whether the factor on the sticky note was:

A protection factor

increasing the likelihood of having positive experiences of children's work. If it is a protection factor place it on + 1 to +5. Place it on a higher score (e.g. + 4 or +5) if it is a factor that has a lot of significant influence on creating positive experiences.

A risk factor

increasing the likelihood of having negative experiences with children's work. If it is a risk factor place it on - 1 to -5. Place it on a more negative score (e.g. - 4 or -5) if it is a factor that has a strong influence on creating negative experiences.

Note

If the CAC members thought that this factor did not have any influence on positive or negative experiences they were asked to place it on zero.

For each factor, a documenter recorded the score and the reasons provided, including noting any differences among group members. Furthermore, CAC members were also encouraged to add other protection or risk factors that they felt were significant.

To develop the overall scores, a preliminary average score was generated by compiling the results from each CAC. During the process of gaining CAC feedback on the draft report (July – August 2017) CACs also had an opportunity to review and share their feedback on the overall scores and reasons. Members of six CACs (three in India, and one each in Indonesia, Kosovo, and Peru) shared their feedback and new average scores were generated for the final results.
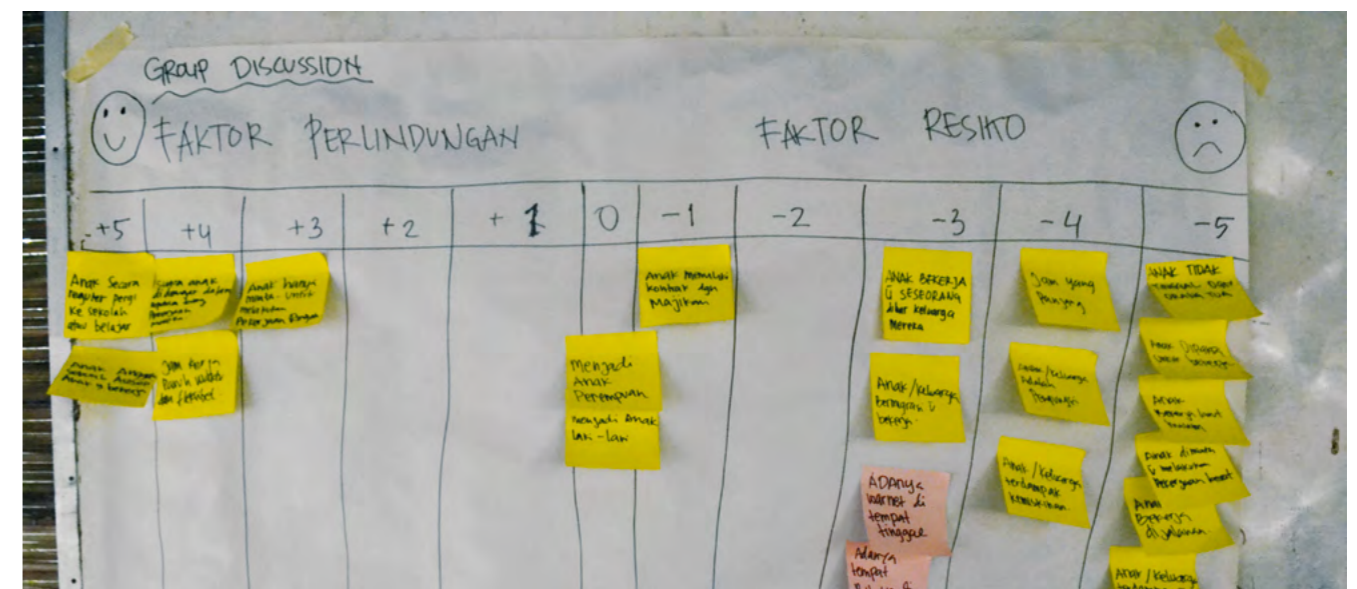
Protection and risk factor analysis by one children's advisory committee in Indonesia

Overall results of children's advisory committee analysis on protection and risk factors [56]:

Protection factors

Risk factors

+3

+4

+2

+5

+1

−4

Child is requested to do heavy or hazardous work
(− 4.5)

−3

Child is forced to work
(− 4.5)

Child's parents / caregivers have no stable job
(− 3.9)

Child works late at night
(− 4.3)

−2

Child's voice is heard in decisions about their work
(+ 2.8)

Child's family is affected by poverty
(− 3.5)

Child works on the streets
(− 4.2)

−1

−5

Child regularly goes to school or studies
(+ 4.8)

Child is member of a working children association
(+ 3.2)

Child's working hours are part-time and flexible
(+ 1.2)

Child has a contract with employer
(−1)

Being a girl
(− 2.4)

Child works for someone outside of his/her family
(− 3.3)

Child works on the streets

Child does not live with his / her parents
(− 4.2)

Child is only asked to do light work
(+ 2.6)

Neutral

Being boy
(+ 0.1)

Child has long working hours
(− 4.2)

Child / family migrate for work
(− 3.2)

Child / family is affected by conflict or disaster
(− 4.0)

In addition to the 20 factors which were explored by CAC members in the 11 risk/protection factor activities, additional factors were suggested by members at other times, which were also supported by further analysis of the consultation results [57]:

Additional protection factors:

· Child experiences love, care and guidance from their family
· Good employment opportunities for parents in their own villages and towns
· Government investments in school infrastructure and other basic services
· Child works at home and/or with adult family members
· NGOs are active in promoting children's rights

Child / family are refugees or stateless
(− 4.0)

Additional risk factor:

Child or family member is addicted to alcohol, drugs, gambling or internet

Protection factors

Child regularly goes to school
(CAC score range: +3 to +5, average score of + 4.8)

Parents valuing children's education and children regularly going to school has been identified as strong protection factors by children. CAC members from each region emphasised that children have rights to education. Through education they can gain skills and knowledge which will help them find better jobs and earn good salaries thus leading to a brighter future. CAC members from India, Thailand and Peru said that knowledge gained in school helps them protect themselves, and when children are educated, they are also less prone to being exploited and cheated. A CAC member from Indonesia encouraged the government to reduce education costs and make the enrolment process easier to ensure that all children have access to school. A CAC member in India also mentioned that providing free lunch at school acts as an incentive to attend, and can reduce the need for children to earn a living. CAC members from Kosovo were straightforward saying that if a child is not in school they will work; whereas while they are at school they have a break from their work and have more time for relaxation. On the contrary, one CAC member in Kenya described how he felt forced to study and preferred to have more time to work.

> **Feedback from CAC members in Indonesia:** *'Education is a child's right. If we did not go to school, we would not have knowledge and a bright future.'*

─── *Case example 17* ───

Boys aged 11 to 17 who attend school and work as shoe shiners in Asunción, Paraguay described how they had been organising themselves in a shoe shiners' association in the bus terminal. Their association had been running for 5 years. Through their involvement in the association, children had learned about their rights, they had analysed their realities, and they had protected themselves and their younger peers from dangers in the workplace. Through their organisational efforts they had made space in their work place to study and do their homework, to rest, to play, and to get meals. They were proud that they were working to help their families, and adolescent members of the association emphasised how their association had provided fellowship, respect, guidance, and the support needed to earn an honest living. Through their association they had access to training, learning, recreation and play, and members felt that the biggest achievement of their association was having a good balance in work, study and play that allowed their rights to be respected.

> Shoe-shiners who are organised in an association in Paraguay defend their rights

Child is a member of a working children's association
(CAC score range: -3 to +5, average score of +3.2)

The majority of CACs identified the benefits of working children organising themselves into associations to have a platform from which children could voice their opinions and to demand their rights. CAC members in Peru emphasised, *'If the children belong to an association they can give their opinions and give their proposals to those that will help us be listened to, and defend our well-being.'* Working children's associations can help working children to collectively defend their rights, to protect themselves, and to negotiate improved working conditions or compensation if they face any accidents. Working children mentioned how they felt protected and made friends in their groups. Through their associations, they could share their experiences and feelings, they could learn about their rights and other new things, they could give each other advice and support, and they could study and play. Being a member of children's associations also increased children's self-respect and other people's respect for them. However, members of two CACs in India suggested that it was better for children to be part of mainstream children's groups, together with other children attending school, so that they could also attend school and promote child rights more broadly.

Child's voice is heard in decisions about their work
(CAC score range: -2 to +5, average score of + 2.8)

Children suggested that there would be a more positive situation for working children if their views and suggestions were heard in decisions affecting them, not only in their homes, but in their workplace, in the community, and in government policies. If adults really listened to children they could take action to reduce risks children face, and facilitate their studies. Children also explained that when their preferences on what work they do, and their working hours are considered by their parents, caregivers or employers, this increases their protection and well-being. However, some CAC members from India, Indonesia, Kenya, and Nepal described how they find it difficult to raise their concerns to their parents or employers. Adults often do not give them choices about the work they do, and they do not listen to their views or preferences. Gender dimensions were also mentioned, as CAC members in Kenya shared that girls' views are not considered in decisions about their work, while boys' views are heard. If children defy their parents or employer to follow their choices, they risk being scolded, beaten or having a reduction from receiving their wages. However, CAC members in Peru encouraged children to open the channels of communication with their parents and caregivers, to express their opinions and feelings about what work they do and do not want to do, and have their views taken into account.

Child is only asked to do light work
(CAC score range: -3 to +5, average score of +2.6)

The majority of CACs indicated that children were more likely to experience positive results from working if they were only asked to do light work. Children described how they could learn skills from light work, gain independence, and help their parents without the negative aspect of becoming too tired. Children said they were happy to do light, harmless work, if they still had time to study, play and rest. However, members from one CAC in India said that there may still be risks associated with light work, for example fetching water from a well may sound like an easy job, but there are risks that the child may fall in the well.

Protection and risk factor analysis by another children's advisory committee in India

Risk factors

Child is requested to do heavy or hazardous work
(CAC score range: -2 to -5, average score of -4.5)

All the CAC members emphasised that children faced significantly more negative outcomes if asked to do heavy or hazardous work. Results from the wider consultations also validated the fact that undertaking heavy or hazardous works harms children physically and mentally, as they may experience body aches, injuries, fatigue, mental strain, and increased risks of accidents putting their lives in danger. CAC members from India suggested that employers should be severely punished if they contract children for hazardous jobs.

Child is forced to work
(CAC score range: -3 to -5, average score of -4.5)

Children face increased risks of negative outcomes when they are forced to work and when they have no voice in decisions about the work they do, or for how long or often they work. Being forced to work increases the possibility of children undertaking work that they do not like, or that may be too heavy or hazardous, thus increasing the danger of health risks and accidents. Children who are forced to work may not have enough time to rest and sleep. Being forced to work also negatively affects children's emotional and mental health, which can lead to sadness and depression. CAC members in Indonesia suggested that children who are forced to work may be more susceptible to drug use.

Child works late at night
(CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -4.3)

Children who work late at night face increased exposure to harm,

violence, and exploitation. Working late at night also adversely affects children's health if they do not have enough sleep, and it negatively affects their opportunities to study and increases the risk of dropping out of school. Children who work late at night are also more vulnerable to crime, kidnapping, sexual harassment and sexual exploitation.

Members of one of the CACs in India who had been working on the street emphasised children's vulnerability to exploitation and violence. Children often face harassment and physical violence from the police.

Child works on the street
(CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -4.2)

CAC members, especially those who had experience with working on the streets described the dangers they faced. Across the different regions, girls and boys who worked on the streets face increased risks negative outcomes from their work due to increased likelihood of road accidents, discrimination, abuse and violence from members of the general public, and police harassment. Children working on the street face increased exposure to gangs and associated risks of becoming involved in illegal activities. Children also faced physical harm and poor health from pollution on the streets in congested cities.

Child does not live with their parents (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -4.2)

Children who are not living with their parents may struggle to meet their basic needs, they may lack care

and affection, and they face increased exposure to exploitation and abuse. CAC members emphasised that children's vulnerability to risks increased when children are separated from their parents, when they are living alone, living with other caregivers, or with their employers. CAC members described how children in this situation may feel insecure and are therefore more likely to get involved in risky or illegal activities and to be exploited. CAC members in Nepal who were living with their employers described mistreatment and a lack of care. CAC members in India emphasised that living with relatives did not assure children's protection, as some relative caregivers mistreat and exploit children. Findings from the broader consultations provided illustrations of increased risks of children being neglected and exploited by relative caregivers, step-parents, and non-related caregivers.

CAC members in Indonesia questioned whether not living with parents is a risk factor, especially as one of the CAC members lived with her grandmother who cared for her, allowed her to go to school and gave her pocket money. This member said that whether or not living with others was dangerous greatly depended on the situation because parents sometimes might treat.

Illustration and text by a 16-year-old girl from Tanzania

Case example 19

'My name is Tausi .[59] I am 16 years old. I live with my step-mother. I do not like to live with her because she mistreats me and gives me a lot of work, heavy work. I dig in the field for many hours, the whole day, I never find time to rest, and I eat once per day. If I explain that I am tired, she does not listen, instead she gives me other work to do, I have to weed tobacco, to water seedbeds for tobacco. The trend of work was too much so I decided to run away and I am now living with my grandmother. My grandmother was happy to live with me; she connected me to the apprentice program where I am learning to be a tailor. I like tailoring I can make my own dresses and in the future I will be making money from tailoring.'

However, CAC members also emphasised that some children receive good care from alternative caregivers, including grandparents and other family members. CAC members from Indonesia, Kenya and Peru acknowledged how some children witness and experience domestic violence in their homes and lack care and affection from their parents, especially if their parents abuse alcohol or drugs. In such contexts, a CAC member from Peru indicated living with an alternative caregiver may be a protection factor if the child receives more love, care and guidance in their new home.

Child has long working hours
(CAC score range: -2 to -5, average score of -4.2)

CAC members described how children who work long hours face increased risks of poor physical and mental health as they will not have enough time to rest and play. They may also face poor education results as they will have insufficient time to study and may have dropped out of school. Children who work long hours will experience mental strain, headaches, fever and other sickness. They may be deprived of sleep which increases their risks of accidents and injuries. Children who work long hours are often underpaid and thus exploited.

Child's family is affected by conflict or disaster (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of - 4)

Conflict or disaster was identified as a significant risk factor by CAC members. Conflict and disaster leads to: injuries; death; disability; psychological distress; loss of homes and livelihoods; displacement; and family separation. Displaced chil-

Case example 18

A 12-year-old called Mary [58] lives in a rural village in the Philippines with her aunt, uncle and cousins, as her mother died when she was young. Before going to school she carries out housework, such as fetching water. She attends school from 8am to 5pm, and after school she goes to the market to sell eggs so that she can earn money to pay her school fees. Mary is happy to work because her work allows her to continue her schooling. She is also happy to learn some business skills, and people see her as hardworking. However, due to pressure from her aunt to earn enough money, Mary works very late at night, and she is scolded by her aunt if she does not sell enough eggs. She sells eggs in the market from 5.30pm until 2am. Due to working so late at night she worries that others may think she is a sex worker. She is also very tired while at school due to getting so little sleep, and she has no time to rest or play on school days.

12-year-old girl from the Philippines who lives with her aunt and uncle and sells eggs to pay school fees

17-year-old Syrian refugee boy who was affected by conflict and is working in Serbia

Case example 20

Asif [60] is currently living alone in Serbia. His parents are divorced and he has four sisters, one of whom lives with his mother in Lebanon, one who lives in Jordan and two still in Syria. He first left Syria in 2012 when he fled to Lebanon due to the conflict. At the age of 13, he began construction jobs in Lebanon to meet his basic needs. He worked eight hours a day, seven days a week, but received a low wage. Later he moved to Egypt, where he worked informally, and then he moved to Jordan. In Jordan, he spent most of the time working in a shop to service mobile phones. He worked up to 16 hours a day, seven days a week, where he was paid three times less than the other workers. This was a very hard period in his life, but since he had no other choice, he agreed to the exploitation to allow himself the basic means of survival.

58 Name changed to protect anonymity.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.

dren, who are separated from their parents and families, may have less access to shelter, food, clothes, education and other basic needs; and parents may have decreased access to jobs. Due to these factors, children may miss school and be more likely to someday leave school entirely. Family separation and loss of family earnings added stress on families and heighten the possibility that children may engage in work to earn a living to meet their basic needs. Due to increased family hardships and reduced options, children affected by conflict or disaster face an elevated danger of engaging in harmful work and are more vulnerable to exploitation.

Child / family are refugees or stateless (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -4)

Children and families who are refugees or who are stateless are more vulnerable than other children, due to the loss of their home, livelihoods and other belongings. CAC members mentioned that refugee families may be unfamiliar with their new living places, the language and culture. Parents and caregivers may struggle to find jobs, and parents and children cannot know which places are safe and unsafe for children, thus increasing their vulnerability. Refugee and stateless children and families often confront barriers to accessing health services and education services among others. Without registration papers or other documents, they may not have access to relevant government schemes. Children and family members may face discrimination from the host community, or within schools which may cause them to dropout.

Child's parents / caregivers have no stable job (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -3.9)

Most CAC members identified when parents or caregivers do not have stable work, as a contributing risk factor for children. In this situation, children may face heightened pressure to earn a living to help meet their family's basic needs. Children may be forced to work in situations that are unsafe, and they may be encouraged by their parents to miss school or to drop out in order to earn a living. When parents do not have stable employment, they may rack up debts and engage in bad habits. This contributes to family stress which may lead to increased violence within the family. A 17-year-old, male CAC member in Peru commented: *'If our parents had a job, the children would not work and would not be hurt.'* However, CAC members in Jordan emphasised that even if their fathers had stable jobs, one source of income was not enough to meet the family's needs. Furthermore, when their parents did not have work permits, this created increased challenges for the family as a whole.

Child's family is affected by poverty (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -3.5)

The majority of CACs emphasised that family poverty and debts heighten the possibility of children dropping out of school in order to take care of siblings and households while their parents earn a living. This also multiples the risk of children engaging in harmful work. In rural areas, poor financial returns for agricultural crops and poor harvests contributed to family struggles, debt, and migration of family members to urban settings in search of a livelihood. Children affected by poverty often feel compelled to work to contribute to their families' income to meet their basic needs. Parents may also be willing to compromise the safety of the child in order to improve the family's finances. Living in poverty also affected children's emotional and psychological health due to experiences of discrimination and judgement. However difficult, poverty was seen as a less significant risk factor than others by most CACs, ranked behind being forced to work, not living with parents, or being affected by conflict.

Child works for someone outside of their family (CAC score range: 0 to -5, average score of -3.3)

CAC members believed that children faced working for someone outside of their family could be more harmful, as people with whom they had no existing relationships were more likely to mistreat and exploit them. Members of one CAC in India also emphasised that children face increased risks of harm simply if they are employed as wage earners by any person, either within or outside their family.

Child or family members migrate for work (CAC score range: +3 to -5, average score of -3.2)

The majority of CACs believed that family or child migration for work increased the risks of engaging in harmful work. They supposed that families would build up debts while migrating which would then compel children to take on whatever jobs were available in order to earn an income for the family, without examining the associated risks. When they are unfamiliar with a new place, children and their parents are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Furthermore, children who migrate also disrupt their education and face increased possibility of dropping out of school, especially if they lack the necessary papers that are needed to enrol in new schools. CAC members in Thailand mentioned that children from migrant families are more vulnerable when living on the street, and selling drugs. CAC members in Nepal described how they had migrated in order to access education in urban settings, while their parents had remained at home. By living with, and working for, other people they felt they were at a greater risk of being exploited. In the same vein, children who are left behind with relatives or non-relative caregivers when their parents migrate for work, are still vulnerable to neglect and exploitation. Nevertheless, CAC members from Kosovo suggested that migration for work can be a protective factor as families can improve their standard of living through migration and new work opportunities, thus protecting children from engaging in harmful work.

Being a girl (CAC score range: +3 to -5, average score of -2.4)

CAC members engaged in interesting discussions about gender, and whether being a girl or boy was a risk or a protection factor. In the majority of CAC discussions in Asia and Europe, members described how girls are particularly vulnerable to harm from work, especially if they work outside of their home, due to increased risks of sexual harassment, abuse and exploitation elsewhere. CAC members in Indonesia described how girls were exposed to debt bondage, as their parents arrange their daughter's marriages in order to pay off their debts. Some CAC members in Indonesia thought that it depended on the individual, and some girls in India and Nepal described how they gained confidence and strength from working outside of their home. Their experience had allowed them to improve communication and negotiation skills that helped them tackle everyday problems. CAC members from Peru, Thailand and members of two CACs in India said both girls and boys are susceptible to a wide range of problems and need protection from adults, irrespective of their gender. CAC members in Kenya suggested that girls are more protected if they live with and are cared for by their family members; but risks of abuse increase greatly if they lack parental care and protection.

Neutral factors, or factors that elicited particularly mixed views:

Being a boy (CAC score range: +4 to -5, average score of - 0.1)

When discussing gender issues, CAC members had very diverse views in relation to whether being a boy was a protection or a risk factor, or a neutral factor. CAC members from Jordan, Kenya, Kosovo, Nepal, and from 1 CAC in India felt that being a boy was a protection factor as their gender allows them to have freedom to play; to move around inside and outside of the home to earn money; and work independently without being controlled or harassed by employers. Some boys in Kenya and Kosovo perceived work as an opportunity to show their strength and to be recognised as men who have increased decision-making power. CAC members from Peru, Thailand and two CACs in India felt that being a child, regardless of gender, makes them more susceptible to exploitation and abuse if they are sent to work. Boys, as well as girls are vulnerable to physical, emotional, and sexual abuse in the workplace. Furthermore, due to gender stereotypes and ideas about masculinity, higher expectations are often placed on boys to carry heavy things and to undertake hazardous jobs. Thus, a number of CAC members in India and Kenya, felt that boys were also very vulnerable to negative outcomes of work, especially if they were expected to do heavy work, or requested to work instead of going to school.

CAC members in Kosovo disagreed with the emerging findings that being a boy was a neutral factor, as they claimed *'boys are stronger and they can protect themselves more easily.'*

**Child has a contract /
agreement with the employer**
(CAC score range:
-5 to +5, average score of -1)

There were very mixed scores in relation to children having formal work contracts or agreements with their employers. Most of the Indian CACs identified it as a significant risk factor (-5), and the CAC in Indonesia identified it as a slight risk factor (-1). Having a contract was seen by these CAC members as risky, as the employer would treat children as workers, expect them to obey their orders, and could force them to work even if the child or their parents were sick. These pressures would place physical and mental strain on children. CAC members in Indonesia and Kosovo also emphasised the dangers of signing a contract, as children may not fully understand the contents of the contract which could open them up to exploitation. In contrast, the CACs in Jordan, Peru, Thailand, and one CAC in India considered that having a contract was a protection factor as it could help ensure children's rights

in the workplace. CAC members in Peru described how contractual agreements could be developed to agree to the hours worked, the work load, and time off, thus reducing the chance of exploitation and increasing adherence to laws concerning children's rights. Members of a CAC in India had had some positive experiences with contractual work, where they had a good rapport with the employer who treated them well. They had agreed wages for a fixed amount of time, and having a contract meant they did not need to search for new work every day. In contrast, members of another CAC in India said they were exploited by the employer when they had a contract for work in the textile industries. Thus, they identified the contract as a risk factor.

**Child's working hours are
part-time and flexible**
(CAC score range:
-5 to +5, average score of +1.2)

Having part-time, flexible working hours was given the full range of scores from -5 to +5 by different CACs. Some CAC members from India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kosovo, Peru, and Thailand felt that working part-time, flexible hours was a protection factor, as children would have allotted time to study, work, and play. CAC members from Peru described how it was a protection factor when children were able to express their views and choose part-time work at times that suited them. CAC members in India highlighted that they could use their earnings from part-time work to buy school books and school uniforms. However, members from two other CACs in India felt working part-time, flexible hours was a risk factor, as even if a child is only meant to be working part-time they may still be expected to undertake a lot of work, thus compromising their time for study and sleep. The CAC members in Jordan scored it as zero (neutral) as they said employers would not allow or be satisfied with children working part-time, flexible hours. The pointed out that if children are self-employed they are better able to work flexible hours according to their own needs and interests. ●

*Key policy and practice considerations emerging
from chapter seven:*

Review and monitor policies and practices to ensure that they reinforce the protection factors identified here and reduce the risk factors. Particular efforts must be made to address cumulative risks, and ensure ongoing efforts to respond to other (yet unidentified) protection and risk factors.

●

Support opportunities for working children to express their views; access information; form and be part of associations; and participate in dialogue and decision-making in private and public settings to influence decisions affecting them.

●

Promote gender equality and support strategic and practical efforts to end gender-based violence and discrimination.

●

Need to strengthen child protection systems from national to local levels to increase monitoring and support for: prevention and response to forced, hazardous or harmful work; family-based care; enrolment and retention in schools; violence prevention and response; referrals for social protection, health, legal and other services.

●

Strengthen child-sensitive, social-protection schemes, increase investments in rural development, and ensure access to basic services and decent work and fair wages for parents and caregivers in remote, rural, urban and camp locations.

●

Support violence prevention, disaster risk reduction and ensure timely and adequate child-focused humanitarian support to strengthen families' resilience in times of adversity.

●

Implement and monitor policies to prevent and protect children from hazardous, harmful and forced work.

●

Increase training for police, social workers/social welfare officers, and labour inspectors on child rights.

8. 'H Assessment and Flowers of Support': Children's views on policies and their messages

As an integral part of the consultation process working children were encouraged to identify and share key messages with different groups of people who could help to improve their lives. Building upon children's views and their principal messages for change, local organisations were also urged to support children in planning and implementing various initiatives. Children would therefore have the opportunity to share their messages with key stakeholders. Public actions on Child Workers Day (April 30th), and The World Day Against Child Labour (June 12th) provided an occasion for child workers to share their key messages with concerned stakeholders.

In 81 consultations, children undertook the 'Flowers of Support' activity to identify key messages for different groups of people. Furthermore, a 'H' assessment tool to share their views and experiences on the strengths and weaknesses of existing policies and practices, and their suggestions to improve them. This activity was used by child workers in 12 consultation workshops (in Bangladesh, Kenya, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, and Tanzania); and in 8 CAC meetings (in India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kosovo, Nepal, and Peru). The first section of this chapter shares key insights from children regarding their opinions and experiences of existing policies and practices. The second section outlines key messages from children for different stakeholders, integrating messages from their 'Flowers of Support' activity, and suggestions from the 'H' assessment.

8.1 Children's views on existing policies and practices

Some children are not aware of national or international policies affecting them

In many countries, there are insufficient awareness-raising and information-sharing initiatives among children and families about laws, policies and practices that concern them. In diverse contexts, some working children commented that they were unaware of national or international policies or practices that were meant to support them. While some children were aware of their rights, the majority of children were not aware of their rights or entitlements to services.

Boys with their 'Flower of Support', India

Children's views on the strengths of existing policies and practices

A minority of working children had been informed about laws and policies concerning child protection, children's work, education and other issues. However, in some contexts child workers had only been informed about policies and laws through their previous engagements with NGO programmes and/or through organisations and movements of working children. In addition, the children's advisory committee members had opportunities to access information about laws and policies affecting working children through the CAC sessions. It is recognised that the views of adults presenting the policies to children may have also influenced children's views.

Child labour laws that protect working children from harmful work

Children from 9 countries (Bangladesh, India, Jordan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Peru, Rwanda, and Tanzania) mentioned positive aspects of existing child labour laws which sought to protect children from harmful work. For example, CAC members in India were aware that the Child Labour (Protection and Regulation) Act prevented the employment of children in hazardous sectors. Syrian refugee children who were working in Jordan were familiar with international regulations and laws that protected children from drug dealing, participating in armed groups, prostitution and organ trafficking.[61] They also described laws that prevented children under

the age of 14 from working in industrialized facilities[62]; and in the agricultural sector during school days.[63] Adolescents in Kyrgyzstan said there were policies in place to limit the number of working hours of students aged 14 to 18 years.[64] Children from Peru mentioned that there was a legal code for children and adolescents and that they could use this code to defend their rights.[65]

61 ILO convention 182 to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, 1999
62 ILO convention 5, 1919
63 ILO convention 10, 1921/ C010 - Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 10)
64 Labour Code of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, 2004; Law No. 179 of 20 July 2015 to Amend and Supplement the Labour Code
65 Children and Adolescent's Code, 2000, Peru

Policies that support free and compulsory education

Children from 4 countries (India, Jordan, Kosovo, and Nepal) discussed the advantages of having policies that support compulsory education for children. CAC members in India described how the Right to Education Act[66] provided children aged 6 to 14 with free and compulsory education, and a 16-year-old said, *'The Right to Education Act strengthens the Child Labour Act.'* Some of the Syrian refugee children who were CAC members in Jordan said if the law to support compulsory education was actually implemented, it would lead to better careers for children in the future.

Policies and practices that support children's care, justice and participation, and protect children from violence

Children from India, Jordan and Nepal also emphasised the importance of laws and policies that protect children from violence and early marriage; as well as laws that support children's care and protection when they are in conflict with the law. CAC members in India mentioned Child Welfare Committees, the Integrated Child Development Scheme, and a national helpline which all support children at risk. In Jordan, CAC members mentioned that *'there is a family protection law which can prevent violence in family, outside of the family and in working stations… and there is a freedom of expression law that can help us to protect ourselves.'* CAC members in Nepal also appreciated it that the government was focusing on children's right to participation.

66 The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, India

NGO interventions that support children

In terms of approaches that support children, they recognised NGO efforts to: support children's access to education; create awareness on children's rights; encourage parents to send children to school; support children's participation and to help link children to adult decision-makers; provide advice, training, creative and sports activities; and psychosocial support to children. Children from one CAC in India also described the benefits of community-based child protection mechanisms which helped prevent the abuse and exploitation of children, and supported children's access to education, care and protection.
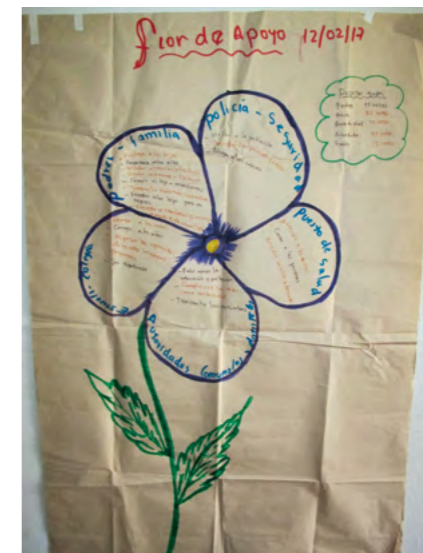
A 'Flower of Support' with messages for families, police, health services, schools and the community

Children's views on the weaknesses of existing policies and practices

Weaknesses in implementing existing child labour laws and other policies

Children in 8 countries (Bangladesh, India, Kenya, Kosovo, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, and Tanzania) suggested a key weakness of existing child labour laws and policies was that they were not effectively implemented or monitored. There is a lack of political will to properly implement the laws, and prompt punishments are not handed down to people who exploit children. A 13-year-old female CAC member from India said, *'the government is not serious in implementing [laws] as there are no sufficient protection officers.'* A CAC member in Kosovo said, *'the law is not applied in everyday life.'* Furthermore, children, families, members of the general public, employers, and even government officials are often unaware of policies and laws concerning child labour and children's protection.

Limitations in existing laws and policies to protect children from harmful work, as they do not adequately address the complexity of issues affecting children and families

Limitations in existing laws and policies were also identified by children in India, Indonesia, Kosovo, Nepal and Tanzania. They pointed out that the policies do not adequately address the root causes of harmful work, such as poverty, lack of access to quality basic services and discrimination. Working children in

— *Case example 21* —

Working children and adolescents shared their life experiences about their work in an event that was organised alongside local government representatives, teachers and children. A newspaper publication about the exchange highlighted: 'During the local exchange, the need to implement policies to protect children from child labour became evident. Furthermore, children asked the government authorities to establish protection policies for working children, as there were existing policies for adults. Likewise, children expressed that the authorities do not look at the realities of the children who are forced to work due to the need. [...]
A 13-year-old girl said that 'Nowadays it is not easy to identify the origin of children's work. If there is poverty, children will have to work to support the family. Without alternative policies and dignified work, there w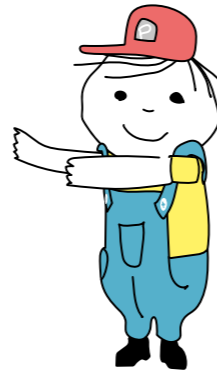ill be working children who are exploited. If resources are not well distributed, poverty will remain, and so will the need for us to work illegally.'

> Working children in Peru organised a public action, highlighting the complexities of children's work

Low-quality education and limited school infrastructure

Weaknesses in school infrastructure and poor-quality education were identified by children as factors that contributed to below average education results, school dropout and children's work. CAC members in India said that 'there is lack of rooms in schools, so children of different grades have to sit in a single room... and teachers are not serious with their work and thus the quality of education is very low.' A group of working children in Peru also explained that, 'education does not respond to the reality of working children and adolescents.' ●

Tanzania commented that, 'laws and policies are in place in Tanzania to protect children, but they are not effective as children find themselves in complex problems from child abuse, violence and no education.' CAC members from Indonesia and Kosovo also highlighted that existing laws and policies did not give sufficient focus and support to children and families to overcome poverty. They emphasised that children often worked to help meet their families' basic needs, simply due to the low income or unemployment of their parents. Members from one CAC in India thought the laws and policies did not effectively take into account the issues faced by working children in different sectors. Furthermore, children from two other CACs in India said a weakness of the new Child Labour Act[67] in India was that it still allowed children to work in home-based industries, which they feared would reinforce the caste system. Insufficient attention to non-discrimination was also emphasised by 16 to 18-year-old boys in Nepal who mentioned that the national policies were not enough to guarantee the rights of third-gender working children, and they called for policies that created a good environment for all children regardless of gender, caste, class and ethnicity.

67 The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016, India

'This work is my motivation to continue forward', Peru

8.2 Children's key messages for different groups of people

Working children in Burkina Faso presenting their 'Flower of Support'

Children identified groups of people with whom they wanted to share messages, and they developed key messages for each of these groups. Most messages were provided to governments, followed by messages for: parents and caregivers; non-governmental organisations (national and international); children; teachers and head-teachers; employers; police; community and religious elders; UNHCR; and others, including women's groups and the media. Although the 'Flower of Support' activity was undertaken in 81 consultations, there were no explicit messages given by children to the ILO. This indicates that this agency is either not known to working children, or it is not identified as an agency that can improve their lives.

Key messages to the Government[68]:

**Members of a CAC in India shared their top messages for governments to
1) Provide free, quality education for every child;
2) Support families by providing good jobs to parents and providing services and cash assistance; and
3) Implement and monitor laws and policies**

Strengthen policies and approaches which reduce poverty and strengthen families

The most frequent message to governments was the need to increase support to their families to reduce family poverty, and to increase job opportunities and good wages for their parents and caregivers in rural and urban locations. Working children in 38 consultations in diverse locations across each region drafted this message. For instance, children in a rural location in Kyrgyzstan said there should be 'an increase of workplaces in villages and an increase of wages so that the family and relatives do not have to leave.' Children encouraged government policies and practices that supported their parents and caregivers gain access to training and livelihood and grant schemes. Refugee children sought government permission for their parents to be allowed to work. The importance of cash assistance, other social protection schemes, and family-support services was also highlighted by children. A group of working children in

68 Children from 90 consultations across every region shared messages for the government.

the Philippines said, the government should '*help poor families especially those who are sick, provide them with financial assistance and medicine.*' Awareness and training for parents and caregivers to reduce their tendency for physical punishment and scolding of children was also mentioned.

Provide free, quality education for every child

The need for improved government efforts to ensure free, quality education for all children (regardless of gender, disability, ethnicity, refugee status, family income, and location) was highlighted by children in 37 consultations, covering every region and encompassing children from diverse working backgrounds. Children wanted governments to ensure improved school infrastructure in remote, rural, urban and camp locations along with highly-trained teachers so that all children could be literate, numerate, and gain a wealth of knowledge. Children also urged governments to provide access to free schools; education scholarships or other benefits to poor children; and school materials and school transport to reduce the costs associated with education. For example, children in Paraguay encouraged the Ministry of Education to do more to prevent children from having to leave their communities by making more efforts '*to improve the school and to enable more grades, to provide them with food to supplement what little they have in the house.*'

Efforts to ensure free and easy enrolment, and non-discriminatory, inclusive school environments were also called for, especially by children with disabilities. They highlighted the need for improved, inclusive education along with disability-friendly schools. Some Syrian refugee

children suggested that separate schools should be established for them, due to their negative experiences with bullying and discrimination in mainstream schools. Policies and teaching practices that promote children's expression and participation, and that prevent and address violence in schools, were called for by both girls and boys across each region. Working children from Nicaragua who were involved in seasonal, coffee-harvesting activities with their family members, and Syrian refugee children who were living in Jordan, also suggested that need for flexible school timetables that could be modified to reflect the needs of working children's schedules.
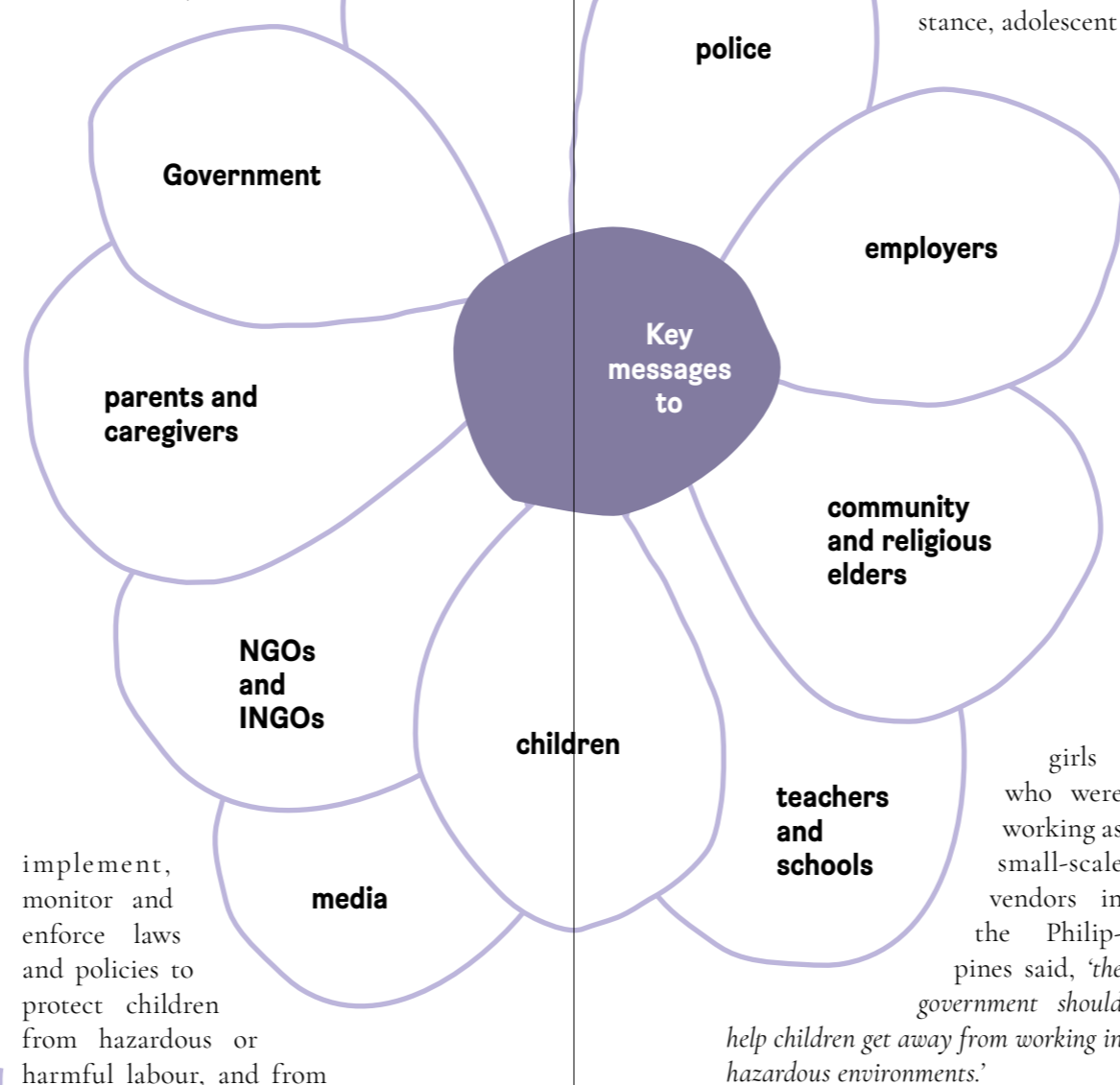
Improve infrastructure and access to other basic services, including free health services

Broader improvements to infrastructure (roads, electricity, houses) and to other basic services, including free, health services were also advocated for by children across each region. Children called for local governments to have increased powers and budgets with which to implement programmes and policies that benefit children and their families, while supporting community development. Children with disabilities from Bangladesh also encouraged the development of accessible and disability-friendly services.

> **The CAC members in Kosovo shared a key message that 'teachers should protect us, NOT discriminate based on gender or ethnicity.'**

Improve the design, implementation and monitoring of laws, policies and programmes to protect children from harmful work, violence and abuse

Children from different locations requested increased government efforts to refine, implement, monitor and enforce laws and policies to protect children from hazardous or harmful labour, and from violence and abuse. The need to raise awareness among government officials, police, parents, caregivers, children, and the media of child rights and protection from harmful work, was also called for by children from different regions. There were some differences in perspectives among working children (both within and across consultations) on the

type of policies and laws that would best be suited to them. Children in 11 consultations from 10 countries (from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Middle East) highlighted the need to protect children from harmful forms of work. For instance, adolescent

Key messages to

UNHCR
police
employers
community and religious elders
teachers and schools
children
media
NGOs and INGOs
parents and caregivers
Government

girls who were working as small-scale vendors in the Philippines said, '*the government should help children get away from working in hazardous environments.*'

Children from 13 consultations in six countries (from Asia and Africa) suggested that the government should stop all forms of children's work. Some of the children in these consultations even used the phrase '*end child labour*'. This requires further explorations to determine whether they meant all forms of

children's work or not, and whether they meant for all children up to the age of 18. Members from one CAC in India indicated that children should not work at all, irrespective of their age. Not all children felt the same, however, as Syrian child workers who were members of a CAC in Jordan, suggested merely to increase the legal working age from

14-years-old to 15 years. Children from 4 consultations in India, Nepal and Zimbabwe supported government efforts to rescue working children who were being exploited or abused. Children who mentioned rescue and rehabilitation were familiar with existing NGO programmes that supported this type of programming.

Case example 22

Children in Indonesia participated in a workshop that aimed to reflect on child rights and the current situation of working children. The children drew pictures to convey key messages related to their work that they wanted to share with the general public and decision makers. Their drawings were printed on a banner and displayed at public spaces where children were used to working. Children themselves asked the public to share their commitments to their messages by signing the banner. Other activities included a one-hour radio talk show on the national radio station under the topic 'It's Time To Talk About Ending Child Labour.'

Public action by working children in Indonesia focused on 'It's Time To Talk About Ending Child Labour'

Improve conditions for light, safe work by children

Children from 24 consultations and CAC members from 13 countries (from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East) suggested the need for government efforts to improve children's working conditions. Children from these consultations were both non-organised and organised working children and suggested that children should be allowed to do work that is: easy and light that does not expose children to physical, sexual or emotional harm, nor hamper their studies. Stateless adolescent girls in Thailand said, *'every child has the right to go to school. Youth (aged 15-25) can do and should get paid for legal, part-time jobs working at proper times and in jobs that are not dangerous, not harmful to their life.'*

Girls and boys from different regions suggested that governments should make efforts to improve children's working conditions so that: they work only a limited number of hours so as to not interfere with their studies; children are provided with fair and timely wages and other benefits; and children are treated with kindness. Organised working children in Bolivia said the government should ensure *'protection of our rights for working children... to defend their rights and enforce general labour laws.'*

Increase vocational skill training for trades and professions that enhance adolescents' livelihoods

Children from different regions, especially out-of-school adolescents, children with disabilities, and refugees, highlighted the importance of increased investments in vocational skill training and business grants that improve adolescents' livelihoods and provide decent work op-

portunities. On-the-job mentoring within existing work should also be encouraged to support children and adolescents' skill development. Children with disabilities in Bangladesh who were aged 12 to 17 and were involved in various informal jobs, suggested that the government should provide *'vocational and agricultural training opportunities for working children with disabilities.'* Syrian refugee girls aged 14 to 16 who were working as full-time agricultural workers in Jordan, mentioned that due to lack of vocational training such as hairdressing, makeup, tailoring, and accessories industry, they were not able to leave their work at the farms.

Support children's participation in policy and practice developments

CAC members and children from each region advocated for the increased participation of working children in policy and practice developments concerning them. CAC members in Peru urged, *'let our opinions and ideas be respected and heard.'* CAC members in India suggested that *'policy makers need to consult working children from various sectors before finalising a policy or act concerning children's right and development.'* Children in India also suggested that they should be regularly involved in local-level government meetings, working together with adults to identify, listen to, and solve issues concerning them, and to ensure monitoring and enforcement of existing policies. Children from Bangladesh advocated that children with disabilities should also be included in development planning at different levels. Working children in Peru proposed, *'we can go to the government and demand that the government respect our rights, we can exercise the participation of the working girls, boys*

and adolescents...[and] with the participatory budget we can do workshops and present projects about participation to others.' In Kenya, children also suggested that children could be involved in government budgeting to ensure budget allocations for children.

> Members of a CAC in India said the government should include children's opinions in making or amending laws. Furthermore, NGOs should organise activities and support children's right to participation and association.

Key messages to parents and caregivers:

Children's main messages to parents and caregivers were to: *prioritise children's education; advise and guide children and look after children with care and affection; provide children's basic needs; and protect children from harmful work.* Children from 50 consultations, covering diverse contexts in every region, developed messages for parents and caregivers, encouraging them to regularly send their sons and daughters to school, including children with disabilities. Parents and caregivers were also requested to push children to study and to do their homework, and not to ask children to miss or leave school in order to work. For example, 8 to 13-year-old children who attended school and worked in gold mining sites in Burkina Faso said, *'parents can prevent children from visiting the sites, parents can also ensure that children do not drop out of school.'* Children wanted parental/caregiver love and affection, and they needed their parents and caregivers to advise and guide them in positive ways without scolding or beating them.

A 16-year-old girl in Indonesia said, *'parents must motivate, support and advise their children to enable them to achieve their dreams.'*

Children wanted their parents/caregivers to earn a decent living and take responsibility to meet all of their children's basic needs to shelter, food, clothes, school materials, and health care. Children also requested parents to protect children from harmful work, not giving girls or boys too many tasks, nor forcing them to work. They suggested that children should only be given easy work so that they have enough time to study, rest and play. For instance, adolescent girls in Mali suggested that their parents *'do not over-occupy the girl by housework on the days she has to go to school and give her enough time to rest and learn the lessons on weekends.'* Children also wanted their parents and caregivers to protect them from abuse and violence. Girls and boys wanted their parents to communicate with them, to better understand their needs and feelings and to involve them in decision-making. They also requested parents and caregivers not discriminate based on gender, age or disability.

Key messages for NGOs and INGOs[69]:

Children wanted NGOs to help children access education. NGOs should identify out-of-school children, and help them enrol and/or reintegrate in school; aide children in accessing informal and formal education; provide school material and scholarships; and inform parents about the importance of education.

Girls who were small-scale vendors in the Philippines said NGOs should *'help children who are out of school by providing scholarships and provide children with school supplies.'*

NGOs should also *undertake advocacy and raise awareness on child rights, the importance of education, and the need for increased protection from harmful work, violence and discrimination.* They should help to raise awareness among government officials; police; parents; caregivers; employers; teachers; community members; and children. They should be informed of the necessity of child rights in general, and specifically, children's rights to protection; the dangers of hazardous work; and the importance of education, non-discrimination, and participation. NGOs can help to share information on child labour laws and other related policies;

and they can organise door-to-door interventions with parents and caregivers.

In addition, NGOs should *distribute aid and cash assistance to families and children in need*, providing food, clothes, school materials, medicine or cash assistance to children and families affected by poverty. Provision of microloans to parents and/or to adolescents, and support for *vocational skill training and income-generating activities for adolescents, parents and caregivers* would also support parents to find better jobs and improve their livelihoods.

Activities engaging children and supporting their participation should be organised so that children have more opportunities to express their views, to form and strengthen children's groups and associations, and to de-

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Case example 23

In December 2016, during the school holidays, the Kenya Association of Working Children and Youth organized a five-day training workshop on entrepreneurship and business development for children and youth in Nairobi. Participants included small traders, bakers, musicians, actors, DJs, and graphic designers. The training focused on how to save and borrow money and develop business plans. The young people appreciated the training as they acquired skills and knowledge for self-employment.

training on entrepreneurship and business development for children and youth in Nairobi, Kenya

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69 Children from 65 consultations across every region shared messages for non-governmental organisations and international non-governmental organisations.

fend their rights. Running activities such as sports, games, skits, life skills, and education for working children were also called for. Furthermore, children want NGOs to *help and protect children facing difficulties* by supporting children who experience abuse, harm, or exploitation. Children should be protected from hazardous work and should be supported in their efforts to access education and vocational skill training. Support should also be provided to children with disabilities and children who are affected by poverty. *Discussions with employers* were also proposed to *improve working children's conditions.* For example, children in Kyrgyzstan suggested that social workers should *'visit employers and ask them to improve working conditions.'*

Key messages for children:

Children in 47 consultations developed messages for children. They suggested that children should: *support and advise each other* and protect each other from risks and exploitation; *teach good time management* to have time for study, play and rest when working; prioritise time for study and encourage their friends and siblings to study; and they should *be aware of and defend their rights.* Children encouraged other children to express their views and to join child groups to make their concerns heard. Members of organised, working children's associations in Bolivia encouraged *'training of leaders, increasing [children's] awareness to fully exercise their rights, and knowledge of labour rights and the value of work.'*

Key messages for teachers and schools:

In 33 consultations, children across different regions developed messages for teachers and head-teachers in schools urging them to *support quality education.* These children wanted teachers to give children knowledge: reading and writing skills, math skills, and other life skills. They requested their teachers not to be absent, and to provide free tuition to those in need. Children encouraged teachers to advise their parents, and communicate to their parents on their behalf, to *help children to stay in school, and not miss school in order to work.* A 12-year-old boy in India said, *'teachers can discuss and counsel our parents to send children to school regularly.'*

CAC members from Indonesia suggested that teachers should teach their students patiently and softly and should not scold or punish them. Children should be supported and encouraged to make their dreams come true.

Children also shared messages for teachers and head-teachers to *protect children from abuse, violence and discrimination.* Teachers should not scold, beat, hurt or discriminate children. Children in Tanzania who attended school and worked as small-scale vendors said, *'teachers should eliminate harsh punishments for children.'* Teachers should help to create safe and inclusive schools, and they should support children with disabilities to come to school. Teachers should also consult and support children and respect children's rights.

Key messages for employers:

Children employed in different sectors, from 33 consultations in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East developed messages for employers. The main message for employers was to *treat children with dignity and respect* and *not to exploit children.* Children wanted their employers to communicate politely and treat children with kindness and respect. Their messages urged employers not to scold, shout, criticize, humiliate, beat, or put pressure on children. CAC members from Thailand suggested that *'the employer shouldn't try to take advantage of the child and the employer must respect the law and child rights... The employer must allow the children to take a rest, protect the children, and pay salary according to the law.'* Children should not be asked to work long hours. Children should have breaks and time off to rest, play and study, and employers should actively *support children's study and skill development.*

Children working as paid agricultural workers, domestic workers, brick makers, porters, small-scale vendors, and tailors requested increased salaries *to ensure fair and timely wages.* A few groups of children from Asia and the Middle East who were engaged in agricultural, brick-making, hotel work, and massage work suggested they should be *provided benefits and necessary materials* including safety materials (gloves, helmets etc.), medical check-ups, health insurance, meals and transport. A few groups from Asia encouraged employers to avoid *employing children or to give children easy jobs.*

CAC members in Indonesia said employers should know what their employers need and feel.

Key messages for community and religious elders:

Children from 26 consultations across every region shared messages for community and religious elders, imploring them to: *give advice* and support religious and spiritual development; *support children in need,* including children with disabilities; *positively influence parents and caregivers* to send children to school rather than engage in harmful work; and *protect children from abuse and exploitation.* Working children in Kenya said *'local leaders should be made aware of [the need to uphold] child rights so that they learn that children should be supported to study, work, rest and play.'* Children also wanted elders to support children's participation in the community, to help children access services, and find easy work.

Key messages for the police:

In 22 consultations across every region, children shared their advice for the police. Children requested the police *to work for children's rights to punish employers who exploit or abuse children.* Children wanted the police to be more friendly and approachable so that they could contact them when in trouble. Children requested the police *catch criminals,* including drug sellers; *protect children from exploitation and abuse, including domestic violence*; and not harass children. A 14-year-old boy who worked as a bus cleaner in Indonesia said *'the police can catch the alcohol seller, drug dealers, and many other bad guys who are in the street who threaten us when*

we are working.' CAC member from Indonesia suggested that the police should have a programme to prevent children from using drugs. Children from India, Kenya and Nepal suggested that the police should interact with parents to mediate conflicts and enable children to live and be cared for at home. The police should speak to parents so they are aware they can be punished if they send their children to work.

Members of a CAC in India said the police should take appropriate and immediate action against those who exploit children and violate their rights.

Key messages for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR):

Key messages for UNHCR were shared by Syrian refugees working in Jordan and Lebanon. They requested that the UNHCR: *increase cash and material assistance,* including more food coupons, blankets and clothes to help meet the basic needs of children and their families; *to contribute to the cost of rent of refugee families or provide housing* (high rent costs can compel children to earn a living). One adolescent Syrian boy who was working in Jordan boy said *'the only solution to stop child labour is to pay the rents for refugee families, the rent is about 160-200 JOD/month.'* ($280/month). Children also implored UNHCR to: *support families and children in possession of legal documents* to move freely in all areas of the country; to run safe spaces for working children; and to prevent early marriage of girls. When girls get married they have increased responsibilities to work, to take care of their husbands and their

households, and they face increased protection and health risks.

CAC members from Jordan (who were Syrian refugees) emphasised that they work in order to pay the rent of the house.

Key messages to media:

Children from 6 consultations (primarily from Asia) proposed that the media *share children's views and grievances, share information on children's rights and raise awareness on laws and policies,* and *support campaigns on child protection.* For example, adolescent girls who were working as small-scale vendors in the Philippines said the media can support *'campaigns to end the abuse of children, to help spread awareness about child labour. [The media] can help the concerns and issues of children reach out to the world and be heard.'* ●

Members of a CAC in India said the media should highlight problems and issues relating to children.
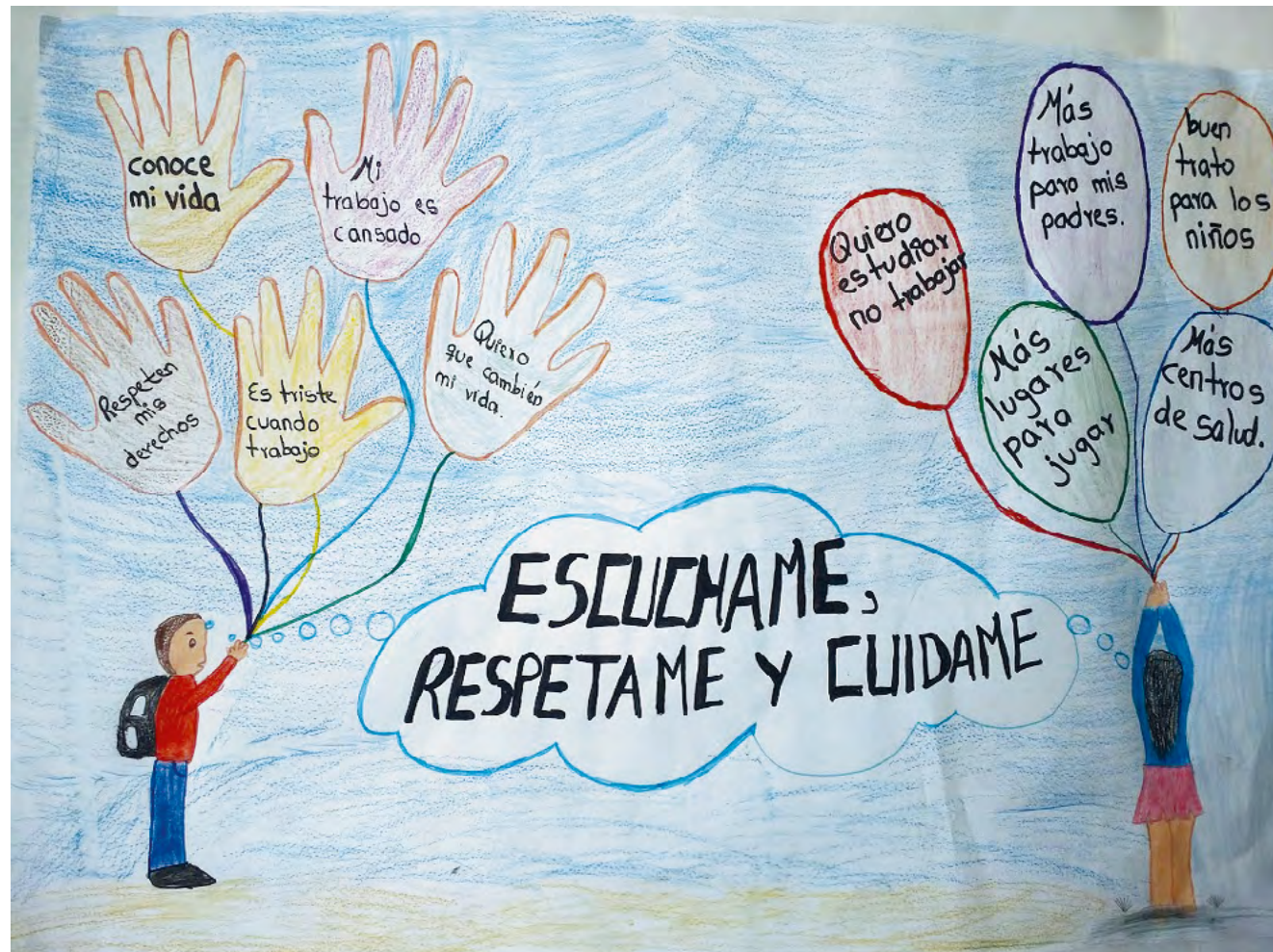
Poster by child workers in Peru: 'Listen to me, respect me, take care of me'

Hands: *Respect my rights; get to know my life; it is sad when I work; my work is tiring; I want you to change my life;*
Balloons: *I want to study instead of working; more places to play; more work for my parents; good treatment for children; more health centres.*
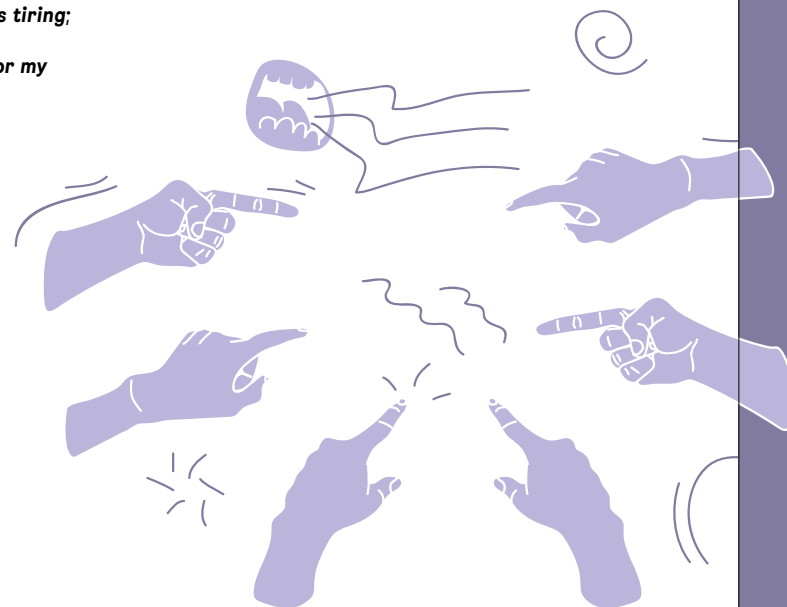
Key policy and practice considerations emerging from chapter eight:

It is inevitable that the positive and negative aspects of children's work co-exist (Hobbs & McKechnie, 2007). Dialogue among children, researchers and policy makers can be used to better understand and respond to the complexities of children's work.

•

Increase political will by governments, UN agencies, civil society organisations, trade unions, businesses, and the media to listen to and act upon the messages drafted by working children.

•

Increase dialogue among working children and policy makers to determine what they mean when they wish to protect children from all forms of work or labour.

•

Ensure that policies and practice reflect the complexities, diversity, and multi-faceted nature of children's work, protecting children from harmful and forced work, while also supporting children's skill development and learning. This requires dialogue and the development of differentiated policies and practices, including efforts to support adolescents' transition to vocational, skill training, and decent work opportunities especially for out-of-school children.

•

Ensure that government officials, parents, caregivers, community and religious elders, teachers, police, employers, and the media are aware of children's needs and rights.

•

Increase children's and family members' access to child and diversity-friendly information on policies and practices affecting their lives, and to services to which they are entitled.

•

Governments, the UN, civil society agencies, and trade unions must promote child rights and support the organisation and participation of working children at all levels.

9 Conclusion
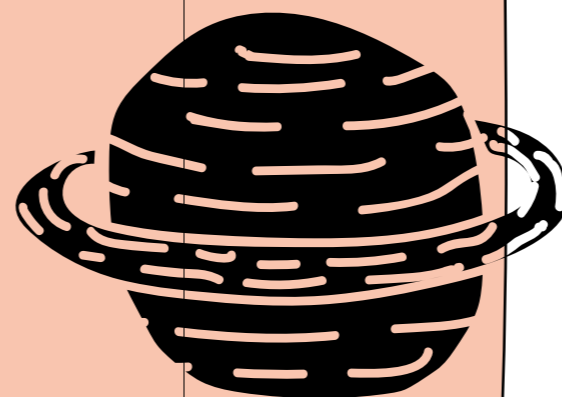
The Time to Talk project provided crucial spaces to listen to and better understand the views, experiences and suggestions of girls and boys who are working in different settings around the world. The findings revealed the diversity of children's working lives, and thus the complexities of developing and implementing practices and policies which support children's development, well-being, and protection. Key to ensuring policy and practice interventions in children's best interests is the meaningful participation of children themselves. It is essential that governments widen spaces for dialogue among children, parents and caregivers, practitioners, and policy makers at local and national levels to ensure that policies and practices are responsive to children and families' needs, and the specific socio-cultural, economic and socio-political contexts in which they operate.

The Time to Talk consultations have highlighted how crucial it is to understand and approach working children in their wider context. The type and amount of work taken on by children in different settings is influenced by: children's gender; age; sibling order; care status; ethnicity; religion; sexuality; family income; parents' value for education vis-à-vis children's work; rural/urban settings; seasons; access to quality education; conflict; migration; citizenship status; and other factors. A socio-ecological framework is presented to inform the project's assessment, planning, and monitoring in keeping with the children's best interests. This framework helped to recognise the diversity of children's work and the necessity of protecting children from work that is harmful, hazardous or forced, while at the same time appreciating the benefits of light, safe work undertaken by children. Building upon children's key messages, the report authors and project organisers have also developed 12 key policy and practice recommendations to improve the lives of working children.

9.1 A socio-ecological framework to inform decision-making in children's best interests

It is crucial for governments; the ILO; UN agencies; civil society organizations; trade unions; employers; academia; Alliance 8.7[70]; and the media to recognise the diversity of children's working lives, the different motivations and reasons for children's work, and the advantages and disadvantages of their work. While some children emphasised that they were compelled to work to help their families due to adult pressure, poverty, or family struggles, other children were more positive about their motivations to work. They helped their parents as integral family members, they earned money to continue their studies, and they learned new skills. Rather than simply classifying some forms of work as harmful and should be abolished[71], and other forms of work as good that should be allowed, children's diverse experiences necessitate the importance of seeing children's work on a broader continuum (Bourdillon et al., 2011; White, 1996). There is a need to look at children's work in the wider context of their families and in socio-cultural political contexts.

As well as considering broader working conditions and relationships, rather than simply focusing on the type of work in which children are engaged. Recognising that there are both advantages and disadvantages of work, a 'balance model' (Hobbs & McKechnie, 2007) helps to identify the benefits and costs of children's work.
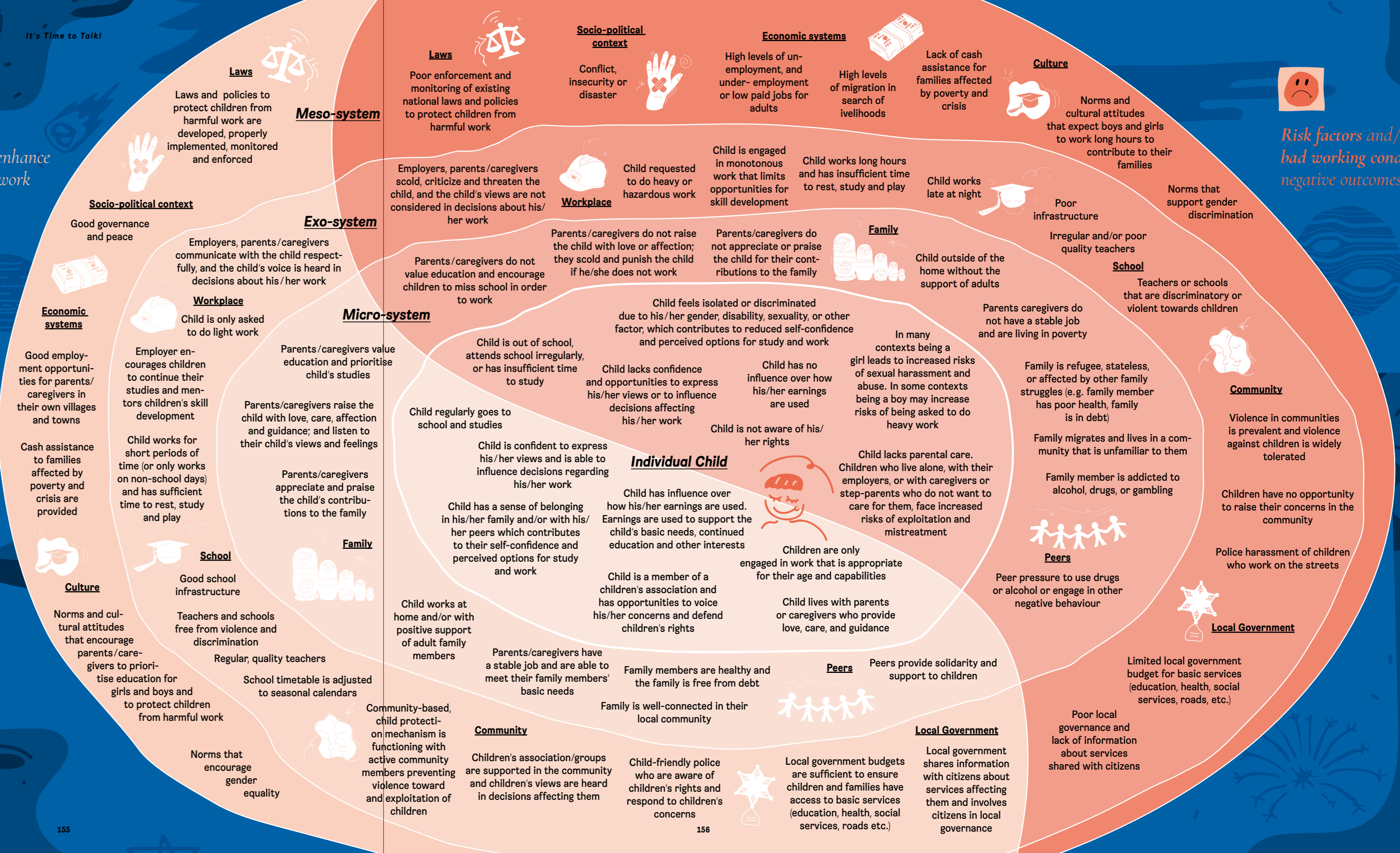
Building upon working children's own analysis of protection and risk factors, in addition to broader consultation findings regarding positive and negative aspects of their working environments, a table using the socio-ecological framework has been developed to inform assessment, planning and monitoring in children's best interests. This table could be developed into an assessment, planning and monitoring guide and used by government and NGOs in collaboration with working children to discuss, analyse and inform action planning. The framework can be used to inform individual, child-protection case management. It will aide in prioritising efforts to protect children from work that is harmful, and to address harmful working relationships, while also supporting children involved in work that is safe and light work, and not detrimental to their well-being and development. The framework can also be strategically used by governments, the UN and civil society organisations (including working children's associations). It will be useful in shaping multisectoral strategies, laws, policies and action plans to address risk factors and drivers of marginalisation, exploitation and violence. It will also help to strengthen protection factors and the commitment of children, families and communities to enhance their protection of children's rights. 🔴

Protection Factors and/or good working conditions that enhance positive outcomes of children's work

Risk factors and/or bad working conditions that increase negative outcomes of children's work

Protection Factors side:

Meso-system

Laws — Laws and policies to protect children from harmful work are developed, properly implemented, monitored and enforced.

Socio-political context — Good governance and peace

Economic systems — Good employment opportunities for parents/caregivers in their own villages and towns. Cash assistance to families affected by poverty and crisis are provided

Culture — Norms and cultural attitudes that encourage parents/caregivers to prioritise education for girls and boys and to protect children from harmful work. Norms that encourage gender equality

Exo-system

Employers, parents/caregivers communicate with the child respectfully, and the child's voice is heard in decisions about his/her work

Workplace — Child is only asked to do light work. Employer encourages children to continue their studies and mentors children's skill development. Child works for short periods of time (or only works on non-school days) and has sufficient time to rest, study and play

School — Good school infrastructure. Teachers and schools free from violence and discrimination. Regular, quality teachers. School timetable is adjusted to seasonal calendars

Community — Community-based, child protection mechanism is functioning with active community members preventing violence toward and exploitation of children

Micro-system

Parents/caregivers value education and prioritise child's studies. Parents/caregivers raise the child with love, care, affection and guidance; and listen to their child's views and feelings. Parents/caregivers appreciate and praise the child's contributions to the family

Family — Child regularly goes to school and studies. Child is confident to express his/her views and is able to influence decisions regarding his/her work. Child has a sense of belonging in his/her family and/or with his/her peers which contributes to their self-confidence and perceived options for study and work. Child works at home and/or with positive support of adult family members. Parents/caregivers have a stable job and are able to meet their family members' basic needs. Family members are healthy and the family is free from debt. Family is well-connected in their local community

Individual Child — Child has influence over how his/her earnings are used. Earnings are used to support the child's basic needs, continued education and other interests. Child is a member of a children's association and has opportunities to voice his/her concerns and defend children's rights. Child lives with parents or caregivers who provide love, care, and guidance. Children are only engaged in work that is appropriate for their age and capabilities

Peers — Peers provide solidarity and support to children

Community — Children's association/groups are supported in the community and children's views are heard in decisions affecting them

Local Government — Child-friendly police who are aware of children's rights and respond to children's concerns. Local government budgets are sufficient to ensure children and families have access to basic services (education, health, social services, roads etc.). Local government shares information with citizens about services affecting them and involves citizens in local governance

Risk Factors side:

Laws — Poor enforcement and monitoring of existing national laws and policies to protect children from harmful work

Socio-political context — Conflict, insecurity or disaster

Economic systems — High levels of unemployment, and under-employment or low paid jobs for adults. High levels of migration in search of livelihoods. Lack of cash assistance for families affected by poverty and crisis

Culture — Norms and cultural attitudes that expect boys and girls to work long hours to contribute to their families. Norms that support gender discrimination

Employers, parents/caregivers scold, criticize and threaten the child, and the child's views are not considered in decisions about his/her work

Workplace — Child requested to do heavy or hazardous work. Child is engaged in monotonous work that limits opportunities for skill development. Child works long hours and has insufficient time to rest, study and play. Child works late at night

Parents/caregivers do not raise the child with love or affection; they scold and punish the child if he/she does not work. Parents/caregivers do not appreciate or praise the child for their contributions to the family

Family — Poor infrastructure. Irregular and/or poor quality teachers. Child outside of the home without the support of adults

School — Teachers or schools that are discriminatory or violent towards children

Parents/caregivers do not value education and encourage children to miss school in order to work

Child feels isolated and discriminated due to his/her gender, disability, sexuality, or other factor, which contributes to reduced self-confidence and perceived options for study and work. Child lacks confidence and opportunities to express his/her views or to influence decisions affecting his/her work. Child has no influence over how his/her earnings are used. Child is not aware of his/her rights. In many contexts being a girl leads to increased risks of sexual harassment and abuse. In some contexts being a boy may increase risks of being asked to do heavy work. Child lacks parental care. Children who live alone, with their employers, or with caregivers or step-parents who do not want to care for them, face increased risks of exploitation and mistreatment

Parents caregivers do not have a stable job and are living in poverty. Family is refugee, stateless, or affected by other family struggles (e.g. family member has poor health, family is in debt). Family migrates and lives in a community that is unfamiliar to them. Family member is addicted to alcohol, drugs, or gambling

Community — Violence in communities is prevalent and violence against children is widely tolerated. Children have no opportunity to raise their concerns in the community. Police harassment of children who work on the streets

Peers — Peer pressure to use drugs or alcohol or engage in other negative behaviour

Local Government — Limited local government budget for basic services (education, health, social services, roads, etc.). Poor local governance and lack of information about services shared with citizens

9.2 Policy and practice recommendations

1 *Increase dialogue to agree on a common terminology relating to children's work, child labour, youth employment, and decent work for young people, in order to better inform data collection, policy and practice developments.*

When discussing policies that can help improve their lives some working children talked about protecting children from harmful work, improving children's working conditions, and increasing access to vocational skill training. Some children focused on stopping child labour altogether. Greater and more continuous efforts are needed by different actors, bringing together working children and policy makers, to explore and unpack what these different words (children's work, child labour, skill training etc.) mean in order to inform relevant policy and practice developments in children's best interests. Different agencies working to protect the rights of working children are currently using different terminology to define: 'child labour'; 'the worst forms of child labour'; 'hazardous forms of child labour'; 'children in employment'; 'children's work'; and 'decent work'. For example, some agencies use the term 'child labour' to describe harmful work by children, while others use 'child labour' to encompass all types of children's work. This creates misunderstanding and potentially harmful consequences when designing and implementing policies and programmes (Bourdillon et al, 2011). Differences in terminology are further complicated

when agencies do not clearly define terms, or when they have different definitions of who they mean when they talk about 'a child', 'an adolescent', 'a young person', or 'a youth'. Lack of common terminology contributes to difficulties in data collection, monitoring and planning, in addition to ineffective or contradictory strategies and plans when trying to increase access to decent work, while ensuring children are protected from harmful work. Thus, increased dialogue among governments; the ILO; UN agencies; Alliance 8.7; civil society organisations; working children's associations; unorganised working children; trade unions; and businesses is needed to agree on common terminology relating to children's work, child labour, children in employment, youth employment, and decent work.

2 *Ensure coordinated, child-focused, gender sensitive, policy and practice developments that are locally relevant, flexible and responsive to the needs, rights, and aspirations of children and families in a variety of contexts.*

Recent ILO papers recognise that there is no 'one-size-fits-all' approach, but rather that responses to protect children from harmful and hazardous work need to be reflected in broader policies in the areas of education, social protection and labour markets (ILO, 2017). Policies and practices need to reflect the complexities, diversity, and multi-faceted nature of children's work.

Gender-sensitive, child-focused policy and practice developments would enable more nuanced responses to ensure children's protection, well-being and development and remain relevant to children and families in different contexts. The Time to Talk results illustrate the interdependency and interrelatedness of human rights that require multisectoral strategies in order to be effective. To address the holistic needs of children and families increased, coordinated, multisectoral efforts are needed to reduce poverty; promote gender equality, good governance, and child sensitive social protection; and strengthen education, health and protection systems.

3 *Increase investments in child-focused family strengthening strategies, schemes and interventions including: poverty reduction; decent work and livelihood schemes for parents and caregivers; child-sensitive social protection; improved infrastructure in remote, rural, urban poor and camp settings; and access to family support services.*

Government efforts to reduce poverty and to economically strengthen families are critical to preventing children from engaging in harmful or exploitative work. Children emphasised the need for policies and programmes which support families, ensuring that parents and caregivers in rural, urban and camp settings have access to good jobs and livelihood schemes. Government investments are needed in child-sensitive, social protection schemes, both as

part of ongoing development programming, and in humanitarian contexts (ACPF, Save the Children and Young Lives, 2014). Furthermore, governments should allocate increased budgets for education, health, social services and infrastructure in rural and urban contexts to ensure access to free, quality, basic services. In addition, access to family support services and raising awareness among parents and caregivers regarding the value of education, and the importance of listening to children's views, is also needed.

4 *Strengthen children's rights to information, expression, participation and association. Ensure genuine opportunities for decision-makers to listen to and take into account the views of working children in families, schools, workplaces, communities, and policy and practice developments concerning them.*

Children have rights to express their views and be involved in decisions affecting them, to access information, to form associations and the freedom of peaceful assembly. In diverse socio-cultural, political contexts children generally lack power and status in society, and societies tend to be adult-centred. Children's exclusion from decision-making drives children's exploitation and abuse. The Time to Talk findings have reinforced the fact that children's participation in decision-making and opportunities for children to actively engage in working children's associations, is a pivotal protection factor. Their active participation helps children to defend their rights and to negotiate and collaborate with adults to address challenges and improve their situations (Asker & Gero, 2012; Bourdillon et al., 2011; Cussaniovich & Marquez,

2002; Holzcheiter, 2016; Liebel, 2003; O'Kane, 2003b). Strategies to promote dialogue and participation of girls and boys (including working children from diverse working backgrounds) is a key vehicle to drive the development, implementation and monitoring of more relevant and accountable policies and practices for children. Children's views should be seriously considered, and adult duty bearers have responsibilities to share feedback with children about how their views have been considered.

5 *Strengthen the development and participatory monitoring of education systems that provide inclusive, free, safe, relevant, quality education to all children in remote, rural, urban and camp localities.*

Access to free, quality education, ensuring non-discriminatory, non-violent learning environments, for all children living in remote, rural, urban and camp settings (including refugee, stateless, and migrant children, children with disabilities, ethnic minorities, and other minorities) is critical to ensuring children's regular attendance in school and to preventing school dropouts. Flexible school timetables and curricula which can be adjusted to children's needs, including the seasonal work of children and families, may support children's learning and improve school retention rates (Morrow, 2015; Orkin, 2010). More applied research is needed to explore this. Increasing awareness among parents and caregivers about the value of children's education, and pathways for children's and parent's views to be heard in school management, can also enhance opportunities to develop and monitor child-friendly, quality education that is relevant to local needs. The links between children's work and

education need to be further explored and reflected in policy and practice developments, considering that some children are working in order to continue their education, and children can learn skills through their work (Morrow, 2015).

6 *Refine, implement, monitor and enforce laws, policies and programmes to protect children from work that is hazardous, harmful, and/or forced (informed by the views of working children).*

Ongoing and increased efforts are needed to implement article 32 of UNCRC to protect children from exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or otherwise interfere with: the child's education; physical, mental, or spiritual health; moral or social development. Children identified the need for policies to protect them from work that is hazardous, harmful and/or forced, with increased efforts to address the factors that compel children to work (poverty, poor education, and threats or violence). Increased efforts are also needed to create space for children's views to influence the design and monitoring of laws, policies and programmes at national and sub-national levels. This must also be accompanied by broad-based, increased awareness among children, parents, caregivers, employers, and government officials on children's rights and national laws and policies that concern child labour, education, child protection, and social protection. Furthermore, governments should invest in increased training on child rights for police, social workers/social welfare officers, and labour inspectors; and employers who violate children's rights should be held accountable.

The socio-ecological framework shared above, and the criteria mentioned by children identifying necessary conditions for work they can and cannot do, can inform policy and practice developments, and monitoring and action planning that is in children's best interests. Children described how girls and boys should not do work that: is harmful (unhealthy, unsafe or carries risks of pain, injury or accidents); is too heavy or difficult for their age or ability; is exploitative (working long hours or being paid unfair wages); has a negative impact on their studies; or work that exposes them to increased risks of abuse and violence. Many children suggested that they should be permitted to take on light, easy work, and to work in safe environments if the work does not harm them physically, emotionally or sexually, nor interfere with their education. Moreover, the work should be close to the child's home, and/or supported by adults or family members, and children must have sufficient time to play and rest. Policies should not criminalise or penalise families or children when children voluntarily engage in light work that does not adversely affect their well-being or development. However, policies and practice should protect children from all forms of harm and should attend to children's psycho-social well-being, as well as to their physical health, and education needs (see Woodhead, 2004). For instance, policies and practices to improve the lives of working children should include a focus on efforts to strengthen and improve relationships and communication styles among children and their parents, caregivers and employers. Children place great importance on their immediate relationships and non-violent, appreciative communication styles (Woodhead, 2004).

7 Increase investments in human and financial resources for child-protection, case management to ensure coordinated, multisectoral responses to child exploitation and violence based on children's best interests (informed by the views of the child and family members).

A child-protection, case management approach supports processes for assessments, planning, implementation, monitoring and follow-up of individual children, taking into consideration the views of the child and their family members. Case management enables careful assessment of the nature of children's work, considering protection and risk factors, so that action planning and decision-making is guided by children's best interests. A gender-sensitive and non-discriminatory approach is needed. Social workers must be trained to build upon the strengths and resilience of children, families and communities, while also identifying and implementing strategies to reduce risks and vulnerabilities. The social worker's role is to coordinate multisectoral responses to support children and families so that they may access services, and effectively respond to harm, exploitation and violence. Particular efforts will be needed to address cumulative risks (Liborio & Ungar, 2010; Woodhead, 2004). In contexts where removal of a child from the working place is being considered, it is particularly important that a child-protection, case management approach is applied to ensure that careful assessments are used to guide decision-making that remains in the child's best interests.

8 Strengthen child-protection systems (local to international) to prevent and protect children from violence in families, work places, schools, streets, communities, and wider society. As part of the child-protection system, child-friendly, safe and accountable reporting mechanisms should be accessible to children in different settings.

Child-protection systems need to be strengthened from local to international levels. Children's expressions concerning their dislikes when working reveal the prevalence of violence that girls and boys are exposed to in homes, at workplaces, in schools, on the streets, in their communities, and in wider society. Girls and boys are frequently scolded by parents, caregivers, employers, and members of the general public. Some children are threatened with physical punishment, and prevented form going to school or playing if they do not complete their assigned tasks. Some children face physical violence, threats in the work place, and girls in particular, face increased risks of sexual harassment and abuse. Violence in schools was also cited as a reason for dropping out of school. Furthermore, girls and boys are frequently exposed to violence (physical, emotional and sexual) when working on the streets. Thus, in efforts to prevent and protect children from harmful work, it is crucial that a wide range of agencies (governments, the ILO, UN, civil society organisations, faith-based organisations, and businesses, academia, media) support multisectoral efforts to prevent and protect girls and boys from all forms of violence, including forms of gender-based violence. Integral to such efforts, child-friendly safe and accountable reporting mechanisms should be established in different settings. Children should be adequately informed about the mechanisms, what they are meant for and how to use them, so that they can more easily speak up and make complaints about violence or exploitation.

9 Increase investments in gender and disability-sensitive, vocational-skill training and on-the-job mentoring schemes for adolescents, while also promoting and supporting non-discriminatory access to formal education.

Policies and practices should allow and encourage children and young people to participate in skill-learning opportunities, while ensuring children's protection from harm and exploitation. The benefits of vocational training and on-the-job mentoring were emphasised by working children; and opportunities for skill training and transitions to decent work are especially important for adolescents who have dropped out of school. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2016) recognised the importance of transitions from education to training and decent work for adolescents. The UNCRC (2016) urged '*States to support out-of-school adolescents in a manner appropriate to their age to facilitate the transition to decent work, including by ensuring consistency between education and labour laws, and to adopt policies to promote future employment.*' (p.19) Vocational skill training and on the job-mentoring schemes should be gender and disability-sensitive, ensuring inclusion and non-discrimination of the most marginalised adolescents.

10 Engage employers and businesses to ensure application of children's rights in their business practices.

Children shared messages with employers, urging to communicate politely and treat children with kindness and respect. Children's rights and business principles have been developed by UNICEF and Save the Children in consultation with governments, children, businesses and other agencies to guide companies on the full range of actions they can take in the workplace, marketplace and community to respect and support children's rights (UNICEF & Save the Children, 2012). These 'children's rights and business principles' should be applied. Based on existing standards, initiatives and best practices related to business and children, these principles seek to define the scope of corporate responsibility towards children. Covering a wide range of critical issues – from child labour, to marketing and advertising practices, to the role of business in aiding children affected by emergencies – the principles call on companies everywhere to respect children's rights through their core business actions, but also through policy commitments, due diligence and remediation measures.

11 Increase humanitarian support for children and families affected by conflict, disaster or other shocks. Increase government investments in emergency preparedness and disaster risk reduction to strengthen families' resilience and to reduce vulnerability.

Agencies should increase timely and adequate humanitarian support for children and families affected by crisis, so that families have sufficient funds and material assistance to meet their basic needs (including shelter, food, health, and education). Opportunities for parents and caregivers to access decent work regardless of their legal status, and for family members to access free, quality services (health, education, protection) would reduce the push for children to take on forced or exploitative work. Thus, strategic efforts are required to overcome legal barriers and discriminatory practices that prevent parents and caregivers from earning a living. Increased government investments in disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation, and violence prevention would also help reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen resilience to adversity.

12 Support ongoing, formative dialogue research, and participatory monitoring and evaluation to inform and assess the impact of child labour laws, policies and programmes.

The ILO has identified the need for investments in increasing knowledge to inform policy responses, '*as too little is known about the effectiveness of interventions in policy areas of relevance to child labour, which, in turn, is impeding policy development. There is a general need for more knowledge of the implications for child labour of broader global challenges, including climate change, migration, inequality, urbanization, and changes in the world of work*' (ILO, 2017: 10). When designing and implementing laws, policies and programmes to improve the lives of working children, increased use of formative dialogue research would enable the views of children, parents and caregivers to shape the design and implementation of more relevant interventions. Furthermore, ongoing participatory monitoring and evaluation to assess the impact of child-labour laws, policies and programmes would increase knowledge on what does and does not work and why, in order to inform and increase examples of good practice. ●

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Annexes
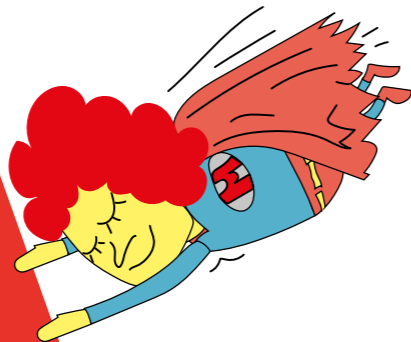
Annex I: Acknowledgments

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Children's advisory committee members	Andrew, Annah, Abhisekh, Aruna, Anggi, Amm, Almir, Abigail, Abd-Alrahman, Beauty, Benjamin, Abhishek, Dinesh, Asdiki, Ann, Almir, Alex, Ahmad, Blessed, David, Ahamad, Ali, Hom, Ery, Areeva, Behar, Cecilia, Aish, Carol, Fabian, Aman, Kopila, Fauza, Armeema, Besmir, Cindy, Fedaa, Danny, Faith, Aman, Pabitra, Joshua, Baak, Ismail, Fernando, Hadeel, Donald, Hildah, Ambhika, Prakash, Krisna, Keaw, Isuf, Irene, Hala, Emmanuel, Jack, Barisha, Puja, Lasria, Mesa, Liridon, Jessica, Khalid, Ernest, John, Birendra, Ram Naresh, Muhammad, Naway, Mirije, Jhon, Loai, Harry, Joseph, Chandrika, Sajan, Niko, Oratai, Olti, Joel, Mohammad, Mary, Chelige, Saraswali, Rusma, Suthida, Rinesa, Luis, Mohammad, Orient, Musyoki, Cheliki, Sarita, Ruth, Tem, Mary, Senada, Maribel, Qusai, Pumulo, Peter, Durga, Satisma, Samuel, Shkurte, Merly, Shahed, Supliano, Shelton, Shiva, Three, Shukrije, Milena, Walaa, Viola, Tonny, Sai, Sushika, Yudha, Tahire, Neiser, Vivian, Jagiri, Zulfa, Omar, Janaki, Renzo, Jaya, Roger, Jayasbree, Samuel, Lakshmi, Viviana, Lalita, Latha, Likelshi, Malaya, Manikanta, Manju, Maya, Mohamade, Naresh, Palak, Papi, Pooja, Pritam, Priya, Rahul, Ram, Ranjim, Ravi, Ruksanabi, Seema Banu, Shahid Ali, Shankar, Shrabana, Snjaya, Sumitra, Surya, Vamri, Vidiya, Yogeswari

And we sincerely thank any other CAC member whose name may have been inadvertently omitted from this list. |
| **Children's advisory committee focal points** | Sharmili Basu (TdH), Father Ignatius (PARA), Cynthia Xavier (TdH), Anil Pradhan (Sikshasandhan), Moni Shrestha (TdH), Itsaraporn Daoram (TdH), Keumala Dewi (PKPA), James Boyon (AMWCY), Thomas Pallithanam (formerly PARA), Mainga Hamukang'andu (BIC CCDP), Cristina Cardozo, (TdH), Tom Isaac (AMWCY), Luz Rivera (PASOCAP), Marcela Rabanal, (IINCAP), Richard Gutierrez (IINCAP), Ericka Zeas (La Cuculmeca), Albulena Shabani (TdH), Lucie Rocafort (TdH), Ingrid Mendonca (TdH), Celine Lefebvre (TdH), Reji Parappallil (TdH), Durga Pudasaini (CWISH), Krishna P. Subedi (CWISH), Fatmir Musiliu (TdH), Pajtim Zeqiri (TdH), Marije Vuksani (TdH), Marco Bazan (TdH), Reina Isabel Velasquez (TdH), Ibrahim Youssef (TdH), Cynthia Coffmann (TdH), Enas Banat (TdH), Blerta Spahiu (TdH), Zahra Dziri (TdH), Patricia Rivera Guerra (MANTHOC), Rebecca Perez Rodas (CEIPA), Magdalena Machava (ABA), Beat (Tuto) Wehrle (TdH), Aime Bada (AMWCY) |
| **Adult Advisory Committee Members** | See Annex IV |

Time to Talk interns	Lea Kulakow (KNH), Ann-Kathrin Binot (KNH), Johanna Förster (KNH), Anna Alicia Kier (KNH), Marieke Erlenstedt (KNH/TdH), Dominique Grassmann (TdH), Lena Lieberknecht (TdH), Pascal Kubin (KNH)
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Advocacy	Barbara Burger-Erlenstedt (KNH), Ricardo Recht (Sternsinger), Esther Rueden (KNH), Jan Hanrath (KNH), Marieke Erlenstedt (TdH) Peggy Herrmann-Ljubicic (TdH), Beata Stappers-Karpinska (TdH), Eylah Kadjar (TdH), Olivier Grobet (TdH), Anne Vennegues (TdH), Aysel Sabahoglu (TdH), Ignacio Packer (formerly TdH), Barbara Küppers (TdH), Wendy Blanpied (Save the Children), Carol Tisshaw (Save the Children), Cicely McWilliam (Save the Children), Tim Murray (Save the Children)
German Federal Ministries' supporting officials	**German Human Rights Commissioner** Dr. Bärbel Kofler (Time to Talk patron) Anja Kersten **Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development** Anna-Maria Schneider Tino Clemens **Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs** Birgit Zeitz Kirsten Neu-Brandenburg Muriel Schiessl **Federal Foreign Office** Yasemin Pamuk **Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth** Jonas Kohl

Annex II: Partners who organised and facilitated the Time to Talk consultations

Country	NGO	Type of NGO / Organisation
Albania	Terre des Hommes	International NGO
Argentina	La veleta y la antena	Local/National
Bangladesh	CSID	Local/National
Bolivia	Estrellas en la calle	Local/National
Bolivia	PASOCAP	Local/National
Bolivia	Vamos Juntos	Local/National
Burkina Faso	PILTEM	Local/National
Burkina Faso	PASAB	
Ecuador	Terre des Hommes	Local/National
Ethiopia	Facilitator for Change (FC)	Local/National
Germany	Kindernothilfe e.V.	International NGO
Guatemala	Defensa de los niños internacional (DNI)	International NGO
Guatemala	CEIPA	Local/National
Guatemala	PAMI	Local/National
Guatemala	PENNAT	Local/National
India	BREADS	Local/National
India	CACL	Local/National
India	SEEDS	Local/National
India	Sikshasandhan	Local/National
India	Care Trust	Local/National
India	PARA	Local/National
Indonesia	PKPA	Local/National
Iraq	Terre des Hommes	International NGO
Jordan	Terre des Hommes	International NGO
Kenya	African Movement of Working Children and Youth (AMWCY) Kenya	International movement
Kenya	Action for Children in Conflict (AfCiC) UK in Kenya	Local/National
Kosovo	Terre des Hommes	International NGO
Kosovo	Balkan Sunflowers	Local/National
Kyrgyzstan	Children Center Putnik	Local/National
Kyrgyzstan	Public Fund Alliance on Protection of Child Rights'	Local/National
Kyrgyzstan	Save the Children International	International NGO
Lebanon	Terre des Hommes	
Mali	Association pour le Développement Communautaire, "ONG/Jièkataaniè"	Local/National
Mali	Association pour la Promotion des Droits et le Bien-Être de la Famille (APSEF)	Local/National
Mexico	Melel Xojobal	Local/National
Myanmar	Equality Myanmar	Local/National
Nepal	Children and Women in Social Service and Human Rights (CWISH)	Local/National
Nepal	Urban Environment Management Society (UEMS)	Local/National
Nicaragua	La Cuculmeca	Local/National

Country	NGO	Type of NGO / Organisation
Nigeria	African Movement of Working Children and Youth (AMWCY) Nigeria	International Movement
Paraguay	Callescuela	Local/National
Peru	ABA	Local/National
Peru	CODEHICA	Local/National
Peru	IINCAP	Local/National
Peru	Lentch	Local/National
Peru	Manthoc	National Children's Movement
Phillipines	KAUGMAON	Local/National
Phillipines	Participatory Research, Organization of Communities and Education towards Struggle for Self-reliance (PROCESS)-Bohol	Local/National
Rwanda	African Movement of working Children and Youth (AMWCY) Rwanda	International Movement
Senegal	Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT) Senegal	International movement
Serbia	Novosadski Humanitarni Centar	Local/National
Tanzania	The Tanzania Association of Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment (TAWLAE)	Local/National
Chad	Mouvement Africain des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs (MAEJT) Chad	International movement
Thailand	Stateless Children Protection Project (SCPP)	Local/National
Thailand	Labour Rights Promotion Network (LPN)	Local/National
Thailand	TSA	Local/National
Turkey	Support to Life (STL)/Hayata Destek	Local/National
Zambia	BIC Choma Children Development Project (CCDP)	Local/National
Zimbabwe	CACLAZ	Local/National

Annex III: Feedback from children and partners about the consultation process

The local civil society partners made significant efforts to create effective consultation teams that included facilitators, documenters and a focus on child protection. During the project, adults and children alike were encouraged to give their feedback on the research and consultation process. This feedback was then used to improve the research.

**Key reflections from adults who organised, facilitated, and documented the consultations:**

• It was meaningful and important for them to consult children and listen to their views and experiences about their work.

• Icebreakers at the outset of the consultations were important to create a friendly environment where children were able to express themselves. While some children were initially hesitant to share their views, the majority of children opened up and shared their views freely.

• Challenges were faced when some activities took longer to facilitate than expected. If the activity went on too long, children got restless. A few facilitators found it harder to implement some of the activities with children who had low literacy levels.

• Significant efforts were made by local partners to create an inclusive and safe environment where all children were able to express themselves. Particular efforts were made to include the most marginalised children: children from the poorest families; children with disabilities; stateless children; refugee children; and children from ethnic minorities. Staff or volunteers speaking local languages were involved to aide in the consultations.

• Local staff commented on how they learned new skills and gained new insights from the consultation process which they were then able to use to improve their own programming.

Children's main likes and dislikes about the consultation process:

Children who shared their feedback immediately after the consultation workshops were primarily positive about their experiences, finding them quite enjoyable. Their main points were:

• Children liked the different consultation activities, especially the 'Body Mapping' and 'A day in the life of...' activities; drawing pictures; mapping work they can and cannot do; and the 'Flowers of Support'.

• Children liked being consulted and listened to. For many children it was the first time they had been consulted about their work, thus they were especially excited to share their views and experiences. This made them feel encouraged and motivated.

• Children liked sharing their ideas with others, and they liked learning new things.

Very few children shared any negative feedback on the consultations (when asked immediately after the workshop). However, a few children in one country said it was boring to prepare two 'A day in the life of...'-timelines, one for a typical school day, and one timeline for work they do on a non-school day.
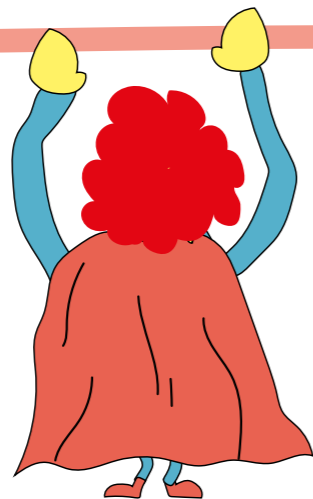
Annex IV: *Members of the Adult Advisory Committee*

Name	Organisation
Dena Aufseeser	University of Maryland, Baltimore County, USA
Michael Bourdillon	Independent researcher, Zimbabwe
Jo Boyden	Oxford Department of International Development - Young Lives, University of Oxford, UK
James Boyon	African Movement of Working Children and Youth (AMWCY), Senegal
Richard Carothers	PTE, Canada
Alejandro Cussiánovich	Universidad Nacional Federico Villareal, Peru
Clare Feinstein	Save the Children, Netherlands
Ángel González	Movimiento Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes Trabajadores (MOLACNATS), Venezuela
Antonella Invernizzi	Independent researcher, France
Gerison Lansdown	International consultant, UK
Deborah Levison	The Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, USA
Olivia Lecoufle	Save the Children: Canada
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Laura Lundy	Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland
Alana Kapell	Consultant, Canada
Brian Milne	Consultant, France
Dr. Virginia Morrow	Oxford Department of International Development - Young Lives, University of Oxford, UK
William Myers	Independent scholar
Carmen Ponce	Group for the Analysis of Development (GRADE), Peru
Kavita Ratna	The Concerned for Working Children, India
Jessica Taft	University of California Santa Cruz, USA
Fabrizio Terenzio	Retired – Environnement et Développement du Tiers Monde (ENDA), Senegal
Ben White	Retired – International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands

Annex V: Number of children consulted by country

Countries	Participants			
	Female	Male	Other	Grand Total
Albania	2	19		21
Argentina	16	14		30
Bangladesh	34	26		60
Burkina Faso	21	29		50
Bolivia	45	54	1	100
Chad	16	23		39
Costa Rica	1	8		9
Ecuador	15	12		27
Ethiopia	26	24		50
Germany	13	8		21
Guatemala	84	48		132
India	115	91		206
Indonesia	27	16		43
Iraq		23		23
Jordan	13	29		42
Kenya	26	26		52
Kosovo	9	11		20
Kyrgyzstan	36	25		61
Lebanon	18	19		37
Mali	40	20		60
Mexico	13	8		21
Myanmar	17	19		36
Nepal	40	37		77
Nigeria	24	32		56
Nicaragua	8	16		24
Paraguay	28	20		48
Peru	71	75		146
Philippines	51	44		95
Rwanda	12	13		25
Senegal	16	1		17
Serbia	0	7		7
Tanzania	22	24		46
Thailand	12	0		12
Turkey	21	15		36
Zambia	20	17		37
Zimbabwe	35	20	1	56
Grand Total	**947**	**873**	**2**	**1822**

Annex VI: Overview of children's caregivers

Caregiver the child is living with:	Number of children
Employer (non-related)	27
Father only	29
Father & stepmother	20
Grandparent(s)	53
Mother only	302
Mother & father	1139
Mother & stepfather	39
Mother and female partner	2
Other (not indicated)	54
Other caregivers (non-related)	23
Other children (non-related)	1
Other relatives	61
Siblings	39
Unknown	33
Grand Total	**1822**

Annex VII: Qualitative and quantitative data analysis overview

Type of data	Data source	Tool used to support analysis
Qualitative	Transcription tables from 134 consultations looking at: • Work conditions • Diverse childhoods • Reasons and motivations • Who decides • Likes about work • Dislikes about work • Aspirations • Work we can or should do • Work we cannot or should not do • Protection and risk factors • Child-led advocacy • Policies and approach • Key messages	NVivo 11
Quantitative	1822 Individual Questionnaires and Consent Forms	Excel

Annex VIII: Information about CACs

Overview of children's advisory committees (CACs)

| No	Country	Region/City	NGO	Members	Girls	Boys	Age group		Type of work	(non)-Organised	Meetings conducted
	ASIA										
1	India	Delhi/ Bhopal/ Vidisha	CACL	10	4	6	12 - 17		Housework, waste collecting, stone quarry work, weaving / textile work	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action, National Exchange
2	India	Andhra Pradesh	PARA	15	2	13	9 - 16		Girls: Selling old clothes, home-based work Boys: Work in shops, small-scale vending, carpentry, masonry, fishing, and painting	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action, National Exchange
3	India	Mysore	PARA	11	5	6	12 - 18		Girls: Incense stick rolling, bidi / tobacco rolling, (home-based work), small-scale vending Boys: Cleaning and serving in shops and food providers, waste collection, small-scale vending, domestic work	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action, National Exchange
4	India	Odisha	Sikshasandhan	9	3	6	10 - 17		Paid agricultural work, domestic work	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action, National Exchange
5	Indonesia	Medan City	PKPA	10	0	10	13 - 17		Street children working as car cleaners, water sellers and street singers	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action, National Exchange
6	Nepal	Kathmandu	CWISH/TdH India	11	6	5	13 - 17		Housework, collecting firewood and water, agricultural work, construction work, cattle rearing, cooking, brick making, daily wage labour	Non-organised	I, II, III, National Exchange
7	Thailand	Chiang Mai	SCPP	13	13	0	12 - 18		Work in karaoke bars, restaurants, motorcycle repair shops, construction sites and gas stations	Non-organised	I, II, III, National Exchange
	AFRICA										
8	Senegal	N/A	MAEJT	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	Organised	National Exchange
9	Kenya	N/A	MAEJT	15	6	9	12 - 17		Domestic work, taking care of siblings, small-scale vending, hawking wares/goods	Organised	III, National Exchange
10	Zambia	Choma	BIC CCDP	14	5	9	10 - 16		Stone crushing, sand mining, housework, small scale vending	Non-organised	I

Annex VIII: Information about CACs

Overview of children's advisory committees (CACs)

No	Country	Region/City	NGO	Members	Girls	Boys	Age group		Type of work	(non)-Organised	Meetings conducted
	LATIN AMERICA										
11	Bolivia	Potosí	TdH/ PASOCAP	15	9	6	N/A		Mining, small-scale vending, working in a graveyard, taking care of children	Organised	National Exchange
12	Peru	Cajamarca	IINCAP	13	5	8	10 - 17		Transporting, brick making, small-scale vending	Organised	I, II, III, VI, Public Action
13	Nicaragua	Jinotega	La Cuculmeca	14	8	6	10 - 16		N/A	Organised	National Exchange
	EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST										
14	Kosovo	Pristina	TdH Lausanne	10	4	6	10 - 13		Girls: Housework, taking care of siblings Boys: Physical work, e.g. construction, carrying wood, waste collection	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI
15	Jordan	Mafraq City	TdH Lausanne	10	6	4	11 - 16		Girls: Agricultural work Boys: Small-scale vending, waste collection	Non-organised	I, II, III, VI
	TOTAL			170	76	94					
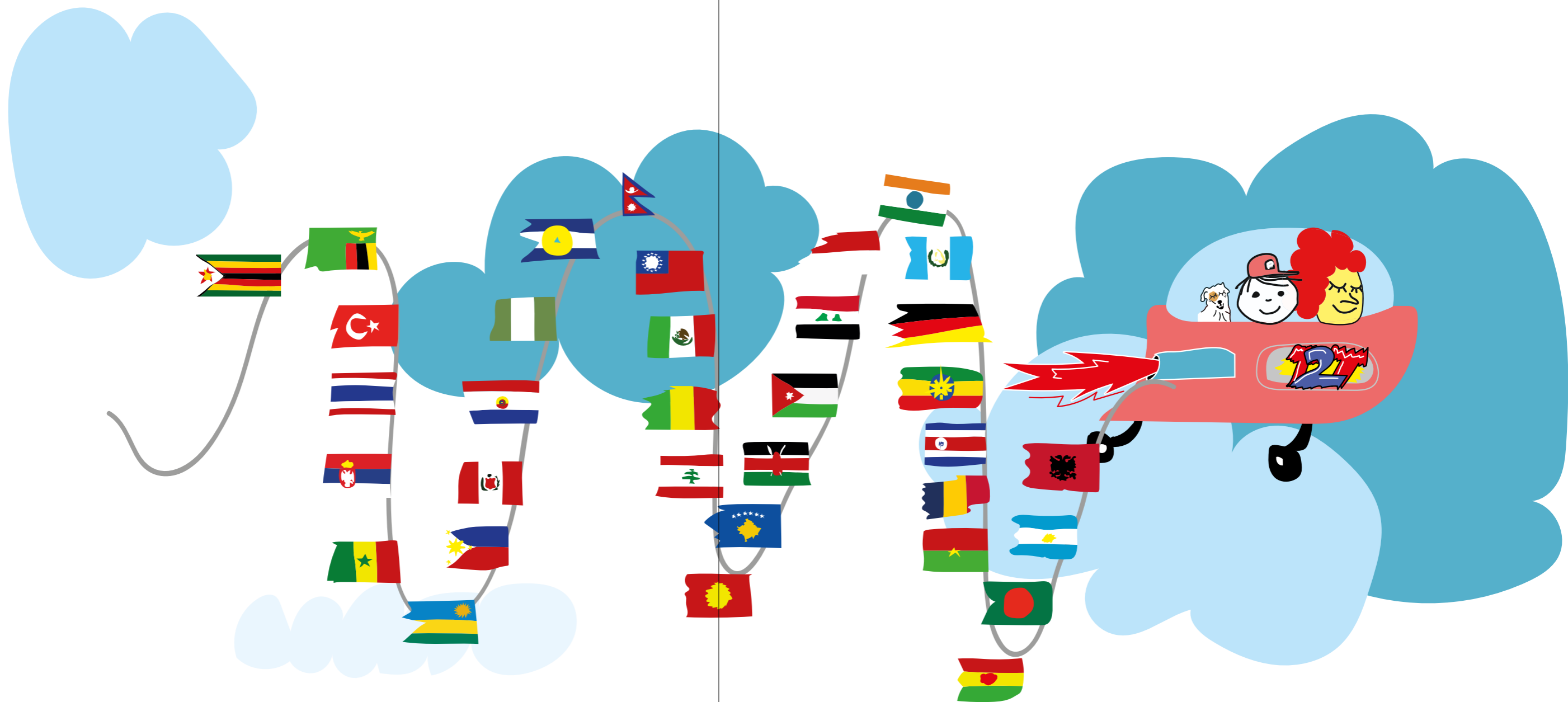
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