

**CHILD LABOUR IN RURAL INDONESIA:
CHILDREN AND PARENTS' PERSPECTIVES**

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Abstract

This thesis provides a valuable new contribution for understanding the nature of child labour within the agricultural sector in Indonesia. It presents new empirical evidence and interpretation of child work in rural Java from both a parental and a child perspective and it raises important implications for child labour policy. This purpose is in line with efforts to solve the problems of child labour in Indonesia. It is also designed to contribute to address current theoretical problems of child work and of childhood studies.

The empirical element involved a detailed qualitative case study of 20 working children aged between 11-14 years old and their parents/caregivers in two communities in Central Java and East Java. An in-depth qualitative interview was conducted with the parents and separately with the children to reveal their different understandings and experiences of the working lives of children. Specially designed visual and material methods appropriate to children ages were adopted to help the children express their views more easily. Thematic analysis and NVivo 10 were employed to analyse the data.

Three key sets of findings are highlighted from this study. First, children's work in the agricultural sector in Javanese society was seen as a form of economic participation, a form of personal development and a form of moral obligation to the family. Second, children were seen as competent agents who were able to identify any risks and harm associated with their work; however, there were also intergenerational differences in the perceptions of risk whereby parents were unaware of the children's-perceptions and understandings of the routine risks they faced. Third, the practice of child work and the perception of risk in Javanese society were not conducted in a separate sphere of family life; rather they were embedded in cultural and family practices and were intimately connected to children's life at play and education, and to sibling relationships, child-parent relationships and friendships.

The results from this thesis challenge the prevailing view that child work is a necessarily destructive element within children's well-being and well-becoming. Instead, it argues that we need to recognize the positive value of children's participation in work. The evidence suggests that policy makers should question a state led top-down global standard model of prohibition and listen more closely to children and their parents' views on the benefits of children's participation in some kinds of work. However, this should be done with regard to the local contexts that take account of the fact that children also require protection from certain risks and harm associated with child work and animal husbandry. The key message is that a non- prohibitionist stance must also recognise that the protective factors for children cannot be considered in isolation from their family and cultural practices that take place within their local communities.

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Author's Declaration

This research was conducted as part of a PhD project, funded by the Directorate General of Human Resource for Science, Technology and Higher Education (DIKTI), Indonesia. The thesis is solely the work of the named author, with appropriate recognition of any references being indicated throughout. None of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree at the University of York or any other university.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study is about child work in agriculture. It aims to understand child and parent perspectives on child work in two agricultural communities in Central Java and East Java, Indonesia, and to examine the implications of their perspectives for child labour policy. The term ‘child work’ in this study refers to all types of economic activity performed by children, including all types of paid productive activity, of non-paid productive activity, and of reproductive activity. Non-paid activity includes: “production of goods for own (household) use or domestic work outside the child’s own household” (Fors, 2012:571). An example of the third category, also often referred as reproductive work, reproductive labour, or non-productive work, includes domestic work inside the child’s own household. Children who perform child work are then categorised as ‘working children’.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) distinguishes three categories of working children: children in employment, child labourers, and children doing hazardous work (Fors, 2012:571). The ILO definition of children in employment, however, does not include domestic work performed within the child’s own household. Therefore, the definition of child work used in this study to some extent is broader than the ILO’s, by adding the notion of reproductive work (see Chapter 2). In the literature, the terms ‘child work’ and ‘child labour’ are often used interchangeably (see: Bhukuth, 2008; Bourdillon, 2006b; Edmonds, 2009; Ennew, et al., 2005; Grootaert and Kanbur, 1995; Nieuwenhuys, 1994, for a review of the definitions). This study, however, distinguishes the use of these terms, positing child labour as part of child work. Further, the definitions of child labour and other terms including ‘hazardous work’, ‘the worst forms of child labour’ and ‘light work’ refer to the ILO definition as detailed in Chapter 2.

1.1 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This study aims to understand children’s and parents’ perspectives on child work and to investigate the implications of their perspectives for child labour policy, particularly in the Indonesian context. This purpose is in line with efforts to solve

the empirical problem of child labour and current theoretical problems of child work and of childhood studies.

The first rationale for this study, therefore, is to contribute to the development of policy on child labour. Empirically child labour has remained an acute problem in the global context. Several international bodies have made remarkable efforts to tackle this problem, primarily led by the ILO through its specific division: the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). IPEC began its operations in 1992 and has implemented its strategies in various ways, primarily by providing support to surveys on child labour, by raising public and governmental awareness, and by providing advice for concerned stakeholders. IPEC's strategies have also been implemented by:

“providing assistance to conduct specific studies on gaps in legislation, by providing technical guidance and support to the legislative drafting process, and by reviewing the proposed draft legislation to ensure the widest possible compliance and advocating with national authorities and the social partners to adapt the draft legislation” (ILO, 2014c).

IPEC has assisted many countries, including the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 182 (in 1999) concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. As of December 2012, the Convention has been ratified by 176 countries, acknowledged as the fastest in the history of the ILO (2013e:4). These efforts have resulted in a large number of children being withdrawn from work. The ILO (2010d, 2013c) reports that in the last ten years the total number of children in employment has decreased gradually; the number decreased by 17 million during 2004-2008, and there was another significant decrease of 41 million during 2008-2012. The number of children engaged in child labour worldwide has also declined continually, from 222 million in 2004 to 215 million in 2008 and 168 million in 2012. Similarly, the evidence of children involved in hazardous work has decreased significantly; in 2008 it was 13 million fewer than in 2004, and it is estimated that there was a drop of 40 million during 2008-2012 (see Chapter 2). However, it should be noted that despite a decrease in the number of children involved in economic activities, these numbers remain considerably high. There are also some problems when children withdraw from work. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, not all children withdrawn from work are able to access education properly. They are also not always able to access

alternative livelihoods. Moreover, children withdrawn from work who are able to finish their higher education do not always succeed in finding a better job that fits their raised expectations, resulting in educated unemployment/under-employment.

Child labour has also remained an unsolved problem in the Indonesian context. Although massive and remarkable efforts have been undertaken to solve this problem, the incidence of child labour is consistently high in Indonesia. The Indonesian government, mainly through the National Action Committee on the elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NAC-WFCL), has formulated and implemented the National Action Plan to eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NAP-WFCL). It is mainly supported by the Ministry of Manpower and the ILO Jakarta. The leading program currently implemented at the national level is the *Program Keluarga Harapan* (PKH), or the Family Hope Programme, which aims to decrease child labour. The NAC-WFCL took initiatives to integrate the elimination of child labour into PKH, as these two programmes have a similar concern, which is to give cash assistance to very poor families whose children are involved in child labour. Through this collaboration, tens of thousands of children have been removed from child labour activities. However, conditional cash payments seem not to be fully relevant to tackle the problem of child labour in Indonesia, at least for two reasons. First, Indonesian financial resources are unable to cover the high number of child labourers. For example, among four million child labourers, the Indonesian Government only provided a national budget to withdraw 5,000 and 3,000 working children in 2008 and 2010 respectively. Second, due to the limitations of the educational infrastructure, schools in the respected sub/districts could only accommodate 10% or less of children being withdrawn from their work (Irwanto and Natalia, 2011).

It is then not surprising that a high number of children continue to be involved in child labour in Indonesia. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, this remains a considerable problem at the national level, at least for two reasons. First, there are differences in the legal, statistical, and theoretical definitions of child labour; this causes policy makers to be unable to accurately capture the existing conditions of child labour. Second, the adoption of global standards about child labour as a basis for developing policy in national and local contexts does not always fit with economic and cultural contexts of a country's particular society. In terms of the

number of child labour, The Government of Indonesia conducted the Indonesia Child Labour Survey (ICLS) in 2009 and The Indonesia National Labour Force Survey in 2007-2010. Drawing on the data from these surveys, UCW (2012) estimates that there was a total of four million children aged 5-17 in child labour. The ICLS also demonstrates that 41.2% (24.3 million) of total child population aged 5-17 (58.8 million) undertook housekeeping (Statistics Indonesia and ILO, 2010). This problem of child labour that remains acute at both global and national levels indicates that efforts to eliminate child labour need to be improved. This study, therefore, is designed to make a contribution to help address this problem. Further explanation on the current debates, problem and policy can be found in more detail in Chapter 2.

The second rationale for this study is to contribute to the debates on children's participation in work and the debates in childhood studies. Theoretical developments in child work and childhood studies are currently facing several problems, such as the unsolved debates on the definition of child labour and on child and parent perspectives on the elimination of child labour. In addition, the way children should be studied is also being debated, related to the questions of children's agency, the plurality of childhoods and the differences of global north-south point of views. This study shares awareness that the dominant theoretical framework in childhood studies, which is mainly based on evidence from the minority world/global north children, needs to reflect the majority world/global south realities. Thus, this study attempts to seek new evidence to reflect the realities of childhood in the majority world by understanding the perspectives of children and parents in the majority world. It should be noted that the use of the terms 'minority world' and 'majority world' contradict the traditional use. It is mainly intended to share awareness that current childhood theories and methods are primarily developed based on the realities of children living in the global north in which they are numerically less than children in the global south. It is used in the same way as some previous authors', for example: Benwell (2009), Gasson and Linsel (2011), Konstantoni (2012), Mayall (2013), Punch (2003), Punch and Tisdall (2012) and Woodhead (2009). Further explanation on theoretical problems underpinning the study of child labour can be found in more details in Chapter 2, while the current problem of childhood studies is further examined in Chapter 3.

1.2 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This study is designed to answer three research questions. First, how do children and parents understand child work? Second, how do children become involved in their world of work? Finally, what are the implications for policy on child labour? To answer these questions, this study undertakes a qualitative case study approach by investigating groups of child workers and their parents from two agricultural communities in Central Java and East Java. The characteristics of child workers in this research are those who are aged 11-14 and who perform their work in the agriculture sector, including permissible and non-permissible work as defined by the ILO and the Indonesian government as well as light work, regular work, and/or hazardous work. A certain number of boy and girl child workers and their parents were selected as informants and interviewed in a one-visit interview. The data collected from the field was then analysed by employing thematic analysis and using NVivo 10 as a tool to assist the data analysis. To analyse the findings, this study draws on concepts from the new sociology of childhood and sociology of the family, as discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into nine chapters, consisting of introduction, literature review (2 chapters), methodology, research context, finding (2 chapters), discussion, and conclusion. The first chapter aims to situate the study within a policy and theoretical framework. Chapter 2 focuses on the policy and conceptual framework of child labour underpinning the changing conceptions and responses on child labour in global and Indonesian contexts. It explains the debates on how child labour is conceptualised by the international community, national government, and scholars and examines perspectives on the elimination of child labour. It also details the problems of and policy on child labour, particularly in an agricultural context.

The next chapter discusses the new sociology of childhood, which is the theoretical framework taken by this study to understand the social construction of child labour from the perspective of the children and parents. It details the key principles on the new sociology of childhood, including viewing childhood as a social construction,

children as social actors, and children's rights. Chapter 4 describes the methodological approach and methods employed in the study. It describes the research design and examines the considerations of doing research with children and of adopting a small qualitative case study as an approach. It also empirically explains the research methods, sampling technique, and data analysis. The examination of ethical issues of doing research with children marks the end of this chapter. Chapter 5 describes the research settings, including the community context and children's work context.

Chapters 6 and 7 report the results of the study by respectively exploring the perspectives of the parents and children taking part in this study. The final two chapters discuss the study findings and their implications for policy on child labour. Chapter 8 provides a concluding discussion of the findings. It situates child work in Javanese society within the discussion of childhood studies which serves to contribute to the debates on the perspectives of childhood and, particularly, child labour from the majority south. The final chapter draws together the ideas outlined in all previous chapters to evaluate the perspective of child labour from a particular society in the global south. It also attempts to carefully examine how the findings inform the policy on child labour. It debates how the conceptions of and policies on child labour adopted by the ILO and the Indonesian government fit within the perspectives and experiences of children and parents in this study. It should be noted that throughout the thesis there is an attempt to maintain recognition that children are social actors within their lives and that childhoods are socially constructed in different ways at different times and in different places.

CHAPTER 2: DEBATES AND POLICY ON CHILD LABOUR

This chapter aims to discuss the problems in understanding child labour, both in theory and in policy. It also discusses the problems of the elimination of child labour in the global and Indonesian contexts. The first section provides a concise review of the definition of child labour, proposed by the ILO, the governments and scholars in the field. Section 2 attempts to carefully examine current debates on the elimination of child labour. The next section discusses the current condition of and policies on child labour in the global context. Section 4 focuses on the current condition of and policies on child labour in the Indonesian context. The final chapter summarises the key arguments from the previous sections and states the theoretical standpoint of this study.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF CHILD LABOUR

Global definition of child labour in policy context

In the policy context, child labour is understood through its legal and statistical definitions. Differences in definitions arise as the legal definition of child labour is sometimes unable to capture the grounded reality of working children. The statistical definition is then applied to fill the gap; in turn, it is not always precisely similar to the legal definition. This is accepted among international communities as a resolution in the 18th International Conference on Labour Statistics held in Geneva in 2008 (ILO, 2008a:2). Legal definitions of child labour mainly refer to the international legal standards, including three influential conventions: the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereafter referred to as UNCRC); the ILO Convention No. 138 (in 1973) concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (hereafter referred to as ILO C.138); and the ILO Convention No. 182 (in 1999) concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (hereafter referred to as ILO C.182; see also Weston and Teerink, 2005: 3-25, for further discussion on other conventions related to child labour). This section therefore first attempts to explain the definitions of four types of children's work by referring to these conventions,

including the definitions of child work, child labour/hazardous work, worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work, and light work.

The first category 'child work' constitutes "all types of paid productive activity as well as certain types of non-paid productive activity" (Fors, 2012) or any activity performed by children "falling within the production boundary of the System of National Accounts (SNA)" (ILO, 2008a:4; see ILO, 2008a:11-12 for further explanation on the SNA). Examples of non-paid productive activity include "production of goods for own (household) use or domestic work outside the child's own household". The ILO, however, does not count domestic work performed by children within their own household as economic activity (Fors, 2012:571). Children who perform child work are then categorised as 'working children'.

The term child labour, which is close to the concept of hazardous work, is defined as "work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development" (ILO & IPU, 2002:16). It also refers to the type of work stated in the UNCRC 1989, Article 32 as "work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development". The Conventions, however, do not determine what types of work are exactly hazardous; rather, they leave it to ratifying countries to determine 'what constitutes as hazardous' based on their own criteria: "the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries" (ILO, 2004d:16; ILO, 2014b:12). In determining child labour/hazardous work based on the child's age, the ratifying countries mainly refer to the Minimum Age Convention (ILO C.138 in 1973). The term "worst forms of child labour" is defined in ILO C.182 (in 1999) Article 3. It comprises:

"(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children."

The first three items in Article 3 are often referred to as ‘the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work’, while Article 3d is often equated with hazardous work. Contrasted to the concept of hazardous work is the notion of light work. It is defined in ILO C.138 (1973) in Article 7 as work which is:

“(a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received”.

Definition of child labour in Indonesian policy

Indonesia has been one of the most productive countries in producing and ratifying legal foundations for child protection and for the elimination of child labour.

Indonesia’s Law No. 23 (in 2002) was established as an umbrella for child protection, including children falling within the category of the worst forms of child labour. Prior to this law, Indonesia had established Law No 20 (in 1999) on Ratification of ILO C.138 (in 1973) concerning the minimum age for admission to employment. Indonesia had also established Law No. 1 (in 2000) on Ratification of ILO C.182 (in 1999) concerning the worst forms of child labour. The latter was then adopted in Law No. 13 (in 2003) on the manpower needed to combat WFCL.

Based on these regulations, the Indonesian government defines child labour as “all persons aged 5 to 17 years who, during a specified time period, were engaged in one or more of the following categories of activities: (1) worst forms of child labour, and (2) employment below the minimum age for employment or work” (Statistics Indonesia and ILO, 2010:15). In 2009 the BPS-Statistics Indonesia and the ILO Country Office Jakarta conducted the first ever Indonesian Child Labour Survey and formulated the definitions of several types of working children – as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Framework for statistical identification of child labour

Age group	Light work	Regular work	Worst forms of child labour (WFCL)	
			Hazardous work	WFCL other than hazardous work
Children below the minimum age specified for light work: 5-12 years	Employment below the minimum age for light work	Employment below the general minimum working age	Employment in industries and occupations designated as hazardous, or work for long hours and/or at night industries and occupations not designated as hazardous	Children trafficked for work; forced and bonded child labour; commercial sexual exploitation of children; use of children for illicit activities and armed conflict
Children within the age range specified for light work: 13-14 years				
Children at or above the general minimum working age: 15-17 years				

Source: Statistics Indonesia and ILO (2010:17)

- = denotes child labour as defined by the 18th ICLS resolution
- = denotes activities not considered child labour, and is permissible work by children
- + = denotes children in employment/working children/children's work/child at work

Based on the framework adopted from the 18th International Conference on Labour Statistics, the Indonesian government classifies working children into two broad groups – those doing ‘permissible’ work and those engaged in ‘child labour’. The first group (marked with green colour) consists of working children in two categories: those in permissible light work, that is children aged 13-14 & 15-17 doing light work; and those in permissible regular work, that is children aged 15-17 doing regular work. These two categories of working children are not considered as child labour. The second group (marked with yellow colour) consists of four categories of working children regarded as child labour. The first category is child labour in light work, consisting of those aged 5-12 doing light work. The second category is child labour in regular work, consisting of children aged 5-12 & 13-14 doing regular work. The third category is child labour in hazardous work, consisting of all persons aged 5 to 17 engaged in industries and occupations designated as hazardous, or work for long hours and/or at night industries and occupations not designated as hazardous. The fourth category is child labour in the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work: that is all persons aged 5 to

17 trafficked for work; forced and bonded child labour; commercial sexual exploitation of children; use of children for illicit activities and armed conflict.

However, due to the reality that child labour in 'hazardous work' and the 'worst forms of child labour' are difficult to capture in a household survey, the Indonesian Child Labour Survey 2009 considered defining child labour as "working children who are engaged in any kind of presumably hazardous work as indicated by working hour" referring to the Manpower Law No. 13 year 2003 (Statistics Indonesia and ILO, 2010:15). This means the definition of hazardous work is solely based on working hours as a proxy measure and age of child and not by the type of work children involved. This is acknowledged as one of the deficits of the survey, as the survey was then unable to reveal the evidence of child labour based on the type of children's work. The statistical definition of child labour in Indonesia therefore consists of three categories, including: "all working children aged 5-12, regardless their working hours; working children aged 13-14 worked more than 15 hours per week; and working children aged 15-17 worked more than 40 hours per week" (Statistics Indonesia and ILO, 2010:16).

It can be seen that there are differences about the definitions of child labour and hazardous work between the legal definition proposed by the ILO and the statistical definition adopted by the Indonesian government. Whereas the framework differentiates child labour into four categories, the Indonesia Child Labour Survey 2009 was just able to capture the three types of child labour.

Problem of the definition

Although legal and statistical definitions of child labour have been established, the definition is still contentious. It mainly depends on the conceptualisations of both 'child' and 'labour', which creates the complicated task of reaching a precise definition. The issue of its definition relates, therefore, to definitions of child (childhood) and of labour (work) (Bhukuth, 2008:385; Bourdillon, 2006b; Bourdillon, et al., 2010; ILO, 2014b). This is an unresolved debate by its nature: the terms 'child' and 'labour' are both socially constructed, and there exists a necessary tension among scholars with different approaches, such as universalism versus relativism (White, 1999). Similarly, Ennew and colleagues (2005:27) have also argued that child labour has multiple definitions as "it is a social construct, not a

natural phenomenon; and social constructs are cultural ideas that differ between actors, histories, contexts and purposes". It is therefore important to understand the notion of childhood and of cultural relativism in understanding the life of the children in the majority world (we shall discuss this notion in Chapter 3).

Questions have been raised about the definition of child/childhood; the concept of labour/work; issues of minimum ages; and the problem of binary categories. The first problem in defining child labour is the notion of child/childhood. UNICEF (2004:3) defines childhood as:

"the time for children to be in school and at play, to grow strong and confident with the love and encouragement of their family and an extended community of caring adults. It is a precious time in which children should live free from fear, safe from violence and protected from abuse and exploitation".

This influential statement clearly highlights that the most appropriate places for children are in school, in which children have opportunity to pursue their education, and at play, in which children may spend their leisure time. The idea of children at work is not stated at all as an ideal activity for children. This notion is problematic for the life of children in the majority world, in which child work is regarded as intrinsically rewarding to support children's needs. Crivello and Boyden's (2014) study on child poverty in Peru, for example, found that work was regarded as vital in the life of family, as a form of learning and participation for children (see also: Bessell, 2009; Hosseinpour, et al., 2014; Lieten, 2008; Mayblin, 2010; Mishra, 2014; Okyere; 2013; Sackey and Johannesen, 2015; Woodhead, 1998, 1999).

Further problems arise when 'labour' is distinguished from 'work', which in turn leads to the terms 'child labour' as different from 'child work'. This is problematic on at least three points. Edmonds (2009:5), for example, has found that in economics, "the study of labour is the study of work"; there is no evidence to support that the terms are different, except how these terms are used in a policy context. Meanwhile Bourdillon (2006b) has argued that defining 'child labour' as activities which jeopardize a child's well-being will eliminate the benefits of child labour. Moreover, if the definition of 'child work' is contrasted to 'child labour', it will neglect the potential risks and harm that may exist within child work. Gunn (ILO, 2014b:13) has also documented that the differentiation between child work

as acceptable and child labour as non-acceptable does not help in theory and practice. She suggests that it is better to employ colloquial terminology containing qualifying adjectives such as “dangerous work of children” or use the ILO categories, such as light work, normal work, and hazardous work.

The third problem is the use of a child’s age to determine child labour. The common conception of child labour is that an interconnection exists between “the determination of the child’s age” and “the definition of child labour” in which the one determines the other (ILO, 2014b:12). Myers (1999), however, argues that the serious weakness of defining childhood based on a specified age is that there is no universal value to distinguish between children and adults. Moreover, indicating specified ages to differentiate between the child and adult may set an unsuitable categorization of age ranges. A 17-year-old boy will be more appropriately placed in a group of 19-year-old boys rather than a group of 10-year-old boys. Elsewhere, the use of a child’s age to determine child labour has also been criticized as contradictory to children’s rights to participation. Child work is not only an attempt to gain economic benefit, but also relates to how children attempt to participate in their society. Ennew and colleagues (2005: 51) have also argued that any attempt to remove children’s rights to work is legitimate only if their need of protection is obvious. A consideration merely based on a specified minimum age is unjustifiable.

Another limitation in defining child labour is related to the notion of binary categories, which strictly segregates the world into children and adults, work and school, and work and play. This is problematic because in the global south there is no clear-cut line between children’s work, play, and education/learning. For example they move easily between work and education or between work and play (see, for example, Katz, 2004; Punch, 2003; Robson, 2004). Understandably, removing children from work will also eliminate their opportunity to fulfil their needs to play and to gain education. This is also problematic, as Bourdillon (2006b) argues, as binary categories seem to neglect the areas between the extremes. On the one hand, binary categories may be able to cover extreme cases appropriately: to encourage the benefit arising from one pole and to abolish the disadvantage arising from another pole. On the other hand, binary categories may not be able to cover the problem situated along the continuum of the two extremes. A binary policy model results in disadvantages for children: they would either receive no attention

or lose the benefits. Myers (2001:47) argues that policies on child labour based on binary model are difficult to apply and sometimes receive no attention of the targeted groups. The difficulties often result from the inappropriateness of the standards compared to the community and cultural practices.

How do scholars conceptualise child labour?

What does constitute children's work in academic discourse? Levey (2009) has argued that children's work is comprised of five types of children's activities. She bases her argument on Charles and Chris Tilly's definition of 'work' as "any activity that produces transferable use value and/or produces human capital" (1998 as cited in Levey, 2009:197). The first type of children's activities regarded as work, she argues, is similar to the basic ideas of work: that is, work for pay. The second and the third types include works performed within the family, including "children's assistance in family businesses" and "chores and other household obligations". Qvortrup has proposed the fourth type of children's work, arguing that "school is work for children" (1994, as cited in Levey, 2009:198). Extending Qvortrup's framework, Levey (2009:198) further proposes the fifth type of children's work: "organized activities". This notion is based upon her studies of child beauty pageants and academic enrichment classes performed during after-school time by many children in the middle and upper class.

Disagreements arise, however, when a certain type of children's work is defined as child labour. Edmonds (2009) provides a systematic review attempting to examine theoretical works on child labour. Through his study of 34 theoretical papers selected from EconLit in August 2007, he classified the theoretical positions of the authors based on several categories, as listed in Table 2.2. Edmonds analysed all papers and determined how the authors posit their view on child labour, whether child labour is distinct from work, a discrete choice, limited by time constraints, alternative to school and alternative to leisure. He further asked whether "time is allocated between child labour, school and leisure"; and whether "multiple types of work are specified". His review shows how existing definitions of child labour are conceptualised by scholars. The result is modified below.

Table 2.2 Summary of the definition of child labour

Theoretical position	Yes	No	Unspecified
Child labour is limited by time constraint	27	7	-
Child labour is alternative to school	23	11	-
Child labour is distinct from work	1	27	6
Child labour is a discrete choice	8	26	-
Child labour is alternative to leisure	4	30	
Time is allocated between child labour, school and leisure	-	34	-
Multiple types of work are specified	1	33	-

Source: Modified from Edmonds (2009:3-4), based on his analysis of papers resulted from an EconLit search in August 2007 for the words "child lab*r" in title, abstract, or keywords. See Edmonds (2009:1-56) for further discussion.

As seen from Table 2.2 most papers define child labour as limited by time constraint. These authors differentiated children's time allocation into two poles: working and not working, in which working activities (child labour) is seen as one of the constraints to non-working activities. Most authors also defined child labour as alternative to school: that is, as a form of children's activities conducted outside of schooling. This definition raises a problem as this distinction is then unable to cover other children's activities other than work and school. Most papers do not distinguish child labour from child work, as in economics, "the study of labour is the study of work" (Edmonds, 2009:5). The distinction between child labour and child work mainly appears in policy discussions, although these terms are distinguished mainly based on time limitations to work. Most papers do not define child labour as a discrete choice and as an alternative to leisure. Most papers also do not define time as allocated between child labour, school and leisure, and do not specify multiple types of children's work (Edmonds, 2009:4-6). Edmonds's work is important for understanding how child labour is conceptualised in the theory; however, it should be noted that the papers included in his analysis are limited to economic perspectives and theoretical perspectives as of August 2007. It is

therefore important to gain different perspectives from other field of studies and to include the recent definitions of child labour.

Different from economics, which provides a set of theories on child labour--introduced the first time by Basu and Van in 1998 (Emerson, 2009:3-4)--there is no such theory on child labour in sociology and anthropology. Social scientists in these fields, therefore, need to examine the theoretical understanding from childhood studies and labour studies (White, 2009b:10). There is a variety of definitions proposed by scholars in the field, mostly in line with the international standards. Weston (2005: xv), for example, defines child labour as "work done by children that is harmful to them because it is abusive, exploitative, hazardous, or otherwise contrary to their best interests". Lieten (2002:5191), quoting Stern and Davies (1940:112-113), defines child labour as "any work by children that interferes with their full-physical development, the opportunities for a desirable minimum of education and of their needed recreation". Moreover, Kielland and Tovo (2006) provide exemplifications of children's work in Africa in the sense that child work can jeopardise children. Ennew and colleagues (2005:52), by situating child labour analysis within children's rights discourse, argue that in defining child labour we have to consider both the benefit of children's rights approaches and the disadvantages of enforcing rigid rights texts. They further argue that "defining child labour as work prejudicial to them is the best definition for accommodating both approaches". These definitions seem to support the international standards.

2.2 CONTESTING CHILD LABOUR: PROTECTION OR PARTICIPATION?

In addition to debates underlying its definition, child labour has also been much contested in disagreements on the notion of its elimination: whether children should be free from work or not (Myers, 1999). The debates mainly relate to the benefits and disadvantages of children's work, and more fundamentally, the debates also relate to children's rights to protection from harmful work and rights to participation at work (we shall discuss the notion of children's rights to protection and rights to participation in Chapter 3). White (1994:852-854) has identified three schools of thought in viewing child labour: the abolitionist approach, the protectionist approach, and the liberationist/ empowerment

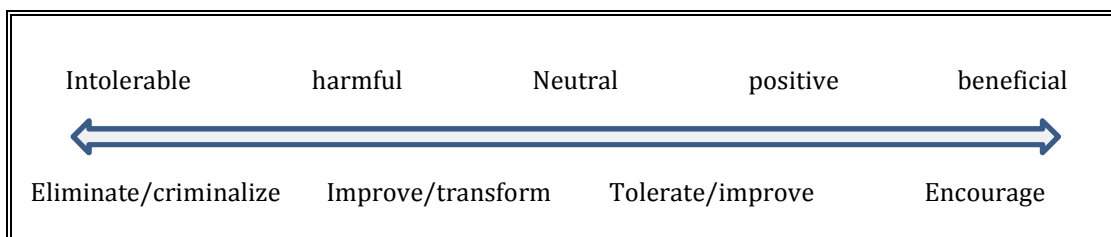
approach. The abolitionist approach proposes a view that child labour is harmful for children and endangers child development; and therefore it should be banned. This pathological model of 'work harming development' (White, 1999; Woodhead, 1999) is based on the idea of proper childhood: childhood is a time to be in school and at play and outside of the world of adult work. Work has no place in childhood, period. In contrast, the protectionist approach proposes a view that child labour should not be seen as a problem, and therefore the abolition of child labour is illegitimate; rather we should protect children from harm caused by work. It is based on the idea that children find positive values from their work in which work is seen as a mechanism for child development (White, 1994). In contrast to the idea of 'work harming development', Cigno and Rosatti (2005:1) argue that "formal education is not the only means of accumulating human capital; [m]ost forms of child labour have learning-by-doing elements". This approach also proposes a view that every child's activities may be potentially harmful; therefore abolishing child labour while ignoring other harmful activities is illogical. Children may be injured during exercise, but it is not banned because it is regarded beneficial for children's physical development (Bourdillon, 2006b). Liebel (2004) also notes that apart from its harmful elements, children's work is often a form of survival. Prohibiting children's work, just because it is regarded as harmful, operates against vulnerable children and families. Protecting working children does not necessarily mean stopping them from working. He further argues that children's work should also be seen as activities that fulfil specific needs, such as building relationships, learning, becoming independent and confident, and becoming responsible as a member of society. Finally, the liberationist/ empowerment approach proposes a view that children have rights to work; they are also seen as "active subjects or agents of change" (White, 1994:853). Activists within this approach also support "promoting the self-organization of working children" (p. 853). White further argues that "empowerment and protectionist approaches are in principle complementary and mutually reinforcing" (p. 853).

In approaching different views regarding the abolition of child labour, Lieten (2002:5195) suggests that we need to distinguish the types of children's activities related to work and to treat them differently. He further provides the categorisation:

A distinction should be made between (a) child-friendly forms of socialisation, including light work, (b) child labour at specific ages and up to specific degrees of strain but not interfering with school, (c) non-enrolment in school, even if not labouring, (d) child labour interfering with school, and (e) the worst and intolerable forms of child exploitation, even amounting to child-bondedness.

These types of child work are different in nature and should be treated differently. This will allow us to develop an appropriate approach to child labour. Bourdillon (2006b) also suggests that we need to consider the advantages and disadvantages of child work for children. Children are living in risky spaces. Like many other children's activities - such as sporting, playing or schooling - children's work arguably contains harmful and beneficial influences. Where the harmful influence is higher compared to its advantages, then removing children from their work or their work situation is undoubtedly needed. Conversely, where the benefits outweigh the harm, then intervention is not necessarily required. White (1996:837) has made a widely accepted suggestion that the situation of child work should be seen as a 'continuum' from 'worst' to 'best'. In this model, child work may be situated within particular points, starting from the most intolerable forms of child work, which therefore should be eliminated, to the most tolerable ones, which therefore should be encouraged (see Figure 1; see also Bourdillon, et al., 2010:161-162). This model has been adopted by many individuals and organisations in approaching child labour issues, including UNICEF (Myers, 1999).

Figure 2.1 A continuum of child work



Source: Bourdillon, et al., 2010:161.

More recently, Abebe and Bessel have proposed an approach for studying child labour which includes three 'meta-perspectives': the work-free childhood perspective; the socio-cultural perspective; and the political economy perspective.

This approach is intended to map out debates underlying child labour, situated within socio-cultural and politico-economic contexts (Abebe, 2009a; Abebe and Bessel 2011).

The work-free childhood perspective

Global ideologies of work-free childhoods point to the conclusion that children should not work. In this perspective, school rather than work is perceived as the appropriate way to educate children. White's categorisation of the abolitionist approach seems to be situated within this perspective. Abebe (2009a) and Abebe and Bessel (2011) propose the first perspective by referring to Ennew and colleagues' (2005:28-31) categorisation of child labour views. Ennew and colleagues differentiate four ways of viewing child labour: the 'labour market' discourse, the 'human capital' discourse, the 'social responsibility' discourse, and the 'children-centred' discourse. The main argument of the labour market discourse is that children should not participate in adult works and should therefore be removed from the labour market. Within this discourse, the best place for children is in education. Children are regarded as vulnerable toward work exploitation and are also seen as unaware of their best interests. This view has been mainly proposed by the ILO and the labour authorities (Ennew, et al., 2005:28).

The human capital perspective views child labour as a sign of underdevelopment. Work is defined as depriving child development and endangering the development of human capital (Ennew, et al., 2005:29) or 'work harming development' (Woodhead, 1999). This view is mainly expressed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank. The third perspective, the social responsibility discourse, presents the idea that child labour is a sign of social exclusion. This leads to the development of empowerment strategies by educating children to solve their-own problems and to gain their rights. Civil society organisations are mainly proponents of this perspective (Ennew, et al., 2005:29-30). The 'child-centred' discourse is the most recent approach, which is mainly promoted by UNICEF and Save the Children. In this perspective, child labour is defined based on its impact on children. Work is mainly seen as harmful for children's well-being and therefore intervention is needed to fulfil their rights and to fulfil children's best interests (Ennew, et al., 2005:30-31).

Within perspectives on work-free childhoods, criticisms against child labour are mainly based on a range of reasons, including economic reasons such as lower wages, unfair trade, economic exploitation, and the poverty trap. Other reasons have also been proposed, such as stolen childhoods, physical deformations and health problems, and interference with education (Arat, 2002). One of the economic reasons is that child labour is a trigger for lower wages among adults. Children's involvement in the labour market increases the labour supply and therefore lowers the value of adult labour. Another economic reason is that child labour creates unfair trade, as the product in which child labourers are involved results from the employment of children with lower pay (Arat, 2002). Nieuwenhuys (1994) has proposed viewing child work as a form of exploitation, as it is often part of a capitalist system, or according to Elson (1982), it reflects the subordination of children in the seniority system among adults and children. This might happen, according to Liebel (2004:62), if unequal power relations exist to allow adults or employers to take surplus value from children.

Recent studies have also documented that child labour is harmful for children as it causes injury among child labourers (Ahmed and Ray, 2014; Hosseinpour, et al., 2014) and results in children suffering from health problems (Al-Gamal, et al., 2013; Mishra, 2014; Mohammed, et al., 2014; Sughis, et al., 2012; Tiwari and Saha, 2014). Furthermore, a common view is that child labour deprives children of their education (Goh and Kuczynski, 2014; Haile and Haile, 2012; Heymann, et al., 2013; Holgado, et al., 2014; De Hoop and Rosati, 2014; Rammohan, 2014).

The socio-cultural perspective

The second approach, the socio-cultural perspective, proposes a view that "children's work has its own socio-cultural meanings and contexts" (Abebe and Bessell, 2011:770, see also Abebe, 2009a). White's (1994) categorisation of the protectionist approach and the empowerment approach seem to intersect within this perspective. This perspective is mainly derived from the works of Bourdillon (2006b), Nieuwenhuys (1994), and Ennew, Myers and Plateu (2005). Bourdillon and Nieuwenhuys have argued that children's work should be situated within their own cultural contexts, and we need to acknowledge children's diversity based on their personal characteristics such as age, gender, birth order, and competence to

work. Thus, abolishing child labour is seen as culturally insensitive. This approach also criticises the dualist thinking model which distinguishes the world of children as separate from the world of adults, a separation which is often inappropriate to cultural practices. Children's and adults' worlds should be seen as a continuum in which children gradually involve into the adults' world (of work) as their competencies develop (Bourdillon, 2006b). Another argument with respect to the socio-cultural perspective of work is that preventing children from doing work sometimes operates against children's rights to obtain the benefits of work and, rather than protecting, often disrupt the life of vulnerable children (Ennew, et al., 2005).

Child labour should not be seen as fully incompatible to child development; rather it should be recognised and respected as "actually embedded in local cultures". Imposing universal norms operates against the socio-cultural context of childhood: "childhood is a pluri-form concept" and therefore the 'Western' idea of childhood should not find universal application (Lieten, 2008:1-2). Recent studies show how child labour should be placed within cultural contexts. Mayblin's (2010) study of child labour in Northeast Brazil, for example, shows how child labour is performed to fulfil moral obligations and cultural practice. She presents how Santa Lucian people view children as incompetent human beings and vulnerable to the dangers of playing and 'doing nothing'. Child labour is thus performed to develop children's competence and is constructed as a solution to this problem. A more recent study on children involved in fishing and farming practices in Ghana (Sackey and Johannesen, 2015) shows how the moral dimension of participation influences children's decisions to be involved in child work. Child work is performed, for example, to avoid a stigma of 'laziness' and to include children into the lives of the family and community.

The political economy perspective

Scholars have also recently argued that apart from its socio-cultural context, "children's work needs to be sufficiently grounded in particular ecological, economic and politico-historical contexts" (Abebe and Bessell, 2011:772-773). Scholars in this perspective attempt to examine children's and young people's lives situated within a macro context. They seek to understand how external forces affect

vulnerable societies (Abebe, 2009a; Abebe and Bessell, 2011). White's (1994) categorisation of the protectionist approach and the empowerment approach seem to intersect within this perspective. This perspective is mainly derived from the works of Katz (2004) and Porter (1996) and the works of several authors published in two edited books by Holloway and Valentine (2000) and Panelli, Punch, and Robson (2007).

Katz (2004:95-96), for example, presents how development transforms the everyday lives of children in rural Sudan. She examined how a state-sponsored agricultural project transformed children's tasks. Through a longitudinal study she was able to reveal that, before the project, there was no strict delineation between children's play and work; children were able to play while collecting fuelwood and herding. However, the political-economic and ecological changes resulting from the project limited children's opportunity to collect firewood and go herding because of decline in vegetation. In turn, these changes also disrupted children's play activities and increased the value of formal schooling among children.

A more recent study also shows how political power in education influences the lives of the marginal street child labourer. Balagopalan (2014) presents a study on street children in Calcutta, India, and examines how policy intervention on the elimination of child labour through education affect children's lives at work. She presents a tension between children's rights to education, which is seen as the most crucial issue among governments and international agencies, and children's rights to work, which is seen as the most crucial issue among children to fulfil their basic economic needs. Children's work therefore becomes an arena of contention between children and the advocates of child labour abolition (see also Okoli and Cree, 2012, for a similar study on child street vendors in Nigeria). In a similar vein, drawing on the data on child work in three African countries, André and Hilgers (2015) examined how global conceptions of childhood imposed through several legal documents affected local structures and the way people are regulated. They found that children's position within society was heavily regulated through local conceptions and practices of childhood which were influenced by global conceptions of a 'good' childhood.

2.3 GLOBAL RESPONSES TO CHILD LABOUR

Current problems of child labour in the global context

As discussed earlier, in policy discourse child labour is considered a problem for several reasons. First, there is no single definition of child labour legally, statistically, and theoretically, resulting in difficulties for policy makers to define the problem accurately. Second, the adoption of global standards about child labour especially for children in the global south does not always fit with the lives of the children and their family. Third, child labour is often considered a problem because it causes negative effects for children. In terms of the number, child labour remains a widespread problem around the world, particularly in the majority south. As shown in Table 2.3, the ILO estimates the number of children aged 5-17 who were involved in employment, in child labour, and in hazardous work. It shows that there was a drop of 17.1 million of children in employment between 2004 and 2008, followed by a significant drop of 41.2 million between 2008 and 2012. It is estimated that there were around 264.4 million children in employment in 2012, accounting for 16.7% or one-sixth of total children around the world.

Table 2.3 also shows a continued decrease in the number of child labourers, a subset of working children in which the term “labour” is deemed to be harmful for child development, from 2004 to 2012. The number of child labourers modestly decreased 7.0 million between 2004 and 2008, followed by a significant fall of 47.3 million between 2008 and 2012. It is estimated that there were around 168.0 million children involved in child labour, representing 10.6% of the total child population or 63.5% of children in employment.

The number of children involved in hazardous work, a subcategory of child labour which is often referred to as the worst forms of child labour, also continually declined from 2004 to 2012. There was a drop of 13.1 million between 2004 and 2008 and a further significant fall of around 30.0 million between 2008 and 2012. It is, however, estimated that there were still 85.3 million children involved in hazardous work. This represents 5.4% of total children around the world, or 32.3% of total children in employment, or more than half of child labourers (50.1%).

Boys continued to be more exposed to employment than girls: 21.3% against 19.9% in 2004; 21.4% against 16.9% in 2008; and 18.1% against 15.2% in 2012. These

results were almost identical to those obtained in the involvement of boys and girls in child labour: 14.9% against 13.5% in 2004; 15.6% against 11.4% in 2008; and 12.2% against 8.9% in 2012. Similarly, boys also continued to be more involved in hazardous work than girls: 9.3% against 7.1% in 2004; 9.0% against 5.4% in 2008; and 6.7% against 4.0% in 2012. Thus, compared to girls, boys were consistently more exposed to employment, child labour, and hazardous work during 2004-2012.

Although the decrease of child labour is a positive sign in policy discourse, the decrease in child labour also raises different problems. Children withdrawn from work do not always have a chance to access education (Irwanto and Natalia, 2011). Moreover, they also do not always have a chance to find well-paid work that matches their raised expectations. This results in educated unemployment/under-employment in the global south, particularly among young people whose parents invest in formal schooling (Jeffrey, 2008, 2009; Jeffrey et al., 2005). In addition, children completing their higher education do not always receive “a substantial redistribution in material assets or economic growth” (Jeffrey et al., 2004:964).

Table 2.3 Estimates of various forms of children’s work worldwide, 5-17 years old, 2004, 2008 and 2012

	Total children	Children in employment		Child labour		Hazardous work	
	('000)	('000)	%	('000)	%	('000)	%
World							
2004	1,566,300	322,729	20.6	222,294	14.2	128,381	8.2
2008	1,586,288	305,669	19.3	215,269	13.6	115,314	7.3
2012	1,585,566	264,427	16.7	167,956	10.6	85,344	5.4
Boys							
2004	804,000	171,150	21.3	119,575	14.9	74,414	9.3
2008	819,981	175,777	21.4	127,761	15.6	74,019	9.0
2012	819,877	148,327	18.1	99,766	12.2	55,048	6.7
Girls							
2004	762,300	151,579	19.9	102,720	13.5	53,966	7.1
2008	766,397	129,892	16.9	87,508	11.4	41,296	5.4
2012	765,690	116,100	15.2	68,190	8.9	30,296	4.0
5-14 years							
2004	1,206,500	196,047	16.2	170,383	14.1	76,470	6.3
2008	1,216,854	176,452	14.5	152,850	12.6	52,895	4.3
2012	1,221,071	144,066	11.8	120,453	9.9	37,841	3.1
15-17 years							
2004	359,800	126,682	35.2	51,911	14.4	51,911	14.4
2008	369,433	129,217	35.0	62,419	16.9	62,419	16.9
2012	364,495	120,362	33.0	47,503	13.0	47,503	13.0

Source: Author’s compilation of child labour data reported in ILO, 2010d: vi and 2013c: vii.

The ILO also reported that in general, children aged 5 to 17 were involved in three broad categories of economic activity, including agriculture, industry, and services. Among these, the types of work done by children were mainly agricultural and rural in nature with approximately two-thirds of all working children involved in agriculture: 69% in 2004, 60% in 2008 and 58.6% in 2012 (ILO, 2006a:1, 2010d:vi, 2013c:ix).

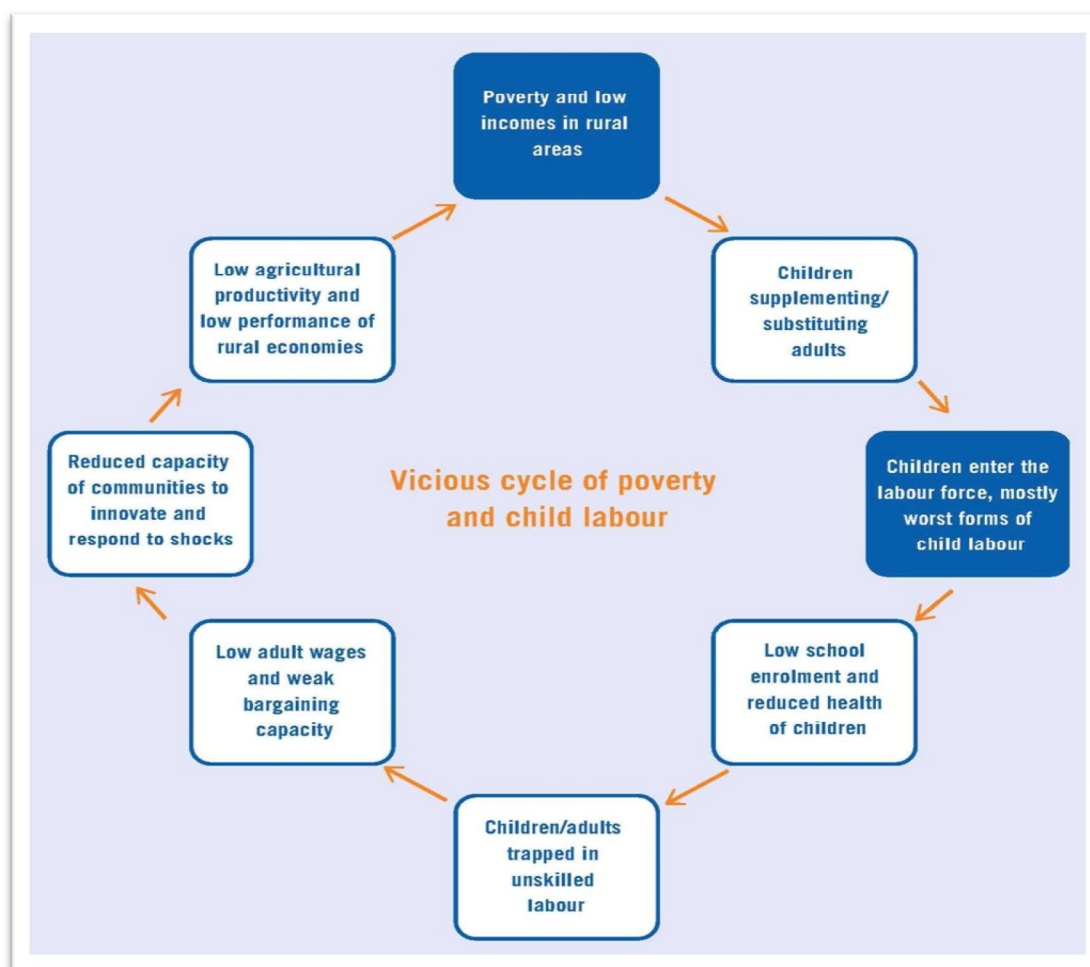
Besides the large number of child labourers around the world, this significant problem can also be examined through how and to what extent child labour has a negative impact on children's well-being and well-becoming. In the agriculture sector, including farming, fishing, aqua culture, forestry, and livestock, several studies on child labour in many different countries have documented how child labour in agriculture endangers children's development. The most common risk reported in the previous studies is that child labour interferes with children's schooling. The Food Agricultural Organization (FAO) under the UN reported that children's preference to work and not attend school is often the result of family needs for the children's contribution to family labour. Another reason is household economic hardship in which families are unable to fulfil children's school fees or indirect educational costs such as books, worksheets, uniforms, and transport (FAO, 2013a:20). This is commonly evident in which children's contributions to family labour--by undertaking herding activities, animal husbandry, and other farm activities--interfere with their education. Many studies have documented this evidence in many parts of the world, for example, in Ethiopia (Bedi and Admassie, 2009), Zimbabwe (Bourdillon, 2009), Burkina Faso (De Lange, 2009), Kenya (Krätli, 2001), Mexico (Pleic, et al., 2009), Morocco (Schlemmer, 2009; UCW, 2004), Mongolia (UCW, 2009), Lesotho (UNICEF, 2005), Peru (Van den Berge, 2009), and Kazakhstan (Womack, 2009).

Child labour in agriculture is also reported to endanger children's health. Gamlin conducted a participatory study among child labourers working on a tobacco plantation in Mexico, examining how agricultural child labourers perceived the negative impact of their work on their bodies. Children reported "skin, eye, respiratory tract and musculoskeletal problems, most of which they relate to the hard physical work, hot sun and contact with the tobacco leaves" (Gamlin,

2011:339; see also Amigó, 2010; Plan Malawi, 2009; Van Damme, 2002). Guarcello and colleagues' (2009) study on child labour in Guatemala also found that children working on the farm suffered from several hazards and risks, such as working under a hot sun, injuries, malnutrition, and carrying heavy loads (see also Gamlin and Hesketh, 2007; for a review of acute and chronic health hazard among agricultural child worker in developing countries). McLaurin and Liebman (2012) also reported that often children involved in agricultural contexts face further risks, for example, when they have to migrate to find agricultural work. Apart from the inherent risk of the agriculture sector, children encounter further problems such as "lack of supervision, weak regulatory protections, limited or no training, inexperience, poor safety precautions, lack of health insurance and access, language barriers, extreme poverty, undocumented immigration status, and geographical and cultural isolation" (McLaurin and Liebman, 2012: 186).

It has also been argued that child labour in agriculture results in indirect impacts endangering children's future, specifically, the vicious cycle of poverty and child labour, as shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Poverty and child labour cycle



Source: FAO, 2013a: 19

The vicious cycle of poverty and child labour shows that child labour leads to poverty, and poverty causes children to be involved in child labour. Poverty and low incomes in rural areas often result in the involvement of children in family work, either as supplemental workers or as substitute workers, in order to maintain the family's livelihood. Often children then participate in child labour and the worst forms of child labour (as discussed, about one-third of working children in 2012 were involved in child labour), and this interferes with children's education and affects children's health. When children become adults, this may result in children being involved in unskilled labour and consequently receiving low wages and not having sufficient bargaining capacity. Their low incomes and lack of bargaining position reduce community resilience; as a result this will decrease agricultural productivity and performance of rural economies. In the long-term, this then creates poverty and low

incomes among families in rural areas, in which the parents were previously child labourers. The cycle continues (FAO, 2013a:18-19).

Global efforts against child labour

Global efforts to tackle the problem of child labour have long existed in history. White (2005:319-342) provides a review of the practices of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) in attempting to address the child labour problem by classifying its history into four periods: prior to World War I (WWI), during the Cold War, in the era of UNCRC, and in the new millennium. First, prior to WWI, the main role of IGOs was to provide standards on children's work and education through several conventions and declarations. Quoting the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919), White noted that child welfare in general and labour conditions of children in particular were one of the main subjects of the IGOs. Second, during the Cold War period, there were three successive waves, starting with abolitionism as reflected in the ILO C. 138. From the 1980s onward, the protectionist movement attempted to remediate the abolitionist approach. In the 1990s, child labour was discussed in the context of international trade; and in conjunction with the increase of human rights issues, it was also debated within human rights framework.

Third, the establishment of the UNCRC affected the way child labour was viewed and treated within international policies. The issues of child labour were mainly placed within children's rights discourse. Whether or not child labour should be abolished depended on its effects on children's rights. A child-centred and child rights perspective became the dominant discourse in this period. It was also marked by the establishment of the IPEC in 1992 as the main organisation under the ILO to tackle the problem of child labour. This effort attracted global attention; UNICEF and the World Bank began to include child labour as one of their issues, although their focus was mainly in children's education. The prioritization strategy was also introduced in this period through the establishment of the ILO C.182. At this point, three periods have been identified. Bessell (1999:354-356) also provides a categorisation of global policy and discourse on child labour that started in 1919 and lasted until the 1990s: the abolitionist, protectionist and abolish-it-now. These are almost similar to the first three of White's categorisation as mentioned above. Finally, the fourth period, according to White, is the role of IGOs in the new

millennium to support three international commitments on child rights, child work, and education. Their roles have been developed through the UN Common Understanding on the Rights-Based Approach. This led IGOs such as UNICEF, the ILO, the World Bank, and UNESCO to promote their commitments in the language of children's rights (as will be discussed in Chapter 3).

Holly Cullen (2005) provides a review of the history of legal and quasi-legal standards concerning child labour and identifies four different approaches used in the standards to regulate child labour. First, *a labour regulation approach* places child labour as a problem which has to be resolved through the establishment of a standard concerning the minimum age for employment, including ILO C138. Second, *a prioritization approach* seeks to resolve the problem of child labour in several prioritised sectors deemed to be the worst forms of child labour; one example is through the establishment of ILO C182. Third, *a consensus approach* refers to a particular regulation on child labour that receives great attention of international communities. Finally, *a human rights approach* attempts to regulate child labour within children's rights issues, mainly referring to the UNCRC.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has also provided a review of policies concerning the elimination of child labour. The review shows three categories of child labour policies based on the implementing stakeholders, including international organisations, national governments, and private sectors. The OECD identifies two central roles of international organisations, including awareness-raising and technical cooperation, and the establishment of international labour standards. At a national level, governments have implemented child labour policies through several strategies, including improving the coherence of labour legislation and its legal enforcement. The policies are also implemented through providing access to, and improving the quality of, education. Several national governments have also implemented social protection policies through the provision of school nutrition and conditional cash transfers for vulnerable families. The OECD also highlights the important role of the private sector in combating child labour through the adoption of codes of conduct on labour standards. The widely recognised programme is conducted through social labelling, where consumers are informed about products which are produced without involving child labour (OECD, 2003:51-82). More recently, private sectors

are also encouraged to adopt the Children's Rights and Business Principles (CRBP), an initiative developed by UNICEF, the UN Global Compact, and Save the Children in 2010. This initiative calls for private sectors to include children's rights issues as part of corporate social responsibility (CSR). One of the principles is that "all business should contribute to the elimination of child labour, including in all business activities and business relationships" – Principle 2 (UNICEF, The Global Compact and Save the Children, n.d.).

Continuing White's periodization which ends in 2005 (the year of the publication), recently the issue of child labour remains a concern at international and national levels, indicated by the involvement of several international bodies fighting for the eradication of child labour. The ILO has documented its long-standing concern on child labour (ILO, 2001, 2002, 2004h, 2007c, 2008b, 2008c, 2009a, 2009c, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013d, 2014a). UNICEF has also underlined their concern for the elimination of child labour by stating that "[o]ne of the most obvious ways in which material poverty facilitates exploitation and abuse is through child labour" (2004:26). The Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project has also been established in 2000 as an inter-agency research cooperation initiative among UN systems--including the ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank--to address child labour (www.ucw-project.org). The Global March has also been established in 1998, a grassroots movement comprising worldwide civil society organisations and trade unions to tackle the problems of child labour. It operates under the leadership of Kailash Satyarthi, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize 2014 for his struggle against the suppression of children and young people and his work for the rights of all children to education (www.globalmarch.org).

In an agricultural context, the FAO is also concerned with the eradication of child labour in agriculture, providing a statement that "[r]educing child labour in agriculture is not only an issue of human rights, it is also crucial for future decent (youth) employment opportunities, the reduction of poverty, rural development and the achievement of food security" (2013a:12). The FAO and the ILO in collaboration with trade unions and social partners have established the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture (IPCCLA), marked by the Declaration of Intent on Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture that was signed as part of the World Day against Child Labour in Agriculture on 12

June 2007. IPPCLA aims to make an effective collaboration on the efforts of eliminating child labour in agriculture, for example, by providing guidance on policy and practice (ILO, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006b, 2009d, 2010c; FAO, 2010a, 2010b, 2013a, 2013b). In an attempt to prevent and eliminate child labour in the livestock sector and in fisheries and aquaculture, FAO has also provided specific recommendations for particular stakeholders drawing on previous studies on agricultural child labour (FAO, 2013a, 2013b).

The international community has established the goal of eradicating the worst forms of child labour by 2016. Progress towards reaching this target has been assessed at two global conferences in 2010 and 2013 (ILO and MoSAE, 2010:33; MSDFAH, 2014:97). At the first conference, with six years of remaining time to reach the target, it was agreed to “substantially upscale and accelerate action”. Moreover, at the second conference, with just three years before the target, the participants agreed to reaffirm their commitment to the target and step up their efforts at national and international levels. Holly Cullen (2007), however, criticizes the current approaches adopted by international organisations and national governments which focus on particular sectors of child labour – a prioritization approach on the worst forms of child labour. She raises two fundamental questions to consider the ILO C182 on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a basis for a prioritization approach: first, whether prioritization is an appropriate approach to eliminating child labour; and second, whether the Convention sets the appropriate priorities.

Some studies have also highlighted other cultural and structural constraints in tackling the problem of child labour. Drawing on the case of child labour in rural Ethiopia, Bhalotra (2003, cited in Oterová, 2010:104) argues that one of the problems related to policies on child labour is that many policy initiatives do not fully consider the nature of rural areas in the country. Similarly, drawing on historical sources and ethnographic fieldwork with child labour in cocoa production in Ghana, Berlan (2013:1088), reminds us that often the implementation of policies on child labour has not been effective because it does not take into account the social and historical context of the communities. Van den Berge (2009:49-50), drawing on child labour in Peru, argues that structural constraints related to rural poverty are barriers to eliminating child labour.

Improving children's rights and creating educational policies to tackle the child labour problem will not be fully effective without addressing these structural constraints.

2.4 INDONESIAN POLICY ON CHILD LABOUR

Current problems of child labour in Indonesia

Child labour is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. It is customary for some ethnic groups, e.g., the Javanese, to send their children at an early age to work for a relative "to learn to be responsible adults." This practice is also known as *ngenger* (Irwanto, et al., 1995:1). The term *ngenger* is "a Javanese word referring to domestic service of a child in another (typically wealthier or higher status) household; the custom is rooted in feudal-era practices" (MuhammedAlly, 2005:4). It is therefore not surprising when the data obtained from the ICLS 2009 shows that the number of children involved in child labour remained high. As shown in Table 2.4, a total number of 1.38 million children aged 5-12 were involved in employment, accounting for 3.9% of the total child population in the same age category. As children below 13 should not be involved in any type of work, this group of children is therefore considered to be involved in child labour. In addition, almost 0.65 million (7.6%) children aged 13-14 were also involved in regular (non-light) employment, which is considered to be child labour. Summing up these two categories, there were over 2 million (4.6%) children aged 5-14 involved in child labour. The survey also reveals that there was a further 2 million older children (13.4%), aged 15-17, involved in child labour. In total, a significant number of children aged 5-17, over 4 million, were involved in child labour in 2009. This represents 6.9% of the total number of children in the same age category. The survey also reveals that children's employment was mainly in the agriculture sector. Almost 2/3 of children aged 7-14 were involved in agriculture (58%), followed by services (27%) and manufacturing (7%) (UCW, 2012:ii).

Table 2.4 Estimates of child labour involvement in Indonesia in 2009*

	Children aged 5-12 in employment		Children aged 13-14 in regular (non-light) employment**		Children aged 5-14 in child labour		Children aged 15-17 in hazardous employment***		Children aged 5-17 in child labour	
	A		B		C= A & B		D		E = A & B & D	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	694,385	3.8	369,237	8.6	1,063,622	4.8	1,249,632	16.1	2,313,254	7.7
Female	682,432	4.0	277,641	6.6	960,073	4.5	759,350	10.5	1,719,423	6.0
Urban	186,223	1.7	126,934	3.7	313,157	2.2	639,576	9.7	952,733	4.5
Rural	1,190,594	4.9	519,944	10.2	1,710,538	5.8	1,369,406	16.3	3,079,944	8.2
Total	1,376,817	3.9	646,878	7.6	2,023,695	4.6	2,008,982	13.4	4,032,677	6.9

* UCW calculations based on The Indonesia Child Labour Survey 2009 and national legislation and international statistical methods and standards for measuring child labour.

** Children in regular employment (i.e. in non-light work) includes children working more than 15 hours per week and children involved in hazardous occupation irrespective of working hours.

*** Includes children working more than 40 hours per week and children exposed to hazardous conditions.

Source: UCW, 2012:37

In addition to the survey which shows child labour as a problem in Indonesia, several qualitative studies have also documented how the involvement of children in agriculture and non-agriculture work brings negative impacts to the children, particularly those who are involved in the worst forms of child labour. In the agriculture sector, the ILO's (2007b) study on child labour in tobacco plantations in North Sumatra indicates that children were exposed to health risks as a result of not wearing protective clothing while working with pesticides and fertilizers. Of equal concern is that their involvement in plantations interfered with their education, as children often felt too tired to study after helping their parents. Another negative effect is the contract system which seemed to be unfair as the fathers of child labourers received low payment. The contract system also seemed to "require" the father to involve their children to reach production targets set by the plantation officials. Thus, most of the children worked without payment, although they might have received pocket money from their parents. In addition to this, in some cases children spent their money for illegal things, such as gambling or drugs (see also ILO, 2007a; Amigó, 2010, for other studies on child labour in tobacco plantations, in Jember [East Java] and Lombok [West Nusa Tenggara]), respectively.

Another study on child labour on tea plantations in Cisarua (West Java) conducted by Muchlis R. Luddin (2002) shows that adult workers (fathers) experienced economic exploitation from their employer. This condition “forced” parents to include their children in the plantation work, demanding that children become economic contributors to the household. Parents also applied the notion of “no work no pay,” meaning that children have to earn money to buy something for themselves. A child who does not work will be sanctioned; s/he will lose his right to fulfil his basic needs and will be morally considered as irresponsible towards his/her parents and family. There were also signs of sexual harassment in the plantation conducted by the male supervisors towards the female child workers. Luddin therefore argued against the assumption that working at the plantation is a symbol of prosperity. In fact, he argued, the child workers and their parents were exploited and lived in substantially poor conditions.

In non-agriculture sectors, some qualitative studies also reveal similar evidence of the disadvantages of children’s involvement in the worst forms of child labour. These, for example, include the involvement of children as child domestic workers (ILO, 2004a; MuhammedAlly, 2005) and children’s involvement in informal footwear production (ILO, 2004b), informal mining (ILO, 2004c), child trafficking for prostitution (ILO, 2004e, 2004f), and selling drugs (ILO, 2004g).

Policy responses to child labour in Indonesia

Unlike child work which has been a long-standing practice, policy responses to children’s work in Indonesia were established less than a century ago. These can be broadly categorised into four periods: pre-independence (before 1945), the Old regime period (1945-1966), the New regime period (1967-1998), and the decentralisation period (1999-now). During the first period—the colonial period—the Dutch government established the 1925 ordinance, acknowledged as the first legislative attempt to regulate children’s employment in Indonesia. This was mainly influenced by the establishment of the ILO in 1919. Under this ordinance, children under 12 were prohibited to participate in four types of working conditions: in closed factories equipped with machines; in closed workshops employing more than 10 workers; in dangerous or heavy occupations; and during the night,

regardless the type of work, from 8 pm to 5 am (Bessell, 1999; White, 2004, 2009a, 2011).

The second period, during the Old regime (1945-1966), when the Indonesian government had just proclaimed its independence, the government during the second period amended the 1925 ordinance and established the Labour Act around 1948/49. This Act included an article on the prohibition of involving children under the age of 14 in employment. The minimum age for employment was also set at 13 years; this increased one year compared to the 1925 ordinance. In 1951 the government also established Act No. 1, attempting to bring regulations into employment throughout the country (Bessell, 1999; White, 2004).

In the third period, during the New regime (1967-1998), there was a combination of children's work and school, called as *Proyek Kerja*, meaning "work and learn" or "earning while learning". The government established the 1987 Ministerial Regulation, in which the key principle was the protection of children in employment and the improvement of quality of life. With the consent of their parents or acting caregivers, children under 14 were permitted to work for a maximum of four hours per day. Similar to the previous period, children were prohibited from working in hazardous work and at night. Children's employment gained recognition as the regulation called for employers to pay children based on minimum wage regulations (Bessell, 1999; White, 2004). As shown in Table 2.5, during 1992-1996 the Indonesian government attempted to build cooperation with IPEC to work together on the elimination of child labour. This period was marked by an attempt to raise awareness on the problem of child labour in the country (ILO, 2013a).

During the fourth period, in the decentralisation era (1999-now), policies on child labour have been categorised into three approaches (ILO, 2013a). During 1997-2001, the government in collaboration with the ILO worked to eliminate child labour through a sector-based strategy. Three key structural efforts were established, including the ratification of ILO C.138 in 1999 and ILO C.182 in 2000; and the establishment of NAC-WFCL. During 2002-2006, a national action plan to eradicate the worst forms of child labour (NAP-WFCL) was also established in 2002. A different strategy was also implemented to eliminate child labour, through

improving life opportunities for children. This, for example, included the provision of life skills education and apprenticeship programmes to prepare children to find decent work and support the elimination of WFCL. The next phase, during 2007-2011, a different strategy was implemented: that is, tackling child labour through education. This strategy included the establishment of PPA-PKH and PKSA to support the elimination of the worst forms of child labour and to improve children's opportunities to pursue education, mainly compulsory education. PPA-PKH and PKSA are currently regarded as the leading programs to eliminate child labour through education (see also Irwanto and Natalia, 2011, for another review on legislations and policies on child labour in Indonesia).

For the next decade, the Indonesian government has developed a roadmap to eliminate the worst forms of child labour by 2022. In December 2014, the Minister of Manpower stated that through the 'zero child labour programme', Indonesia would attempt to be free from 'all' child labour by 2022 (Antara, 2014). Although the NAC-WFCL was dissolved by Indonesia's new President in December 2014 (as part of bureaucratic reform, as there were too many committees at the national level), the government's commitment to eradicate child labour remains high. The task has been assigned to the Ministry of Manpower as a leading government agency to abolish child labour through the PPA-PKH programme (Kompas, 2014). Recently, the government and the ILO Country Office Indonesia have identified several problems of child labour in the country, particularly child labour in the more hidden sectors. These include child domestic worker (ILO, 2013b), child labour in poultry farms, child trafficking (boys for prostitution), and child labour among indigenous people. The government reaffirmed implementing education as the key element to reach the eradication of child labour by 2022 (ILO, 2013a).

Table 2.5 Main Milestones of the Government of Indonesia-ILO Collaboration on Eliminating Child Labour: 1992-2011

Policy Development		Capacity and Institution Building	Direct Interventions
1992-1996: Raising awareness about child labour			
1992	Signed MoU on IPEC.	ILO introduced DME training for action programmes on child labour.	Education: remedial programmes, skills training, capacity building for teachers and developing resources for non-formal education.
1993	Declaration on the Elimination of Child Labour.		
1993	Established National Steering Committee.		
1997-2001: Moving towards a sector-based approach			
1997	Second MoU (1997-2001) signed.	JARAK, an NGO network on child labour, established (1998).	Advocacy publications on child labour.
1999	Ratified ILO Convention 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment.		
2000	Ratified ILO Convention 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour.	Capacity building for labour inspectors, trade unions, and employers expanded beyond Jakarta.	Action programme on mainstreaming the elimination of child labour into the national poverty reduction programme.
2001	Established National Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NAC-WFCL).		
2002-2006: Improving life opportunities for children			
2002	National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NAP-WFCL).	Capacity building expanded to teachers' association (PGRI), journalists, and civil society.	Programmes to eliminate child domestic labour.
2002	District of Kutaneegara declared itself a Child Free Labour Zone, the first of its kind in the world (reported at the International Labour Conference 2008).		
2003	Ministerial Decree on Jobs that Endangers Morals, Safety and Health of Children.		
2003	Labour Law (adopted parts of ILO Convention 182).		
2003	National Education System Law (defines life skills training, which is embedded in prevocational and vocational training programmes).		
2007-2011: Tackling child labour through education			
2007	<i>Program Keluarga Harapan</i> (PKH) launched, a cash transfer poverty alleviation programme that mainstreamed child labour issues.	Trade unions and employers implementing programmes/projects to eliminate child labour.	Programmes to withdraw & prevent children from domestic labour, plantations, trafficking, and streets.
2008	Programme to Withdraw Child Labourers in support of PKH (PPA-PKH).		
2008	Child Welfare Programme (PKSA) established.		
2009	Minister of Home Affairs Regulation on the Establishment of Regional Action Committees, the Formulation of Regional Action Plans and the Empowerment of Communities on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. In progress: Development of the Indonesia Roadmap to Eliminate Child Labour by 2022.		

Source: Author's compilation and modification from ILO publication (2013a)

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored debates on the definition of child labour in policy and academic discourse and highlighted that its definition is still contested at least concerning four areas: the notion of child/childhood, the notion of work/labour, the child's age, and the problem of thinking in binary categories. For the purpose of this study, 'work' is defined referring to Charles and Chris Tilly as "any activity that produces transferable use value and/or produces human capital" (1998 as cited in Levey, 2009:197). More in line with popular usage, this study considers 'child work' to cover a wide range of children's activities meeting Tilly and Tilly's definition of work, including the first three of Levey's categorisation of work: 'work for pay', 'children's assistance in family businesses', and 'chores and other household obligations'. 'Schoolwork' as proposed by Qvortrup (1994 as cited in Levey, 2009) and 'organised activities' as proposed by Levey (2009) are not regarded as work. For the purpose of this study, the legal definitions of child labour, hazardous work, the worst forms of child labour, and light work are employed as those subsets of 'work' meeting the ILO definitions, unless specific references are made to other definitions.

This chapter has also highlighted that there is a lack of theory on child labour in sociology and anthropology, and therefore social scientists need to employ the perspective adopted from childhood studies to understand child labour (White, 2009b:10). It has also been emphasised that child labour is socially constructed, and therefore we need to understand child labour in reference to cultural relativism (White, 1999; Ennew, et al., 2005:27). There are also debates concerning child labour abolition, and these arguments are much more concerned about children's rights to protection from harmful work and children's rights to participation in work. White has identified three approaches to the elimination of child labour, including the abolitionist approach, the protectionist approach, and the liberationist/ empowerment approach (1994). Meanwhile, Abebe and Bessell (2011) have identified three meta-perspectives for studying child labour: the work-free childhood perspective, the socio-cultural perspective, and the political-economy perspective. As we will see, these approaches and perspectives will be employed as tools for analysis in this study. Having discussed current debates and policy on child labour, the next chapter will discuss an influential perspective

within childhood studies, the new sociology of childhood, and will also discuss children's rights in the context of global diversity.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUALISING CHILDHOOD

This chapter aims to provide a basic theoretical framework for studying childhood. Section One discusses changing conceptions of childhood over time. Section Two presents key ideas in the new sociology of childhood as a theoretical lens as employed in this study and discusses the challenges and opportunities in conceptualising childhood, attempts to identify what is lacking and examines possible remedies. Section Three discusses the children's rights approaches to childhood and the global diversity of childhood. The final section discusses the key ideas of the chapter and their relevance to this study.

3.1 CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD

There are many conceptions of childhood, as it has been perceived and defined differently across time and locations. This section will briefly discuss these conceptions, including: the pre-enlightenment period, the enlightenment period and modern society.

European conceptions of childhood in the pre-Enlightenment period

The conceptions of childhood in two different eras prior to the Enlightenment period are discussed, specifically classical antiquity and the medieval periods. Drawing on Augustine's account of childhood, Bradley (2013) argues that in classical antiquity childhood was seen as distinct and separate from adulthood, in which children grow through several phases: "infancy, boyhood, and adolescence" (p. 18). The stages of childhood reflected the development of powerless children into competent adults who are able to take responsibility in society. In this period "childhood is conceptualized in purely passive terms" (p. 18). Bradley goes on to say that it is difficult to find children's reflections from the period of classic antiquity so any attempt to capture childhood at this time is thus only possible through the lens of adults. Augustine's account of childhood is, therefore, an exception. In a similar vein, Peddle (2001:50) argues that views of childhood in this period were greatly influenced by Augustine's religious teachings on original sin: "the maturation from infancy to later childhood is presented in its relation to the

Trinitarian spiritual principle which animates human life, which is both the principle of its creation and the end which it seeks”.

The state of childhood in the medieval period was examined, for example, by Ferraro (2013:61-77). He argues that childhood in medieval times was strongly shaped by social class, an influential variable in the life of medieval society. His claim is based on an obvious differentiation between children of elite households and those of lower status families, “visually represented in dress, manners, and lifestyle” (p. 63). Furthermore, childhood in this period was also strongly influenced by gender, in which children’s destinies were determined by the norms of masculinity and femininity. For example, in a particular track among children from the upper class, boys were trained at the very beginning to be family patriarchs, or military and political leaders, while girls were trained to be household managers and mothers. Heywood (2001:15), quoting Pope Leo the Great preaching in the fifth century, argues that childhood in this period was constructed as a period of innocence, “Christ loved childhood, mistress of humility, rule of innocence, model of sweetness”. However, as Postman argues, “in the medieval world there was no conception of child development, no conception of prerequisites or sequential learning, no conception of schooling as a preparation for an adult world” (Postman [1982] 2011: Kindle Locations 315-318). He further argues that “there had been no need for the idea of childhood, for everyone shared the same information environment and therefore lived in the same social and intellectual world” ([1982] 2011: Kindle Locations 653-654). In Postman’s view, the idea of childhood was absent from the medieval period, as there was no difference in the lives of children and adults.

European conceptions of childhood in the Enlightenment period

The conception of childhood during the enlightenment period is evident in the work of three eminent philosophers: Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

Strongly influenced by religious teaching on ‘the doctrine of Adamic original sin’, the classical philosopher Thomas Hobbes proposed, in *Leviathan*, the view that the

life of a man is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” therefore individuals needed to be civilised by society (Hobbes [1651] 2011, Kindle Location 3283). In Hobbes’ view, children are seen as evil; it is therefore the duty of society to purify them. Without parental guidance; children are by nature anarchistic, “Unless you give children all they ask for, they are peevish and cry, aye, and strike their parents sometimes; and all this they have from nature” (as cited in Marvick, 2006:259). In simple terms, Hobbes’ child is, by nature, bad. This ‘uncivilised child’ is viewed as a threat to the social order. Archard argues that the Hobbesian approach was greatly influenced by the Puritan tradition in which the parent (father) has absolute power to purify children’s evil, corruption and baseness, “children are under the absolute and unconditional dominion of their parents” (Archard [1993] 2014:8-13). This view places absolute power with the adults and, therefore, children are seen as powerless and incompetent. In this respect, Hobbes’ construction of childhood is similar to the construction in classical antiquity.

John Locke (1632-1704)

Childhood in the Enlightenment period, however, was not always constructed solely in terms of evil. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, John Locke ([1690] 1999:86) proposed the view that by their nature children are nothing, “It is a received doctrine, that men have native ideas, and original characters, stamped upon their minds in their very first being”. He went on to say, “Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas”. According to Gittins (1998:150), “childhood, by this account, is entirely socially constructed; innocence, in the sense of not knowing, is therefore innate”. This discourse proposed that children are “in the process of becoming adults with specific educational needs” in which parents and society are responsible to provide for them to ensure their development into “mature and responsible citizens” (Kehily, 2009:5). In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke (2014 [1693]) proposed three different methods to educate the mind, “the development of a healthy body, the formation of a virtuous character and an appropriate academic curriculum” (Ellis, 2011:17). Archard ([1993] 2014:1) suggests that Locke provides us with the earliest manifesto for ‘child-centred education’, driven by his idealism and dedication to empirical study. At this point, it is clear that Locke’s child is by

nature neither good nor bad, in contrast to Hobbes' view that children are naturally bad.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

The French Romantic philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his book *Emile*, presented a view that human beings are by nature good; it is society which makes them corrupt, "God makes all things good; man meddles with them and they become evil" ([1762] 2014, Kindle Location 54). Gittin (1998:150) interprets that "by 'good' Rousseau seems to have meant 'natural' in the sense that we are all born naturally innocent". Rousseau's thesis in this aspect is similar to Locke's view that children are innately innocent. In contrast to Hobbes, Rousseau refused the notion of original sin by suggesting "there is no original sin in the human heart" ([1762] 2014, Kindle Location 1169); while in *The Social Contract* he proposed the view that "man is born free" ([1762] 2013, Kindle Location 238). Moreover, James and colleagues argue that through *Emile*, Rousseau encouraged greater respect, according the child "the status of person, a specific class of being with needs and desires and even rights", which provided the foundation for the contemporary view of children as individuals (James, et al., 1998:13).

Rousseau also viewed children as powerless and unable to reason; and therefore, similar to Locke's view, in need of education. "We are born weak, we need strength; helpless, we need aid; foolish, we need reason. All that we lack at birth, all that we need when we come to man's estate, is the gift of education" ([1762] 2014, Kindle Location 79-80). Rousseau justifies naturalism as being the most appropriate guide for education, which is proposed to come from three sources, "from nature, from men, or from things" ([1762] 2014, Kindle Location 81). James and colleagues (1998) argue that this view is the foundation of contemporary child-centred education.

In sum, three schools of thought developed in the Enlightenment period provide detailed accounts on the nature of children. Hobbes' child is by nature bad; in contrast, Rousseau's child is naturally good; while Locke's child is conceptualised differently as neither good nor bad. The Puritan discourse (children as evil) proposed by Hobbes along with the Romantic discourse (children as innocent)

proposed by Rousseau and the *tabula rasa* discourse (children as immanent) proposed by Locke underpin many contemporary discussions of childhood.

Conceptions of childhood from the 20th century

Postman ([1982] 2011) argues that prior to the 20th century, childhood and adulthood were not sharply defined and that a certain conception of 'childhood' had been created in the modern era. Children were perceived as "little" adults, in contrast to the current conception of children as "becoming" adults.

“[A]s the printing press played out its hand it became obvious that a new kind of adulthood had been invented. From print onward, adulthood had to be earned. It became a symbolic, not a biological, achievement. From print onward, the young would have to become adults, and they would have to do it by learning to read, by entering the world of typography. And in order to accomplish that they would require education. Therefore, European civilization reinvented schools. And by so doing, it made childhood a necessity” (Postman, [1982] 2011; Kindle Locations 653-658).

The modern conception of childhood is evident in three theoretical approaches in the Western world that are also widespread in the global south: developmental psychology, socialisation theory and the new sociology of childhood. For the purpose of this study, the explanation of the first two are limited in their development until the emergence of the new sociology of childhood; their current theoretical developments are, therefore, not discussed.

Developmental psychology

According to Woodhead, developmental psychology was the dominant paradigm for understanding children in the early twentieth century (Woodhead, 2009). Jean Piaget was a key influence on this perspective (Corsaro, 2015; James, et al., 1998; Jenks, 1982). As Siegler and Ellis have argued, “it is impossible to understand the field of developmental psychology without understanding Piaget's ideas and findings” (1996:211). The developmental psychology emphasised two assumptions about children, “first, that children are natural rather than social phenomena; and secondly, part of this naturalness extends to the inevitable process of their maturation” (James, et al., 1998:17), in which their transformation into adulthood “can be charted through stages relating to age, physical development and cognitive

ability” (Kehily, 2009:8). Developmental psychology also proposed “the necessity, normality and desirability of development and constructive change through ‘growth’. Children are constructed as partially rational; that is, in the process of becoming rational” (Jenks, 2009:95). In general, three themes predominate in the Piagetian approach of childhood: ‘rationality’, ‘naturalness’ and ‘universality’” (James, et. al., 1998; Prout and James, 2015).

Developmental psychology has been criticised on several points. One of the major criticisms is that this perspective proposes “children as potential subjects” in which their current existence is understood as preparation for becoming an adult (Walkerdine, 2009:112). Another basic criticism is that Piaget’s works lack an historical perspective and context. Postman ([1982] 2011, Kindle Locations 2250-2252) argues,

“I believe that Piaget’s studies are limited by his essentially ahistorical approach. He gave insufficient attention to the possibility that the behaviours he observed in children might have been absent or at least quite different at earlier historical periods”.

Bradley (1989:36) argues that perspectives in developmental psychology in general neglect the different contexts of childhood, in which children are greatly influenced by their social and cultural environment. Piagetian constructivism may also be criticised since “children arguably possess some crucial competencies long before Piaget says they do” (Archard, 2014:89). In a similar vein, Gopnik has also argued that, in some cases, children demonstrate certain cognitive abilities much earlier than Piaget proposed (1996:221), while Jenks argues that Piaget fails to see children’s play as anything more than a trivial activity, describing play as merely a form of fun or fantasy, “Piaget is specifically undervaluing what might represent an important aspect of the expressive practices of the child and his or her world” (2005:25; 2009:98). Furthermore, Mayall (2013:7) provides a concise review of the deficits of developmental psychology:

“Developmental psychology was too certain that it was describing universals; it was partial in its focus; and it did not fit with people’s observations of children in their daily lives and activities (e.g. Morss, 1990, 1996; Greene, 1999). It provided justifications for adult dominance over children, for denying them personhood, and for the institutionalization of childhood. It emphasized children’s deficits by contrast with adults’ competencies. It focused on problems and interventions devised to address these and to bring children back to normality”.

Some scholars, however, remind us of the importance of Piaget's work. Gopnik (1996:223), for example, argues that the key purpose of Piaget's work was to answer "epistemological questions about children" and did not necessarily aim to theorize child development. Instead, he aimed to explain "what those changes could tell us about the origins of knowledge". Similarly, Tesson and Youniss (1995, as cited in Corsaro, 2015:17) argued that Piaget's work mainly emphasised the investigation of "the interrelationship between the logic and social qualities of children's thought" and did not place a greater emphasis on the stages of child development. Corsaro (2015:10) argues that the sociology of childhood owes much to the idea of stages in child development because it raises our consciousness that "children perceive and organize their worlds in ways qualitatively different from the ways of adults". Woodhead (2003, cited in Kehily, 2009:9) argues that "Piaget's approach was child-centred: to encourage greater respect for children's thinking and behaviour; to attempt to understand children's perspectives on their own terms".

Socialisation theory

The development of the sociological study of childhood was underpinned by socialization theory. However, it still took the idea of a naturally developing child, as explained, a notion that became the foundation of developmental psychology. Socialization is "a concept that has been much employed by sociologists to delineate the process through which children, though in some cases adults, learn to conform to social norms" (James, et al., 1998:23; Jenks, 2009:102-103). As a result of this process of socialisation, the child's individual personality shares the same characteristics as society itself. Socialization also positions the child as an "adult-in-the-making", that is, children are always seen in as progressing towards becoming responsible members of society (Walkerdine, 2009:8-9). The concept of socialization has been much employed by sociologists for many decades; Brayfield (1998, cited in Mayall, 2013:6), for example, conducted a review of papers in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* and found "almost no mention of children as other than socialization projects, over nearly 60 years of the journal's issues to 1997".

Socialisation theory and developmental psychology share similar views of childhood, presenting children as if they are all the same regardless of context and social location (Mayall, 2002). However, although socialization theory took the idea of the naturally developing child from developmental psychology, these theorists have a different focus in their study of children. Developmental psychology has mainly been interested in “the individual child”, while the sociological study of children has put a greater emphasis on “children as a social group” (Kehily, 2009). One of the major concerns surrounding socialization as a framework for understanding children is that it portrays children as homogenous. A second concern is that socialization approaches “children as passive recipients of the culture into which they are born” (Waksler, 1991, cited in Matthews, 2007: 324).

New approaches to studying childhood

Kehily (2009) has argued that the late twentieth century was marked by the notion of “reflexivity” in social theory. Its central argument has greatly influenced the study of children and childhood, generating a version of “the child” and of “childhood”. The notions of a child and of childhood as relative conceptions have played an important role to the development of contemporary childhood studies. Furthermore, Kehily suggests that “central to contemporary approaches is the understanding that childhood is not universal; rather, it is a product of culture and as such will vary across time and place” (2009:7). It is therefore important to understand how children and childhood are constituted in contemporary models, as this will allow us “to distinguish between children as human beings and childhood as a shifting set of ideas” (Cunningham, 1995:1).

The paradigm shift in perceptions of childhood was stimulated by Aries’ *Centuries of Childhood*, published in 1962, which “launched the debates on the history of children and childhood” (Cunningham, 1995:5) and which became a basis for modern sociological view of childhood. Aries argued that children in Medieval societies performed similar activities as adults did and, therefore, they did not have a special or distinctive status; childhood did not exist in this period (1962, as cited in James and James, 2004:12). James and James explain the key ideas of Aries’ work:

“Core to this are two key propositions. First, that ‘childhood’ cannot be regarded as an unproblematic descriptor of a natural biological phase. Rather the idea of childhood must be seen as a particular cultural phrasing of the early part of the life course, historically and politically contingent and subject to change. Second, Aries’ thesis underlines the point that how we see children and the ways in which we behave towards them necessarily shape children’s experiences of being a child and also, therefore, their own responses to and engagement with the adult world” (James and James, 2004:12).

They further argue that Aries provided “cultural relativity across time” in conceptualising childhood. His thesis pointed to the plurality of childhoods, rather conceptualising childhood as a universal form.

3.2 THE NEW SOCIOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD

Drawing on Aries’s thesis, the proponents of the new sociology of childhood, such as Allison James and Alan Prout ([1990] 2015), Chris Jenks (1982) and William Corsaro ([1997] 2015) proposed new perspectives in studying childhood from a sociological point of view. At the time they were proposing these new perspectives there was lack of sociology focusing on childhood and children were studied with reference to their lives in very limited social contexts. The insignificance of children in sociological theory was similar to the absence of women in sociological theory that was later addressed by feminist theories. The new perspectives were, therefore, intended to address the absence of children in sociological theory (Alanen, 1988). In addition, there was lack of childhood existence from a community perspective. Children and childhood were, in fact, approached only within limited topics in family and school. Thus the new sociology of childhood dealt with two difficult tasks: to create a space for the study of childhood in sociology and to advocate for a paradigm shift in theorising and conceptualising childhood (Prout, 2011).

The proponents of the new sociology of childhood have produced fundamental works questioning some of the commonly held views on childhood from the late 20th century, mainly contesting the universality of childhood and the notion of children as passive agents. They challenge the view that socialization was the key perspective for understanding childhood. They also challenge the notion that childhood is a natural, universal and homogenous phenomenon. Instead, childhood

should be seen as socially and culturally constructed and, therefore, heterogeneous. Moreover, they challenge the notion of children as passive recipients of their culture. Instead, children should be viewed as active agents who are competent in making meaning of their culture and are capable of participating in their societies (Corsaro, ([1997] 2015; James and Prout, [1990] 2015; James, et al., 1998; Jenks, 1982).

In *Theorizing Childhood*, James and colleagues attempt to theorize about the field of childhood study by examining the approaches that were dominant at the time they were writing. They provide a critical assessment of developmental psychology and socialization theory and, at the same time, provide an insight into the emerging paradigm for the study of children and childhood in the 1990s (James, et al., 1998:3). This new perspective promotes children's voices to be heard in theory, policy and practice. Children are seen as active members of society who are capable to express their own ideas and experiences. Children should not be studied from adults' viewpoints (Hardman, 2001:504; James and Prout [1990] 2015). Corsaro similarly suggests that adults need to appreciate children's participation in society and to encourage children in making meaning of their own world (Corsaro [1997] 2015:367). Jenks (1982:12) also suggests that we need to understand childhood in an appropriate manner, as a social construct rather than a natural phenomenon. These perspectives have recently gained influence among scholars in studying childhood and therefore are also adopted as the theoretical framework for this study, as discussed below.

Childhood as a social construction

The new sociology of childhood challenges the view of childhood as natural; in this new approach, childhood is viewed as a social construction rather than as a natural state. Jenks suggests, "childhood is not a natural phenomenon and cannot properly be understood as such...Childhood is to be understood as a social construct" (Jenks, 1982:12). Similarly, Postman also suggests "childhood is a social artifact, not a biological necessity". He acknowledged that this statement would be viewed as "at best, problematic and, at worst, false" by scholars in the field of developmental psychology which, he argued, had been the dominant perspective since the early

20th century ([1982] 2011, Kindle Locations 2242-2244). In a similar vein, Prout and James have argued:

“The immaturity of children is a biological fact of life but the way in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful is a fact of culture. It is these ‘facts of culture’ which may vary and which can be said to make of childhood a social institution.... [In this emergent paradigm] childhood is understood as a social construction. As such it provides an interpretive frame for contextualising the early years of human life. Childhood, as distinct from biological immaturity, is neither a natural nor universal feature of human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component of many societies” (Prout and James, [1990] 2015: 6-7).

The new sociologists of childhood criticised developmental psychology and socialisation theory for their interpretation of children as a homogeneous group, regardless of their social environment and cultural context (Matthews, 2007). The social constructionist approach, therefore, attempts to avoid studying children from only their biological determinism; instead, it attempts to use their views and experiences as a focus of study as a social phenomenon. Moss and Petrie (2002 cited in Jones 2009:23) have summarised the key idea of childhood as a social construction:

“First, childhood is a biological fact; however, the way it is understood and lived is varied; second, this variety is created through interaction between people, and through the kinds of images of children that inform the ways we act; and third, there is never only one version of what a child is: different profession, disciplines, communities create particular versions of what children are, or can be, shaped by politics, history and culture.”

As Postman explained, “childhood is analogous to language learning. It has a biological basis but cannot be realized unless a social environment triggers and nurtures it, that is, has need of it” ([1982] 2011, Kindle Locations 2258-2259). Drawing on the works of Rousseau and of Donna Haraway on ‘queering what counts as nature,’ Taylor attempts “to queer the relationship between singular Nature and childhood” (2013:xv). She challenges the idea of natural childhood, although she does not necessarily suggest that childhood is purely socially constructed. She suggests a different form of childhood, that is, “messy and implicated rather than pure and innocent; situated and differentiated rather than decontextualized and universal; entangled within real world relations rather than protected in a separate space” (Taylor, 2013: i).

The notion of childhood as a social construction implies that childhoods are diverse. As James and colleagues have argued “in many parts of the world a child’s age impinges very differently on local conceptualizations of children’s physical and social skills”; thus age is a ‘social’ rather than ‘natural’ variable (1998: 175). This serves as an arena “for exciting new development, new forms and new interpretations” and at the same time eliminating “the conventional standards of judgement and truth” that childhood is natural and universal (Jenks, 2009:105-106). Jenks further argues that “within a socially constructed, idealist world, there are no absolutes; childhood does not exist in a finite and identifiable form” (p. 105). This implies there is no single childhood, but instead a plurality of childhoods: different social contexts, times and places create different types of childhood.

The plurality of childhood occurs “within the same society” as well as “across the settings” in which children live their lives (Jenks, 2005). Mayall (2002) argues the new perspective offers the ability to emphasise the plurality of childhood by taking into consideration context, time and place. Drawing on children’s accounts in two social settings – the home and the school, Mayall (1994:114) suggests that different social contexts create different childhoods and that children’s experiences of childhood change from one context to another. Children’s childhoods are heavily dependent on the adults’ understandings of childhood and what adults consider to be appropriate activities by and for children in the two settings; in this context, parents’ and teachers’ understandings of childhood.

Taking social constructionism as a theoretical stance to study children and childhood has another implication. It provides understanding of the plurality of childhoods across settings. However, it has been argued that the global north discourses on childhood have been widely adopted as global standards in the majority south (Boyden, [1990] 2015; Burman, 1996; Wyness, 2013).

A number of studies have provided evidence on the plurality of childhood. First, studies have shown that “children’s development is a social and cultural process” (Woodhead, 2009:19). Children live in a particular social environment and cultural context that understandably influence the way they behave. Bühler-Niederberger (2010:370) notes that although children have different social worlds compared to that of adults, they create their own cultures, which are heavily influenced by the

rules of adult cultures. Similarly, in their study of child sexual abuse in the Caribbean, Pasura and colleagues (2013:200) argue that Caribbean childhoods are constructed both by global and local influences. Childhoods are hybrid creations of several factors affecting children in the region, including history, social factors and culture.

Second, some studies have also shown that childhood is constructed both by and for children, mediated through a specific social environment. Children's cultural environments, such as home, school, playground, and shopping malls are not natural; instead, they are created by adults and operated through certain regulations affecting children's lives (Woodhead, 2009:20). Drawing on children's accounts from a Swedish primary school, Rönnlund (2015) explores how children construct their gender identity through the schoolyard and places within the schoolyard. She found that different places created both different and similar ways of constructing gender identity, and this was influenced by spatial characteristics. This result, she argues, indicates how social institutions and society have the capacity to influence children's behaviour in the context of contemporary outdoor school environments. Similarly, drawing on the narratives of adults who live either on cul-de-sacs or on through-streets, Hochschild (2012:229) identifies three benefits for children living on culs-de-sac: safety, a prevention of deviant activities and an opportunity for uninterrupted play. He goes on to conclude, "cul-de-sacs, as well as other low-traffic streets, can enhance children's neighborhood experiences and create more vibrant neighborhoods". Drawing on alternative education in the UK, such as home-schooling, Kraftl (2013b:436) examines how spatial experiences and discourses are fundamental elements in creating alternative educational practices. Kraftl (2013a:119-120) also explores how teachers in an alternative education modify spatial and temporal techniques to create learning environments through "the creation of order, the absence of uniformity and material objects, and the presence of mess". He argues that dis/orderly spatialities are created as a way to evoke certain kinds of children's feelings. It is in the creation of these feelings that children's capacities to learn are improved.

Viewing childhood as a social construction has also led some new sociologists of childhood to suggest that "childhood is an overtly political issue" (Woodhead, 2009:20) in which children's lives are fuelled by political actions both in global and

local contexts, such as provision for health and education and for children's opportunities to participate in community life. In the global context, Wyness (2013:340), for example, notes how children's rights for participation have been widely accepted as a global standard, transferring the ideal childhood from the minority world to the majority world. Drawing on the case of child labour, he examines how this model of participation has been dominantly accepted in policy statements in global contexts. He argues that we need to acknowledge children's participation in a more inclusive way, by acknowledging children's participation in economic production and their participation in family and community life. He identifies the possibility of promoting policy focuses on child labour, from condemnation to legitimation. Similarly, Penn (2011:94) attempts to look at how international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and charities promote and support early childhood education and care (ECEC) in the global South. She highlights that INGOs and charities share similar views and manage overlapping activities with regard to ECEC. This is experienced by both types of agencies from different origins in the global north, regardless of their operation in the global south. In the local context, Kraftl and colleagues (2012:2-3) note that there has been growing attention to child and youth policy-making on a national scale. Governments from many parts of the world have been increasingly promoting the inclusion of youth in national policy contexts, in many cases following international standards or guidance. In doing so, they collaborate with local authorities and the local community to ensure that the intervention would be able to influence the lives of children and young people appropriately.

From another approach, some studies have discussed the way children's identities are constructed differently. De Almeida and colleagues (2011:219) discussed the digital divide among Portuguese children and found that children's appropriation and use of the Internet varied. They found four categories of users, including: 'self-reliant cybernauts', 'nurtured cybernauts', 'nurtured beginners' and 'unguided rookies', indicating that digital diversity exists within children's lives. In another exploration of the social construction of childhood Pilcher (2011:128) examined how children assess clothing retailers and brands in relation to their identity and social contexts. She argued that children are able to use their consumer knowledge to represent their identities but their considerations are heavily influenced by their

position in the social and generational order. An earlier study by Peterson (2005:177) also shows how magazines strongly influenced the way middle class Egyptian children developed their identity. Reading magazines served as a medium for children in the creation of “hybrid identities as simultaneously Muslim and modern, Arab and cosmopolitan, child and consumer”.

Numerous studies have also documented that, in Woodhead’s (2009:20) view, “childhood is an ambiguous status, even within a given time and place”. Children often experience conflicting values resulting from multiple versions of childhood in domestic and public spaces, or contradictions between global and local values, or between current and traditional values. Montgomery (2014:169) discusses child-rearing practices among child prostitutes and their parents. Child rearing generally aims to raise children to become responsible adults in the future and members of society who are able to respect moral values. Prostitution is generally seen as morally unacceptable and in the case of children this is considered abuse. However, Montgomery found that although children selling sex was physically dangerous and potentially placed them in jeopardy, both children and their parents felt that child prostitution was “loving and functional” and was perceived as advantageous for them to be able to maintain quality of life for the family. Morality, according to Montgomery, was seen “in terms of reciprocity rather than sexual transgression”. The idea of childhood as an ambiguous status can also be found from Van Blerk’s (2012:322) study of street children in Cape Town, South Africa. She notes that the lives of street children are “part of powerful inter- and intra-generational relations that connect them to their families: interdependent but sometimes forced and contested”. She concludes that the life of street children is not limited to the street; instead children maintain their inter-connectedness between street and family life. Similarly, Van Daalen (2010) highlights the ambiguous position of contemporary Dutch children in which their social position is situated between the private and the public domains.

The notion of childhood as a social construction has today been widely accepted as a valuable approach to the sociological study of children’s everyday lives. This provides a useful framework for this study.

Children as social actors

The second major theme within the new sociology of childhood is how the status of children is understood in theory, research, policy and practice and it appears obviously in the study of children's activity and agency, and how they shape their own childhoods (Woodhead, 2009:22). This view was partly an attempt to challenge the socialisation theory, which did not give a voice for children. The new sociology of childhood challenges the socialisation theory, which proposed that children are not fully socialised and, therefore, adults need to help them to express their voices and experiences (Matthews, 2007). Similarly, Mackay (1991:23) argues that the socialisation view is based on the assumption that children are less competent and less knowledgeable compared to adults. He further suggests that scholars need to focus on "the rich and varied interaction" between children and adults, acknowledging their similar relations. Any attempt to examine children as less competent in comparison to adults will fail to reveal the significance of the meaning of children's lives. He also criticises the views of developmental psychology, which tend to give superiority to adult status over children.

The new sociology of childhood proposes a view that children are social actors and not just passive agents in understanding their society; children are seen as active participants in affecting their societies; they are also capable of reflexivity. In interpreting their culture, children do not simply adopt a taken-for-granted attitude; instead, they use their understanding to create their own culture (Adler and Adler, 1998; Corsaro, 2003). In a similar vein, James and colleagues (1998:6) suggest that this perspective is "...a call for children to be understood as social actors shaping as well as shaped by their circumstances". Prout and James (2015: 7) have also argued:

"Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes."

This perspective also proposes that children should be understood within their present (being) and not be seen with the object of becoming adults (Lee, 2001 as cited in Walkerdine, 2009:112). Mayall (2013:2) also suggests that we need to acknowledge children, both socially and politically, "as important members of

society, not as pre-social objects of socialization, but as contributing agents to the welfare of society". In the research context, the new sociology of childhood also attempts to give a voice for children by enabling them to take part in the research process (Cocks, 2006); this allows children's voices to be visible within research, such as research on the family (Qvortrup, 2004 as cited in Ellis, 2011).

Jones (2009) summarised the core of this approach that has been adopted in research and policy as "seeing children as agents in their own lives and able to contribute and participate in decision making" (p. 29). He further explains the changing vision from traditional to modern attitudes in seeing children: in the modern perspective, children are understood "as capable rather than incapable, active rather than passive, visible rather than invisible, and powerful rather than vulnerable and needy" (p. 29). Children are also seen "as valued and attended to in the present rather than seen and attended to as an investment for the future" (p. 29), and seeing children as "an individual with their own capacities rather than a mini-adult lacking in full adult capacities" (p. 29).

Kellet (2005) argues against the view that children lack knowledge. Referring to Mayall (2000) and Christensen and Prout (2002), Kellet further explains that although adults are more knowledgeable than children in many areas, with regard to their own lives, it is children who have greater knowledge. Derived from the dichotomy in modern sociology, the notion of children as competent actors lies within the discussion of childhood as becoming (children's incompetence) versus childhood as being (children's competence). Uprichard (2008) reminds us that it is important to maintain balance between the notions of being and becoming without neglecting the personhood of the child. She criticises the construction of the becoming child discourse as "explicitly future oriented" (p. 304).

One of the concepts in the new sociology of childhood that attracts scholars in the field is children's agency. Corsaro ([1997] 2015) introduces the concept of interpretive reproduction, referring to the notion that children are active producers of their culture; they do not simply adopt adult culture. Instead, they learn from adult culture and create meanings of their own culture. Thus, children actively participate in the development of their own culture. Alanen (2000) identifies two types of child participation: participation in cultural meaning-making (Corsaro) and

participation in economic production and consumption (Qvortrup). Robson and colleagues (2007) propose a way to measure the agency of children by introducing a continuum of agency. The continuum is broadly differentiated into four different degrees: (almost) no agency, little agency, secret agency, and public agency. The level of agency is understood to indicate children's degree of power and control upon their day-to-day lives. Children who are "forced to do things out of necessity to improve their lives and futures... appear to have very little agency" (p. 144), while those who act in accordance with adults' approval display the maximum degree of agency. They (2007:145) argue that there are differences that appear upon the examination of children's agency between "that which is self-initiated, and other circumstances where children's actions might be automatic, expected, requested, or forced". They further argue that we need to understand "the reasoning behind the agency, the outcomes of such agency, and whether different forms of agency are enjoyed or resented".

A number of studies have highlighted several forms of children's agency. For example, through a direct observation of children involved in production, distribution, and consumption, Zelizer (2002) argues that children are economic agents. Cook (2004) examined children's wear and found how business sectors started to give greater attention to children themselves rather than their mothers. Thus, children were seen as active consumers. Wyness (2012), however, reminds us that we need to be cautious about the possible dangers of the sentimentalisation of children's agency. Promoting children's voice to be heard within research, policy, and practice should not become an end; instead, it should become a tool to understand children's views. We also need to be aware of protecting children from their involvement in research, as this sometimes poses certain risks. Similarly, Kosntantoni (2012:337) reminds us of the tendency of mainstreaming children's agency in research by examining children as "independent social actors" and as "beings in their own right". This potentially leads researchers to undervalue interdependencies between children and adults or their peers. Alanen (2001) suggests that we need to acknowledge generational order in analysing child-adult relations. Just like class and gender, generation also operates in children everyday lives. There is power differences among children and parents. Therefore in a relational framework, children perceive their lives based on their definition on

their relation with adults. This is supported by Mason and Falloon (2001:111) that children felt abused by adults “as a consequence of their positioning in the generational order”.

3.3 CHILDREN’S RIGHTS AND CHILDHOOD DIVERSITY

One of the significant factors influencing children’s lives is the UNCRC, which has been widely accepted as a source for promoting children’s rights in the international context. The UNCRC has helped shape the ways in which people, communities, and states conceptualise childhood. The UNCRC was developed from two previous international documents that dealt with providing children’s rights, the 1924 Geneva Declaration of the Rights of Child, and the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Before the UNCRC 1989, however, children’s rights charters only mentioned the rights of the child for provision and protection, while children’s rights in the UNCRC are broadly classified into three types, which Hammarberg (1990:100) calls the “three P’s”, or, provision, protection, and participation. These include the provision made for children’s basic needs, the protection against neglect and abuse of children, and their participation in the family and community. Understanding children’s rights helps this study, in one side, to understand their rights to work, and in another side, to understand their rights to be protected from harmful work. In this study, the examination of children’s rights from the global south view can be broadly categorised into three themes: children’s rights to participation versus protection, children’s rights versus parental rights, and children’s rights in the global context versus the local context.

Participation versus protection

The debates on children’s need to protection versus their need to participate underpin the discourse of children’s rights (Cooper, 1998). Lowden (2002) argues that the importance of these rights is perceived differently across countries, based on their social and cultural contexts. Several countries put a greater emphasis on the rights of the child to protection, while several other countries consider participation to have more attention.

For the proponents of liberationist, the UNCRC is understood as a set of values which allows children to make a decision about themselves. Alderson (2000:440) argues that there are four levels of rights to participate: to express a view, to be informed about the details and options within a decision, to have their view taken into account, and to be the main decider in matter which affects the child. The UNCRC aims to improve the national standards in children's rights, and therefore, only deals with the first three. Some countries go beyond the fourth level of decision-making for their children (Alderson, 2000). In this context, Thomas (2011:48) differentiates the way children pursue their rights to participate in public space. He argues that children may participate in their society, by taking part in an activity, or by taking part in decision-making.

In reconciling this debate, Alston and Parker (1992) have argued that the rights can be understood, either in terms of 'interest', or 'will'. Children's rights can be seen as 'children's interests', meaning that children need protection for their security and welfare. In contrast, children's rights can be seen as the 'children's will', meaning that the child should be given the authority to make a choice and claims of others. The first is in line with the paternalistic approach, while the second is in line with the libertarian approach (as discussed below).

Children's rights versus parental rights

Second, there is also considerable debate around children's and parental rights. Children generally live within the family, in which parents have a greater amount of influence towards their children. Often, their relations involve a range of conflicts, where children and parents have different interests. To take one example, a child might ask to involve in a particular activity, such as work, but the parents do not agree to it, as it is seen as harmful, or might jeopardise the child. This, then, become an arena of dispute, both practically and theoretically. Should the child pursue his right to work? Or should the parents pursue their parental rights to protect their children? This can be an unresolved debate, and raise different approaches in examining both children's and parental rights.

Mostly drawing on child care law and the policy in England and Wales, Lorraine Fox Harding (1997) differentiates the four approaches to the relationship between children, parent, and the state. First, the laissez faire and patriarchal approach

emphasises that it is the family who have the autonomy towards their children. On the other side, it emphasises upon the minimal role of the state. Second, the state paternalism and child protection approach provides legitimation for it to provide protection and care towards children, mainly for compensating against an inadequate family. Third, the defence of the family and parent's rights approach provides legitimation for the state intervention, to help preserve and defend the family. Fourth, the child liberation approach stresses upon children's autonomy, in relation to the family and the state.

Roose and Bouverne-De Bie (2007) classify the two main approaches in conceptualising children's rights: the libertarian approach, and the paternalistic approach. First, the libertarian approach, which comes from the emancipation movement, criticises the status of children as an oppressed group, in which, parents dominate children's lives. Based on the idea of the equality of the people, the liberationists argue that children should have similar rights to their parents (adults). Scholars, such as John Holt (1974, cited in Roose and Bouverne-De Bie, 2007) disputes the validity of the argument, that children are incapable of making a decision. Instead, he argues that children have the rights to vote, to work, to have an income, and to have legal and financial responsibility, etc. Second, the paternalistic approach promotes the argument of children's incapacity, although, it also supports the argument that children have the capacity to make a decision at an earlier stage. Scholars who have taken this approach are Archard ([1993] 2014), with the movement of "caretaker", and Hanson (2004, cited in Roose and Bouverne-De Bie, 2007), with "child welfarists". Laura Purdy (1994) refuses to grant the same adults' rights to children, because she believes that it will be harmful for child development. Viewing children to have similar understanding and wisdom to adults, is therefore, overestimated.

Some scholars propose a number of approaches, in order to reconcile between the libertarian approach (child participation/children's will), and the paternalistic approach (child protection/children's interests). The legal protection approach aims to reduce the polemic between liberation/participation, versus protection. It is argued that providing children the same rights as adults can jeopardise them. In contrast, overprotection is also damaging for child development as children do not develop their resilience. According to Goldstein and Brooks (2013:3-4), children

living with risk are capable to develop "a resilient mindset"; they are also capable to use their resources to deal with their problems. Children in adversity are also more capable to adjust and face many challenges in their future as they develop protective factors while they are facing hardship. Therefore, we need to maintain a balance between protection and participation (Lowden, 2002).

Michael Freeman (1997) refers to the idea of 'liberal paternalism', and proposes the view that children have the right to autonomy. He divides children's autonomy into two parts: present autonomy and future autonomy. When their rights to present autonomy are threatened by the existence of children's rights to future autonomy, then, protection is necessary for them. Eekelaar (1986), also combining these position, argue that the recognition towards children's rights should consider their interests, which he differentiates into three types. First, children have their 'basic interests', which includes protection, provision of food, and home. Second, children also have their 'developmental interests', which includes an opportunity to develop their potential. Third, children also have autonomy, which means that they should be given an arena to express their voice, and to make a decision about their life. He further suggests that these three interests are hierarchical. They cannot be treated equally and/or interchangeably. Therefore, adults and the state will not allow children to use their autonomy, if this is considered damaging to their basic and developmental interests. Laura Purdy (1994) argues that focusing on children's rights creates a considerable amount of distrust towards the adults (parent, teacher, social worker, etc). The debate on children's rights should not emphasise whether children must have rights or not, but, rather, should focus on the question of how to realise children's rights.

Universal versus local

The implementation of the UNCRC, at national or local level, addresses all Eekelaar's categorisations of interests (basic, developmental and autonomy), and requires different political and legal strategies, because of the different policy settings in each country. However, it has been argued that its implementation seems to lead the discussion of children's rights into a technocratic discourse (Fernando, 2001), and consensus thinking (Reynaert, et al., 2009). It does not address the significance of children's rights, as the discourse neglects the social,

cultural, economic and historical context, in which children live their lives. Reynaert and colleagues (2009) conducted a literature review, and found, that in the global context, children's rights have become "the global children rights industry".

The implementation of the UNCRC in the global context is related to the discourse about universal children's rights and cultural relativism (recognising the plurality of childhood), as part of a broader debate on universalism versus relativism. The concept of universal human rights proposes that "every human being has certain human rights by virtue of being human" (Donders, 2010:16), and believes that every human being (in this case: children) has to be equal to enjoy the rights. This concept is not contentious. However, when the universalism proposes universal values and norms, this is then debatable. Conversely, relativism proposes that "we have no basis for judging other people and cultures, and certainly no basis for declaring some better than others, let alone 'good' or 'evil'" (Bennett, 2002:46, cited in Brown, 2008).

In an attempt to address this debate, Ben White (1999) suggests that the discourse on the universalism of children's rights should not place a greater emphasis on resolving the debate on relativism versus universalism. Instead, it should emphasise the problem and how to make a productive use of the terms relativism and universalism. He suggests determination between three types of cultural relativism. First, cultural relativism as a theoretical position in the philosophy of social sciences represents the view that culture is incomparable, because it, in principle, can only be understood from within that culture. Second, cultural relativism as a moral and political doctrine represents the view that it is a primary source of validity of moral rights and rule; therefore, criticism against cultural differentiation by the outsiders is considered to be both illegitimate and invalid. Finally, cultural relativism as a practical analytical tool, which some authors call relativity, represents a view of culture diversities, making them a basis for learning and recognising the diversity of human culture and values.

3.4 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined the manner in which childhood is conceptualised differently across time. It also offers an insight into the current perspectives of

childhood studies. This study further considers the new sociology of childhood, as an appropriate tool for studying both children and childhood. This is different from developmental psychology, which views children to be in the process of becoming adult, and are divorced from their social worlds; however, the new sociology of childhood emphasises that children should be studied in their present state. Moreover, it is different from developmental psychology, which focuses on the individual child; whereas, the new sociology of childhood focuses on the 'group life' of the child (Thorne, 1993:4, cited in Matthews, 2007:326). The new sociology of childhood requires us to interpret it, based on the social relations between children and adults, and to highlight the manner in which the two create and recreate meanings in their daily interactions, which affect the way childhood is understood and experienced by children. This will help the study to understand them, based on their own social worlds.

One of the significant contributions of contemporary childhood studies for studying children and childhood is to approach it as a social construct. In developmental psychology, children are seen as natural, biological fact, whose existence remain the same in every society. What a child is, and what a child is going to be, are the same in every context. In socialisation theory, although it emphasises on the group life of the child, children are seen as passive members of the society. In the new childhood studies, scholars have attempted to view it differently, by emphasising that childhood is not a natural category, and therefore, what a child is, how he/she experiences childhood, and how childhood is constructed, is shaped by the values and cultures of the adults. This view allows this study to define childhood differently, with regards to the social and political relations between children and adults in different cultures, depending on the manner in which childhood is perceived in the society. Different child-adult relations, and the context surrounding them, may result in making different social constructs of childhood. This view raises an understanding of the plurality of childhood as well. In developmental psychology, children are seen as universal, regardless of their cultural and social context. On the contrary, new childhood studies stresses upon the plurality of childhood, in which children are seen differently, depending on their social circumstances. The plurality of childhood is not only experienced cross-culturally, but also within the culture itself, in which children live their lives. Based

on this view, childhood is perceived, experienced, and constructed differently among children around the world; where every child has his/her own specific experience and construction. In short, by promoting the plurality of childhood, it emerged partly as “a reaction against tendencies towards a false universalisation and normalisation of childhood” (Punch and Tisdall, 2012:243).

Another contribution of the new sociology of childhood is the way certain scholars view children, to be competent social actors. In socialisation theory, children were seen as incompetent, and therefore, they were not actors for their world. This view resulted in children being viewed as passive agents, who simply adapted to the culture and absorbed knowledge from their society. They were merely shaped by their society and did not create their lives and cultures. In contrast, the new childhood studies view children as competent social actors, who are not merely influenced by their society, but they rather construct their own lives and cultures in society. They also create their own meanings of culture, norms, and the rules of the society and are viewed as experts for their own childhood (Kellet, 2005; Mayall, 2008:109). This study was planned to investigate children’s own views, without adult interference. However, this was not the case, as in reality some of the children in this study expressed their views under parental influence (see Chapter 4 and 7).

This chapter also examined the debates concerning children’s rights as the proponents of the protectionist approach and the participatory approach. This study considers the debates as useful resources, which seeks to understand the reality of working children, and child labour in particular. The debate will provide theoretical explanation about the rights of children, to be involved in employment, and their rights for adequate protection. By employing these debates, this study, therefore, will be able to provide new evidence from the global south, in advancing the debates about children’s rights. Furthermore, with regard to children’s rights and childhood diversity, this study has highlighted three analytical tools, to consider cultural relativism, including cultural relativism as a theoretical position, cultural relativism as a moral and political doctrine, and cultural relativism as a practical analytical tool (White, 1999).

This study underlines the need to think specifically about the global south. The development of the theories and methodologies in childhood studies were

primarily made within the global north. It is still questionable whether the dominant theoretical and methodological framework reflect the lives and experiences of children in the global south, which is the majority children in the world, in terms of number. There is still great paucity in the knowledge of childhood about the majority world children, such as the notions of children's agency, their rights and ability to participate, which are investigated through the lives and cultures of children in the global south themselves. For example, the new sociology of childhood underlines the notion of children agency, where they are capable of defining their childhood. However, children in the majority south are severely restricted by poverty, or by culture, such as respect to their parents, parental awareness, or parental values. They are also constrained by the global values, and certain actions, such as global campaign for education, and global campaign for the elimination of child labour. It then raises some questions, for example: does children's agency remain existent in the majority world, when they are restricted by culture, poverty, or the global discourse surrounding them? If so, to what extent does their agency exist in the majority south? Based on the study of child work in Indonesia, the remaining chapters will contribute to the debates around these issues.

It is worth underlining here two concepts related to childhood in the majority world: childhood as an ambiguous status (Woodhead, 2009:20), and the overlapping arenas of children's everyday lives (Punch, 2003). In these conceptions of childhood, childhood is seen having an ambiguous status, with multiple versions of childhood noted at home, at school, in the playground, or at work. In the majority world, however, there is no strong delineation between work, play, and school; rather, there is an overlapping noted in the different arenas of childhood, which occur within a given time and place. To acknowledge the plurality of childhood, we may also employ Archard's ([1993] 2014: 31-40) thesis on the distinction between 'concept' and 'conception' of childhood. The 'concept' refers to the key principles of childhood, whereas, the 'conception' reflects the details of the meaning in any given context and culture. This distinction allows us to ask about what childhood is, and the answer will be probably different, depending on the historical and cultural context of the society in which children live their lives. For example, 'age' is a concept, which is noted as one of the unspecified differences between children and

adults. This concept, however, does not strictly mention the exact description of age. Using the same concept, a researcher, then, is able to examine the manner in which scholars, policy makers, international bodies, children, communities, and many other parties, are able to develop different conceptions about 'age'. This will present an opportunity for the researcher to examine the diversity of childhood in the majority world, where the conception can be different or the same as that of the minority world, or even within the majority world itself.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is about child work in agricultural society of Java. It aims to understand children and parents' perspectives of child work and to examine the implications of these perspectives for child labour policy in Indonesia. More specifically, this study is designed to answer the following questions.

- (1) How do children and parents understand child work?
- (2) How do children become involved in their world of work?
- (3) What are the implications for child labour policy?

This study is designed as a qualitative case study of child work in agriculture in the Indonesian context. As a case study, it is intended to develop an intensive description and analysis of working children. This is in line with the characteristic of case studies, which focus on an in depth exploration of the topic being studied. However, to some extent this study proposes its generalizability in a different way from that of quantitative strategies (as discussed below). Within this approach, this study focuses in depth on a single sector; that is, agriculture, as it is the sector with the highest number of working children. The ICLS 2009 shows that 57.8% of child labour in the age group of 7-14 year olds performed agricultural work, with the next highest sector being child labour in the service area (27.1%) and manufacturing (6.7%); while the rest of the working children (8.7%) were involved in other sectors (Statistics Indonesia and ILO, 2010).

4.2 DOING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN

This study is designed to be qualitative; it is employed to allow the researcher to understand the children's voices. As proposed in new childhood studies, it is important for a researcher to acknowledge children as competent social actors who are able to express their views, in order to examine children more properly. This study also intends to reveal parents' views, as children's lives are, generally, closely associated with and strongly influenced by their parents. That this study examines

the perspectives of children and their parents, therefore by employing a qualitative approach this provides this study more opportunities to make a legitimate interpretation of phenomena in their natural setting (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011) and to understand the unique interactions between children and their parents (Patton, 2002). It also helps to discover meanings, experiences and views (Pope and Eyes, 1995) brought by children and their parents (Patton, 2002). Applying qualitative methods allows us to gain insight into the respondents in their own words, providing “a rich, descriptive, valuable understanding into individuals' attitudes, beliefs, motivations, opinions, aspirations, and behaviours”. The use of qualitative methods provides several benefits for this study. It serves as an in depth examination of working children (Given, 2008) and is also able to cover the broad issues of working children as a result of using subjective information from children and their parents and is not limited to rigidly definable variables (Flick, 2009). Qualitative methods offer opportunities for researchers to deal with value-laden questions and explore new areas of research using open-ended question, and therefore it gives a chance for the researcher to build new theories (Corbin and Strauss, 2014).

The ways in which we understand children and childhood influence how we understand research with children (Grodin and Glantz, 1994; James et al., 1998; James and James, 2004). In line with the current development in childhood studies, this study places children as a central theme for research. As explained in Chapter 3, the new sociology of childhood emphasises children as competent agents in their everyday lives and therefore this view allows researchers to involve children as competent participants in their research (Mackay, 1991:23; Danby and Farrell, 2004). In terms of expressing their views and experiences, it should be noted, “children’s competence is different from” but “not lesser than adults” (Waksler, 1991; Solberg, 1996; cited in Kellet, 2005). The issues of power and emancipation of involving children in research are derived from the discussion of children’s rights, as set out in Chapter 3. The emergence of participation rights in the UNCRC strengthens the position of ‘children as social actors’ or ‘children as active agents’, and this has created an ethical dilemma and new responsibilities for social researchers within childhood studies.

There has been potential conflict between children and other actors in research as well. Four ways of examining children and childhood have been identified: the child as object, the child as subject, and the child as social actor (Christensen and James, 2008) and a newer approach seeing children as participant and co-researcher (Alderson, 2001, 2008). The first two approaches have a long history in social sciences whilst the last two are emerging; and these perspectives coexist within social science research. The most traditional approach views the child as object, emphasising central view that children are seen as 'a person acted by others' rather than as 'a subject acting in the world' (Christensen and Prout, 2002), based on the assumption of the child's dependency. The second approach challenges this view and proposes children's status as subjects of their lives. This child-centred perspective recognises the child as a person; however, children's involvement in research is viewed based on their competencies. The third approach posits children as subject and extends their involvement in research by acknowledging children as social actors with their own beliefs, understanding and experience (Christensen and Prout, 2002). The fourth approach has developed from the previous approach – "a view of children as social actors", has evolved into children "as active participants in social research" (Alderson, 2008). This study takes the third approach, viewing children as social actors and involving them in the study by acknowledging their beliefs, understandings, and experiences.

One of the key concepts in viewing children as social actors is the concept of children's voice. By giving children a voice in research, researchers intend to construct a better understanding of childhood. Some scholars critically analyse this notion. James (2007) suggests that scholars doing research with children should critically reflect how they represent children in their work. Komulainen (2007) has examined the idea of children's voice and reminds us not to use this concept taken for granted. Extending the works of the abovementioned scholars, Spyrou (2011:151) argues that "critical, reflexive researchers need to reflect on the processes which produce children's voices in research; and at the same time need to move beyond claims of authenticity behind the children's voices by exploring their messy, multi-layered and non-normative character". In summary, some scholars suggest that participation in research allows children to express their views so that the researcher can understand children's lives and voices properly.

Others argue that giving children the right to participate in research will be harmful for them, as it will force children to negotiate with adults' power. This study believes in the importance of engaging children in research along with the challenges faced during the research process. To deal with children's unique characteristics, this research was handled differently in a way that was partly different from doing research with adults. Unlike interviews with adults which were conducted in a conventional way (verbal-only conversations), interviews with children were conducted by employing creative methods. During interviews with children, I used photos (visual methods) to help children describe their experiences with different types of work. I also used face cards and marbles (material methods) to help children explain their feelings when involved in work, and explain their views on their allocation of time (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011; Pimlott-Wilson, 2012; Thompson, 2008). The use of creative methods in interviewing children was intended to make research fun for children, to draw their interest, and to help the children to communicate despite their lack of articulateness (Punch, 2002).

4.3 CASE STUDY

This study is designed as a case study; an approach intended to answer "how" and "why" questions and focusing on contemporary events. The case study approach is situated within a constructivist paradigm, which enables informants to describe their view of reality and this allows researchers to understand informants' views and actions (Yin, 2014). A case study is, therefore, chosen as it helps us understand the perceptions and decision-making processes of children and their parents concerning their engagement in employment. It also helps us understand the case by considering the context in which children's everyday lives take place, such as the dynamics of children's families, local values and circumstances, government policies, and global standards promoted by international agencies. It is in these settings that the understandings, beliefs and attitudes of children and their parents are developed. Without considering the context, a picture of the views and experiences of children and their parents is hard to portray.

A case study has several important characteristics. It is a detailed, in depth examination of a person, group or setting and uses multiple data sources and

perspectives. The focus is on the individual or group, not the population. The meaning of the study is extracted from observation and the findings are instructive, not generalizable (Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). Based on positivist logic, these characteristics lead to the one of the disadvantages of case studies, which is the problem of generalisation. A case study does not require sample representativeness from a population; therefore, the study does not provide validity from which to base a generalisation. To be able to make any generalisations, a researcher must conduct a series of case studies. However, this approach is not taken in the current study; instead, this study follows other arguments regarding the possibility for a qualitative study to be used to make a generalisation (see Chapter 9 of this thesis for further explanation; also: Flyvbjerg, 2006; Mason, 2002:39, 194-200; Payne and Williams, 2005; Ruddin, 2006).

In order to avoid studying a topic that is too broad or has too many objectives, this study has clarified how to limit the case. Stake (1995) and Yin (2014) suggest that a researcher should bind the case of study. It can be based on several combinations of considerations: by time and place (Creswell, 2002); by time and activity (Stake, 1995); and (c) by definition and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Binding the case will ensure that the study remains reasonable in scope. Drawing on these arguments, this study binds the case based on five aspects for consideration: activity, context, place, time and definition. It is intended that the study be about child work (binding the activity), in agriculture (binding the context), conducted in Central Java and East Java (binding the place) and in the year of 2013 (binding the time). The case is also bound to the definition of working children and child labour provided by the ICLS 2009 and the ILO (binding the definition). Following Statistics Indonesia and the ILO, this research defines working children/children in employment as all persons aged 5 to 17 years who engaged in any activity falling within the production boundary in the SNA (System of National Account) for at least one hour during the reference period. Moreover, with reference to Statistics Indonesia and the ILO (2010), this research defines child labour as working children who engaged in the worst forms of child labour and/or in employment below the minimum age for employment or work in Indonesia: (a) all working children aged 5-12 years, regardless of their working hours, (b) working children

aged 13-14 years who worked more than 15 hours per week, and (c) working children aged 15-17 years who worked more than 40 hours per week.

4.4 SAMPLING

Choosing research sites and the use of gatekeepers

As detailed, this study focuses on children working in agricultural contexts in Java by collecting qualitative data from children and their parents. Taking statistical and technical considerations, Central Java and East Java were selected as the research sites for this case study of child labour in Indonesia. Statistical data on child labour from 2009 shows that the number of children involved in employment in Central Java and East Java was the fourth highest percentage (4.2 per cent) in Indonesia. This was below Eastern Indonesia, Sulawesi and Sumatera, with percentages of 8.9%, 8.3%, and 5.4% respectively. For financial reasons, this research was not undertaken in those three areas. Central Java and East Java were the most appropriate locations considering the high rate of child labour in those regions and the limitation of research resources. In general, the selection of research sites in Central Java and East Java was completed in three steps: two districts were selected, followed by the selection of two sub-districts. The final step was the selection of two communities from the two sub-districts, based on a set of criteria. The main criterion was whether the sites had a high incidence of child labour, and the second criterion was to avoid communities that had been previously studied.

The selection of research sites in each step was conducted mainly according to the consideration provided by the gatekeepers in this study. A gatekeeper or stranger-handler is "the person who controls research access" (Saunders, 2006:126). Using a gatekeeper to access the field can be both beneficial and ineffectual. On the one hand, as experience in this study showed, the advantage of using a gatekeeper is that it is easier access to the field. It also allows the researcher to be able to portray the big picture of the field, as the gatekeepers are usually able to provide common information regarding the object of the study. On the other hand, the disadvantage of using a gatekeeper is that their interests may bias the research; the gatekeeper may lead the researcher in a particular direction. Another disadvantage is that relying on a gatekeeper may lead to misunderstandings between the researcher

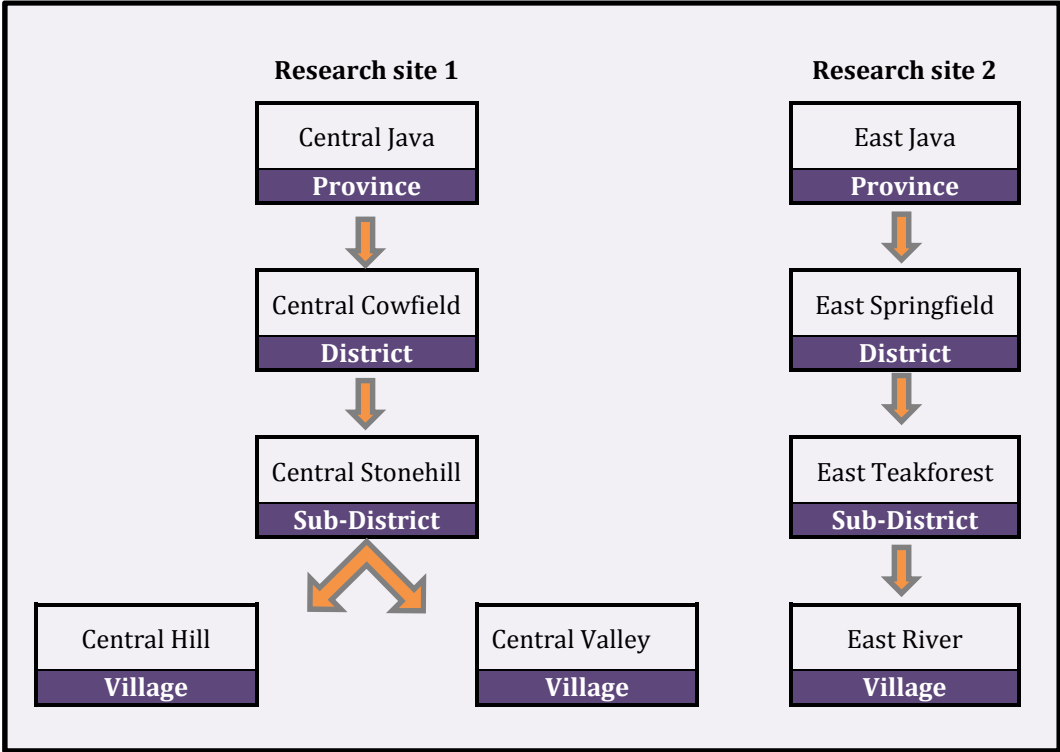
and the gatekeeper, and will affect the validity of the data gathered. Therefore, information about the gatekeepers is important for evaluating the result achieved and for the question of transferability, because gatekeepers often link an element of their self-interest to open further information. This was acknowledged through the fieldwork.

The selection of each community was done in a slightly different process, as shown in Figure 4.1. The first location in Central Java was selected based on the information gathered from institutional gatekeepers at the provincial and district level. The first step, at the provincial level, the gatekeeper was a government officer of the Labour Office. Through a phone-interview, I explained the research project and she suggested four regencies that would be appropriate to study. Among four districts, however, she suggested the District of Central Cowfield as the most interesting to study. The reason, she explained, was that the issues of agricultural child labour and early marriage happen at the same time in several sub-districts in Central Cowfield. The second step, at the district level, there were four institutional gatekeepers, including two officials of the Labour Office, a director of an NGO working with the Labour Office on the elimination of child labour, and an NGO field officer. Having discussed the study separately, the four institutional gatekeepers suggested the sub-district Central Stonehill as research site. This was because the sub-district had the highest incidence of child labour in agriculture and of early marriage. In the final step, accompanied by the field officer who was a facilitator of the PPA-PKH, I then selected two villages in this sub-district: Central Hill and Central Valley.

The second location, in East Java, was selected based on the information gathered from institutional gatekeepers at the provincial and district levels. The first step was, similar to the gatekeeper in Central Java, the provincial gatekeeper in East Java who was also an official of the Labour Office. The difference was the gatekeeper in East Java did not have sufficient information about the appropriate districts to study, although he provided some possible districts. Through phone interviews with officials from several districts, I then decided to choose the District of East Springfield. The district was chosen because of its characteristic as an agricultural area, having a high incidence of agricultural child labour, and providing more obvious information about child labour when compared with other districts. For

the second step, at the district level the gatekeepers were also officials of the Labour Office and an NGO field officer. Based on their recommendation, I selected the sub-district of East Teakforest. The final step at this sub-district involved a meeting with the head of the Agricultural Extension Office. After explaining the study, we discussed the appropriate community to study. I asked about a village that I observed before, named East River, as a site of fieldwork and he agreed that the place was an appropriate location.

Figure 4.1 Procedure of selecting research sites



Note: Districts, sub-districts and villages are anonymised. In Central Java, two villages were selected as research sites. Although administratively different, the two villages are considered as one location or one research site for the reason that their geographical, socio-economic, and socio-cultural conditions were relatively homogenous.

Sample size

This study examined 20 cases, consisting of 20 pairs of child workers and their parents. The choice for 20 cases was made before the start of the investigation based on several considerations, including the diversity of child workers, academic community responses, and the limitations of research resources such as time limitation and financial constraints. Studying a greater number of children reasonably would be more valuable; however, 20 children was considered to be

enough to include the main features in the sample criteria such as region, gender, age, and type of work.

In qualitative research, the number of interviews considered sufficient to provide validity and deep information is disputed (Glaser and Strauss, 2009; Seidman, 2006). Nick Emmel (2013: Chapter 8) argues that “to ask how big the sample size is or how many interviews are enough is to pose the wrong question. It is far more useful to show the ways in which the working and reworking of relationships between ideas and evidence in the research are a foundation for the claims made from the research”. Similarly, Baker and Edwards (2012), drawing on 14 experts’ voices and five early careers’ reflections, concluded that the most accepted argument is that the number depends on epistemological, methodological and practical issues in the study. One of the considerations is sufficiency, whether the number of participants is able to provide information to fulfil the research purpose (Seidman, 2006). Another consideration, according to Douchet and Charmaz (in Baker and Edwards, 2012), is that researchers should be aware of the degree to which their mentors, peers and readers are satisfied with the research evidence (cases), and then make a decision regarding the size, the diversity of cases and the depth of analysis.

Further consideration, suggested by the developers of the grounded theory approach, is the notion of theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 2009), later termed as data/thematic saturation for other qualitative approaches (O’Reilly and Parker, 2013). Theoretical saturation is described as a process in which a researcher should continue interviewing until the point at which further investigation no longer provides new information for research (Glaser and Strauss, 2009), or according to Guest and colleagues (2006: 65) the notion of saturation is “the point in data collection and analysis when new information produces little or no change to the codebook”. Mason’s (2010) review of PhD studies employing qualitative methods found that most of the students employed the notion of theoretical saturation to justify the sample size. However, O’Reilly and Parker (2013) argue that employing the idea of ‘saturation’ as a generic quality marker is inappropriate. It is in these debates that the sample size was decided: to acknowledge epistemological, methodological and practical issues by including a particular number of children that can reflect their diversity and provide adequate

evidence for analysis. The notion of theoretical saturation was not feasible to be employed in this study because of the constraints of the resources available.

Negotiating access to the research sites

At the first step of my fieldwork (fieldwork preparation) I fulfilled the bureaucratic requirements by applying for ethical approval from the University of York to conduct fieldwork in Indonesia. This was intended to deal with the problem of negotiating access, including bureaucratic requirements, entering research sites and communities, and gaining access to children and their parents. In a further step I applied for a research permit from the University of Gadjah Mada, where I have been working as a member of academic staff. The role of my university as a partner institution was vital in making the study officially and socially acceptable for the two communities studied. In the next step I applied for a research permit from the local government where my university is located, which is in the Province of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. The final step in the bureaucratic requirements was to obtain a research approval from Central Java and East Java provinces, followed by obtaining research permits from two districts: Central Cowfield and East Springfield.

In the final step, besides obtaining research permits from district level governments, I also collected information about communities being studied. Here, as detailed, the district level officers were the first level of gatekeeper for my study to allow me to gain access to and collect information about research sites. Access was the main item for negotiation between the researcher and the gatekeepers of the field. After getting formal approval to conduct fieldwork and obtain information about the fields, I visited community leaders to gain access at the community level by explaining the purpose of the study. This was conducted prior to interviewing children and their parents. The community leaders in the two areas were village officers, serving as gatekeepers at the community level. This step was very crucial to be able to enter the life of the two communities as this gave me a chance to identify the potential research participants and to ensure that the fieldwork was acceptable in the contexts of the two communities.

During the process of negotiating access, I anticipated the issue of sensitivity about the topic of child labour within the community, particularly with regard to the

notion of non-permissible work. It is clear that there are official concerns about it, such as the government campaign to end child labour by 2022 and the Indonesian National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which identifies the need “to prevent and eliminate the worst forms of child labour through a three-phase programme over twenty years”. I considered this official concern might prevent the community gatekeepers, parents or children to want to become involved in my study because they might fear stigmatisation or other negative consequences. However, this official concern did not significantly affect my negotiation with the community gatekeepers and the potential participants. One possible explanation might be that the practice of working children (including child labour) in agriculture is culturally acceptable and has been long-standing in Javanese society (see, for example, Irwanto, et al., 1995; White, 2004, 2009a, 2011, 2012). To deal with the sensitivity of the topic, I always explained to the community gatekeepers and the participants that the project was mainly for academic purposes, and that I would keep their anonymity and confidentiality by anonymising the name of the districts, the communities, the institutional gatekeepers, the community gatekeepers, and all informants. This was to ensure that they would voluntarily participate in my study, to minimise any fear of being stigmatised or experiencing other negative consequences. In addition, I always showed the research permits from the University of York, the University of Gadjah Mada, and the local governments to prove to them that the study is officially, legally acceptable. This worked well in my fieldwork.

Sample identification and gaining consent

In this study, the gatekeepers who provided access to the children and families were community leaders. This study found that community leaders had invaluable information regarding children, parents and child labour activities in their community and they had greater access to the potential research participants, and therefore made the fieldwork easier and more manageable. To avoid misunderstanding between the researcher and the gatekeeper, I gave gatekeepers a project information sheet, and carefully explained the project in their daily language, either in Indonesian or in Javanese. The use of Indonesian and Javanese languages helped the researcher to communicate with the gatekeepers effectively.

This was possible as both are my daily languages. As I will explain later, the use of Indonesian and Javanese languages also helped the researcher in interviewing children and parents in this study. In addition, to avoid offending the interests of the gatekeepers that might exist in this study, I explained to the community leaders that the research is for academic purposes so that they felt comfortable and were not worried about any potential negative impacts of the findings of the study.

Together with community leaders, I identified possible children and parents to be interviewed by developing a list of child workers. As previously stated, sample characteristics such as gender, age, and the type of work were the main features examined in determining who to include in the informant list. My sample was not representative; therefore the central issue in creating the list of children was capturing diversity. There may be a sampling bias that arises from the involvement of community leaders in generating the informant list. One possible reason was that the identification of children was limited to the knowledge of community leaders; hence it was unable to portray children's diversity in the community. Another reason was that the list was based on the community leaders' subjectivity, as influenced by their personal interests. To deal with this possible problem of sample identification, I asked and always emphasised to the community leaders the necessity to provide a list that reflected the most diverse characteristics of the children.

During the first week of conducting fieldwork in each location, I spent my time familiarising myself with the physical and social environment of the local children and their parents. I observed village streets, local housing, fields, and public facilities. It helped me to gain insight into the context of the situation. I also introduced myself to the community leaders and local groups. As a cultural strategy, speaking in the Javanese traditional language at first introduction helped me create a relationship of respect and to build a sense of familiarity with potential research participants. A further step was the explanation of the study for the parents and their children and gaining consent from them to be interviewed. As detailed, this was handled with sensitivity as the questions were about their personal views and experiences as related to their vulnerability. In Central Hill and Central Valley I visited children and their parents in person, without community

leaders; while in East River, community leaders made an initial approach to the families, explaining the study and encouraging their participation.

Selecting children

The ILO divides child labour in agriculture into four types: children working in farming, fishing and aqua culture, forestry, and livestock. This study focuses on child labour in agriculture, particularly in farming because this is the most common form of child labour in Indonesia. This study focuses on children in the age group of 11-14 years. It was previously set out that the minimum age of the sample was 10 years old; however, the lowest boundary of age 11 was finally selected because this study could not find children below 10 involved in employment. The highest boundary, age 14, was selected because ILO Convention No. 138, ratified by Law No. 20 (1999), declares the minimum age for admission to employment in Indonesia is 15 years old.

This age group was also selected as it can represent child workers in both permissible and non-permissible work that may raise conflicting arguments; hence it is worth to study. Based on the ILO definition of child labour, also adopted in this study, the notion of permissible and non-permissible work refers to children's ages, type of work, and working hours. Permissible or light work is work done by children below the minimum age for employment that is: (a) not likely to be harmful to child's health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice the child's school attendance, participation in vocational orientation or training programmes, or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. In contrast, children's activities that do not fit within the ages, types of works, and working hours set by the ILO, are then called non-permissible, intolerable, or un-acceptable work. Children aged 10 years and below are not included in this study based on the consideration of their cognitive development and their language ability; while children at the age of 15 years and above are not included as they are considered to be part of the labour force in Indonesia.

As a whole sample, I selected 10 children in each of two districts and within those 20 children (the total sample size) I included those doing different types of work, including permissible and non-permissible work, paid and unpaid labour, work on family farms and non-family farms. The selection of different types of work is

important as the different backgrounds may inform different perspectives on working children. In my sample, I also included children with a range of ages, i.e. some who were 11-12 years old and some who were 13-14 years old. In addition, this study intended to include roughly 50:50 male/female children in order to reflect the different characteristics of boys and girls that may occur in this study – although this could not be achieved.

After finding two appropriate places, I began locating informants. In Central Cowfield – Central Java, although agricultural child labour was common phenomena, it was not easy to find their existence. Based on the explanation of the facilitator of PPA-PKH, we could not rely on the data from the national government to identify child labourers in the region. In her experience of finding child labourers, based on a list of 48 child workers that was issued by the local government, she could only locate 7 children. Due to the limitations of the data, I then asked the community leader to provide a list of children performing work in the agriculture sector. This approach was very helpful in identifying informants as people in the community know better about their lives. In East Springfield – East Java, in attempt to find informants, I discussed my project with the community leader and asked him to provide a list of informants. He provided me with 12 prospective informants and I interviewed all the children. However, as I could only interview 10 parents, therefore two children were excluded as informants. The characteristics of the children from the two locations are listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Summary of children’s characteristics

	Criteria	Central Java	East Java	Total
Age	11-12 years	1	5	6
	13-14 years	9	5	14
Gender	Male	6	7	13
	Female	4	3	7
Workplace	Family farm	10	10	20
	Non-family farm	2	0	2
	Non-farm	1	7	8
	Domestic/household	10	10	20
Payment	Paid work	2	4	6
	Unpaid work	10	10	20
Permissibility	Permissible work	5	5	10
	Non-permissible work	5	5	10

Source: Author’s summary of interviews with children

In order to find the most diverse group of children that fit within the six criteria (location, age, gender, workplace, payment, and permissibility of work), this study required 2^n cases, where n = number of criterion, or equal to 64 cases or 128 informants (64 children and 64 parents). In reality, this was not possible due to the limitation of research resources; furthermore, finding informants that met each criterion was not always possible.

Selecting parents

Interviewing parents of the children recruited to the study is reasonable within the design of the study due to their pivotal role in their children's lives. Examining the life of child workers on one side, but denying parents' views on another would be a major drawback for the study. One problem arising from the selection of parents was whether the father or mother was to be interviewed. In selecting parents, two considerations were applied. First, parental preference; I aimed to interview parents based on their preferences, either to be interviewed together or to be interviewed as father or mother only. Second, gender balance; I aimed to interview roughly 50:50 fathers/mothers in order to reflect gender dynamics in family life. In developing countries such as Indonesia, fathers are usually the heads of households and have the most pivotal role in making family decisions. However, in relation to the lives of the children, mothers also have responsibility for household decision-making, although previously this role has not been publicly recognised. As a result of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia, driven by a pro-democracy movement since the 1990s, many women's organisations have promoted gender equality and challenged the practices of gender roles in society (Blackburn, 2004). The result is that mothers' roles in family and society are publicly recognised as important as those of fathers. Thus, the mother can also be interviewed as a representation of the parental unit. Acknowledging gender differences is useful for this study.

Based on these two considerations, this study was able to interview the mother only in nine cases and the father only in six cases. The remaining interviews were conducted with: father and mother, father and sister, mother and grandmother, grandfather and grandmother, and grandfather; each was one case. Two features can be easily recognised from the results of the interviews supporting that the selection of parents as informants was not similar to the plan. First, the study was

unable to obtain a balanced number between fathers and mothers. This was mainly related to the working behaviour of the parents in the two locations. In East Java, for example, this study found only one father as an informant, as most of the fathers worked during the day, from early morning to late afternoon, as loggers. Others worked outside of the area; they lived in other cities and only returned to their family once in a couple of months. The only father interviewed was a civil servant. Second, this study not only involved fathers and mothers as informants, but also grandfathers and grandmothers. This strategy was taken due to their role as caregiver for the children interviewed. Similar to the phenomenon in other developing countries, in this study I found that some parents migrated to other cities due to their economic condition, leaving their children to be cared for by grandparents. This study then interviewed these carers, as a substitute for the parents.

Table 4.2 List of informants (parents)

Respondent	Children	Age	Education	Main Occupation	Additional Occupation
Central Java					
Grandfather	Iyan	70s	SD	Peasant	Cattle raiser
Mother	Hari	40s	SD	Cattle raiser	Housewife
Father	Yayah	30s	SMA	Peasant	Cattle raiser
Mother	Angga	30s	SMK	Peasant	Farm worker
Father	Dodok	30s	SMA	Peasant	Cattle raiser
Father*	Endang	50s	SD	Peasant	Farm worker
Mother					
Father*	Suti	60s	SD	Peasant	Farm worker
Sister					
Father	Wawan	40s	SMA	Peasant	Farm worker
Father	Upari	40s	SMA	Peasant	Farm worker
Father	Udin	40s	SMA	Peasant	Farm worker
East Java					
Mother	Gigih	30s	N/A	Peasant	Goat breeder
Mother	Dika	30s	N/A	Peasant	Goat breeder
Father	Dhani	40s	SMK	Civil servant	Peasant
Grandfather*	Pelita	60s	SD	Peasant	Goat breeder
Grandmother					
Mother	Surya	30s	SD	Peasant	Sand carrier
Mother	Aan	30s	SMK	Peasant	Goat breeder
Mother	Septa	40s	SMK	Peasant	Goat breeder
Mother	Putra	30s	SMK	Peasant	Goat breeder
Mother	Rio	40s	SD	Peasant	Farm worker
Mother*	Dewi	30s	SMK	Domestic worker	Peasant
Grandmother					

* As a main respondent

SD = elementary school; SMA/SMK = senior/vocational high school

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

This study employed qualitative interviews with children and their parents. The process of interviewing children and their parents was broadly divided into four steps. First, prior to the interview, I identified working children by gathering essential information such as the number of working children in each area, types of work, ages, and gender, to ensure these criteria fits within the sample criteria I had determined, as explained in the previous section. Second, I then conducted an initial visit to the parents and children in their homes. In asking for their participation, I gave them a project information sheet and explained the aims of the study. After

they agreed to participate, I then arranged a time for the interview. Details regarding the research information were explained in the project information sheet for the parent (appendix 1) and for the child (appendix 4). To encourage children and parents to participate in the interview, I assured them of the confidentiality of the information they would provide. Third, at the specified time as agreed, I made a second or, sometimes, third visit, as informants were not always available at the time agreed, to interview children and parents separately. Before the interview, I asked their consent for participation in the interview and for the interview to be recorded. As I will explain in the section detailing research ethics, I asked for their consent verbally. Details about the consent are explained in the consent form for parents (appendix 2) and for children (appendix 5). It was then followed by the interview. To show appreciation of the children and parents' participation in my study, I gave them small gifts, such as key rings and small university bags, after the completion of the interview. The final step, in the night or the day following the interview, I immediately made a brief note on the context of the interview including observations such as their responses during interview, such as laughing, crying, or being shy. I also made simple notes about some possible findings or themes emerging from the interviews.

Interviews with parents

In the first visits, I met parents or carers to gain their consent for participation in this study and to obtain access to their children, ensuring that they would allow them to be interviewed. The purpose of interviewing parents was to investigate their perception of children working and their experiences in involving their children in employment. Key questions included their perception of the daily lives of their children at work, school, play and home, with particular attention to children's working activities. Other key questions included parents' perceptions of the agreement and disagreements surrounding children's involvement in employment, and their decision to involve their children in employment. Details of the procedure in interviewing parents are explained in the interview guide for parents (see appendix 3).

One-visit interviews with parents were conducted in their home and mostly lasted around an hour. Most interviews with parents in both areas were conducted in the

Javanese language. The use of the Javanese language helped the researcher to communicate with the parents effectively. As explained, this was possible as I speak Javanese. As far as the researcher observed, interviews were conducted without fear. They spoke softly, reflecting their respect for the interviewer. They also provided clear and long explanations for each question, reflecting that they are interested in the topic. Although they spoke in Javanese, sometimes I found some language difficulties in relation to their technical terminology or their specific local vocabulary. Another challenge in interviewing parents was when they were asked about their children's activities conducted when they are separate, such as children's activities at school or at play. I found parents had different responses to the interview questions. In Central Java, parents doing the interviews were mainly fathers, while in East Java they were mainly mothers. This, as explained, was related to their working behaviour. They also had different responses with regard to the notion of food for their visitor. Most parents in Central Java provided water, tea, snacks and, sometimes, lunch or dinner for the interviewer. Although I emphasised in the project information sheet that they did not need to do so, I finally took the food they provided. This was to maintain close familiarity between the interviewer and the interviewee; rejecting their meals would be considered rude. This practice was in contrast to that of the parents in East Java where most did not provide meals and drink, as I requested.

Interviews with children

The interviews with children were used to provide them an arena to express their views on their involvement in employment. Key questions explored during interviews were generally about their perception on their working activities and their everyday life at school and play. Other key questions pertained to their understanding of their agreement and disagreement about working children and their decision to become involved in employment. Details on how to interview children are explained in the interview guide for children (see appendix 6). The process of interviewing children was conducted in a slightly different way than with the parents. Unlike interviewing parents, the interviews with children were conducted by employing creative methods (as explained below). By asking consent from the children and their parents in advance, all interviews with children were

carried out in the children's houses. Most of the interviews with children were conducted with their parents present. In relation to the objectivity of children's answers, these were part of the challenges of the study, mainly in relation to children's directed answers, as relatives sometimes interrupted the interviews. Morrow and Richards contend that power imbalance between adults and children is the biggest ethical challenge in doing research with children (1996:98). Therefore we need to redress the power disparities between the child as a participant and the adult as a researcher to ensure that children's voices are really heard (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998:337). Similar to the interviews with parents, the interviews with children were also conducted one time and lasted about an hour. However, different from the interviews with parents, interviews with children were mostly conducted in the Indonesian language or a mix between Indonesian and Javanese language.

One of the challenges faced during the interviews with children was related to the children's level of linguistic communication and cognitive development. Some children had difficulties in understanding and producing complex words and sentences. They also had difficulties in understanding and expressing complex ideas. Their responses to some questions were generally in short sentences and with simple explanations. Another challenge was children's linguistic ability, such as a lack of vocabulary so that the researcher sometimes had to wait for the children to find the words to explain their views. To deal with these problems, I always tried to build rapport during the interviews and helped them to find a deeper explanation by asking them additional questions. I also facilitated them to elicit their views by employing two types of creative methods. Having some kind of stimulus material enables children to express their views much easier. I used picture cards (as part of a visual method) and marbles (as part of a material method). The use of creative methods was really helpful in interviewing the children. The use of picture cards in this study could remarkably increase children's ability to illustrate their experiences. During the interviews using the picture cards children were able to describe their activities better when compared to those without picture cards. This was even higher in comparison to that of parent explanations. When I asked children questions without picture cards, I always ensured that the children had already mentioned all of their working activities by

asking 'what else?' until they mentioned there were no other working activities that they were involved in. However, when I asked them using picture cards, they finally realised some activities had not been explained previously. One of the limitations in using picture cards was that we had to know possible activities performed by children on the sites in the study. Without knowing the activities, the picture cards might be useless, as they cannot explain anything related to the questions being studied. In my study, I found some activities were not found in the locations studied, such as ploughing, and found some additional activities that were not listed in the picture cards, such as collecting firewood, freshwater mussels, and river sand. This will be detailed further in Chapter 7.

One of the most important features in researching children is about positionality. I found five issues on positionality highlighted from this study. First, different positions exist between the researcher as an adult and the interviewees as children. Second, there also exist different socio-economic classes between the researcher and the interviewees. To ensure that children were able to express their views freely, I acknowledged these power imbalances, for example by offering a handshake at the first meeting, wearing simple clothes (e.g. wearing sandals instead of shoes), and using daily language in interviews (Morrow and Richards, 1996; Thomas and O'Kane, 1998). Third, I also acknowledged the positionality of being an adult male interviewer who had to make a conversation with female interviewees. This position might relate to privacy issues in rural households and lack of trust during a one-off interview. Although I asked to interview children separately, I also allowed parents or their relatives to accompany the girls during interview. The next issue was related to my position as a researcher with a rural background; I grew up in a rural area surrounded by agricultural activities. This background allowed me to easily understand the lives of the children in rural areas; however, this might bring bias in my understanding—for example the possibility of entrapment in a stereotypical thinking model. The last feature relates to ethnicity: as a Javanese I am an insider, but as a researcher I am always an outsider.

4.6 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

The qualitative data resulting from this study includes the interviews with children and their parents. This was analysed by employing thematic analysis for its benefits to provide techniques for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clark, 2006:79). The data analysis was broadly conducted in three steps (see Braun and Clarks, 2006). I began by familiarising myself with the data; this included transcribing interview data, reading and re-reading the data, and noting the initial codes. I considered transcribing all interview data myself, as self-transcription forces the researcher to listen to the interview data, again and again. Repeated listening helped me to familiarise myself with the data. Self-transcription also ensures the confidentiality of the interviewees, as no one but the researcher will know the content of the interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, in exactly the same words as were originally used, including: repetition, thinking of answers, pauses, etc. However, a tidier transcript was also used in some cases, by ignoring thinking words such as *er..*, *uhm..*, except those considered important. Transcription was conducted by using free software called *Listen N Write*. The interview data was in the Javanese and Indonesian languages. In the analysis, the transcript of the interview was conducted in the original language as used by the respondents. The analysis in NVivo was also conducted in the original language, while the codes and themes were named directly in English.

The second step was the development of initial codes. Data from two interviews with children and two interviews with parents were coded manually to generate initial codes. “A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldana, 2009: 3). Developing codes may be deductive/a priori (issues that the researcher has anticipated) or inductive (issues that emerge during data collection). In my research I prefer to use abductive - the process that involves developing codes from the literature review and interview guide (a priori) and these were continuously developed from the interview data (inductive). This is also called the first cycle coding method, which is all processes that happen during the initial coding of data and are fairly simple and direct, for example issues such as child activities at

school/play/work, benefits/disadvantages of child work. The codes were either descriptive or conceptual.

The third step was the search for themes by collating codes into potential themes. Themes are integrated concepts. A theme can be defined as “a *phrase* or *sentence* that identifies what a unit of data is *about* and/or what it *means* (Saldana, 2009:139). This step is also called second cycle coding method, which is advanced ways of reorganising and reanalysing data coded through the first cycle method. Its primary goal was to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual and theoretical meanings from the first cycle codes about issues such as children’s competence, personal agency and well-being/well-becoming. I developed a coding framework for children and parents, based on the manual coding from interviews with two children and two parents. This framework was then applied to code the entire set of interview data using NVivo 10. I analysed the interview using NVivo in the language of the interviewee, exactly what they said without translation into English. Those I quoted in the thesis, I then translated into English and these translations were verified by a professional proofreader. I then compared the proofread quotations with the original interview, to ensure that the meanings and the context remained consistent.

The interpretation of the data was conducted by exploring emerging patterns, relationships and themes within, among and between groups of child workers and their parents. Hatch (2002:155) suggests that:

Patterns are not just stable regularities but as varying forms that can be characterized by similarity (things happen the same way), difference (they happen in predictably different ways), frequency (they happen often or seldom), sequence (they happen in a certain order), correspondence (they happen in relation to other activities or events), and causation (one appears to cause another).

As mentioned in the discussion on child labour earlier, I identified some themes for analysis such as the understanding of children and parents of child labour: the definition of child (age), child activities such as school, play, leisure and work including permissible work, intolerable work, light work, regular work, and hazardous work. It also included the perceptions of children and their parents regarding the benefit and disadvantage of child labour, such as contribution to the household economy and training to enter adult employment. Other themes

included their attitudes, beliefs, or experiences with the involvement of children in employment and their decision to become involved in child labour.

4.7 THE ETHICS OF RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN

Ethical research is concerned with the principle of right and wrong in conducting research (Gallagher, 2009) and, like two sides of a coin, methodology and ethics are intimately connected: “ethically sound techniques can add to the value of research,” conversely, “methodological soundness may improve the ethics of research” (Thomas and O’Kane, 1998:336). In relation to children, it is important to understand children as ‘inhabiting risky spaces’ (Danby and Farrell, 2004) and therefore, as Hood and colleagues (1996) have suggested, doing research with children has to be always understood as a risky enterprise. This study therefore strictly holds the ethics of doing research with children throughout the research process. This is to ensure that the interests of the children involved in the study remain at the centre and, at the same time, the quality of the research is maintained. During fieldwork, this study informed the children of their rights to become involved in the research, including giving an opportunity to children to take time to make a decision about their participation in the study. Likewise, this study acknowledged the rights of the children to refuse to answer some questions and to withdraw their participation at any step of the study – although none of the children did so.

This study was concerned with crucial issues that might arise and need to be handled in relation to the ethics of doing research with child workers in Indonesia. Ethical challenges in doing research exist across global north and global south contexts in common and universal forms (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Porter et al., 2010). However, the major theme in ethics in research with children in the global south is the importance of context in applying ethics from the global north, including the difficulties and challenges of the implementation (Abebe, 2009b; Young and Barrett, 2001), as I explain below. At the first step, I applied for ethical approval from the Ethics Committee in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of York, to ensure that the study is ethically appropriate. Throughout the study, I have considered some crucial issues to be handled carefully

in relation to ethical research with children, specifically: consent, anonymity and confidentiality, harm/risk, data security, and return for participation.

Consent

One of the common features of the research processes is to obtain consent from children and their parents/caregivers (Powell, et al., 2011) or sometimes from the wider family and community (Suaalii and Mavoia, 2001). Informed consent works on four main principles (Gallagher, 2009); first, consent involves an explicit act, either verbal or written constituting agreement. Second, consent can only be given if participants are informed about and have an understanding of the research. This will show respect for children and their parents (Spriggs, 2010). Third, consent must be given voluntarily without coercion. Finally, consent must be renegotiable, conceptualised as an ongoing process throughout research so that children may withdraw at any stage of the research process (Alderson and Morrow, 2011).

In order to maintain these principles, prior to the interview I visited the children and their parents in their homes and gave them a project information sheet. I then carefully explained the project in detail, though simply, asking their willingness to be interviewed and making an agreement about the date, time and place of the interview. At the time of interview, I asked children and their parents a non-recorded verbal consent prior to their interview. A recorded verbal consent then was given either prior to or after a recorded interview. The consent indicates several key pieces of information including; that the interview would be voluntary, that parent or child could refuse to answer any question, that the information would be kept anonymously and stored securely, and that they could also withdraw from the research at any time. I asked and recorded their consent verbally by reading the consent form to them, after explaining the meaning of the consent form to them in a more casual conversation.

The reason for employing verbal consent, not a signed record of consent, was that in Indonesia, similar to other parts of the global south in general, asking the informant to sign a consent form might pose a technical problem. It might create a sense of obligation as the consent form could be perceived as a legal document, and in some cases, might cause prospective research participants to withdraw their willingness to be involved in the study. Signing a form is sometimes perceived as

vital and significant as with legal issues. Another problem was that sometimes parents were semi-illiterate, thus signing a consent form was practically challenging. To deal with the validity of verbal consent, I adopted the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (2010). They identify “the use of a witness as the most appropriate way in which to verify verbal informed consent”. This approach, however, was not practical in my study since there was no research resources to involve a witness throughout the study, besides the presence of a witness would become another problem in terms of confidentiality. A further way in which verbal informed consent can be verified, which was used in this study, is through recording the process.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity is important to ensure the research participant’s confidentiality. As Hill (2005) suggests, this study has identified three components of confidentiality in doing research with children: “public confidentiality, social network confidentiality, and party breach of privacy”. Preventing public confidentiality means that this study does not publicly identify research participants in the report or publication. By protecting social network confidentiality, it is meant that this study keeps all information and does not give information to the network of the researcher or participant, such as their friends, families or relatives. And finally, by preventing breach of privacy, this study keeps information when “a group or household member reveals something personal about another”. To ensure the anonymity of the children and their parents, this study protects their confidentiality during the process and after the study by disguising their personal data such as their name, address, and locations. Their anonymity and confidentiality were explained prior to the interview to ensure that they felt safe while explaining their beliefs and experiences, without any constraints. However, as they agreed through their verbal consent, it is possible that this study would break their anonymity when there is an evidence of child abuse or child neglect.

According to the Indonesian Law on Child Protection number 23 of 2002, a researcher as part of society is responsible for protecting children, especially for children who need special protection. This law, in Article 1, defines special protection as:

Protection of a child in emergency situations, a child who find themselves in contact with the law, a child from minority and isolated groups, a child being economically or sexually exploited, child victims of the misuse of narcotics, alcohol, psychotropic substances and other addictive substances, child victims of kidnapping, a child that are sold, child trafficking, child victims of physical, sexual and/or mental violence, disabled children, child victims of abuse, and neglected/abandoned children.

However, this study did not find issues likely to disclose information requiring further action as mentioned, thus there was no reason for the researcher to break anonymity or confidentiality. To ensure that research participants had an informed choice, at the start of interview I explained that “if anything they say makes me concerned that a child in the community is being abused, I will need to inform the appropriate child protection authorities”. This was to ensure that respondents were fully informed of my ethical obligations, which make me ethically bound to break confidentiality and report the case to the responsible authorities. To increase the degree of anonymity and confidentiality, this study also anonymises the name of the districts, the institutional gatekeepers, the communities, and the community gatekeepers.

Harm/Risk

Powell and Smith (2009) have argued that a central issue for research with children is the principle of beneficence and maleficence. This is to ensure that children will be protected from potential harm of research and, at the same time, gain real benefit from participation in the study (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). On the one hand, a strong protectionist approach can potentially take children away from the opportunity to express their views. On the other hand, a strong participatory approach might be possible to cause harm to children during their involvement in the research. This study carefully balanced the principles of the participatory and of protectionist approaches so that children had an arena to express their views and at the same time they were secure from harm or risk that might emerge from their opinion, such as conflict between children and their parents because of contradictory views.

This study ensures that this project is safe for both the researcher and the researched. I always minimise and ultimately eliminate any harm and risk for children, parents and the researcher participating in this study by applying several

principles. First, child and parental participation is entirely voluntary. I emphasised that their participation was completely of their own accord; the study would not intimidate children or their parents. There was no obligation that they had to answer all questions; they could refuse to answer a question that may put them under pressure. Second, the interview was conducted in a safe, comfortable place. This study carried out interviews with children and their parents in their own homes or at another location of their preference. And third, this study kept all information about the participants confidential.

However, I also realised this study might cause harm or risks in various forms. One possible risk was the loss of time that was generally a discomfort for some individuals. For example, in this study I found a mother in East Java saying she lost potential income due to participation in the interview. She was supposed to collect river sand and receive payment from her daily activities; however, she decided to participate in the interview with me. To minimise this risk I set up the interview to last about an hour and also gave them a small return for participation – as discussed below (see: fair return for participation). Other possible risks were the discussion of sensitive topics (for example: their economic hardship or poverty), voicing of unwelcome opinion (for example: their disagreement with government policy), and recalling traumatic/distressing events, causing some level of suffering for the participants (for example: a grandfather talking about her daughter - a child worker's mother - having an unwanted pregnancy in the past). Invasion of privacy asking about their working habits may also cause unnecessary discomfort to subjects. To reduce these risks, I always emphasised that the participant could explicitly refuse to answer questions that were distressing to them and could end the interview at any time, without fear or feeling uncomfortable. In addition, an embarrassment of poor performance might be a minor but usually common risk. I found some respondents who identified themselves as 'a poor villager living in a poor village'. To eliminate this problem, I maintained empathy by not emphasising their poverty, but on their local and household economic development.

I was also aware of the potential risk that might appear from the relationship among gatekeepers, children and their parents. If the children and families work for the gatekeepers and the gatekeepers know who is being interviewed, there will be possible harmful implications for the children and their parents. It may cause the

gatekeepers to prevent the researcher to gain access to the children and their parents, and therefore, the researcher would be unable to find particular information from the potential participants. This might also break the working relationship between the gatekeepers and the informants because of sensitive, unwanted information shared by the informants. However, this was not the case in my study, as most children were working for their family as unpaid workers.

Data security

This study results in two types of data, paper based data and electronic data, and implements strict procedures to keep all data secure and confidential. First, access to all data is the privilege of the research team. Only the researcher, the research supervisors and the thesis advisor can obtain data and information from the fieldwork. The researcher transcribed all interviews himself, so that the data is secure and no one but the researcher knows the content of the interviews. I also immediately anonymised research participants by changing their names and addresses. Second, to ensure the confidentiality of the paper based data, I manage them securely in a locked desk in the office at the Doctoral Study Room at The University of York. Only the researcher has access to the locked desk. In addition, to ensure the confidentiality of electronic data, I keep them saved securely. All electronic data containing personal data such as name or address is password protected on the researcher's personal computer. Third, to ensure that electronic data will not be lost, I made a second copy of the data, by uploading the electronic files to a secure central University of York file store.

Fair return for participation

In the context of the global south, payment for participation in research remains controversial. On one hand, some argue that payment can improve the participation level as most people are living in poverty. Payment is also perceived as recognising and valuing participants' time and contribution. Not offering a fair return can also prevent potential informants from participating in the study and, as such, could bias the sample. On the other hand, payment for participation could create a sense of obligation meaning participants will not freely participate. It can potentially bias the sample by encouraging other people to participate in order to receive payment (Ennew, 1997). This study did not provide payment for research participants but,

as explained earlier, a small gift was provided for informants. Merchandise, such as a key ring and bag, were prepared for child and parental participation. I consider that this type of return for participation did not create a sense of obligation that could put informants under pressure, as the gift was cheap. Moreover, at the same time, it was recognition of the children's and parents' involvement in the research. Having discussed the methods used in this study, the next chapter will describe the research context and setting, including the community context and children's work context. The next chapter aims to provide the reader to better understand some of the empirical data that will be presented in the discussion chapters.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH SETTING

This chapter aims to describe the context of the study, including the setting of the research sites and the families of the children examined. It starts with a description of the country background. The second and the third parts describe the geographical and socio-economic conditions of the research sites: Central Hill and Central Valley in Central Java, and East River in East Java. The final section explains the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the parents and their households.

5.1 COUNTRY BACKGROUND

Indonesia lies between 6 north latitude and 11 degrees south latitude, and between 95 and 141 degrees east longitude, in a tropical climate. Geographically, Indonesia is located between the continents of Asia and Australia, and between the Indian and Pacific oceans. The geographical position is very strategic in supporting the Indonesian economy because it is the crossroads of global traffic.

Figure 5.1 Map of Indonesia

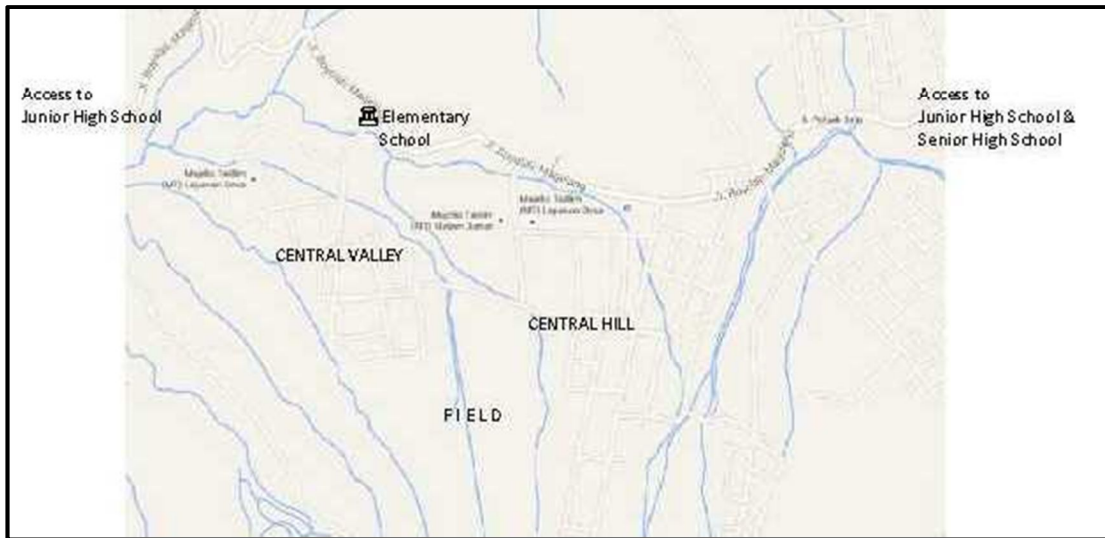


There was no Indonesia until 1945, only a group of islands which spread from Aceh to Papua under the control of the Netherlands, Britain, Japan, Portugal and Spain. Periods of colonial rule sometimes encompassed all the islands, and sometimes only certain areas (Vickers, 2013). Indonesia declared its independence in 1945, but only in 1948 was its independence recognized by the Dutch (Ricklefs, 2001). Administratively, Indonesia consists of 34 provinces, including Central Java and East Java, the locations of this study. As of 2015, the Indonesian population stands at around 252 million, with the majority of citizens living as peasants. Despite the large population, the Indonesian government attempts to provide some basic services, for example education, health, employment, and infrastructure. Of the various services, one of the three priority service sectors at this time is the nine-year (free) compulsory education service. Second, the Indonesian government also provides healthcare through health insurance in which some of the insurance fees for poor people are provided for in the national or local budget. Third, the Indonesian government also provides income-generating services; this is mainly to tackle the major problem of poverty in Indonesia.

5.2 RESEARCH SITE 1: CENTRAL HILL AND CENTRAL VALLEY

As explained in Chapter 4, this study took place in two rural areas: Central Hill and Central Valley (considered to be one rural area) in Central Java, and East River in East Java. The first location, Central Hill and Central Valley, is located between two mountains in the eastern part of Central Java. This location is a rural area approximately 20 km from the district town centre, accessible in about half an hour by motorcycle or car – see the community map below. There is public transport in this area.

Figure 5.2 Community map of Central Hill and Central Valley



The region is a non-irrigated agricultural area; however, characterized by fertile soil, a cold climate and adequate rainfall, this area is suitable for growing a wide range of vegetable crops. Various vegetables are grown in this region, including carrots, cabbages, mustard, chili and spring onions. It is a place with traditional practices of vegetable growing. A variety of vegetables are primarily grown in the rainy season, with planting occurring twice a year. The first round is between October and January followed by the second from February to May. Furthermore, in the dry season between May and September, farmers continue to cultivate their farms with tobacco. Thus, in a year farmers in this area usually have three harvest periods: two for harvesting vegetables and one for harvesting tobacco. Besides being suitable for cultivation, because of the abundance of grasses, this location is also suitable for cattle farms. In small-scale farming, households usually have two or three cows which are kept on the family plot. Aside from being agricultural areas, Central Hill and the Central Valley are also destinations for agriculture and volcano tourism. The variety of economic activities for the market indicates that cash economies exist predominantly in Central Hill and Central Valley.

With regard to cash economies, households in Central Hill and Central Valley have variations in the level of wealth, evident from the ownership of land, animals, vehicles and the condition of their houses. In respect to land ownership, there are two categories of households: households that have their own land and households that cultivate land owned by someone else, either with a rent system or a harvest-sharing system. In general, households own livestock such as cows, usually between

one to three animals. Generally, households also have a motorcycle, primarily to transport agricultural equipment to the fields, or to drop and pick up children at school. However, some households do not own a motorcycle, so the children have to go to school by bus. Housing conditions are basic, mostly using brick walls and cement floors/plaster. However, some houses still have wooden walls and uncemented floors.

Migration plays an important role in the economic life of the community. This phenomenon is common in Indonesia, where the people in the villages have to migrate to cities to find work. In this community, some households have to migrate to find work outside the region, such as working as construction workers. They usually work outside the area for several weeks or months, then return to deliver the money they have earned. People migrate in general in the non-growing season or when there is no work available in the village.

Basic services in Central Hill and the Central Valley are very limited, except electricity and basic education. Most households in the region use electricity as the primary energy source. However, they still use firewood obtained from forests around the community. Access to clean water for cooking and bathing is met through community water reservoirs supplied from springs. Most people use the river to wash their clothes; washing clothes is done by hand, not using a washing machine.

Similar to the provision of the basic services, educational services in Central Hill and the Central Valley seem to be lacking. There is one elementary school in this area, which is relatively close to the children in Central Valley (about 1–2 km from the houses). However, this is not the case for children in Central Hill, as the distance of the school from Central Hill is around 2–3 km and in general children have to walk to school. There is no junior high school (SMP) in this community; the nearest SMP is about 4–5 km away. Children use a variety of ways to get to school, including public transport (which is very limited), or going on motorbikes driven by their parents. Accessibility to elementary school and junior high school in this location enables the achievement of the nine-year compulsory education. This programme obligates children to pursue elementary school for six years and junior high school for three years. Elementary school usually starts from the age of 6 or 7, while junior

high school starts from the age of 12 or 13. However, to access education in senior high school (SMA/SMK), children in this area have to go to the city, a distance of about 20 km. It is very difficult for children from disadvantaged families to continue their education in senior high school.

Households in the community are dispersed; this situation affects how children play with friends or neighbours as they are not nearby. There are on average 2–3 children per household. This is presumably as a result of the Family Planning Programme which promoted the ideal family member as a father, a mother and two children. One of the problems faced by children in this area is early marriage, although according to Indonesian law, boys under 18 and girls under 16 are prohibited from getting married.

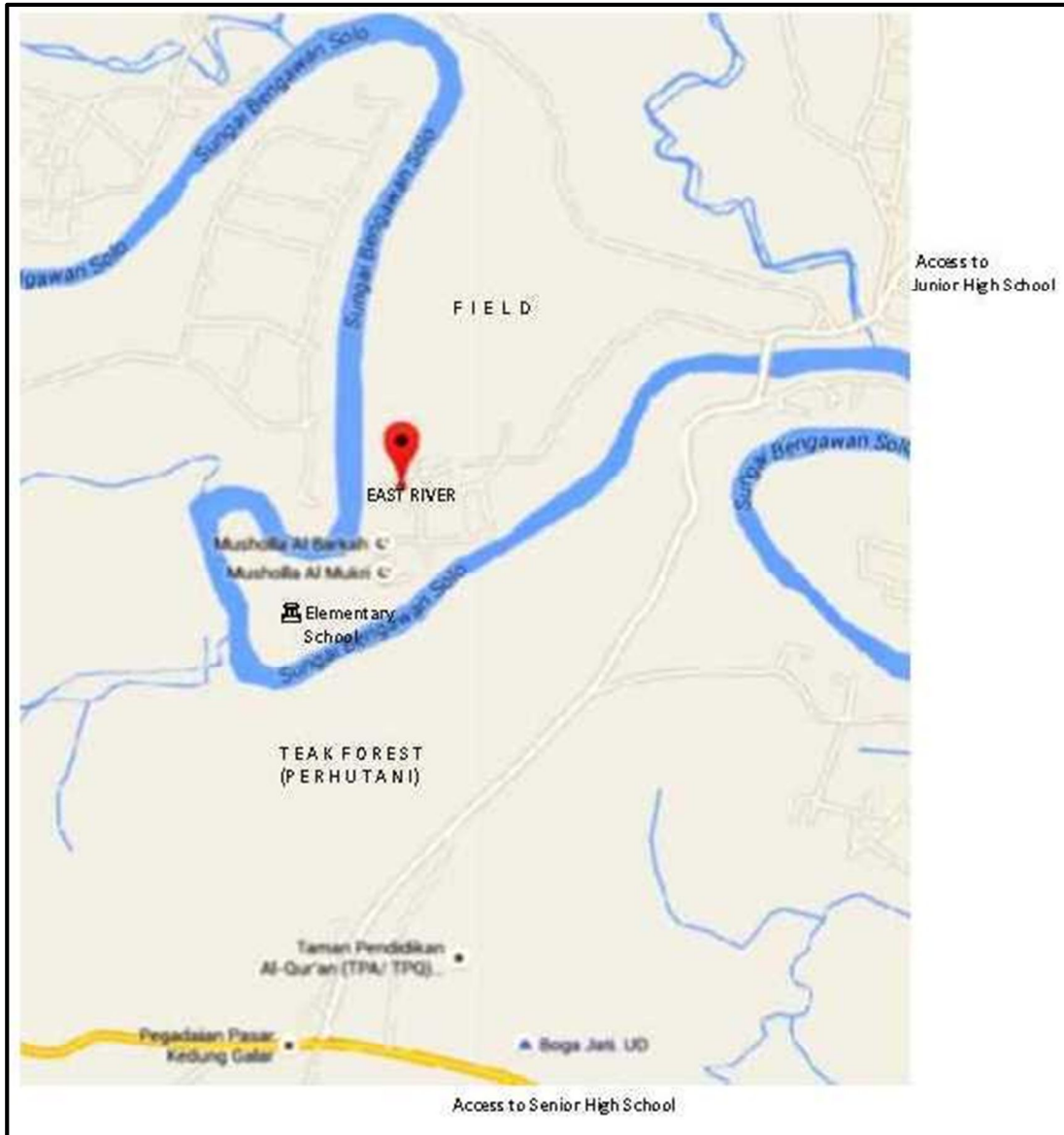
Central Hill and Central Valley have good access to the local development programmes. Accessible programmes for children include the Child Friendly City (CFC) Programme and the Withdrawal of Child Labour to Support Family Hope Programme (*Program Penarikan Pekerja Anak untuk mendukung Program Keluarga Harapan, PPA-PKH*). Via the CFC programme, the local government aims to build a comfortable area for children through a series of actions including the empowerment of institutions; the development of civil rights and child freedom; improvement of basic health and well-being of children; education; cultural activities; and special protection for children. Meanwhile, through the PPA-PKH programmes, the government directly works toward eliminating the practice of child labour in the region. In addition to state-based development, there were also NGO-based development programmes for children, namely an education scholarship for elementary school students. The presence of these programmes indicates that children's lives are not only influenced by parental care but also by government and NGO activities.

5.3 RESEARCH SITE 2: EAST RIVER

The second location of this study is East River, in the teak forest of western East Java. This location is a rural area approximately 20 km from the district town centre, accessible in about half an hour by motorcycle or car. There is no public transport in this area. People in the community needing to go to the city centre or

schools must ask their relatives to take them to the main road (approximately 5 km from the community), where public transport is available – see the community map below.

Figure 5.3 Community map of East River



In contrast to the first location which is located on the mountainside with fertile soil, the second area, East River, is a flatland area with nutrient-poor soil. It is also a non-irrigated agricultural area, and cannot be used substantially for growing crops. Located in the middle of a teak forest, it is a place for traditional practices of maize, nut and cassava production. The growing/planting period is usually twice a year, with maize and nuts from October to January, followed by cassava planting

between February and August. After cultivating cassava, farmers leave their farm without crops, as it is almost impossible to grow plants during the following session. During the non-growing period, the vacant land is normally used by residents for their goats.

Farmers in East River mainly cultivate maize and cassava in the rejuvenating teak forest area owned by Perhutani, a state-owned company for teak forest concessions. Teak trees that are old enough for use will be cut down by Perhutani. The logged areas are then offered to farmers to be replanted. Farmers who are interested then work on brushing the land – that is, clearing the high grasses and small shrubs with their cutlasses, before planting teak seedlings prepared by Perhutani. For two or three years, while waiting for the teak trees to grow, the farmers use the land in between the trees to cultivate maize, nuts and cassava. Once the teak trees grow high, the land is no longer useable for farming, and the farmers then look for new areas to farm. This is a form of mutually beneficial relationship between farmers and Perhutani, in which farmers are granted the right to use the land to cultivate while Perhutani get free labour for the rejuvenation of the teak trees. In addition to the farming activities, because of the location in the middle of the teak plantations, the adult males usually also work as wood carriers, transporting teak logs from the forest to the storage area. The lack of economic activities for market indicates that subsistence economies exist predominantly in East River.

Reliant on subsistence economies, the wealth levels of households in East River are also varied. Similar to the first location, the wealth levels of the households in this location are evident from land ownership, animal ownership, vehicle ownership and the condition of the house. There are three categories of land ownership of the households: households that have their own land, households that cultivate land owned by someone else with a rent system or sharing system, and households that cultivate land owned by Perhutani (a state-owned business). In respect to animal ownership, households usually own around five to ten goats/sheep. Only a few families have cows. Most households also have a motorcycle, but not a car. They use the motorcycle to drop their children at school and also to work in the fields. Similar to the first location, house conditions in the second location are not fully permanent; most have brick walls and uncemented floors. Some houses still have

wooden walls and the floors are still uncemented. Only a few households have plastered walls and cemented floors.

Similar to the first location, migration plays a pivotal role in the community. In this community, some members decide to migrate to find work outside the region, such as working as a construction workers or domestic helpers. They usually work outside the area for several weeks or months, then return home to deliver the money earned. People usually migrate in the non-growing season or when there is not so much work in the village. Migration has become one of the options for generating income in a subsistence society.

Households in the community are dense; therefore, children can easily find friends or neighbours to play with. Similar to the first location, there are on average 2–3 children per household in the East River. This is presumably also as a result of the Family Planning Programme. There is a lack of basic services at East River, except for electricity. Households mainly use electricity as a source of energy for their electronic devices and household lighting. They still use firewood for cooking, which can be easily collected from the fields. There is no provision of clean water in the community; therefore, they use water from ground wells for cooking, bathing and washing. Sometimes they also go to the river to wash their clothes or to take a bath. The provision of education services in East River is also lacking. There is only one primary school in this community. The school is highly accessible as children simply need to walk a few hundred meters. However, there is no junior high school or senior high school in this community. Children have to go outside the community to access further education. The nearest SMP is about 5–7 km away, but there is no public transport. Children have various ways to get to junior high school, either riding their own motorcycle, getting a ride on a friend's motorbike, or being taken to school by their parents or relatives on a motorbike. The road is rocky and difficult. In addition, the distance to the nearest SMA/SMK is about 10–20 km. Children usually rent a room nearby or ride their motorbike from their home.

Although the local government implemented the CFC and the PPA-PKH programmes, people in East River were not the direct beneficiaries of the programmes; therefore, East River did not have direct access to receive benefits from the state-based programmes for child protection. Similarly, there are no

programmes in the region initiated by NGOs. It seems parents in East River have more influence over their children's lives when compared to those in Central Java. Broadly speaking, though not intended as a comparative case study, a comparison between the two locations in Central Java and East Java can be summarized in the following table:

Table 5.1 Characteristics of the study sites

	Central Hill and Central Valley, Central Java	East River, East Java
Environmental conditions	Fertile soil Non-irrigated agriculture Mountainside Harvesting three times a year	Infertile soil Non-irrigated agriculture Flatland, teak forest Twice a year of harvesting
Main agricultural products	Tobacco, cabbage, mustard, chili, carrots, spring onions, beef and dairies	Corn, nuts, cassava, goat's meat
Main occupation	Farmer, farm worker, cow keeper	Wood carrier, farmer, farm worker, goat breeder
Government- and NGO-supported programmes	PPA-PKH Child-friendly city Child education scholarship Tourist destination	-

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

Differences in the characteristics of the two regions are manifested in the differences between working conditions for children. In Central Hill and Central Valley, to get to the family farms usually children have to walk between one to two kilometres, possibly causing them to become fatigued. Sometimes children also have to cross the steep hillside, where there is the risk of falling. Meanwhile in East River, children usually only need to walk a few hundred metres to get to the family farms. However, some activities are also carried on the other side of the river from their settlement, so children use traditional canoes to get across the river. The use of the traditional canoe can potentially jeopardise children's safety, especially during the rainy season.

5.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENTS/FAMILIES

Twenty parents were interviewed in depth. Their characteristics including their family status, age, and main and secondary occupation, can be seen in Table 5.2. In terms of family status, previously this study planned to recruit fathers and mothers proportionally. In practice, as described in Chapter 4, it was very difficult to reach a balanced number of fathers and mothers. Overall, the parents interviewed in this study were nine mothers and six fathers; and one each father and mother, father and sister, mother and grandmother, grandmother and grandfather, and grandfather. Grandparents were selected as respondents because they were primary caregivers for their grandchildren as in both locations some child workers interviewed were left-behind children.

Among respondents selected in the two locations, three grandparents had very strong influence toward their grandchildren's everyday lives, one in Central Hill and other two in East River. In Central Hill, Iyan lived with his mother and grandparents. He was born as a result of an unplanned pregnancy; his biological father was unknown and not responsible for him. Though living with his mother, his grandfather's role as the head of household was very dominant in Iyan's everyday life. Therefore his grandfather, whom Iyan considers as his father, was selected as the respondent. In East River, Dian along with her elder brother and younger sister also lived with her grandparents. Her biological father and mother were divorced. Her father is currently living in Jakarta, while her mother married a widower and settled down in Bali, another province outside of Java. Once a year her mother and stepfather come to visit Dian and her siblings. Although living apart, Dian always received support from his mother, including funds to pay school fees and other needs. This is similar to the case of Dewi. Her parents also worked outside of the city so that her grandmother had to take care of her. Her father was a construction worker in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, and returned every three or four months. His mother worked as a domestic worker in Solo, and came to visit Dian every month. By chance, during the interview her mother was at home, so the interview involved her and her grandmother.

In Central Java most respondents were fathers, conversely in East Java they were mothers, respectively five and seven respondents. The different responses from

those taking part the interviews were mainly due to parents' occupations. In Central Java, as will be described further, most of the fathers were farmers, so there were many chances to meet them in their free time, especially during the day after work in the morning and before continuing on the farm in the afternoon. While in East Java, most fathers worked as wood carriers in the teak forest from early morning until evening. They could not be interviewed during the day. To deal with these conditions, while maintaining a balanced number between fathers and mothers, in East Java more mothers were asked to take part in the interviews.

The parents' ages ranged between their late 30s and early 70s. A total of ten respondents were in their late 30s and six respondents were in their early 40s. Of the remaining four, two respondents were in their early 60s and the other two were in their mid 50s and early 70s. Thus respondents in this study were predominantly in the age of late 30s and early 40s, reflecting young families. The children who were respondents were between 11-14 years old. Assuming the parents' marriage was in their 20s, it is understandable that the interviewees were primarily young families in the stage of building their family well-being. Their economic condition will become one of the highlights for subsequent analysis on working children.

Most respondents, 17 parents, had a main occupation as a farmer. The three remaining respondents were a civil servant, a cattle raiser, and a domestic worker. Primary occupation is meant to be the most time-consuming activity and/or the activity generating the highest income for the family. In addition to their primary occupation, all respondents also had additional occupations. In Central Java respondents mainly worked on a farm or as a cattle raiser alongside their primary job. Others were a carpenter or housewives. In the East Java region, most respondents performed additional work as goat breeders. Others also worked as a farmer, a farm worker or a sand carrier. In developing countries such as Indonesia, overlap between the main occupation and an additional occupation is quite common, especially for farmers. At a certain moment, a farmer often does not work because they have to wait for next job, waiting for harvest or the rainy season. During this time, they do other work, creating overlap between their main and secondary occupation.

Table 5.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of parents

Categories	Characteristics	Central Java	East Java	Total
Family status	Father and mother	1	-	1
	Father	5	1	6
	Mother	2	7	9
	Father and sister	1	-	1
	Mother & grandmother	-	1	1
	Grandparents	-	1	1
	Grandfather	1	-	1
Age	Late 30s	4	6	10
	Early 40s	3	3	6
	Middle 50s	1	-	1
	Early 60s	1	1	2
	Early 70s	1	-	1
Education	Elementary school	4	3	7
	Junior high school	-	-	-
	Senior high school	6	5	11
	Not available	-	2	2
Main Occupation	Cattle raiser	1	-	1
	Civil servant	-	1	1
	Domestic worker	-	1	1
	Peasant	9	8	17
Additional Occupation	Carpenter	1	-	1
	Cattle raiser	3	-	3
	Farm worker	5	1	6
	Goat breeder	-	6	6
	Housewife	1	-	1
	Peasant	-	2	2
	Sand carrier	-	1	1

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

This chapter has described the research context to help understand the findings of the study. The next two chapters will discuss parents' and children's perspectives on child labour respectively.

CHAPTER 6: PARENT PERSPECTIVE ON CHILD WORK

This chapter aims to examine parents' perspectives on and experiences with child work by providing evidence of child work from two agricultural communities in Central Java and East Java. It starts with a description of children's activities at work. The second and the third parts analyse parents' perceptions of the value of work for family and for children. That is followed by an explanation of how parents perceive risks at work which influence their decision 'to involve or not to involve' or 'to allow or not to allow' their children to perform a certain type of work. The fifth section explains parents's perceptions of the involvement of children in work, with a focus on how children allocate their time for education, play and work. That is followed by an explanation of parental aspirations for their children's future education and career. The final section summarises the key findings presented in the chapter.

6.1 CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES AT WORK

The following section will discuss children's activities by comparing and contrasting the location, place of work, gender, paid/unpaid work, and seasonal activities. As shown in Table 6.1, children worked on their family farms and in domestic chores in most cases. Only a few activities were performed on others' farm or in other places. On the family farm, 12 children, nine boys and three girls, were collecting grasses for animal feed. Of the 12, in Central Java and East Java there were six children each. Another dominant activity on the family farm was planting seeds, done by eight boys and three girls. This activity was done primarily by children in East Java where there were seven children versus Central Java where there were four. This is most likely due to the fact that planting maize and nut seeds, performed by children in East Java, is easier than planting vegetable seedlings which is commonly performed by children in Central Java. This enables more children in East Java to become involved in planting seeds.

Carrying agricultural equipment was also a common activity in both Central Java and East Java; typically this was children carrying agricultural equipment, such as

manure or seeds, from their homes to family farms. Children also carried items such as grasses or crops from their family farms to their home. In Central Java, similar to common practice in many parts of the world, these items were mainly carried on the head, as an alternative to carrying a burden on the back, shoulder, and so on. While in East Java, children carried their equipment by bike, cart or motorcycle. Children in both locations performed hoeing less often, possibly as because it needs more skill when compared to the other activities mentioned by many parents.

In domestic chores, children in both locations, six in Central Java and five in East Java, with six boys and five girls total, tidied house. Similarly, kitchen help was also provided by both girls and boys, seven and four children respectively, with six children in Central Java and five children in East Java. Although boys and girls helped their parents in kitchen work, interestingly this was dominated by girls, as all girls in this study did this sort of work. This work mainly includes washing dishes, glassware and cooking utensils. Similarly, cooking was only done by girls, with only four girls in each location. This is why the term kitchen help, in this study, is separated from cooking, to show the different gender roles among boys and girls.

Washing clothes was also performed by both sexes; four boys and seven girls. The evidence that all girls in this study helped their parents in domestic work by washing clothes shows that washing clothes also tends to be considered female work. This evidence was strongly supported by two parents in this study, Hari and Angga's mothers. They explained that in Central Hill washing clothes was constructed as work that should be done by girls. As stated by Hari's mother, mothers in her society were impressed by Hari who, though a boy, always helped his mother washing clothes. This was also supported by the distribution of children washing clothes in that among the eleven children four were in Central Java and seven were in East Java. The rest, nine, were boys that did not help in domestic work by washing clothes.

Different locations also create different types of jobs for children. As shown in the table above, in general there were four locations where children did their job: family farms, other farms, domestic environments, and other places. Interestingly, the distribution of these activities is closely linked to the condition of the area

where the children lived. Some activities were more dominantly found in Central Java. Children working in vegetable production were common in Central Java because the soil is fertile and the climate is suitable for planting vegetables. Likewise, children raising cattle was dominant as the hills in Central Java are a source of animal feed. Children involved in mutual aid were only found in Central Java as this reflects the more rural area than East Java. Conversely, other activities were dominantly found in East Java, such as carrying sand from the river, collecting mussels and fishing, as well as activities in the fields, or domestic activities such as processing cassava. This is because of the environmental characteristics of the location in East Java that is passed through by a river, with fields but practically no fertile soil. It seems that parents direct children's activities at work based on their physical environment. As discussed in Chapter 3, empirical study of how space affects children's activities has been widely discussed, both in sociology and geography, in terms of physical, social, cultural, or discursive space (Moss and Petrie, 2002:9-10); for example, Valentine's (1997) study of contribution of environmental context in shaping play behaviours (more recently, see Hochschild, 2012; Kraftl, 2013a, 2013b; and Rönnlund, 2015).

Children's activities at work can also be analysed by looking at how they receive payment for their work. In contrast to popular belief, all child workers in this study worked alongside their parents, in unpaid family work rather than in manufacturing or formal economy. Only three children in this study also worked on others' farms in addition to their family farm. Among them, two children received payment appropriately, as their parents asked them to join in paid work by being a farm worker. Another worked on others' family farm without decent payment, part of mutual aid. There were also three other children working on non-farm activities (other place) by receiving payment. In total, five children were involved in paid work. Among those working in unpaid family work, many of their parents stated that although they did not give payment to their children, they spent money that they earned on children's needs, such as education fees and clothing. Children's activities at work are also intimately connected to the planting seasons. Activities in planting season include hoeing and planting seeds/seedlings, in crop season they include weeding, watering plants, applying fertilizer, spraying pesticides, and transporting manure. In harvesting season, children's activities include harvesting,

harvest bagging, and transporting crops. In post-harvest season, children's activities are dominated by processing, drying and selling crops.

Table 6.1 Parents' description on children's working activities

Informants	Children	Family farm	Non-family farm	Domestic	Other place
Central Java					
Grandfather	Iyan, [M, 13]	Carrying equipment, weeding, hoeing, collecting grasses	-	Kitchen help, tidying house, feeding animals	Other household work (Mutual aid)
Mother	Hari, [M, 14]	Collecting grasses, collecting leaves, hoeing, maintaining tobacco	Hoeing (paid work)	Washing clothes, feeding animals, Cleaning cowshed	Collecting firewood
Father	Yayah, [F, 13]	Harvesting, planting tobacco, weeding, transporting manure, seeding tobacco	-	Washing clothes, ironing, tidying house, kitchen help	-
Mother	Angga, [M, 13]	Watering plants, planting seeds, weeding	-	Kitchen help, tidying house, ironing	-
Father	Dodok, [M, 13]	Planting seeds, collecting grasses	-	Feeding animals	-
Father Mother	Endang, [F, 14]	Collecting grasses	-	Fetching water, tidying house, kitchen help, cooking, shopping	Collecting vegetables for sale
Father Sister	Suti, [F, 13]	Weeding, harvesting, carrying manure	Harvesting (mutual aid)	Tidying house, kitchen help, washing clothes	-
Father	Wawan, [M, 14]	Collecting grasses	-	Feeding animals, tidying house	-
Father	Upari, [F, 14]	Watering plants, weeding, planting seeds	Harvesting, (paid work)	Cooking, kitchen help, washing clothes, taking care of sibling	-
Father	Udin, [M, 12]	Collecting grasses, cultivating tobacco	-	Fetching water	Collecting firewood
East Java					
Mother	Gigih [M, 11]	Transporting crops, collecting grasses, carrying equipment, weeding	-	Fetching water	-
Mother	Dika [M, 12]	Planting seeds, transporting equipment	-	Kitchen help, washing clothes, Feeding animals, taking care of sibling	-
Father	Dhani [M, 11]	Collecting grasses, planting seeds, applying fertilizer, hoeing, transporting equipment,	-	Feeding animals	Opening classroom
Grandfather Grandmother	Pelita [F, 14]	Herding goats, Planting seeds	-	Tidying house, kitchen help, cooking	Carrying sand (paid work)
Mother	Surya [M, 14]	Collecting grasses, Herding goats,	-	Tidying house, feeding animals, washing clothes, taking care of sibling	Fishing, carrying sand (paid work)
Mother	Aan [M, 11]	Watering plants, planting seeds, herding goats,	-	Feeding animals	-
Mother	Septa [F, 13]	Planting seeds, collecting grasses, transporting equipments	-	taking care of siblings, kitchen help, tidying house, washing clothes,	Collecting mussels
Mother	Putra [M, 13]	Planting seeds, harvesting, herding goats	-	Washing clothes	-
Mother	Rio [M, 12]	Applying fertilizer, planting seeds, herding goats, collecting grasses	-	Tidying house, washing clothes, kitchen help	Collecting mussels, Fishing
Mother	Dewi [F, 13]	Collecting grasses, planting seeds, weeding	-	Tidying house, cooking, kitchen help, washing clothes, ironing, processing crops	Carrying sand (paid work)

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

6.2 WORK AS HELP FOR THE FAMILY

To ensure the best interests of the children are visible, I differentiate the beneficiaries of child work. This differentiation is crucial to identify 'who gets what', to ensure that children gain the benefit of their activities in supporting family work. As child work conducted in a family context, this study differentiates the beneficiaries into two main categories: the benefit for the family and the benefit for children. Regarding children as beneficiaries, it is also crucial to differentiate the benefit of child work in two ways: either child work supports children's well-being or promotes children's well-becoming. One of the reasons is to minimise criticism against asymmetric efforts for children's well-being and well-becoming. As a result, this study proposes three types of benefits can be obtained from child work: (i) child work is seen as performing a family obligation, (ii) child work is seen as an effort to enhance children's well-being, and (iii) child work is seen as an arena to promote children's well-becoming. I will first describe how parents defined their children's activities at work.

Understanding work in Javanese society

There were several terms used by parents in this study to explain the involvement of children in work activities, namely: '*mbantu-mbantu*' (Javanese: helping parents), '*kerja*' (Javanese or Indonesian: working), '*ngrewangi tonggo*' (Javanese: helping neighbour), '*buruh*' (Javanese: being farm workers), and '*gotong-royong*' or '*sambatan*' (Indonesian or Javanese: mutual aid). The first two terms, helping parents and work, were used interchangeably by most of parents recruited in this study and refer to the same thing, which is to describe children's activities to fulfil or to complete family work. Included in these terms are children's activities carried out on the family farms. In addition to activities on the farms, the terms 'helping parents' and 'work' were also used to refer to domestic work, such as kitchen help, cooking, tidying house, washing clothes, feeding cattle or goats, and taking care of siblings. In non-domestic work performed outside of the farm, children are also involved in collecting firewood, collecting freshwater mussels, carrying sand, and fishing.

The last three terms, namely helping neighbour, being farm worker, and mutual aid, were used in the context of children working outside the family farms and outside

domestic work, with the main difference regarding payments that children received from their work. The term 'helping neighbour' includes the notion of being a farm worker, which is an activity of working for a neighbour with a decent wage or as a paid labour. It also includes the notion of mutual aid, which is helping a neighbour by having a small wage or no salary at all. In performing mutual aid children were usually provided meals, snacks, and a small amount of money or, often, no monetary payment. However, in this model, the person who was assisted by any child, morally, will have to help the child's family on another occasion. The total volume of work does not have to always be balanced between them. Activities of this type include hoeing, planting, and harvesting. Mutual aid is a long tradition rooted in the Javanese community, although it is now widely replaced by the paid labour model, particularly in the agrarian society that has begun to open or come in contact with the urban economy. In relation to the location of the study, children's activities in helping their neighbours, both paid and unpaid, were only found in Central Java, as explained by Iyan's grandfather and Suti's father.

In relation to the types of benefits can be obtained from child work, this study found that most of the parents in this study believed in the advantages of child work to support family needs. As shown in Table 6.2, this study underlines three features as beneficial for the family: child as source of family labour, child as economic contributor for the family, and child work as moral obligation.

Child as a source of family labour

In this study, I found that involvement of children in family work was perceived to provide a complement worker to reduce parent and family burden. By complementary, it is meant that the existence of child work in the family provides sufficient support or assistance for parents in such a way to form or enhance the whole work of the family. Most parents were fully aware of their children's contribution to reduce the burden on their family. Some parents said that it is really helpful to them in finishing family work. For instance, Putra's mother explained that the help of Putra on family jobs such as goat herding made her able to do other work. As she said: "Sometimes I am very very busy, then if he doesn't want to go heard the goats... I feel annoyed. It is supposed I can do many things [with his help], but if he does not want to do that... [Then I can't finish the jobs I'm going to do]."

This study also found that child work was perceived to provide a substitute worker or temporary replacement labourer for parents. By substitute, it is meant that child work is performed by children to take over the parents' job in case the parents are unable to work for some reason such as illness. As explained by Upari's father, he or his wife was occasionally unable to do their work activities because of attending social/family events in another place. In this situation he would ask Upari to take responsibility for completing the jobs. Upari's father explained: "If I teach her [to work] from now, say if I or her mother is busy or on a trip, or having some other job to do, then she will be able to handle the job. So it meets the needs of her parents."

However, the degree of child help to support their parents' jobs was perceived differently among parents in this category. Apart from those who felt greatly helped, a few other parents explained that their children's help reduced family burden; however, it was not extremely significant. In other words, although their children stopped providing help, they were still able to manage their work.

Child as economic contributor to the family

Different from the previous perceptions that were closely related to children as a source of family labour, some parents also perceived that their children's involvement in family jobs was for economic reasons, i.e. to support basic household needs. According to some parents in East Java, their children frequently collected freshwater mussels or caught fish during the dry season from the river passing through their village, to support their family need for food. As explained by Rio's mother:

"I don't allow him to collect freshwater mussels because sometimes he gets sick. But he is stubborn: 'Okay, I will go later with Yuni [Rio's sister]' [imitating Rio]. 'Oh well it's up to you,' I told him, 'but go home soon, don't be late'. Then at 12 mid-day after he comes from school, he goes [to collect mussels] with Yuni. He brings about a plastic bucket full, then we boil it and it's enough for dinner for the whole family." (Rio's mother)

Besides providing food for their family, children also worked to support the household income. Often their salary was used to purchase family necessities. As explained by Hari's mother, part of his payment was usually spent on rice for the family.

The above mentioned perceptions of the benefit of child work for the family, i.e. child as complementary worker, child as substitute worker, and child as an economic contributor describe the notion of the childhood as a period of economic participation in their family life. However, as I will describe in the next part, this study found that most parents put a greater emphasis on the non-economic benefits of work, i.e. child work was not merely an activity of economic production. In other respects, it was also perceived, in a greater sense, as part of child education. By involving children in household economic activities they were preparing their children to become competent adults. It was done to develop children's ability to work, to raise children's responsibility, and to build children's persistence.

Child work as a moral obligation

Besides its economic benefit, child work was also perceived as beneficial for accomplishing moral obligations. Living in a family in which parents had to work hard to fulfil family needs, children who helped their parents were perceived to be 'good' children. This made some parents feel proud and happy.

“By helping parents frequently, being obedient, there is a sense of pride in my heart as a parent. Because, apart from her role as student, she is also able to wash [clothes and dishes], clean up [the room]; so as her father I don't need to clean everything up. Indeed, I'm very happy.” (Suti's father)

The child work practice was intended to fulfil parental obligation and child obligation, which is the moral obligation for parents to educate their children and the moral obligation for children to help their parents.

“If my daughter has no activity, she should help us. As a parent what we prioritise is to teach them [to work], but not too hard, just limited to their ability. For example, if a job can be done within one day [by adults], children can finish it in two or three days; that is enough for parents.” (Endang's father)

Table 6.2 Parents' perceptions of the benefit of child work for family

Benefit of child work for family	Informants
1. Children as complementary workers to reduce their parent's burden	Hari's mother, Yayah's father, Endang's father, Suti's father, Upari's father, Udin's father, Dika's mother, Dhani's father, Pelita's grandparents, Surya's mother, Aan's mother, Septa's mother, Putra's mother, Rio's mother, Dewi's mother
2. Children as substitute workers (temporary replacement labour), in case parents are unable to work due to illness or being away	Upari's father, Putra's mother
3. Supporting basic household needs	
▪ Supporting household consumption, ex: collecting freshwater mussels or fish	Septa's mother, Putra's mother, Rio's mother
▪ Supporting household income, ex: buying rice	Hari's mother
4. Accomplishing moral demands	Endang's father, Suti's father, Dhani's father, Surya's mother
▪ Parents feel proud and happy	Endang's father, Suti's father, Dhani's father, Surya's mother
▪ Helping their parent is a noble action	Udin's father
5. No significant current benefit for family; the most important thing is to educate children	Dodok's father

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

6.3 VALUE OF WORK FOR CHILDREN

Having discussed the benefit of child work for the family, this section will pay particular attention to the benefit of child work for children. This is classified into two broad categories; i.e. its benefits for child well-being and for child well-becoming, as shown in Table 6.3.

Benefits of work for child well-being

One reason given for parents involving their children in family work was that working was good for children and therefore contributes to the children's well-

being. Parents in this study gave three main explanations for their decision to engage and to allow their children to perform family work.

The first reason was that children's involvement in family work could support various aspects of children's basic economic needs. Some parents thought that schooling was a core activity for children, and for this reason they asked their children to do family work to fulfil their school needs. By working, children were expected to have additional income to purchase their school equipment, to pay their school fees, and to provide school pocket money. This notion, for example, was reflected in the interview with Pelita's grandfather and grandmother on how they spent money gained from selling the goats that she usually herded:

- Interviewer : Have you ever tried to sell some of your goats?
Grandfather : Many times. We spent the money to pay her [Pelita's] school fees. What should I say if her parents... [don't have enough money]?
Interviewer : Is that enough to pay school fees?
Grandfather : Yes, it is.
Grandmother : It helps, but it is not really enough actually.
Grandfather : It's a little bit helpful.
Grandmother : If it is not enough, then her parents will also send her a small amount of money.

Furthermore, a few parents felt that child work also provided an economic benefit for children in the sense that it provided support for children's live at home and at school, by creating opportunities for children and their family to afford expensive but necessary goods, such as a motorcycle, a bike and clothing.

"We should always try to be a person who is not to be left behind. For example, my son [Wawan] used to go to school on foot and I felt sorry for not having a motorcycle. Then I acknowledged that he often helped me try to do everything. Now, although not quite nice, I've bought him a motorcycle. That means from Wawan and back to Wawan. I mean Wawan makes an effort to help me, and then we, as parents, manage the result of his effort. Not for us. No, we don't take an advantage [of his efforts]... So that's an achievement for himself." (Wawan's father)

Another economic reason was that by performing family work, children would also be able to spend a little of the money they earned on snacks and drinks for themselves and their siblings.

The other two reasons were in relation to the benefit to children's psycho-social well-being. For the second reason, some parents believed that the engagement of

children in family work was an arena to develop their children's personality. When asked about whether working improved their child's wellbeing, some parents replied by focusing on the benefits of their child's work for the adult work. Four parents, for example, felt that working could create a sense of discipline and taught children to obey their parents. Two other parents also believed that by doing family work regularly, children were able to increase their knowledge about work and to develop their awareness of and empathy for their parents. By being involved in real life adult work, they expected that their children would become more aware of the need to help their parents and to take school seriously due to the difficulties of getting money for their education.

“The benefit is that Putra becomes more disciplined and more obedient; he becomes more aware of helping me, ‘indeed, this is to help my mother... this is my duty’ [imitating Putra]. Although I don't remind him, he will go herd [the goats], without it necessarily being insisted frequently.” (Putra's mother)

Third, a few parents said they were involving their children in family jobs because it made the children happy. One mother in this study mentioned that her son, Dika, usually also played while helping out on the farm. Thus, helping a parent was also seen to be an arena for children to play. While helping his parents working on the farm, often Dika spent time to play by himself or with his sister. Here, work and play were not distinctly separate activities. Another parent, Surya's mother, described differently how child work could create happiness for children. She explained that children's ability to help their parents naturally gave them a sense of pride for children and their achievement a sense of happiness for children. When asked about child happiness at work, she replied: “[Surya likes] carrying sand, because he gets money; there is something he achieved and that makes him happy”.

Table 6.3 Parents' perceptions of the benefit of child work for children's well-being

Benefit of child work for children's well-being	Respondents
1. To fulfil children's basic economic needs	
▪ To fulfil school needs: purchasing school equipment, paying school fee, providing school pocket money	Hari's mother, Yayah's father, Wawan's father, Pelita's grandparents
▪ To provide pocket money for children and their siblings at home	Hari's mother, Yayah's father, Septa's mother
▪ To support children's lives at home and at school, such as to buy motorcycle	Wawan's father, Dika's mother
2. To develop children's personality: discipline, obedient to their parents, knowledge about work, awareness, and empathy	
▪ To develop children's discipline	Septa's mother, Putra's mother
▪ To develop children's obedient to their parents	Suti's father, Putra's mother
▪ To develop children's awareness to help their parents.	Pelita's grandparents, Putra's mother
▪ To increase children's knowledge about work	Yayah's father
▪ To develop children's awareness and empathy – 'children should be taking school seriously due to the difficulties of getting money for education'	Dewi's mother
3. To create children's happiness	
▪ Helping parent is an arena for children to playing	Dika's mother
▪ Helping parent creates a sense of happiness for children	Surya's mother

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

Benefits of work for child well-becoming

Another reason given for parents involving their children in employment is for its benefit to children's well-becoming. As shown in Table 6.4, parents gave three main reasons for this involvement. The first was the benefit of child work in preparing children to become competent adult-workers. Half of the parents suggested that one benefit of children's engagement in family work is to train children in becoming skilful, knowledgeable adult workers. For a slightly different purpose, it was also meant to raise children to become responsible adult-labourers. Furthermore, some

parents also believed that by engaging their children in family work children would become autonomous adult-workers. It was expected that children would become independent adults in the future, free from parents' responsibility. Most parents emphasised the rationality of shaping-the-bamboo-from-the-shoot; for them working was perceived as an arena for child education, to educate children to become skilful, knowledgeable, responsible and autonomous.

“About that [the benefits of child work], if at the time my daughter is still immature, still living with her parents, we don't teach her to work, later if she has a husband but she is not capable of working, that will make difficulties for us. At least if we teach her to work, later when she is married, she already will have had enough savings.” (Upari's father)

As peasant families, some of the parents also considered that relying only on schooling for their children's future is dangerous, as schooling does not always guarantee a bright future. In this case, 'safety for future' seems to be one of parent's moralities in educating their children.

The second reason was that child work was also beneficial for children's economic well-becoming. Here, children were perceived as economic contributors to their own futures. Wawan's father, to take one example, expected that Wawan's support for family work could create additional income that could be saved for his future education. During his elementary and junior high school, Wawan had remarkable educational achievements, including the first rank in the mathematic olympics for elementary school at the district level, the second rank in the mathematics olympics for junior high school at the district level, and the first rank at sub-district level and the third rank at district level for the chess olympics in elementary school. He had also been free from school fees for continuing education in elementary school and junior high school. This encouraged his father to send Wawan to a better school for the next level of education. Acknowledging his son's achievements and the need of money for future education, the involvement of children in family work was perceived as beneficial for children's future wellbeing, specifically for their future education. Similar to Wawan's father, Udin's father also gave an explanation of the benefit of child work for their future education, which is apparently related to the linkage between his identity as a villager and the difficulties in accessing further education. He explained: “Bit by bit, I teach him [Udin] to work. As a villager, if we

don't work on the farm... it's really hard, if we have an opportunity, to continue to study.”

Finally, two parents believed that there was no significant benefit of child work for children's current well-being; the notable exception was to educate their children. These two parents seemed to believe, without question, in the power of education to foster children's well-becoming. The possible explanation would fall in the way they perceived schooling among other child activities. One of these parents, Dodok's father, explained that education should be the core activity for children and the other activities were merely peripheral; he explained: “The ideal time for children is to go to school and to study; other activities are also needed, but not as much as those activities [schooling and studying]”.

Table 6.4 Parents' perceptions of the benefit of child work for children's well-becoming

Benefit	Informants
1. Preparing for adult-workers	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To raise children to become skilful adult-workers 	Hari's mother, Yayah's father, Wawan's father, Upari's father, Gigih's mother, Dhani's father, Surya's mother, Rio's mother, Dewi's mother
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To raise children to become responsible adult-workers 	Hari's mother, Wawan's father, Dhani's father, Pelita's Grandparents, Aan's mother
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To develop children's autonomy, so that they won't be dependent on their parents in their adulthood. 	Angga's mother, Dhani's father, Surya's mother, Pelita's grandparents, Gigih's mother
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To raise children to become knowledgeable adult-workers 	Antok's grandfather
2. To help parents save money for children's future education.	Wawan's father
3. No significant current benefit for children; the most important thing is to educate children	Dodok's father, Endang's father

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

6.4 PARENTS' VIEWS ON HAZARD AND RISK OF WORK

Parents in this study had different opinions about the disadvantages of child work, and those mainly pointed to hazards and the risks of work. According to the ILO (2014b: 20), "while a hazard is something that could cause harm, a risk is the likelihood that harm will actually occur". Of the 14 parents who clearly had an opinion about the disadvantages of child work, interestingly, only three stated that there were disadvantages in employing children. Eleven parents, on the contrary, felt that there were no disadvantages to the involvement of children in family work. As shown in Table 6.5, the following analysis will describe the various reasons given by parents on the hazards and risks of child work.

Defining the risks of work

There were four issues raised by three parents about the disadvantages of child work; the first two refer to hazards caused by working conditions and the other two refer to the health and injury risks. First, a parent in this study believed that child work might cause physical environment-related accidental-injuries, such as falling while carrying agricultural equipment, fertilizer or seeds to the farm using a vehicle. As explained by Gigih's mother, one of the disadvantages of involving children in work was a risk of falling down when carrying heavy loads, as experienced by Gigih when he brought fertilizer from home to the farm. This type of hazard was found in the East Java region as many children had to carry agricultural equipment from their home to the farm and vice versa, by cart, bike, or motor bike on poor road conditions.

Another feature in relation to the hazard of child work, as mentioned by a mother in East Java, was animal bites. Surya's mother said that the field where the children usually herded their goats was dry land, regarded as a comfortable place for snakes. Therefore, she always advised her son to stay far enough from the field and to wear sandals when herding. Snake bites were perceived as only happening in East Java. The third feature was related to injury risk. One parent thought that child work might cause injury because of agricultural tools. As explained by Wawan's father, one of the dangers in the work of a child was getting cut by sharp agricultural tools; that is, getting cut when collecting grasses for cattle, as experienced by Wawan.

This risk was particularly the case in the Central Java region where collecting grasses was a common activity for children, given the abundant availability of them.

Finally, the disadvantage of child work was also related to health risks; child work was perceived as a possible cause of pain for children. As explained by Gigih's mother, Gigih suffered pain due to spreading fertilizer. When asked about the disadvantages of work, she replied: "He [Gigih] told me that he didn't want to apply fertilizer because he got burnt on his hand... 'Phonska' and 'urea' [types of fertilizer] made his hand burn".

Ignoring risks of work

There were 11 parents who perceived that there was no danger in child work. Among these parents, nine had five different reasons for ignoring the risks of work, while two held the opinion without providing any reason. Among the nine parents, their reasons were based on their perceptions of the socio-cultural value of work, type of work, working conditions, children's competence in work, and children's voice regarding their work.

First, a grandfather in this study refused the idea of hazard and risks of work based on the socio-cultural value of work; that is, child work was rationalised as a cultural tradition. According to Iyan's grandfather, a grandfather in Central Java in his 70s, child work was not harmful for children because any job they performed had been long standing practices in the community. Child work was accepted by Iyan's grandfather because it included 'culturally-accepted work for children'. He said that child work had been performed from generation to generation, long before him until now. His cultural reason was possibly influenced by his age, as the older generation is usually more strongly bound to traditional values and practices.

Another reason raised by a few parents in this study as to why child work did not endanger children was closely related to type of work as children typically undertook light work. Light work means that the jobs did not cause the children to become very exhausted. One of these parents stated that the fundamental element of child work was that children were not required to work very hard. When children were tired, they should take a rest, and then continue to work after feeling refreshed. If they were tired again then they should go home to rest. Light work was

also explained by Yayah's father as work where children were only required to do jobs which were of almost no risk, while dangerous equipment, such as a sickle or hoe, were handled only by parents. Yayah's father explained: "All dangerous tools should be carried by parents, like a sickle or hoe. Children are to do the light work; they should focus on light work."

Third, three parents believed that there was no harm in child work because children's working conditions were safe for them. A safe place for children to work was understood by parents in different ways. A mother in Central Hill said that children's working conditions were safe because they were free from wild animals, such as snakes. It was associated with dry soil conditions in the mountainside, in contrast to the condition of the soil in lower areas. Meanwhile a father, also in Central Hill, said that a safe working condition was related to the topography of the area where the children perform their work. His son was only allowed to collect grasses on the flat areas; collecting grasses on the cliff area was forbidden, so there was no concern for his activities. Another explanation was given by a mother in East River that child work would not cause harm because, in her experience, she always asked her son to help her on the farm in the afternoon when the sun was not blazing hot. For this reason she felt that there was no negative side of child work; all were positive.

Fourth, a further reason given by parents was that children were able to cope with the risks of their work. The notion of children's competence to work was expressed by four parents in East River. According to them, three children in this study had to work in the river, carrying sand and collecting freshwater mussels, and another had to cross the river to herd goats. These parents were aware that carrying sand, looking for freshwater mussels, fishing, and crossing the river by canoe might result in risk for their children, such as drowning in the river. However, they assumed that it would not be a concern since their children had been taught and were able to swim. The river was a part of daily life for people in the community, not seen as a threat; Putra's mother explained that all children in Central River were able to swim in the river.

Finally, by considering the voice of the child, one parent, Putra's mother, thought that there was no danger in the work of the child. When asked about the various

types of hazards and risks in child work she replied that her son never complained about his work. For her, apparently her son was just fine with his working activities; there was nothing to be concerned about, although her son had to cross the river by traditional canoe to herd goats. In the interview, Putra's mother explained: "He [Putra] never told me that kind of thing [the danger of child work]. If we talk about drowning in the river, he can swim. It's his hobby, swimming in the river."

To sum up, it seems that parents attempt to relay messages to their children about harm in their working activities and at the same time they also maintain children's need to be trained. Parents produce and reproduce messages that some spaces are possibly dangerous for work while others are safe. On the one hand, a few parents did not allow their children to do certain types of job, such as collecting grasses on steep hills or herd sheep due to the risk of snakebites. On the other hand, a few parents allowed their sons to work on farms, as they are perceived to be free from wild animals, and also allowed their sons to work in the river as they were able to cope with the risks associated. In this case, the first group of parents prohibited their children from work by considering that their work space threatened the safety of their children, while the second group of parents allowed the children to work in the fields or in the river because both were regarded as safe places.

Table 6.5 Parents’ perceptions of the disadvantages of child work

Disadvantages of child work	Informants
“Disadvantages in child work”	
▪ Hazardous working condition	
1. Falling down when carrying agricultural equipment	Gigih’s mother
2. Snake bites	Surya’s mother
▪ Health and injury risks	
3. Pain because of fertilizer	Gigih’s mother
4. Injured at work because of agricultural tools	Wawan’s father
“No disadvantages in child work”	
1. Child work is long standing practice in the community (community-value of work)	Antok’s grandfather
2. Children’s activities at work are focused on light work (type of work)	Antok’s grandfather, Yayah’s father
3. Children’s working conditions are safe to work (working condition)	Hari’s mother, Udin’s father, Aan’s mother
4. Children are capable to handle possible risks (children’s competence)	Dhani’s father, Septa’s mother, Putra’s mother, Rio’s mother
5. Children never complain about their work (children’s voice)	Putra’s mother
6. Without any reason.	Endang’s father, Suti’s father

Source: Author’s summary of interview transcripts with parents

6.5 PARENTS’ VIEWS OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN IN WORK

Children spend their time on many activities; however, in this study I focus on three main areas of children’s activities: school, play and work. Exploring parents’ perspectives of children’s time allocation for schooling, play, and work will allow us to understand what is meant by appropriate hours for children to work. It will also allow us to understand which activities are perceived as important by parents to educate their children to become ‘good’ adults.

Most parents in this study explained that during school days their children went to school in the morning, from 7 am to 12 pm or 1 pm. They, subsequently, spent their after-school time in various ways. Generally, children played first and then helped their parents. Some other children, in contrast, helped their parents first and then

stopped to play. A few children used almost all of their after-school time to help their parents, by giving little time to play. A parent in this study also explained that the way his son spent his after-school time was unstructured, sometimes playing first and working, or vice versa. The following sections will discuss parents' experiences and perceptions of children's time allocation to school, play and work in more details.

Children's time to school

Children's time for school was mainly divided into two allocations, i.e. education at school and doing school-related activities at home. Table 6.6 provides information on how children in different grades spent their time in school. Almost all children in this study spent approximately five to six hours per day in school, from the morning until noon. They spent six days a week in school, from Monday to Saturday. In the two locations studied, some children in grade 9 (14-year-old) had extra lessons to prepare for the final examination that determines student graduation. Meanwhile, children in grade 6 in elementary school (11-12 years old) and grades 7 and 8 in junior high school (12-13 years old) allocated a part of their time to study and homework after their school time. Most children spent their after-school time studying at home; others to study in a group. This study found a girl in Central Java, Upari, who spent less time in education than others. She attended a non-traditional vocational school three days a week, spending four hours per day in her school.

Table 6.6 Parents' perceptions of children's time allocation to school

Grade	Children	School days	Time	Hours
Grade 5-6 (11-12 years old)	Suti*, Udin, Gigih, Dhani, Aan, Rio	6 days/week, Monday – Saturday	7 – 12 am	5 hours/day, 30 hours/week
Grade 7-8 (12-13 years old)	Iyan, Yayah, Angga, Dodok, Dika, Surya**, Septa, Putra, Dewi	6 days/week, Monday – Saturday	7 am – 1 pm	6 hours/day, 36 hours/week
Grade 9 (14-year-old)	Hari, Endang, Wawan, Pelita	6 days/week, Monday – Saturday	7 am – 1 pm, some extra lessons	6 hours/day, 36 hours/week and extra lesson
Non-regular junior high school	Upari	3 days/week, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday	7 – 11.30 am	4.5 hours 13.5 hours/week

* Suti was 13 years old and supposed to be in grade 8. However, she had to stop school for two years because of financial reason. As a result, she was still in grade 6 at the time of interview.

** Surya was 14 years old and supposed to be in grade 9. However, he was in grade 7 at the time of interview due to being retained in previous grades. In the next section, her performance in education will be one possible feature that influenced her mother's low-level of aspiration for her.

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

There were various parental views of children's time allocation for education. In relation to school time allocation, most parents in this study trusted schools to manage their children's time. They were unable to negotiate how children should spend their time in school. It was all regulated; as a result parents obey the time regulation determined by the school. Parents having different pattern of time allocation have to withdraw their children from the school. This happened with Upari's father in Central Java who finally had to send Upari to a non-traditional school due to the incompatibility between the school's regulation and his perception of ideal time allocation. Upari's father would not be able to manage his time to pick Upari up from regular school. School drop-off and pick-up become an important issue in the two villages in Central Java because of distance.

In both locations, access to school seemed to be a problem for children, particularly for students in junior high school. Unlike elementary schools that were located within the villages, junior high schools were located far from their communities and, therefore, were less accessible. In Central Java, the most accessible junior high school was located around 10 km from Central Hill and Central Valley. Children had to take a bus, ride a motorbike or ask their parents to drop and pick them up when they went to school. Whilst in East Java, the school location was at a distance of 7

km. There was no public transportation; the only possible way to get the school was to ride a motorcycle. Some parents provided a motorbike for their children while those unable to provide motorcycle asked their children to get a ride from their friends.

Most parents in this study felt that their children had full awareness towards their school attendance without parents' guidance, although occasionally it also included the parents waking up their children for school preparation. This was slightly different from children's awareness towards learning activities at home. Some parents in this study stated that they frequently had to remind their children to study. Only a few parents explained that their children were fully aware of learning activities at home, without parental guidance. These children were mainly those who had better performance at their school or were in their final year where children had to prepare for the final exam for their graduation. As Septa's mother said, Septa's study time at home was not only in the afternoon or after-school time but also in the night before sleeping and in the morning before school.

By looking at children's time spent on education, both in school and at home, in general, schooling was perceived as a leading activity among children in the two agricultural communities. All parents in this study felt that their children had enough time for school, in different manners of time appreciation. Some parents put an emphasis on learning activities at school and at home, while other parents put greater emphasis on school and less attention on school-based activities at home. In one case, a parent had less attention on her child's education. As mentioned before, Upari only attended school three times a week with four hours per day, which her father considered sufficient. His view indicates that schooling was not a central activity for his child. The reason behind this perception was presumably closely related to his other value for childhood where, according to him, a girl should be always ready for marriage whenever a proposal comes to the family. This value confirmed the existing culture of early marriage in Central Valley and Central Hill, as also stated by the gatekeepers at province, regency, and village level and by the NGO officer in Central Java.

Children's time to play

After spending six to seven hours in school, children in this study generally had four to five hours for playing and working. Most of the parents in this study explained that children's playing time was, on average, between one and two hours, after their school time. However, these parents had different perceptions when asked about the sufficiency of children's time for playing. Most of them felt that two hours was more than enough time to play, having considered that children should be educated to use their own time wisely and in a meaningful way, such as for education and work. On a slightly different note, some of them felt that children ideally needed more than two hours to play. Yayah's father thought that two hours were ideally less than enough. However, having to share that time with other activities such as homework and helping parents, he thought that two-hour playing time was sufficient for his daughter. Another reason was that some of these parents also allocated non-school days as time to play for their children. Thus, the school holiday was time for children to play. However, in some cases, parents in this study asked their children to do family work during the weekend and on non-school days; thus in this case holiday was time for children to work.

According to the parents in this study, the types of activities for children at play varied but, in general, were similar across locations and gender. In the two locations, football, volleyball, badminton, and ping-pong were the favourite types of games. In Central Java, some of these play activities were initiated by university students who performed community service in Central Valley as part of their course. The differences among hobbies in the two locations were swimming in the river, fishing, and performing traditional art. None of children in Central Java went swimming or fishing whereas in East Java swimming was one of the fun activities among boys and girls, as well as fishing for boys. In contrast, unlike children in East Java, children in Central Java performed traditional arts as part of their play. These traditional art performances were initiated and local performers trained the children.

One interesting feature with the children's play activities is associated with their location. Most of the games were conducted at inappropriate places to play, meaning that children did not perform their play in suitable places or proper

circumstances, in a dedicated place of play. To play soccer and volleyball, the children in the both locations played in yards or on farms. In a similar way, children in East Java went to the river to swimming. Their ability to manage their limited space for playing - in a river or in a front yard instead of on a pool or a football field - clearly shows that children are able to creatively negotiate their space to meet their essential needs (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a, 2000b; Kraftl, et al., 2012; Punch, 2000; Valentine, 1997).

Parents had different levels of acceptance of the importance of play for children; however, most parents in this study acknowledged that children needed to be involved in play activities, mainly to fulfil the child's psychological needs. Some parents also felt that its important was not only to meet the psychological needs of children but, more importantly, to educate children. Their opinion indicates the idea of play as an arena for education. This was, for example, revealed by Udin's father when explaining Udin's involvement in play activities organised by university students in his community:

“If not on a Saturday evening, they [the university students] definitely come on Sunday morning. Then they will teach the children to play anything. The students doing community service usually have many activities. I ask my son to participate. That is for education as well.” (Udin's father)

Parental control was also an interesting issue among parents in this study. Most of the parents thought that children's play activities did not require parental control. They believed in their children's ability to appropriately spend their time. The reason was that children naturally needed time to play and, therefore, placing restrictions was not an appropriate parental action. Another reason was that the types of play activities and the places where children usually played were considered safe. However, some parents explained that they still needed to control the way their children spent time for playing. With whom, for how long, and where their children usually played were important features for these parents. For boys, playing with friends that were considered 'bad boys' would not be allowed; thus, selection of their peer group was one of the main issues regarding parental control of their sons. Another important issue was playing or traveling to distant places. For both boys and girls a few parents, such as Angga's mother, Wawan's father, Upari's father and Dika's mother, explained that this should be with their

permission due to, in their perception, the negative impact of the social environment outside of their villages, such as alcohol and drug abuse for boys and girls, and sexual violence for girls.

Children's time to work

There could be varieties in parental levels of acceptance of the involvement of children in family jobs, depending on children's time spent on work (varieties of experience) and how parents perceived time allocation (varieties of perception). Their experience and perception of children's time-use on work can be broadly categorized into three types, including work as a core activity, as a semi-peripheral activity, and as a peripheral activity. The following analysis explores the perceptions and experiences of parents regarding children's time allocation for work in comparison with other children's activities, mainly play activities.

Table 6.7 provides information that parents in the first category are those whose children spent more than two hours per day during school days and four hours or more per day during non-school days for work. During school days, two-hours per day is considered a balance between work and play and applied to a half of the children's after-school time. Whilst on non-school days four-hours per day are seen as a balance between work and play; that is, a half day for work and a half day for play. Parents in this category also thought that aside from children's activities at school, child work was a core activity for children. This view was expressed by four parents, i.e. Iyan's grandfather, Hari's mother, Suti's father, and Upari's father. Interestingly, compared to the other parents in this study, these four parents had low-levels of education, only graduating from elementary school. In addition, their children were those involved either in paid agricultural work or mutual aid.

Parents in this category allocated more than two hours a day of their children's time to work, above the common time spent in each community. The most prominent case was Upari's father who allocated most of Upari's time to work. Upari spent her time at work on weekdays and on weekends by helping her parents on the farm, doing chores and domestic work. Her father did not send her to a regular school as he could not regularly drop off and pick up Upari because he had to work daily. His other reason was that children should be educated to work in

preparation for marriage. This seems to be a cultural reason as early marriage, as explained before, is common in Central Hill and Central Valley.

Likewise, Hari's mother also allocated most of Hari's after-school time to work. Although Hari went to a regular school, he spent most of his after-school time helping his parents. In addition, he also spent his weekend on paid work on non-family farms. School was not the main issue for his mother, as she described:

"No specific time [to help parents]. Any time! Once he returns from school, he then continues to wash clothes, after washing clothes he goes to the river, after going to the river he continues to feed the cows. So he never stops helping his parents... washing clothes, helping parents with all kinds of jobs.... he stops working at 5 pm." (Hari's mother)

Both Upari and Hari were two children who had engaged in paid work. This indicates that child involvement in paid work was apparently connected to longer working hours.

In mutual aid systems, two children also spent above the average time working in their community. As experienced by Iyan and Suti, even though they were not involved in paid work, they had to work on farms in a mutual aid system. Iyan also had to go to the farm during holidays, in the morning and in the afternoon. This was probably related to family poverty as indicated from the condition of his house and the fact that he lived without his father who was supposed to be the economic provider for his family. While most children enjoyed the idea of the holiday as a time to play, Iyan had to use the holiday time to work. This study also found a contradiction between the reality and the ideal of time allocation. As stated by Iyan's grandfather, he thought that ideally children should go to school and play, saying that "time for helping parents is just 'remaining time' after Iyan goes to school and plays". However, in reality he asked Iyan to help to finish family work above the average amount of time during school days as well as non-school days.

The second category, child work as a semi-peripheral activity for children, includes parents whose children spent two hours per day or less during school days, and less than four hours per day during non-school days in work. Parents in this category also thought that, apart from children's activities at school, child work was more important than play. This was experienced and expressed by 11 parents. Most of the parents in this study stated that children's time to work on the farms and to

help their parents on chores and domestic work was roughly two hours per day. During school days, children's time for work was typically after school, approximately between 3-5 pm. According to some parents, by beginning to help parents at around 3 pm would allow children to take a rest, play with friends, and sometimes to finish their homework. Starting work on the farm around 3 pm would also help children avoid working under the hot sun. Most parents felt that allocating two hours a day to help parents was sufficient, having considered that children had spent five to six hours in the morning in their school, and the remaining time in the afternoon was allocated to play and work. A few parents felt that children's involvement in work for two hours a day made them feel proud.

Finally, work as peripheral activity represents the experience of parents whose children, similar to those in the previous category, spent two hours per day or less during school days, and less than four hours per day during non-school days on work. The difference is that parents in this category agreed that the central point for children's activities should be school and, some, on play. Work should be treated as peripheral activity for children. Five parents were included in this category; interestingly, compared to the other parents in this study, they all had attained a high-level of education having graduated from senior high school. The parents in the third category thought that children should be trained to do work; however, this should not have a greater emphasis than education and play. As explained before, although parents in this study involved their children as family workers, most of them perceived that school should be a core activity for children. As explained by Dodok's father when asked whether Dodok's time for work interfered with play and education:

“[Regarding play], helping parents sometimes should be a lower priority, then playing should be put depending on children's desires... [While associated with school] from a parent's perspective, 'either to help or not to help is just fine'. The most important thing is that he makes serious effort in his school and study. If too much help for his parent interferes with his study, it will be troublesome. Children may be doubtful between helping and not helping. So I prioritize my son to study at home and to go to school.”
(Dodok's father)

Table 6.7 Parents' perceptions of children's time allocation for work

Category	Children	Time spending to work per day		Perceptions on time spending to work
		School days	Non-school days	
Work as a core activity	Iyan, Hari, Suti, Upari	More than two hours	Four hours or more	Work is more important than play
Work as a semi-peripheral activity	Angga, Endang, Wawan, Denta, Dika, Pelita, Surya, Septa, Putra, Rio, Dewi	Two hours or less	Less than four hours	Work is more important than play
Work as a peripheral activity	Yayah, Dodok, Udin, Dhani, Aan	Two hours or less	Less than four hours	Work is as important as play

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

Overlapping arenas of children's lives

Although all parents in this study acknowledged children's time allocation for play, education, and work, most of the parents did not clearly divide children's activities along a bold line. Most parents in this study perceived that education was embedded within work; some of them also believed that play was also embedded within work. As explained by Dika's mother:

"Sometimes he's there [on the farm], without having to focus to helping parents. He was there playing anything.... sometimes he went to the field to catch a bird, sometimes just like that. Sometimes he was there for playing with a toy car in the valley." (Dika's mother)

The complexity of child activities can also be found from Dodok's father's explanation regarding children's time allocation:

"For Dodok, I prioritise school first. [On return from] school, around 1 pm he usually studies for about an hour. Then sometimes play and helping parents overlaps. I mean, they are not in a certain order. On one occasion it is supposed to be time to play, but he helps us ... Sometimes if he helps us, he forgets to play. Contrarily, sometimes he plays, and then he forgets to help us." (Dodok's father)

Thus in this context, the vague boundaries demarcating work, play and education formed a unique relationship that explains the complexity of child activities. The idea of 'child work as play' and 'child work as education' make a vital point about

the complexity of child activities. This implies that in an agricultural context, child activities at work, play, and education should not be always considered and analysed as separate or distinct activities.

6.6 PARENTAL ASPIRATIONS ON CHILDREN'S FUTURE

Having discussed parental perceptions of children's time allocation, this section will next examine parental aspirations for their children's future. Table 6.8 provides information on whether the parents in this study had a certain plan for their children's future. Of equal importance, it also provides information on children's future education, which generally is perceived as a step towards their future job. Moreover, it also provides information on how the parents encouraged their children to achieve their future job and describes their intention and ability to support their children's future education.

Level of aspiration

Based on the perception of children's future jobs and education, the aspiration of parents in this study broadly can be distinguished into three different types, namely: a high-level of aspiration, a middle-level of aspiration, and a low-level of aspiration. The term high-level of aspiration applies to parents who had aspirations for their children to obtain a better job, which was, in their opinion, anything outside of the farm with a higher social status and better payment. It also refers to those who wanted to send their children to higher education to obtain a better job. As shown in Table 6.8, eight parents in this study are categorized as having a high-level of aspiration. Regarding their children's future job, although living in an agricultural society, their aspirations were that they should do anything but work on a farm, such as working as a civil servant, in the private sector, as a teacher, a midwife, or other skilled jobs outside of their village. Although three parents in this category did not clearly talk about their aspirations for their children's future, by considering their aspirations for children's future education, I consider them to have a high-level of aspiration. It is clear that they wanted to send their children to study in higher education, and this apparently implies that they did not expect that their children would remain in agriculture as a farmer or farm worker.

Similar to the previous category, the second category of parents with middle-level aspirations is defined as those who had aspiration for their children to obtain a better job in a non-farm sector with a higher social status and better payment, including jobs with lower education requirements. Their future-job preferences were related to their aspirations for children's future education, that was, different from the first category, not to pursue education at the university level, but to obtain education either in a senior or vocational high school. As shown in Table 6.8, seven parents in this study were categorized as having a middle-level of aspirations. Regarding their children's future jobs, their aspirations were that their children should be working as non-farm workers, such as a civil servants, engineer/mechanics, or football player. Of the seven parents in this study, two did not clearly explain their aspirations for children's future employment. However, they are considered to have middle level aspirations as they clearly stated that they planned to send their children to a vocational high school, which is a key to obtain a skilled job, such as being an engineer or a mechanic.

The last category, parents with a low-level of aspiration, is defined as those who had aspiration for their children to remain in agriculture sector, which is contrary to the two previous categories. Their aspiration for their children's future education was also lower; that is, only to finish their nine-year compulsory education at the junior high school level. As shown in Table 6.8, five parents in this study are categorized as having a low-level of aspiration for their children. Of the five parents, three thought that to be a farmer or farm worker was acceptable and adequate for their children's future job. The other two did not point exactly to any specific job, letting it depend on their child's personal aspirations. This group of parents was often those who lived in very poor conditions, whose children were involved in mutual aid and paid work, either in agricultural or non-agricultural arenas. They apparently felt unable to send their children to the next level of education, to senior/vocational high school nor to university. They considered graduation from junior high school to be adequate.

Table 6.8 Parents' aspiration on children's future

Informant	Children	Future job	Future education
High-level of aspiration			
Father	Yayah, F, 13, CJ, unpaid work	n/a	Higher education, Depending on child's aspiration
Father	Dodok, M, 13, CJ, unpaid work	Depending on child's aspiration, parent as supporter	Depending on child's aspiration, parent as supporter
Father	Wawan, M, 14, CJ, unpaid work	n/a	Higher education, economic barriers
Father	Udin, M, 12, CJ, unpaid work	Employee in non-agriculture sector, outside his village	Higher education, depending on household economic capacity
Mother	Gigih, M, 11, EJ, unpaid work	Teacher or other skilful jobs	Higher education
Father	Dhani, M, 11, EJ, unpaid work	Either civil servant or in private sector, depending on child's ability	Higher education, depending on child's performance in education, parent as economic supporter
Mother	Septa, F, 13, EJ, unpaid work	n/a	Higher education, parent as economic supporter, sibling assistance
Mother	Dewi, F, 13, EJ, non-agricultural paid work	Midwife	Midwifery academy, parent as supporter
Middle-level of aspiration			
Mother	Angga, M, 13, CJ, unpaid work	Depending on child's aspiration	Vocational high school, technical subject (Indonesian: SMK Mesin)
Father & Mother	Endang, F, 14, CJ, unpaid work	Civil servant	Senior High School
Mother	Dika, M, 12, EJ, unpaid work	Engineer/mechanic at motorcycle manufacture, based on child's aspiration	Vocational high school, technical subject; based on child's aspiration, referring child's peer group, parents as supporter
Grandfather & Grandmother	Pelita, F, 14, EJ, non-agricultural paid work	n/a	Vocational high school
Mother	Aan, M, 11, EJ, unpaid work	Police or football player, depending on child aspiration	Depending on child's aspiration, parent as supporter
Mother	Putra, M, 13, EJ, unpaid work	Engineer/mechanic, depending on child's aspiration,	Vocational high school, technical subject; based on child's aspiration, parents as supporter
Mother	Rio, M, 12, EJ, unpaid work	Engineer/mechanic, gender-based aspiration	Vocational high school, technical subject; gender-based aspiration
Low-level of aspiration			
Grandfather,	Iyan, M, 13, CJ, mutual aid	Farmer and farm worker	Uncertain plan, Minimum graduated from SMP, economic barriers
Mother	Hari, M, 14, CJ, paid work	Farmer and farm worker, Fatalistic, depending on child aspiration	Uncertain plan, SMP as minimum, economic barriers, fatalism
Father(& Sister)	Suti, F, 13, CJ, mutual aid	Depending on child's aspiration, parent as supporter	Minimum graduated from SMP, depending on child's aspiration, economic barriers
Father	Upari, F, 14, CJ, paid work	Farmer. Disagree towards child's aspiration to be a factory worker	Depending on child's aspiration: school or marriage
Mother	Surya, M, 14, EJ, non-agricultural paid work	n/a	Vocational high school, technical subject; unsure about continuation, depending on child's aspiration, parent as supporter

n/a = not available

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with parents

Did poverty and gender make a difference?

Parental aspirations seem to be influenced by how they define their economic capacity to support their children. However, this study did not use certain indicators or employ a well-developed standard to assess the degree of the family's economic capacity. To deal with the limitations in examining the relative wealth of the sample household, this study therefore employed some features such as the condition of their house and their economic assets including land, motorbike and animal ownership. In general, the perceptions of parents in this study can be categorized into two types. Those having a sense of ability to send their children to the next level of education, i.e. parents with high and middle levels of aspirations, perceived themselves to be the economic provider. The rest, i.e. parents with low-levels of aspiration, perceived themselves to be in adversity and, therefore, unable to support their children.

Parent as economic provider for child's future

Most of the parents with high and middle-level aspirations felt that it was their responsibility to provide financial support for their children. Not only parents having a certain plan for their children's future education, but also those with an uncertain plan perceived themselves as the economic provider, to a different degree of capacity. Those parents who felt they had sufficient resources such as savings, motorbike, animals or monthly income; and who were pleased with their children's performance were generally ready to provide financial support for their children to pursue education at university. Regarding children's future jobs, some parents thought that they would totally support their children while considering their aspirations and ability. They felt that they were able to fully support their children, psychologically and financially.

From a different perspective, some other parents with middle-level aspirations realised that their poverty would become a constraint, as those types of jobs require higher education - something that, according to them, is hard for the poor to achieve. Among these parents many said they would send their children to vocational school. This feeling of inability to support university education was sometimes associated with their identity as villagers. Often, this group of parents defined themselves as villagers with limited access to economic development and,

as a result, to higher education. As Rio's mother said when asked about the plan to send her son to university:

"As a villager, it is difficult [to send my son to university]. After finishing vocational school we will just let him find a job because we are not able to support him anymore. If he is clever we will let him find his way [to go to university]. As we live in poverty, what can we do?" (Rio's mother)

Poverty, however, is apparently not the only feature influencing parental aspirations. Opposite evidence was found in two interesting cases in relation to a lack of economic capacity to support children and 'parent's expectation of sibling assistance'. The first case was with a mother in East Java who intended to send her daughter, Dewi, to attend a midwifery academy. Dewi's mother decided to migrate to a different city to work with her husband, in coping with their poverty, leaving Dewi with her grandmother in the village. As her family was in an average economic condition, her aspiration to send Dewi to a midwifery academy was perceived to be above their social status by her neighbour, Mr Great. Mr Great was the richest man in the village whose daughter was also studying in a midwifery academy. This indicates how the community can also pressure a parent to hold higher aspirations, in relation to their social mobility. However, far from shaping her identity as an economically incapable person - as her neighbour said, she developed her identity, stronger and stronger, as a capable person to send her children to a midwifery academy.

"I want to send my daughter for higher education, if I can provide financial support for her; I mean, in senior high school or further... If possible, I want her to study midwifery... The cost of going to a midwifery academy is extremely high.... We have a neighbour here, named Mr Great. I asked him the cost and he said, 'Well, you won't be capable' [she laughed] ... 'You won't be capable if you want to be like Weni [Mr Great's daughter]', [imitating what Mr Great replied]. She has been practising now..." (Dewi's mother)

"Who knows? Every person has their own luck ... Everything should be desired.... Actually it's a high aspiration; just depending on our living circumstances..." (Dewi's grandmother)

In another interesting case a mother in East Java, who intended to send her daughter, Septa, to university, expected that a sibling would provide support. Septa had an older sister who was working in a well-known multi-national company with a 'good' salary. As her family was still in an average economic condition, Septa's

mother felt that she would not be able to send Septa to a university without her first daughter's assistance. This expected sibling assistance was perceived as an economic source for Septa's future education. Sibling assistance is a common practice in Javanese society when one of the children in a family is more successful than the other/s. The role of family members to financially support one another in this way will make a difference in parental aspirations. A family living in poverty with support from one of its members who is more financially stable perhaps will improve parental aspirations toward their other childrens' future jobs and education.

Parents in socio-economic adversity

Parents with low-level aspirations apparently had no, or less, intention to send their children for future education. Although they mentioned the possibility to do so, the most noticeable idea was not to send their children to continue their education. Their feeling of inability to support their children's future education, similar to their reasons for choosing a future job, was mainly related to their poverty. A 70-year-old grandparent in Central Java was unsure he would be able to send his grandson, Iyan, to senior high school due to his low economic condition. When asked about sending Iyan for further education, he said:

"I can't answer that right now [about continuing education] because I am a poor man. Later, if I am capable [to do so], then I will let him continue his study. If I am not, the important thing is to finish his current study in SMP [junior high school]" (Iyan's grandfather)

Of equal importance for parents not to send their children to attend further education was the culture of early marriage. As mentioned by a father in Central Java, he wanted his daughter, Upari, ready for marriage. He mentioned giving an option to Upari to continue her education; however, considering Upari was in temporary vocational school and he repeatedly emphasised marriage in the interview, he apparently wanted his daughter to be ready for marriage, not busy in school. When asked about sending Upari to further education, he replied:

"About that [continuing education], I will follow my daughter. Either continuing education or, because she's already mature, entering into marriage, I just follow her, whatever she's gonna do... For me, if I force her to go to school... It's okay if she doesn't want to marry. But if she wants to marry, I will feel unpleasant [for sending her to school]." (Upari's father)

Their low expectations were based on economic barriers and the culture of fatalism. Three parents explained that poverty was the main reason for them to remain in their condition as a farmer. Any effort to escape their current living condition would require better education and they felt that this could not be achieved by poor villagers. Another reason, as explained by a mother in Central Java, was fatalism. The culture of fatalism was reflected in how she was driven by a strong sense of destiny towards her son's future job. She thought that God would guide her son into a better job.

"I want him to get a job after finishing his [current] education... I can't send him to further education... I don't know what kind of job is suitable for him if he only graduates from junior high school; God will give him a job... either as a farmer or as a farm worker, it depends on him. As parents, we just follow what our children want." (Hari's mother)

Gendered assumptions for children's future

Another socio-cultural reason for parents' aspirations for their children's future job was gender-based assumptions. This includes a gender-based division of labour and early marriage. In the first case, most parents in this study expected that boys would work as a policeman or a mechanic, while girls were expected to work as a midwife or teacher. This choice of future job seems to reflect the division of labour in the society. To take one example, a mother in East River, Rio's mother, seemed to develop her aspirations based on gender-biased work preferences by explaining that boys will generally go to vocational school, to pursue their dream to be a mechanic or an engineer.

In the second case, the culture of early marriage was a basis for consideration for a father in Central Java. Upari's father refused the idea of his daughter becoming a factory worker. In his perception, being a farmer seemed perfectly plausible for his daughter's future job. Always being ready for marriage was the main reason for his preference, keeping his daughter in an agricultural environment.

"The most possible job is being a farmer; I am not sure about my daughter going to work in a factory. Becoming a factory worker, for me, is a little bit disappointing. My objection is, if she goes to a factory and then later there is a marriage proposal... that will be troublesome. The convenient job is being a farmer." (Upari's father)

The issue of early marriage was only found in relation to the girls in Central Java. There was no evidence of early marriage experienced by boys in Central Java or by boys or girls in East Java. This was only felt by parents with low-level aspirations for their children. For the parents with high-levels of education, their aspiration was to send their girls into further education. As one of the parents in Central Java said:

“For her education, I don’t want to strongly force her. It depends on my daughter, which school she wants to study in. In her current education [SMP], she previously chose a school in Boyolali... but un-withdrew and then she chose a school in Gebyog. That was her last school registration. For her next education, both in SMA [senior high school] and university, that is up to my daughter.” (Yayah’s father)

There was an interesting contrast between Upari’s father, whose main aim for his daughter was to marry early, and Yayah’s father, whose main aspiration was to send his daughter to higher education. These different parental views affected by gendered assumption, perhaps, were influenced by their educational backgrounds. Yayah’s father graduated from senior high school, while Upari’s father graduated from elementary school. The parent with a higher-level of education apparently had a higher-level of aspiration for his child than the parent with a lower level of education. Although there were apparently different parental views toward boys and girls, if we compare mothers’ and grandmothers’ views to those of fathers and grandfathers, it is likely that there were no distinctly different preferences towards their children’s future.

Parental role in supporting children’s future

Parents have pivotal roles to play in supporting their children’s future education and job; one of their roles is to make a decision for their children’s future. The process of decision making usually includes informal, repeated discussions between parents and their children. In this study, a spectrum in which parents considered their views and the views of their children in decision making can be categorised into two types: i.e. children as the decision maker and the parent as a guide and motivating agent.

Children as a decision maker for their future

Some parents in this study had clear aspirations to send their children to further education, either in a senior high school, vocational high school, or university. In contrast, a few parents did not have a certain plan to send their children to continue further education. Interestingly, not only those expecting to send their children to further education but also those with uncertain plans, considered their children's aspirations and children's ability as important features in deciding any type of school for their children. This evidence suggests that children in this study are considered to have a pivotal role in making a decision for their future education.

In relation to children's future jobs, a few parents in this study did not appear to have any clear opinions. One father thought that it was too early for him to know what would be an appropriate job for his son. The most important thing for their children's future, according to three parents in this study, was that any kind of job for their children should be useful for them, their family, and their community. They would be fully supportive to ensure that their children are able to pursue their career. Children seemed to have full freedom to set their future career. In a different sense, children were embedded within their family and society, in the context in which they have to consider their choice. This notion indicates that these children were bound to the broader context of their social environment. Choosing a future career is not only to consider children's own voices but it also includes a consideration to serve their family and community.

"About child's future job, we support him, depending on my ability to support, as far as I can. As far as he's looking for a good job, which is useful for him, I will support him as I can. But if I notice his character what is appropriate for him, I don't know yet." (Dodok's father)

"I hope he will grow up as a 'good' boy, useful to his parents and the nation... [About his future job] it depends on him." (Angga's mother)

Parent as guide and motivating agent for child's future

Parents in this study felt that they acknowledged their children's views. However, this did not mean that they gave full freedom to their children in achieving their future. They tried to balance respect for children's own decisions about their future occupations with guidance and supervision to ensure they worked well at school – so the parental role was not simply one of letting the children do whatever they

wanted. In other words, although most of the parents in this study said they would respect their child's decision for their future education, most also felt that they had a responsibility to ensure that their children would be able to continue education properly. As an example, a father in Central Java, Suti's father, said that he guided Suti to choose further education by setting the requirement for her to graduate from school, not just to follow one or two years as she wanted. Sometimes they also positioned themselves as a motivating agent for their children by encouraging them to study at home. As discussed in the previous section, some parents in this study often had to stop their children playing or watching TV to study. A few parents in this study gave their children freedom to choose their future career; however, they also had preferences for what might be an appropriate career for their children. They said that their aspirations were similar to their children's, based on what they usually discussed in everyday interaction with them. Some other parents thought that they still needed to consider their children's aspirations and ability.

Parental consideration in guiding and motivating their children was based on aspects of what they believed to be a proper way to educate them to be 'good' adults. Some parents considered education as a pre-requirement for children to enter proper jobs; therefore, they would send their children to schools or universities that match to their work preferences. Their decision was based on the notion of 'link and match' between education and employment; that is, the type of current education will determine the type of future job. This seems different from children's views, as I will discuss in the next chapter. A few parents also used children's peer groups as a reference to decide what would be suitable for their further education. As explained by a mother in East Java, Dika's mother, she had a nephew who had attended STM (vocational high school) and was a mechanic so she also wanted to send Dika to STM so he could get a job as a mechanic for motorcycle manufacturing. For the same purpose, another mother in East Java had a slightly different reason and seemingly a gender-based work preference that boys usually go to vocational school to get a job as a mechanic.

6.7 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter has explored the perspectives and experiences of the parents on how their children became involved in child work. It is set out to explain key issues in child work, including the benefit of child work for the family and for the children as well as the disadvantages of child work. It also discusses children's involvement in work, and parental aspirations for children's future.

The findings have revealed that parents perceived the involvement of children in child work was beneficial for their family, mainly for economic and moral reasons. The economic benefits were children as substitute and complementary workers, or a source of family labour, as well as economic contributors to their family. While the moral benefit was that child work was a manifestation of family and moral obligation for parents to educate their children and for children to obey their parents. They also perceived that child work was beneficial for children's well-being and well-becoming. For children's well-being, child work was perceived as able to support various types of children's economic needs and as an arena for children to develop their personality and their happiness. For children's well-becoming, child work was meant to educate them to become competent adult workers. Children were also perceived as economic contributors for their own future.

Parents in this study also realised the disadvantages of child work to various degrees. The major drawbacks of child work dealt with hazardous working conditions such as accidental injury and animal bites, as well as to health and injury risks. In contrast, some parents refused the idea that child work was disadvantageous by relying on different reasons. Child work did not endanger children because it had been a longstanding tradition in their community. Children were also perceived to be performing light work in a safe place and were positioned as competent workers who never complained about their work. This chapter has revealed an unknown risk in relation to health due to children's involvement on tobacco plantation.

Children's time-use has been discussed by focusing on three main activities: school, play and work. Most of the parents in this study perceived that schooling should be the main activity for children. However, they had different perceptions toward

children's time allocation in after-school time, including work as a core activity, a semi-peripheral activity, and a peripheral activity. This chapter has revealed the overlapping arena of children's lives. The demarcation of children's activities should not always be analysed in a bold line; child work was perceived as an arena for education and an arena to play that makes a vital point about the complexity of childhood.

This chapter also differentiates three types of parental aspirations toward children's future jobs and education, including low, middle, and high-levels of aspiration. Those who had higher aspirations would send their children into higher education and hope that their children would have a better salary and status in their future job, which was generally intended to be non-farm work. In contrast, those who lacked of hope and optimism accepted that their children would be remaining in the agricultural sector without sending them into higher education. Gender, parents' level of education, self-identity, poverty, fatalism, and reference group seem to be important features influencing parental aspirations.

Having discussed parental views and experiences on child work, which are adult views, the next chapter will discuss children's views and experiences on child work. The discussion will follow the same structure, explaining similar themes from this chapter. This is expected to provide the children's views on child work and, later, will be able to demonstrate the two perspectives on child work: adults' versus children's views.

CHAPTER 7: CHILD PERSPECTIVE ON CHILD WORK

This chapter aims to examine children's perspectives and experiences on their working lives. Having discussed parental perceptions and experiences on child work, this chapter will apply a similar framework to that of the preceding chapter. It begins with a description of the context of the study. The second and the third sections explain children's views on the value of child work for the family and for their own benefit. The next section discusses children's perceptions of risk and harm associated with their work, followed by a discussion on children's perceptions of their involvement in work. Section 6 examines children's future aspirations. The final section summarises the key findings presented in this chapter. It is found that in some cases children and parents explained similar information; therefore to avoid repetition, this will not be discussed again in this chapter.

7.1 CHILDREN AND THEIR WORK

Characteristics of respondents

As explained in Chapter 4, this study focuses on 20 children as participants; taken from Central Java and East Java equally, based on several criteria, i.e. age (11-12 and 13-14 years old), gender (boys and girls), and type of work (paid and unpaid work). Table 7.1 summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of children in the two regions, including: gender, age, grade, caregiver, type of work, and work prohibition. As shown in Table 7.1, children in this study are categorized into two age groups, referring to the ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973 concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. The first category consists of children aged 11-12 years, a group of children that should be free from any kind of work. This study found that, however, six children aged 11-12 years were involved in some type of work, which is, therefore, categorized as intolerable by the ILO. They are categorized as working children banned by age, hereafter referred to as ILOBA. The second category consists of children aged 13-14 years, considered as able to perform light work, though they should be totally free from any kind of hazardous

work, in what is often known as the “3D”, dirty, difficult and dangerous, jobs (www.ilo.org). As explained below, this study found that all children in the second category, 14 children, performed light work; and out of 14 children total, five performed heavy and hazardous work. Light work is defined by ILO Convention No.138 in Article 7 as “work that should, (a) not be harmful to a child’s health and development and, (b) not prejudice attendance at school and participation in vocational training or the capacity to benefit from the instruction received”. While with reference to the Indonesian Child Labour Survey 2009, a child aged 13-14 years is categorized as performing heavy work if they perform work more than 14 hours per week.

This study found three children involved in heavy work as they worked more than 14 hours per week, which is, therefore, categorized as intolerable. In this chapter, they are categorized as working children banned by working hours, hereafter referred to as ILOBH. Meanwhile, of 14 children aged 13-14 years, five children also involved in hazardous work. They are categorized as working children banned by the type of work, hereafter referred to as ILOBW. In total, 10 children were involved in prohibited work, with some of the children banned from work based on two or three criteria: five children in ILOBA, one child in ILOBW, one child in ILOBAW (banned because of the child’s age and type of work), and three children in ILOBHW (banned because of hours to work and type of work). Those who were not part of ILOBA, ILOBH and ILOBW are categorized as non-banned or permissible to perform work, simply written as ILONB. Ten children were in this category.

This study was intended to interview boys and girls equally; however, this equal composition could not be achieved; as a result 13 boys and seven girls were recruited as informants: six boys and four girls in Central Java, and seven boys and three girls in East Java. Children in this study were in various grades in school, from Grade 5 in elementary school to Grade 9 in junior high school. Six children were still in elementary school with one boy in Grade 5 and five children in Grade 6. The remaining 14 children were already in junior high school, with three, six and five children in Grades 7, 8 and 9 respectively. Based on the Indonesian education system, they all were in compulsory education, implying that school should be core activity and their involvement on the farm could potentially interfere with their education.

The children's living conditions varied; generally they lived with their parents – 15 children. Three children lived with their mother only, while two other children lived with their grandparent/s only. Those who did not live together with their parents were mainly due to labour migration or marriage problems. Two children, Angga [M:13:ILONB] and Surya [M:14:ILONB], were children of migrant fathers and lived with only their mother due to those circumstances. Angga's father was working as a bricklayer in another city, around three to five hours away by bus; while Surya's father and brother had to migrate to a different island, working as plantation workers. Another child in Central Java, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], lived with his mother because of a marriage problem. While two children, Pelita [F:14:ILONB] and Dewi [F:13:ILONB], were children of migrant parents, and they, therefore, lived with their grandparent/s. Pelita's parents were working in Bali as green grocers and fruit sellers; Dewi's mother was working as a domestic worker in Solo while her father was working as a bricklayer in Jakarta.

Various types of work performed by the children existed in the two regions, including: unpaid and paid farm activities, unpaid and paid non-farm activities, mutual aid, and domestic chores. All children performed unpaid on-farm activities. Among the 20 children, only two were involved in paid on-farm work: Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] and Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]. They earned money from helping their neighbours working on the farm, completing tasks such as hoeing and harvesting. Three other children also performed paid non-farm work, they were Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Surya [M:14:ILONB] and Dewi [F:13:ILONB]. These three children earned money from their involvement in carrying sand. In addition, Pelita also earned money by helping her neighbours cook. So in total, five children performed paid work, including two working in farm activities and three working in non-farm activities. Mutual aid also existed in Central Java, marked by the involvement of two children, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] and Suti [F:13:ILOBW], in helping their neighbours without earning money. Unpaid non-farm child work also existed in East Java with four children in this category, including three involved in collecting freshwater mussels, one boy routinely took over his father's task of closing and opening classroom doors during school days, and two boys spent their time fishing, a hobby that also could provide food for their family. In addition to the different types of unpaid on-farm activities, domestic chores were also performed by most of children

in this study, 18 in total. Two children did not provide information; however, their parents explained that these children also performed domestic chores.

Table 7.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of children

Informant	Gender	Age (Years)	Grade	Interviewed Caregiver	Type of work						Type of prohibition
					1	2	3	4	5	6	
Central Java											
Iyan	Male	13	8	Mother	√				√	√	ILOBHW
Hari	Male	14	9	Parents	√	√				n/a	ILOBHW
Yayah	Female	13	8	Parents	√					√	ILONB
Angga	Male	13	8	Mother	√					√	ILONB
Dodok	Male	13	8	Parents	√					√	ILONB
Endang	Female	14	9	Parents	√					√	ILONB
Suti	Female	13	6	Parents	√				√	√	ILOBW
Wawan	Male	14	9	Parents	√					√	ILONB
Upari	Female	14	9	Parents	√	√				√	ILOBHW
Udin	Male	12	6	Parents	√					√	ILOBAW
East Java											
Gigih	Male	11	6	Parents	√					√	ILOBA
Dika	Male	12	7	Parents	√					√	ILOBA
Dhani	Male	12	6	Parents	√		√			√	ILOBA
Pelita	Female	14	9	Grandparents	√			√		√	ILONB
Surya	Male	14	7	Mother	√			√		√	ILONB
Aan	Male	11	5	Parents	√		√			√	ILOBA
Septa	Female	13	7	Parents	√		√			√	ILONB
Putra	Male	13	8	Parents	√					n/a	ILONB
Rio	Male	12	6	Parents	√		√			√	ILOBA
Dewi	Female	13	8	Grandmother	√			√		√	ILONB

1	On-farm, unpaid work	3	Non-farm, unpaid work	5	Mutual aid
2	On-farm, paid work	4	Non-farm, paid work	6	Domestic chores

ILOBA	Work prohibited by minimum age	ILOBW	Work prohibited by type of work
ILOBH	Work prohibited by working hours	ILONB	Non-prohibited work

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

Children's working activities on the farm

I will first describe how I uncovered children's activities on the farm by conducting interviews using two methods: interview without and interview with picture cards. In the first stage, the informants were asked to explain the various types of working activities they participated in on the farm, without picture cards. I let them explain their activities as much as possible, until they were no longer able to express their activities. By always asking "what else", they were continuously asked to provide more detail. I then stopped asking if they said: "that's it", "no more", or if they were quiet, not replying to my question. At this point, it was assumed that they did not have further explanation to provide about their working activities on the farm. I then moved to the second method, using picture cards as a visual aid for the

interview. By showing various images of child work activities (see Appendix 7), the children were asked whether they performed the various work shown in the picture cards. Surprisingly, as can be seen in Table 7.2, the second method significantly helped children to express various types of activities they had undertaken. Of the types of activities they mentioned, this method was able to increase the number of activities from three to 13 types of activities. The use of picture cards was also able to reveal children's activities as unmentioned during the interview without picture cards, including using sharp tools, preparing the land, harvest bagging, and drying crops. It also helped to reveal activities that were rarely mentioned by children, including harvesting leaves from trees, transporting equipment, applying fertilizer, spraying pesticides, watering plants, and transporting crops. In short, the use of picture cards was able to help children to explain their activities, as proven by the increased number of activities mentioned.

Of equal importance is explaining the involvement of parents during interviews with children. During fieldwork, I experienced two conditions for interviews: accompanied and unaccompanied interviews with children. Although in my first visit to the parents I always emphasized that interviewing children without their involvement would be preferable, I gave them a chance to accompany their children. As a result, some parents decided to accompany their children during interviews, while others left their children with me to do interviews. The presence of parents during interviews did not seem to bring difficulties for children in expressing their views. In contrast, it helped children during interviews. Three types of help were identified, i.e. helping children to understand the question, to answer the question without directing the answer, and to remind children of forgotten experiences. In short, it seems that parental presence during interview with children did not cause an issue of confidentiality; it also helped children with clarity and comprehensiveness in responding to the interview prompts.

In some cases, however, this study found that children and their parents argued about an answer provided by the children. One example can be found in the accompanied interview with Dika [M:12:ILONB]. When asked, using picture cards, about his activities on the farm, he argued with his mother, who accompanied him during the interview.

Interviewer : How about herding goats?
 Dika : Yes, I do.
 Mother : When?
 [She laughed loudly following her question to Dika, implying
 disagreement]
 Dika : Sure, that goat! I AM doing goat herding.
 Interviewer : So, you herd goats?
 Dika : Yes, I do.
 Mother : Yes, he does; but just one goat.

In this example, it seems that Dika's mother is overriding the child's perception and overlaying her own. This is a power imbalance and undermines Dika's view and his agency. We need to understand children's perceptions in their own right, therefore, from a subjective position, having this parent present was potentially detrimental.

Table 7.2 provides information about children's descriptions of their working activities on the farm based on interviews with and without employing picture cards. It can be seen that several types of work were mentioned in interviews either with or without picture cards only, and some were revealed in interviews both with and without picture cards. The second category seems to indicate the most common or the most frequent activities in the area, including: collecting grasses as well as planting seeds and vegetables in the two regions, weeding in Central Java, and herding goats in In East Java. An exception was child involvement in harvesting activities, which they all did, but only five children mentioned it during the interview without picture cards.

Comparing the two locations, several activities existed in the two regions, such as collecting grasses, planting seeds and vegetables, applying fertilizer, watering plants, weeding, harvesting, and harvest-bagging. This indicates that children in agricultural areas participate in common activities. On the contrary, some activities only existed in Central Java, including collecting firewood, picking tobacco leaves, and selling crops. Another activity also only existed in East Java, i.e. processing crops. Herding goats, although performed by a boy in Central Java, was commonly undertaken by children in East Java. This indicates that different milieus might produce different types of children's activity.

Without necessarily differentiating the methods of interviewing, the data gathered on this type of work will be analysed in relation to the ILO standards: whether this work would be seen as light, hazardous, banned or questionable under ILO

definitions. For analytical purposes in this section, the notion of tolerable and intolerable work will refer to the type of activity and children's age only. The use of another criterion, i.e. long working hours, will be discussed further in Section 6. Among 21 working activities, 18 activities can be categorized as light work and therefore are tolerable for children aged 13 years onwards. Those include work in non-seasonal activities, such as collecting firewood, collecting grasses, and herding goats. Those also include seasonal work, such as preparing land, planting seeds and vegetables, watering plants, weeding, harvesting, harvest bagging, drying crops, processing crops and selling crops. There are also other activities that ILO considers as light work, but some of the children perceived as dangerous or hazardous, such as: climbing trees, transporting equipment, using sharp tools, hoeing, transporting manure, and transporting crops. Thus, there is a contentious definition of what light work should be considered intolerable.

Furthermore, three types of work can be categorized as hazardous. This includes: applying fertilizer, spraying pesticides and picking tobacco leaves. However, similar to the contentious definition of light work, children in this study also had a different conceptualization, compared to the ILO, of the notion of hazardous work. Some of the children thought this type of work was not hazardous as they felt they could cope with its potential risks. With reference to the ILO standard, this type of work should be banned, including: all the work done by children aged 11-12 years, all the work done by children aged 13-14 years for more than 14 hours per week, and all of the hazardous work performed by children aged 13-14 years. In fact, 10 children categorized as doing prohibited work perceived that their work was acceptable, even invaluable, for their family, their well-being and their well-becoming - as discussed below.

Table 7.2 Children's description of their 'on-farm activities'***

Informants	Non season						Planting			In-crop					Harvest				Post-harvest		
	1	2*	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12*	13	14	15	16	17*	18	19	20*	21*
Central Java																					
Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW]	√	x	√	+	+	+	√	+	+	+	+	x	+	+	+	+	x	+			
Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]	+	x	√		+	+	√	+	+	+	+	x	+	√	+	+	x	+			x
Yayah [F:13:ILONB]							+		+	+		x	+	√	√	+		+			
Angga [M:13:ILONB]									√	+			√	√	+	+					
Dodok [M:13:ILONB]			√		+	+	√	+					+	+	+	+		+			
Endang [F:14:ILONB]			+					+	+	+			+	√	+	+					x
Suti [F:13:ILOBW]			+		+			√	+		x	+	√	√			x		+		
Wawan [M:14:ILONB]		x	√		+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+		+			
Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]			√			+			+	+	√		+	√	√		x				
Udin [M:12:ILOBAW]	+	x	√		+	+	√		+			x	+	+	+	+	x	+	+		
East Java																					
Gigih [M:11:ILOBA]			√	+	+	+	√	+	√		+		+	+	+	+		+	+		
Dika [M:12:ILOBA]			√	+					√	+				+	+	+			+		
Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]			√	+	+	+	√	+	√	+		x	+	+	+	+		+	+		
Pelita [F:14:ILONB]			√	√		+			√				+	+	+			+			
Surya [M:14:ILONB]	+		√	√		+								+	+		+				
Aan [M:11:ILOBA]			√	√	+	+	+	+	+	+			√	+	+	+		+	+		
Septa [F:13:ILONB]	+		√	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+		+	+	x	
Putra [M:13:ILONB]			+	√	√		+	+	√	+			+		√	+		√	+		
Rio [M:12: :ILOBA]	+		+	√	+	+	+	+	√	+		x	+	+	√	+		+	+		
Dewi [F:13:ILONB]			√	√	+	+	+	+	√	√			+	√	+	+		+	+	x	

Non-seasonal activities	8. Preparing land	Harvest season activities
1. Harvesting leaves from trees	9. Planting seeds and vegetables	15. Harvesting
2. Collecting firewood*		16. Harvest-bagging
3. Collecting grasses	In-crop season activities	17. Picking tobacco leaves*
4. Herding goats	10. Applying fertilizer	18. Transporting crops
5. Transporting equipment	11. Spraying pesticides	
6. Using sharp tools	12. Transporting manure*	Post-harvest season activities
Planting season activities	13. Watering plants	19. Drying crops
7. Hoeing	14. Weeding	20. Processing crops*
		21. Selling crops*

√ : Children's activities revealed during interviews with and without picture cards

x : Children's activities revealed during interviews without picture cards

+

ILOBA : Child under age and banned from working according to ILO definition

ILOBH : Child aged 13-14 years and banned from working due to long working hours; Less than 15 hours per week is used as an indication of light work.

ILOBW : Child banned from this work as hazardous according to ILO definition

ILONB : Child non-banned from working according to ILO definition

* Collecting firewood, transporting manure, processing crops, and selling crops (respectively No. 2, 12, 17, 20, and 21) were children's activities revealed in the interviews with children without picture cards. In contrast, ploughing was children's activity unmentioned by children when being interviewed using picture cards.

** The definition of on-farm activities in this study covers a wide range of activities, which are either related to the production of food or crops and are conducted on the farm.

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

Children's working activities outside the farm

Besides working on the farm, children in this study also performed domestic chores and non-domestic work other than farm activities. Table 7.3 provides information about children's description of their working activities outside of the farm, covering a wide range of activities, which are not related to the production of crops. Similar to children's activities on the farm, several non-farm activities existed in the two regions, such as dishwashing, laundering, tidying house, and yard work. It supports the previous argument that children in agricultural areas share common activities. On the contrary, some non-farm activities only existed in East Java, including carrying sand, collecting freshwater mussels, fishing, and opening & closing classroom doors. Another activity that only existed in Central Java was milking cows. Fetching water, although also performed by a boy in East Java, was commonly undertaken by children in Central Java. This evidence supports the argument that different children's milieu or cultural context might produce different types of activity.

Gender also seemed to influence children's activities. In each region and in total, boys were found to be working predominantly in on-farm activities while girls seemed to work on domestic chores. As can be seen in Table 7.3, girls, on average, performed more domestic chores than boys. Girls mainly performed cooking, washing clothes and yard work. On the contrary, getting fishing and animal care at home (as a different type of work compared to herding and collecting grasses) were only performed by boys. This might be influenced by local values; as explained by a father in East Java that unlike boys, helping parents on the farm was not strongly demanded for girls; doing domestic chores such as kitchen help was considered appropriate for girls. It indicates that gender-based working segregation seemed to exist in non-farm activities among children in agricultural communities. However, it does not mean that boys and girls do not share similar non-farm activities. In this study, both girls and boys in the two regions also performed similar activities, such as caring for siblings, dish washing, fetching water, laundering, and tidying the house.

Although their work covered a wide range of activities performed outside of the farm, it may still be regarded as unsuitable for children depending on the activity,

their age, and how the ILO treats these activities in terms of hazard and risk. Similar to the previous explanation, their activities may be classified as light work and therefore acceptable for children aged 13 years onwards, or as hazardous work and therefore intolerable for all children aged 11-14 years. Of 13 non-farm activities all except carrying sand seem to be appropriately categorised as light household work. Those includes nine types of domestic chores, i.e. caring for siblings, cooking, dish washing, fetching water, laundering, milking cows, pet care, tidying the house and yard work. Those also include three types of non-farm work, collecting freshwater mussels, fishing, and opening and closing classroom doors. Carrying sand is regarded as hazardous as it might prevent child physical development. Acknowledging the importance of the idea “tolerable and intolerable works” for policy, practice and research; therefore, the blurred boundaries or the continuum between those two will be discussed further in details in Chapters 7 and 8.

Table 7.3 Children's description of their 'non-farm activities'*

Informants	Domestic chores									Non-domestic			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Central Java													
Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW]				x	x		x						
Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Yayah [F:13:ILONB]			x		x			x	x				
Angga [M:13:ILONB]			x		x								
Dodok [M:13:ILONB]			x		x		x	x					
Endang [F:14:ILONB]		x	x	x									
Suti [F:13:ILOBW]		x	x	x	x				x				
Wawan [M:14:ILONB]				x		x	x	x					
Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]	x	x	x					x	x				
Udin [M:12:ILOBAW]		x		x									
East Java													
Gigih [M:11:ILOBA]	x		x	x				x					
Dika [M:12:ILOBA]	x		x		x			x					
Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]					x						x		x
Pelita [F:14:ILONB]		x	x		x				x	x			
Surya [M:14:ILONB]			x		x		x			x			
Aan [M:11:ILOBA]	x				x		x					x	
Septa [F:13:ILONB]	x		x					x	x		x		
Putra [M:13:ILONB]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Rio [M:12: :ILOBA]			x		x						x	x	
Dewi [F:13:ILONB]		x	x		x				x	x			

Domestic chores		5. Laundering	Non-domestic	
1. Caring for siblings		6. Milking cows	10. Carrying sand	
2. Cooking		7. Animal care	11. Collecting freshwater mussels	
3. Dish washing		8. Tidying house	12. Fishing	
4. Fetching water		9. Yard work	13. Opening & closing classroom doors	

ILOBA : Child under age and banned from working according to ILO definition
 ILOBH : Child aged 13-14 years and banned from working due to long working hours;
 Less than 15 hours per week is used as an indication of light work.
 ILOBW : Child banned from this work as hazardous according to ILO definition
 ILONB : Child non-banned from working according to ILO definition

* The definition of non-farm activities covers a wide range of activities, which are not related to the production of crops, conducted outside the farm.

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

7.2 CHILD WORK AS FAMILY OBLIGATION

This section focuses on children's views on the benefit of child work for the family. From the 20 children interviewed, three children had no response to the question of the benefit of child work for family. Of the 17 children who did respond, they shared similar opinions to their parents about the benefit of child work for the

family, i.e. child work as familial obligation. The idea of family obligation refers to the fact that child involvement in work was intended to support their family. As shown in Table 7.4, the idea of children as agents of support for their family appears in various meanings of child work for the family, i.e. child as a complementary worker, child as a substitute worker, child as an economic contributor, and child work as a moral obligation.

Table 7.4 Children’s perception of the benefit of child work for family

Benefit	Number	Informants
Child as complementary worker (Reducing parents’ burden at work)	10	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Yayah [F:13:ILONB], Angga [M:13:ILONB], Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Endang [F:14:ILONB], Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Putra [M:13:ILONB], Rio [M:12:ILOBA]
Child as substitute worker (Taking over parents’ job)	5	Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Putra [M:13:ILONB]
Child as economic contributor for the family	5	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Wawan [M:14:ILONB], Upari [F:14:ILOBHW], Rio [M:12: :ILOBA]
Fulfilling moral demands <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parent happiness ▪ Empathy ▪ Invaluable action ▪ Reducing parental burden of raising their children 	2 1 1 1	Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Dika [M:12:ILOBA] Surya [M:14:ILONB] Septa [F:13:ILONB] Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]

Not available: 3 children - Suti, Aan, and Dewi

Source: Author’s summary of interview transcripts with children

Child as a source of family labour

The first principle to support an argument that child work is intended to fulfil family obligation is the idea of the child as a complementary worker. As discussed in Chapter 5, this notion is in reference to an idea that children’s work activities provide sufficient support or assistance for parents in such a way to form or enhance complete family work. Ten children in this study thought that their help could reduce their parents’ burden at work. Parents in this study undertake a variety of jobs on their farm and outside of their farm. Intended to reduce parents’ workload, the children helped their parents to finish their work faster. To take one example, when asked about the benefit of child work for the family, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] explained:

- Iyan : Helping parents is very useful ... because parents are then getting help; if my parents are supposed to be overburdened, [with my help] then they are not.
- Interviewer : What do you mean by overburdened?
- Iyan : I mean, you know about carrying loads, if my parents have many loads to carry from the farm, [with my help] then they just need to bring some, not too many.

Of ten children who perceived the child as a complementary worker, referring to the ILO definition, four children can be categorised as performing intolerable work as they were underage or performed hazardous work with long working hours. This shows that some children remained involved in child labour, although it is prohibited, due to its benefit to support their family. Therefore, from their perspective, banning children from these types of work may disrupt overall family work.

The second principle is based on the idea of the child as a substitute worker, or the idea that child work is performed to take over parents' job in case parents are unable to work for some reason such as being busy, being ill or being away. Five children in this study thought that their help would be beneficial for their family for two reasons. First, by being involved in family work they expected their parents, who were very busy finishing all family works, did not have to undertake the job that they had taken over. This was intended to reduce parents' burden. To take some examples we present the experiences of Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], and Putra [M:13:ILONB] in helping their parents. They helped their parents in various ways, including collecting grasses, opening and closing the classroom doors, cooking, and herding goats so that their parents were free from undertaking these works. One of the children, Udin, explained:

"By helping parents, for example by collecting grasses, my parents won't be feeling tired. I mean on returning from the farm, [they] just need to prepare animal feed [no need to collect grasses from the farm by themselves]."

Another reason was, in the case that their parents were being away or sick, they could take over the job, to make sure that none of the family work would be unfinished or abandoned. One of the children, Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], explained:

- Gigih : If you do not help your parents, what will happen [with the family jobs] if your parents are sick?
- Interviewer : You mean?
- Gigih : Who will finish the work? Also if your father and your mother should go somewhere, and you stay at home, then who will run the farm?

Among these five children, three children were either underage or performed long working hours; therefore, with reference to the ILO definition, they should be banned from performing these types of work despite the fact that they felt that their involvement in family work was beneficial. This may provide the reason why children become involved in unacceptable work. Based on the children's perspective, this supports the previous argument that action to prevent children from work may become a disruption towards family work.

Child as economic contributor for the family

The idea of child work as family obligation is also related to the notion of the child as an economic contributor to their family. Children contributed economically to support family income and family consumption. Several ways in which children have earned money are noted. Three children earned money from paid agricultural work, by working on their neighbours' farm doing work such as hoeing and harvesting. Another way of earning money is noted from paid non-agricultural work where three children earned money by carrying sand and helping neighbours cook. Finally, children in this study also received pocket money from their parents as they helped with family work. To take one example about the manner of earning and spending money, Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] explained:

- Interviewer : Do you hoe in others' farms and receive payment for your work?
- Hari : Yes, sometimes during the holiday.
- Interviewer : How do you spend your money? Is that money for you or for your family?
- Hari : Sometimes for myself, sometimes for my family.

Children were able to control the way they spent their money to fulfil their family needs as well as their own needs. Five children in this study felt that their involvement in child work was meant to support basic or primary household needs by using the money they earned to fulfil those needs, such as in buying cigarettes for their parents, rice for the family, and snacks for their siblings. One boy, Iyan

[M:13:ILOBHW], explained: “my grandpa usually spends the money to buy cigarettes, while my grandma spends the money to buy rice, and I use the money for my school fees”. Another girl, Upari [F:14:ILOBHW], when asked about the benefit of child work for her family, replied: “to get enough money”. She went on to explain, “to be able to buy, for example, candy, or “*chiki-chiki*” [a type of snack], and so on and so forth, for my young sisters”.

Besides earning money, children also provided food for their family. One of these children, Rio [M:12: :ILOBA], collected freshwater mussels for his family and went fishing, doing his hobby as well as getting fish for family meals. In fact, there were two other children, Dhani [M:11:ILOBA] and Septa [F:13:ILONB], who explained that they collected freshwater mussels for their family. Dhani also went fishing for his hobby and providing food. However, these two children did not think that their activities were part of providing economic support for their family. Of the five children who perceived child work as support for basic household needs, four children fit within the ILO categories as involved in intolerable work for the following reasons: they were either underage, working long hours, or doing hazardous work. This informs us that their involvement in unacceptable work may be influenced by its benefit for family livelihood. Therefore, viewed from children’s perspectives, prohibiting children to perform this type of work may cause disruption for the family livelihood.

Child work as a moral obligation

The fourth notion is related to moral assumption, that is, child work was perceived as a moral obligation. Four children in this study thought that child work was intended as an attempt to fulfil a moral obligation and duty to their family. There were two kinds of moral values expressed by these children. The first value was about bringing happiness to their parents. Two children, Dodok [M:13:ILONB] and Dika [M:12:ILOBA], thought that helping parents was intended to make their parents happy. Dodok, who always helped his parents by collecting grasses, watering plants, weeding and harvesting and some other domestic work, explained during his interview:

- Dodok : For me, helping parents is to help ease their burden...then make them feel happy.
- Interviewer : Do you mean by helping parents will make you feel happy?
- Dodok : It makes my parents feel happy.

The second moral value regards empathy. One of the children, Surya [M:14:ILONB], thought that helping parents was a form of child empathy towards parental hardship. He realised that his parents had to struggle to fulfil the needs of his family. When asked why he helped his parents, Surya replied: "I feel sorry to see my parents work hard". Apart from these moral values, one of the children in this study, Septa [F:13:ILONB], thought that helping the parent was important; however, when asked for further explanation on the importance of helping, she was unable to provide more reason. Of the four children who perceived child work as a means to fulfil moral demands, one boy was underage and, therefore, according to the ILO definition, he should be banned from performing any type of work. Due to its moral value he was pleased to help his parents on the farm. This informs us that children may be involved in intolerable work because of its perceived moral value related to how children perceive child work as a manifestation of their love for their parents by attempting to bring happiness to them. Child work is also perceived as a way to show respect and empathy to parents. Based on this perception, deeming work intolerable in a way that does not correspond to the children's perspective, may break the child-parent relationship.

Finally, the idea of child work as a familial obligation is also based on the notion of the child as a parental burden. One of the children in this study expressed this belief. Therefore, work was intended as an effort to ease this parental burden. When asked about the benefit of helping parents for the family, Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], who helped his parents by opening classroom doors, collecting grasses, planting seeds, and many other activities, explained: "in order that parents won't feel burdened or not too heavy [of a burden], because they have children". This evidence informs us that the idea of the child as a parental burden perhaps influences underage children to become involved in family work, although by convention they should be free from any type of work. Similar to the previous idea, it seems that Dhani's involvement in work was intended to express his love to his parents. Therefore, supporting the previous argument, based on the children's

perspective, prohibiting them to become involved in a particular work may disrupt the child-parent relationship.

7.3 VALUE OF WORK FOR CHILDREN

Having discussed children's views on the benefit of child work for the family, this section will specifically focus on children's perceptions of the benefit of child work for themselves. Similar to that of the parents' view, I categorise the value of work for children into two types; i.e. value of work for children's current benefit and for children's future benefit.

Current benefit: child work as self-support

The most noticeable idea of the value of child work for children's current benefit is child work as a self-support activity for children. This argument is based on the perceptions among 15 children in this study towards the current benefit of child work for children; while the remaining five children, were found to have no opinion on the subject. As can be seen from Table 7.5, the meaning of child work for their own current well-being was related to the idea of the child as an economic contributor for their own needs, child work as a source of happiness for children, child work as an effort for valuing free-time activities, and child work as a religion-based activity.

The first principle to support the idea of child work as self-support for children's current benefit is the child as an economic contributor for their own needs. This idea was found in nine children. Of these nine children, seven explained that their involvement in work was to provide for their own economic needs such as paying for school fees and buying books, student worksheets, and bus tickets. Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], when asked about how he spends money, replied:

- Hari : Sometimes for myself, sometimes for my family.
Interviewer : How do you spend money for yourself?
Hari : For savings, to buy books.
Interviewer : What else?
Hari : Another thing is to buy the student worksheets.
Interviewer : How about buying snacks or food?
Hari : Yes, sometimes.

Another group of eight children explained that their involvement in work was meant to provide basic economic needs such as buying snacks and clothing. One of these children, Pelita, replied:

Pelita : Helping neighbours cook.
Interviewer : Do you get payment for that?
Pelita : Yes.
Interviewer : How much?
Pelita : About five thousand rupiahs.
Interviewer : Is that enough for pocket money?
Pelita : Yes.
Interviewer : How often do you do that?
Pelita : Not so often.

For different ways of earning and spending money, she further explained:

Interviewer : How about carrying sand?
Pelita : Yes, very often.
Interviewer : How much money do you usually get?
Pelita : About four thousand.
Interviewer : What are you doing with that money?
Pelita : Sometimes for paying for school fees, sometimes for pocket money.
Interviewer : Do you save some of your money?
Pelita : Never.
Grandmother : Yes... savings at food stalls! [laughing, seemed to be a satire].

A boy in this study, Dika [M:12:ILOBA], also mentioned that by helping his parents he was also meant to fulfil secondary economic needs, for example buying a motorbike.

Interviewer : Do you find a benefit from helping parents for yourself?
Dika : [I] benefit from selling the crops. [My parents] bought me something, feeling useful.
Interviewer : [...] what was it?
Dika : Usually school equipment.
Dika's mother : School equipment... and then last time, what did we buy?
Dika : A motorbike.

This evidence shows that children's engagement in unacceptable work is perhaps influenced by the children's perception of the current benefits of child work. Work is seen as an opportunity to earn school fees as well as basic and secondary economic needs. Therefore, prohibiting children from engaging in family work,

based on the children's perspective, may be disruptive to their economic well-being.

The second supporting argument is based on the notion of child work as a source of happiness. Of the 15 children, six mentioned that their involvement in child work brought them a sense of happiness. According to these children, there were various ways of gaining happiness. It could come from earning money, as Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] explained when asked about happiness from helping his parents:

- Hari : When harvesting.
Interviewer : Why is that?
Hari : If I help harvesting then I get money, five thousand, I put the money into savings.
Interviewer : What else?
Hari : Then hoeing, I am also happy because I get money.

Another source of happiness was that child work provided an opportunity for children to play. Children perceived that performing work was not only about work, but also as an opportunity to play with siblings and to meet friends on the farm, to treat animals as playmates, and as an arena to enjoy the scenery around their farm. Thus, leisure was seen as embedded within their work. When interviewed about the current benefits of work, Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], who often went to the farm with his mother while taking care of his younger brother, replied:

- Gigih : Happy
Interviewer : Why are you happy?
Gigih : It's fun
Interviewer : How come?
Gigih : I can play while planting seeds.
Interviewer : How do you usually play on the farm?
Gigih : Ball throwing.
Interviewer : With whom?
Gigih : With my younger brother.

Another boy, Surya [M:14:ILONB], felt happy to work, as he was able to meet his friends while carrying sand. Aan [M:11:ILOBA] also felt happy because he could play with his goats on the fields while herding; treating his goats as his playmates. When asked about happiness in doing work, he replied:

- Aan : Herding goats.
 Interviewer : Why is that?
 Aan : Yeah, I can play with my goats.
 Interviewer : You mean, you play with your goats or with your friends who are also herding goats?
 Aan : With the goats, you know, just like chasing goats.

For a different reason, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] felt happy at work as he had an opportunity to watch motorcyclists passing around the farm: “the happiness of being on the farm is having a chance to watch motorbikes; motorbikes crossing the road [around the farm]”. Among the six children perceiving work as source of happiness, four children were underage, and one boy performed heavy (long hours) and hazardous work, work that is thus categorised as intolerable according to the ILO standard. However, they remained in work to achieve their happiness. It follows that banning children in this category from work may have a negative impact on children’s happiness.

The third principle is based on the notion of child work as an attempt to value children’s free time. This idea was found in the explanations of two children: Angga [M:13:ILONB] and Aan [M:11:ILOBA]. According to Angga, child work was a way of using spare time, while Aan explained that he was involved in work because there was, occasionally, nothing to do at home. When asked the reason for helping his parents on the farm, he replied: “I feel lonely at home, [there is] nothing to do at home, and then I decide to go to the farm”. This finding shows that children have a positive value for time; they seem to use their time effectively. It may be the reason why underage children decide to become involved in family work. It also shows how family, school, and society, as social institutions in the children’s socialisation, have influenced children to value their time.

Finally, the notion of child work as a moral-based or religion-based activity also constructs the idea of child work as self-support for children’s current benefit. This study found two children, Dika [M:12:ILOBA] and Suti [F:13:ILOBW], perceived that their involvement in work was intended to avoid sin and to become pious. When asked about the reason for helping parents, Dika replied: “if you don’t help your parents, it’s said, you’ll commit a sin”. In addition, Suti also explained:

Interviewer : When did you help your parents for the first time?
 Suti : When I was ten years old.
 Interviewer : Did your parents ask you, or you wanted to help them?
 Suti : That was my intention to help them.
 Interviewer : Why did you want to help your parents?
 Suti : Yeah, I want to be a pious child.

Both Dika and Suti are categorised as involved in intolerable work by their age and the type of work they do. This evidence may suggest how religion has influenced children's decision to be child workers. From the children's perspective, it also implies that banning children from work may result in a corrupted childhood, as children are hindered to fulfil their need for developing religious values.

Table 7.5 Children's perception on the current benefit of child work

Current benefit for children	Number	Children
Economic contributor for their own needs		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To fulfil children's school needs 	7	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Dika [M:12:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Surya [M:14:ILONB]
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To fulfil children's basic/primary economic needs 	8	Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Wawan [M:14:ILONB], Upari [F:14:ILOBHW], Dika [M:12:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Surya [M:14:ILONB], Dewi [F:13:ILONB]
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To fulfil children's secondary economic needs 	1	Dika [M:12:ILOBA]
Source of child happiness	6	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Dika [M:12:ILOBA], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Surya [M:14:ILONB], Aan [M:11:ILOA]
Valuing children's free-time	2	Angga [M:13:ILONB], Aan [M:11:ILOBA]
Fostering religious values	2	Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Suti [F:13:ILOBW]

Not available: 5 children - Yayah, Endang, Udin, Septa, Rio

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

Future benefit: child work as personal development

The most noticeable idea originated from the children's perception of the benefit of child work for their future benefit is child work as a personal development activity. As shown in Table 7.6, this argument is developed from the perception of 11 children towards the future benefit of their work. The remaining informants, 9

children, were either unable to imagine its future benefit, silent, or provided no information.

Based on the perceptions of these children, the first finding to support the idea of child work as personal development is that child work was meant to educate children for becoming competent adult workers. Of the 10 children in this category, six thought that child work was beneficial in educating children to be a skilful adult worker. Five children perceived it as beneficial in educating them to be autonomous adult workers. One of the children, Endang [F:14:ILONB], explained: “learning to be autonomous... when we become adults”. Another girl, Suti [F:13:ILOBW] also explained, “if you don’t start [working] by now, you will become a lazy person”. Another boy, Wawan [M:14:ILONB], had a different perception by saying that child work is an alternative career for their future. It is a way to be safe for their future. Wawan explained: “It’s very useful; say if you don’t succeed in your school, you would have already had experience of farming activities, you will be able to be a good farmer”. Another boy, Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], also had different reason, saying that child work was a way for preparing for a future family, that is, preparation for fatherhood. He perceived the father as a responsible person for the household economy and, therefore, he had to become involved in work right now in order to be a ‘good’ father in the future. He explained: “In the future, when I have a wife, I’ll have been capable to work”. Among the ten children perceiving child work as personal development, six are categorised as being involved in intolerable work by the ILO either by their age, their type of work, or their working hours. This evidence may suggest that the ILO standard does not fit within children perceptions, due to their perceived advantages of child work for their personal development. Therefore, prohibiting children in this category to engage in family work, supporting the previous argument, may result in a corrupted childhood, as children lose their opportunity to develop their skills and personality.

The second finding is related to the idea of the child as an economic contributor to their own future. It referred to future education needs and children’s needs for their future family. A boy, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], allocated some of the money he earned to savings from which he planned to pay for school tour fees and for his future family.

Interviewer : Do you allocate some of your money you earned from selling crops for savings?
 Iyan : Yes, I allocate them.
 Interviewer : What is your plan with your savings?
 Iyan : For tour fees
 Interviewer : Where?
 Iyan : This year, we will have a school tour.
 Interviewer : How about later when you become adult, what is the benefit of your current work?
 Iyan : To fulfil family needs.

A similar reason was given by Surya [M:14:ILONB]. He had a similar opinion regarding spending money for his future benefit. When asked about how he spent money he earned from carrying sand, he replied:

Surya : For pocket money, to buy books and snacks.
 Interviewer : How about savings?
 Surya : Yes, it is.
 Interviewer : And how will you spend your savings?
 Surya : To buy books and pay for school tour fees.

This shows that one of these two children, Iyan, is involved in intolerable work due to its benefit for his future economic needs. This implies that applying the ILO standard to prevent children from performing work potentially goes against their efforts to support their economic well-becoming.

Table 7.6 Children’s perception of the future benefit of child work

Future benefit for children	Number	Children
Economic contributor for their own future	2	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Surya [M:14:ILONB]
Educating children for becoming a competent adult worker	6	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Yayah [F:13:ILONB], Wawan [M:14:ILONB], Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], Pelita [F:14:ILONB], Dewi [F:13:ILONB]
▪ Becoming a skilful adult worker	5	Endang [F:14:ILONB], Suti [F:13:ILOBW], Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Pelita [F:14:ILONB]
▪ Developing children’s autonomy	1	Wawan [M:14:ILONB]
▪ Alternative future career	1	Udin [M:12:ILOBAW]
▪ Becoming a responsible father in the future		

Not available: 9 children - Hari, Angga, Dodok, Upari, Dika, Aan, Septa, Putra and Rio. These children were either unable to imagine the advantages of child work or silent.

Source: Author’s summary of interview transcripts with children

7.4 CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON RISK OF WORK

Children in this study had different perceptions about the disadvantages of child work that mainly pointed to hazard and risks of work. Of the 20 children, 15 children had various perceptions about the disadvantages of child work, while five children were found without an opinion on the issue. Among the 15 children, 10 children recognised hazard and risk in their work. At the same time, out of the 15 children, 11 stated that they tried to cope with the hazards and risks. Table 7.7 provides description of their perceptions.

Defining risk of work

As shown in Table 7.7, four issues were raised by 10 children concerning the disadvantages of child work, mainly related to workplace hazards, health risks, injury risks, and interference with education. First, child work was perceived to be disadvantageous as it might be conducted in an unsafe environment. Three children in this study identified that they occasionally felt tired because of working on the farm in extreme temperatures. This, for example, was experienced by Angga [M:13:ILONB] who suffered from hot weather during harvesting. When asked about the negative side of work, he replied: "One thing that makes me so tired is harvesting". He gave additional contextual information: "Usually we do harvesting at noon; it's really hot!" Another working condition related hazard was animal bites. As explained by Dika [M:12:ILOBA], he and his friends occasionally found snakes in the fields where they were herding goats. When asked about the risks of work, he replied:

Dika : If we meet wild animals.
Interviewer : Are there wild animals here?
Dika : Yes, snakes.
Interviewer : Has anyone here been bitten?
Dika : Yes, my Mom.
Interviewer : Didn't she wear boots?
Dika : Yes, she did. [She got snake bite on] her hand.

The second issue was related to health risks. Six children in this study believed that child work might bring them health risks. They identified three types of health risks caused by involvement in work. Two children, Gigih [M:11:ILOBA] and Aan [M:11:ILOBA], thought that applying fertilizer might cause them suffering from

burns and pain in their hands. When asked about risks of work, Gigih replied: “applying fertilizer”. He then explained the reason, by saying “It burns your hand”. Another boy, Aan, when asked the same question replied:

Aan : Applying fertilizer is harmful.
Interviewer : Why is that harmful?
Aan : Your hand might touch fertilizer; and then if you unintentionally wipe your lips, that would be dangerous.

The smell of manure was also an issue for two children, Dodok [M:13:ILONB] and Endang [F:14:ILONB], who usually applied manure on the farm. When asked about the risks of work, Dodok replied:

Dodok : Applying manure.
Interviewer : Why?
Dodok : It smells bad.
Interviewer : If it smells bad, you may use...
Dodok : Mask?
Interviewer : Yes, mask. Does it still smell bad?
Dodok : Yes, it does; and my hands?
Interviewer : How about wearing gloves?
Dodok : Yes, exactly! But I don't have [gloves].

Another health risk issue was neck pain, as revealed by two other children: Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] and Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]. Some children in Central Java occasionally had to carry heavy loads on their heads, such as manure, crops, and agricultural equipment. These types of activities seemed to cause children suffering from neck pain. When asked about the risk of work, Hari replied: “Carrying crops on the head; if you don't practice, your neck won't be strong enough, causing neck pain”.

The next disadvantage of child work was related to injury risk. Five children in this study thought that the use of sharp tools in their working activities might cause injury. Children involved in hoeing might get injuries on their feet; moreover, those who are involved in collecting grasses might be injured on their hands or fingers. Harvesting leaves from trees also potentially causes injury from falling from the tree. When asked about the disadvantages of child work, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] replied: “Hoeing might cause foot injury; then harvesting leaves might cause you to fall from the tree; collecting grasses might cause you [to be] injured”. Similarly, Dika [M:12:ILOBA] also gave an explanation about the risk of work: “When clearing bush

on the farm, I sometimes get injured from using sharp tools". The last issue was the education-related risks. Two children in this study felt that helping parents sometimes interfered with their education, especially in the use of their after-school time. On some occasions, they wanted to study at home but their mother asked them to help in the kitchen. However, this was not the case for children during school time. Angga [M:13:ILONB], when asked whether his work interfered with other activities, replied: "Sometimes when I am studying my mother asks me to wash dishes."

At this point, children in this study were able to identify work-related risks, including workplace hazards, health risks, injury risks, and interference with their education.

Ignoring and coping with risk of work

As can be seen from Table 7.7, although some of the children acknowledged hazards and risks of work, they continued to engage in work. I identify two types of children's responses towards the hazards and risks of work. The first type of response was given by those who simply ignored them; four children are included in this category. The second type of response, coping with the hazard and risk, was given by those who acknowledged the disadvantages of child work, but at the same time tried to cope with the hazards and risks they identified. Eight out of ten children from the previous section are included in this category.

Interestingly, although these two categories had different responses, in some cases they shared similar reasons as to why they coped with or simply ignored the hazards and risks of work. This study found three reasons, mainly related to working conditions, working attitudes, and working behaviours. The first reason, related to working conditions, was given by three children: Upari [F:14:ILOBHW], Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], and Septa [F:13:ILONB], who were of the same perception that their working conditions were safe, and they were not worried about potential hazards and risks. They did not feel that working on the farm was hot or feel threatened by insect or snakebites.

Interviewer : Do you find working on the farm harmful for you?
Upari : No, nothing.
Interviewer : Have you ever been bitten by snakes or insects when collecting grasses?
Upari : Never.

The second reason, related to working attitude, was provided by four children and consisted of two ideas: sense of their ability to deal with the risks of work and working as a habit, which were important features to eliminate or reduce the risks of work. Two children, Gigih [M:11:ILOBA] and Septa [F:13:ILONB], thought that their involvement in river-related work, such as collecting freshwater mussels, was not dangerous as they were able to swim.

Interviewer : You spoke about collecting freshwater mussels; do you feel afraid of drowning because of strong river currents?
Septa : No, I don't.
Interviewer : Can you swim?
Septa : Yes, but I can't swim well.
Interviewer : But you don't feel afraid to collect mussels in the river?
Septa : No, I don't.

In a similar sense, two other children thought that they could eliminate risks of work through working on habitual activities. A boy, Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], said that harvesting leaves from trees was not risky because it was his everyday activity. In addition, Upari [F:14:ILOBHW] also explained that carrying loads on the head was not a problem because it was a habitual action.

Interviewer : How do you bring them [grasses] home?
Upari : I bring it home. If not, my parents will do it.
Interviewer : Are you strong enough to carry grasses home?
Upari : Yes, I am.
Interviewer : Do you carry them on your back or on your head?
Upari : I carry loads on my head.
Interviewer : Do you feel pain in your neck?
Upari : Because I do it often, it doesn't pain me. But if you just start to practice, that will pain your neck.

The idea of working as habit informs how children live with risks and see these activities as normal.

The third reason, related to working behaviour, was given by eight children, consisting of four ideas: being careful, using proper equipment, avoiding interference with play, and avoiding interference with education. In relation to care

in completing work, two children in this study, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] and Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], were found to acknowledge the risk of injury in using sharp tools, hoeing, harvesting leaves from trees, and collecting grasses; however, they continued undertaking their work. According to them, being careful was the key feature in preventing them from sustaining injuries. Of these risks, they were always aware and remained careful, although without parental guidance. When asked about how he coped with the risks of work, Hari replied:

- Hari : The way to deal with that risk is to be careful.
Interviewer : How do you know to be careful: someone telling you or you knowing by yourself?
Hari : No one tells me.

In relation to using proper equipment to work, the same children, Hari and Iyan, thought that employing proper equipment could eliminate or reduce the risk of work. Hari felt that spraying pesticides was not hazardous, as he used a bucket, not a sprayer, which he considered to be safer. This implies that some idea of the work being hazardous may be due to misinformation. It also shows how children are trying to reduce the risk of this work – or perhaps portraying to others that it is safer than it may appear. While Iyan explained:

- Interviewer : Do you use protective tools to do risky work, for example wearing boots for hoeing?
Iyan : No, I don't wear [boots].
Interviewer : Or wearing long sleeves to avoid injury?
Iyan : Yes, I wear that.
Interviewer : How about harvesting leaves from trees, when climbing do you use protective tools?
Iyan : No, I don't.
Interviewer : You said that work is risky, do you realise that [that harvesting leaves from trees is risky]?
Iyan : Yes, I know.

Regarding interference with children's time to play, four children in this study felt that their work did not interfere with play and that they still had enough time to play. When asked whether she had sufficient time to play, Yayah [F:13:ILONB] replied: "Too much". While Dodok [M:13:ILONB], in response to the same question, replied: "It's enough".

Another idea of working behaviour to eliminate the risk of work was avoiding interference with education, which was closely related to time management, school

attendance, and educational attainment. Children providing this reason felt that child work did not interfere with their school and play. They provided different experiences and expressed different views to support their claims. Four children said that they were able to manage their time; they allocated their time to school, play, and work, and followed their time allocation. For example, although Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] performed paid work, his work did not interfere with his school as he always undertook paid work during non-school days. Further explanation was also given by Endang, when asked whether her work interfered with school; she replied: "No. I have allocated time for each activity". While Wawan [M:14:ILONB], asked the same question, replied:

Wawan : No, it doesn't.

Interviewer : Can you tell me about doing homework; do you have free time to do this?

Wawan : Yes, I can finish my homework.

Interviewer : There is nothing to bother you?

Wawan : [The key is] managing [time]; after school then go to work; at 4 pm take a shower and then play with friends; after that around 6-7 pm go to the mosque for children's madrassa; and then at 7-9 pm or 8.30 pm study.

In addition, four children gave another reason, saying that although they helped their parents to do family jobs, they maintained their performance at school. They tried to maintain their school attendance and to achieve good marks in their classes. Some of these children were of the top five in class. Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] said that although involved in family work, he was never absent from school and never felt too lazy to study because of, for example, feeling tired. Another girl, Yayah [F:13:ILONB], also explained:

Interviewer : Do you think work brings a negative impact to children?

Yayah : [Silent]

Interviewer : For example, are you tired when working, or does working distract you from study?

Yayah : No, it doesn't. I think just feeling tired.

Interviewer : Feeling tired? Does it bother you to study?

Yayah : No, no, it doesn't.

Interviewer : How about your school rank?

Yayah : Rank 4th when I was in Grade 7.

Similar to Yayah, in response to the same question, Septa explained:

Interviewer : When you are tired, does that prevent you from studying?
 Septa : Yes, sometimes.
 Interviewer : How about your school rank?
 Septa : Usually I got 3rd or 2nd rank, when I was in elementary school.

Based on the way children perceive risks and hazards of work, either acknowledging, ignoring, or coping, the idea of harm and risk is crucial. It is found that the children are fearful, living with risk and sometimes in pain and exhausted – in their own words. We need to understand it from their perspectives.

Table 7.7 Children’s perception of the disadvantages of child work

Disadvantages of Child Work	Number	Informants
Defining Hazard and Risk (N=10 children)		
Workplace hazard		
▪ Extreme weather	3	Yayah [F:13:ILONB], Angga [M:13:ILONB], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]
▪ Snake bites	1	Dika [M:12:ILOBA]
Health risk		
▪ Applying fertilizer	2	Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Aan [M:11:ILOBA]
▪ Smell of manure	2	Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Endang [F:14:ILONB]
▪ Neck pain	2	Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]
Injury risk	5	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Wawan [M:14:ILONB], Dika [M:12:ILOBA], Septa [F:13:ILONB]
Interference with education	2	Angga [M:13:ILONB], Septa [F:13:ILONB]
Ignoring and Coping with Hazard and Risk (N=11 children)		
Working condition		
▪ Safe working condition	3	Upari [F:14:ILOBHW], Udin [M:12:ILOBAW], Septa [F:13:ILONB]
Working attitude		
▪ Sense of ability to deal with risk	2	Gigih [M:11:ILOBA], Septa [F:13:ILONB]
▪ Working as a habit	2	Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]
Working behaviour		
▪ Remaining careful	2	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]
▪ Using proper equipment	2	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]
▪ Avoiding interference with play	4	Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Yayah [F:13:ILONB], Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Endang [F:14:ILONB]
▪ Avoiding interference with school	8	Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], Hari [M:14:ILOBHW], Yayah [F:13:ILONB], Dodok [M:13:ILONB], Endang [F:14:ILONB], Wawan [M:14:ILONB], Dhani [M:11:ILOBA], Septa [F:13:ILONB]

Not available: 5 children – Pelita, Surya, Putra, Rio, Dewi

Source: Author’s summary of interview transcripts with children

7.5 CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN WORK

As discussed in Chapter 3, this study emphasises the idea of the plurality of childhood and children as social actors. In relation to children's working lives, this brings the need to analyse child work from children's own perspectives. In relation to understanding children's perceptions of appropriate work compared to the ILO standard, this section will deal with how children perceive three features of defining appropriate work: "which children", "in which kinds of work" and "in which situations". Each feature respectively refers to: appropriate age to work, the nature or type of work, and work circumstances/conditions – refers to an appropriate time spent on work. Table 7.8 provides information on how children perceived their involvement at their first job. It describes some features including at which ages children performed their first job, children's perceptions of appropriate ages to start work, initiation of their first job due to either parental request or the self-initiative, and the type of job they performed at the first time of employment.

How young is too young?

The first notion of "which children" are considered as appropriate for work, with reference to the ILO standards, mainly depends on the child age. This study found that children's views towards their involvement at work did not correspond to the ILO standards, for at least two reasons. First, children's perception of the appropriate age to work was varied and generally below the ILO standard. Second, their decision to become involved in work was based not only on the child's age – as the ILO suggests - but also by children's perception of the impact of work on their education, their perceived abilities to work, parental requests and children's willingness to work. This study found that all children were initially involved in child work when they were aged between 7-12 years. Of the 20 children interviewed, three began work at the age of 7, two at the age of 8, six at the age of 9, six at the age of 10, two at the age of 11, and one at the age of 12. This shows that they ignored the ILO standard concerning the minimum age to work. This was likely because of their perception of the benefit of child work for their family lives, for their wellbeing and for their well-becoming or due to seeing child work as normal. It seems that there were no differences among gender, location, type of

work, and work initiators towards their age preference to start work. However, when asked about the ideal age to begin work, their perceptions were generally closer to the ILO standard, ranging from 7 to 13 years old. This study found that of the 12 children providing responses to the ideal age to start work, two children felt that 13 years was appropriate and this fits within the ILO standard. While 10 children perceived that work should begin when children were aged between 7-12 years. This study also found that 'the ideal' age to start work was generally higher than 'the factual': eight children thought that they should start to work later, three thought that they started to work at the appropriate age; while one thought that children should start to work earlier.

Why did their experiences and perceptions differ among? The answer is largely connected to the second reason: the impact of work on education, children's sense of competence to work, parental request and children's willingness to work. Basing their views upon these four reasons, children then had various standards of what they perceived as an appropriate time to start work that apparently did not merely refer to children's age – as the ILO suggests. First, the appropriate time for children to start work was determined by their perception of the effect of work on children's education. Two children, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW] and Yayah [F:13:ILONB], thought that children should not be involved in work if they are still in elementary school. The reason is, as explained by Iyan, to reduce disruption towards children's final examination, to avoid interference with their education. Second, the appropriate time for children to start work depends on their competence. Four children in this study: Hari, Angga, Suti, and Dika, expressed this feature as a basis for consideration. When asked about the ideal age to start work, Hari [M:14:ILOBHW] replied: "In order to... let them mature first, then we can ask them to collect grass, to harvest, to hoe." Another boy, Angga [M:13:ILONB], although determining a different age to start work, seemed to have a similar point of view about children's competence, and replied: "I think 7 is too early to work; that would be difficult". Giving a different reason but still related to children's competence, Suti [F:13:ILOBW] explained: "because if [they start] late, they will become lazy." In addition, Dika [M:12:ILOBA], although arguing with her mother, also suggested that children's competence was an important feature for children to start to work. When asked about the ideal age to work, he replied:

Dika : Started at 11.
 Interviewer : Why is that?
 Dika : It means they are mature enough.
 Mother : No... not yet. But they already know [about work].
 Interviewer : How about below that age?
 Dika : Not yet.

The third and the fourth reasons were parental requests and children's willingness to work. As mentioned earlier, this study recognises children as social actors; and this idea is closely related to the need for respecting children's personal agency, to make a decision towards their day-to-day working lives. Therefore, analysing children's decision to work may also be conducted by paying particular attention to their job initiator. As shown in Table 7.8, children's decisions to work at the first time were initiated by different actors: 11 children were prompted to work by their parents while nine began based on their own initiative. I consider parent-led decision to work as the third reason because, in reality, 11 of the children in this study started their work due to their parental request. An implication of this evidence is that children's involvement in work for the first time is determined by their parents. The various statements regarding the age to start work, thus, describe the diversity of parental requests. Among the 11 children included in this category, three started work at the request of their father and mother, four of their father, two of their mother, one of his grandfather, and one of her grandmother. For example fourteen year-old Hari, when asked about his first job, replied, "My parents asked me to work". He went on to explain his reason to work at the first time, "they asked me by saying: later if you become an adult you know how to harvest, how to collect grasses". The following interview also shows how a 12-year-old boy, Udin, was involved in his first job. When asked to explain the initiator of his involvement at work, he replied:

Udin : Sometimes [because] I was aware of it, sometimes [because of] being asked.
 Interviewer : In what situation were you aware to help your parents?
 Udin : If I don't have friends to play.
 Interviewer : If you are having friends to play, then should your parents ask you to work?
 Udin : Yes, they should.
 Interviewer : How about this... if you want to play but your father asks you to work, what would you say to him?
 Udin : [I would say] "wait a moment".
 Interviewer : How long do you mean by a moment?

Udin : About an hour.

Finally, I also consider children's willingness as a reason for children to begin work. This study found that nine children in this study considered the appropriate time to begin work to be based on their curiosity, their religious understanding, their willingness to pursue happiness and their willingness to help their parents. The idea that a sense of curiosity leads to child involvement in work was experienced by Wawan [M:14:ILONB]. When asked to explain the initiator of his involvement in work for the first time, either initiated by his parents or based on his intention, Wawan replied that it was because of his strong desire to know or to learn something, by saying: "Just want to try". Children's willingness to work may also be found from how children were driven by their understanding of religious values. This, for example, was experienced by Suti [F:13:ILOBW] who thought that her involvement at work was meant as an attempt to be a pious child. When asked to explain the initiator of her involvement in work, Suti replied "[it was] my willingness". Being asked further about her reason to help her parents, she explained, "I want to be a pious child".

Another reason for children's willingness to work can be found in how children considered spending their time to work to gain happiness. This was experienced by Dika [M:12:ILOBA] who explained that his involvement in work was intended to spend his time with fun activity; and, according to him, work was a fun activity. When asked to explain the initiator of his involvement in work, Dika, who often went to the farm with her mother while taking care of his younger sister, replied:

Dika : My willingness.
Interviewer : Why did you want to go to the farm at that time?
Dika : I had nothing to do at home, after a long time getting bored.
Interviewer : Then you wanted to...
Dika : Go to the farm.
Interviewer : Was it exciting being on the farm?
Dika : Because I could play there, while working.
Interviewer : What did you play on the farm?
Dika : Running around and catching up with each other.
Interviewer : With whom?
Dika : My sister.

In the context of child-parent relationships, children's willingness to work can also be observed by looking at children's intention to help their parents. This idea was

raised by a boy, Dodok [M:13:ILONB], in relation to his perception of the ideal age to start work. In fact, he was included in the parent-initiated work category; however, when asked about the ideal age to start work, his consideration seemed to rely more on a child perspective:

- Dodok : It depends; if at the age of 6 they are happy to help, then you can ask them to help; they are able to work.
Interviewer : So what is the most important here?
Dodok : It depends on whether they want to help or not.
Interviewer : If the children don't want to help, then we can't ask them?
Dodok : Yes, you can't.
Interviewer : But if they grow up being mature, how then?
Dodok : Then you can ask them.
Interviewer : How old should they be when they are strongly encouraged to work?
Dodok : Around 14... I mean 10 to 14.

Determining appropriate types of work

The second feature, that is, "in which kinds of work" can be examined by looking at what type of work children are able to appropriately be involved in when first beginning work. As shown in Table 7.8, two issues were related to this; including the different types of jobs they performed and their responses to those types of jobs. Regarding the types of jobs, this study found that involvement at work for the first time was mainly in non-seasonal activities related to animal husbandry, including herding goats and cattle, collecting grasses, and milking cow. Ten children performed these activities. In-crop seasonal activities were also performed by children beginning work, including planting seeds and weeding which were each performed by two children, and transporting manure, as performed by one child. Domestic chores were also performed by children in both locations, including fetching water, helping in the kitchen, and cooking – each performed by one child. Harvest and post-harvest seasonal activities were also performed by children in this study, including harvesting and drying crops – each performed by one child as well. Their activities, by their nature, fit within the ILO category of light work, which is acceptable for children with a minimum age of 13 years. The point for discussion here is that these activities were performed by children aged below 13 years, unfit within the ILO standard. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

As a case study with a limited number of informants, on the one hand, this study is unable to reveal which kinds of activities are less or more popular among children in the two locations. On the other hand, this study offers deep insight into children's responses towards their first jobs, and found three types of responses, which can possibly help us to determine appropriate first jobs for children, from children's own perspectives. These include children's sense of competence to work, children's feelings toward doing work, and children's actions to prompt their involvement in work. Children's sense of competence refers to how children perceived their ability to work for the first time. Children in this study had various senses of competence: either perceiving work as 'difficult-to-do/learn' or 'easy-to-do/learn'. Evidence of a first job as 'difficult-to-do' was found during an interview with Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW]. When asked about his involvement in work, he replied:

Iyan : When I was in Grade 3, I brought manure to the farm.
Interviewer : How did you find it at that time?
Iyan : It's very hard.
Interviewer : How about your feeling, were you sad or happy doing that?
Iyan : I was feeling happy.

Similar evidence was also found from Gigih [M:11:ILOBA]. When asked about his involvement in work, he replied:

Gigih : Planting seeds and clearing small shrubs.
Interviewer : Was it easy or difficult for you?
Gigih : It's difficult.
Interviewer : Who taught you to do that?
Gigih : My father.

Another example of child competence was found from a girl, Endang [F:14:ILONB], who perceived that her first job was 'easy-to-learn'. When asked about her involvement in work, she replied:

Endang : Weeding.
Interviewer : Were you able to do that or did you need to learn before?
Endang : My grandma taught me to do that.
Interviewer : Was it difficult?
Endang : No, it was not.

Further evidence of children's competence was also found from a boy, Wawan [M:14:ILONB], who perceived his first job as 'easy-to-learn' and 'easy-to-do'. When asked about his ability to do his first job, he replied: "I was thinking it was fun to

milk a cow. I was just looking at the process carefully, and then I could do that immediately". Based on their sense of their own competence to work, the children seemed to have different perceptions regarding appropriate work. Some activities were considered hard or difficult, and therefore inappropriate; others were considered easy, and therefore appropriate.

Besides children's sense of competence, their responses towards their involvement in work can also be examined by looking at their acceptance of parental requests for them to work. Children's acceptances of parental requests were different. Some children directly agreed to involve at their first job, once their parents asked them to work. Others delayed for some reason. This study did not find any child who refused a parental request to work. One example of how children directly agreed to do their jobs was found in an interview with Dodok [M:13:ILONB]. When asked about his response to his father's request to herd cattle, Dodok replied: "Yes, I agreed to do that immediately". Another interview with Angga shows that children need to take some time, in this example to play, to accept their first job. Angga [M:13:ILONB] explained his response when asked to do his first job:

- Angga : Watering plants.... weeding.
Interviewer : How did your Mom ask you to work for the first time?
Angga : "Angga, let's go to the farm" something like that.
NH : And what did you do at that time?
Angga : At first, I remained playing, and then went to the farm for weeding.

Based on their immediate response to their parental request to work, their positive responses indicate that any type of job they performed was perceived as appropriate or normal for children.

Another feature to examine children's responses towards their involvement at work is by looking at their feelings towards certain jobs. Interestingly, although children had different senses of competence, in general, they were happy to do their first jobs. Many reasons were expressed in regard to their happiness; however, this part will not deal with this issue, as it has been discussed earlier in Section 3 in this chapter – child work as source of happiness. Some evidence for children's happiness to do such work can be found from interviews with Hari [M:14:ILOBHW],

Yayah [F:13:ILONB], and Dodok [M:13:ILONB]. When asked about their first job, separately they explained:

Hari : Harvesting.

Interviewer : The first time you worked, how did you feel?

Hari : Of course I felt happy.

Yayah : Just collecting grasses, bringing them home from the farm.

Interviewer : When you were being asked to collect grasses, how did you feel?

Yayah : I was happy.

Dodok : Herding cattle.

Interviewer : How did you feel, were you happy or sad?

Dodok : It was so-so.

Interviewer : What made you happy and sad?

Dodok : I was happy when running around with my cattle. But it was sad when my cattle didn't want to stop running around.

Based on their feelings, all children seemed to accept their first jobs. However, this might indicate two contradictory meanings. On the one hand, children's acceptance to do their first job possibly indicates that any type of work they performed was considered appropriate for children. On the other hand, their acceptance to work with low-competence may indicate that children actually do not have a choice to refuse their parents' request. Competence does not necessarily mean that their first jobs were easy. Therefore, their decisions to begin their first jobs without any attempts to refuse were possibly influenced by their perception, that is, child work was seen as normal, normative, or day-to-day in the lives of children.

Table 7.8 Children’s perception of their involvement in their first job

Informants	Age at first job*	Ideal age to start job*	First job initiator	Type of first job
Parent as first job initiator				
Iyan [M:13]	(9 years)/ Grade 3	13 years/ Grade 7	Grandfather	Transporting manure
Hari [M:14]	9 years/ (Grade 3)	10 years/ (Grade 4)	Parents	Harvesting
Yayah [F:13]	(11 years)/ Grade 5	(13 years)/ Grade 7	Parents	Collecting grasses
Angga [M:13]	7 years/ (Grade 1)	8 years/ (Grade 2)	Mother	Weeding
Dodok [M:13]	(7 years)/ Grade 1	Child willingness	Father	Herding cattle
Endang [F:14]	(9 years)/ Grade 3	9 years/ (Grade 3)	Grandmother	Weeding
Udin [M:12]	10 years/ (Grade 4)	N/A	Father	Fetching water
Gigih [M:11]	7 years/ (Grade 1)	7 years/ (Grade 1)	Father	Planting seeds
Surya [M:14]	(9 years)/ Grade 3	N/A	Mother	Herding goats
Septa [F:13]	(10 years)/ Grade 4	(10 years)/ Grade 4	Parents	Herding goats
Putra [M:13]	(12 years)/ Grade 6	N/A	Father	Herding goats
Self-initiative first job				
Suti [F:13]	10 years/ (Grade 4)	11 years/ (Grade 5)	Self-initiative	Kitchen help
Wawan [M:14]	(9 years)/ Grade 3	12 years/ (Grade 6)	Self-initiative	Milking cow
Upari [F:14]	10 years/ (Grade 4)	12 years/ (Grade 6)	Self-initiative	Collecting grasses
Dika [M:12]	10 years/ (Grade 4)	11 years/ (Grade 5)	Self-initiative	Planting seeds
Dhani [M:11]	8 years/ (Grade 2)	N/A	Self-initiative	Drying crops
Pelita [F:14]	9 years/ (Grade 3)	8 years/ (Grade 2)	Self-initiative	Cooking
Aan [M:11]	8 years/ (Grade 2)	N/A	Self-initiative	Herding goats
Rio [M:12]	10 years/ (Grade 4)	N/A	Self-initiative	Herding goats
Dewi [F:13]	(11 years)/ Grade 5	N/A	Self-initiative	Collecting grasses

Note: when asked about age, children sometimes replied by mentioning their age or their grade. The values between brackets are to show equivalency between age and grade.

Source: Author’s summary of interview transcripts with children

Children's time allocation

This part focuses on children's perceptions and experiences regarding their own time allocation for school, work and play. Associated with the ILO standard to determine appropriate work, time allocation is an indication of the third feature, that is, "in which situations" children should perform their work. This indicator was also employed in the Indonesian Child Labour Survey (ICLS) 2009, which applied children's time allocation to work per week as an indicator of whether certain types of activity were considered appropriate for children. This was applied due to the difficulties in capturing children's working conditions during the survey. The standard was that children aged below 13 should not perform any type of work, or their working hours should be zero; while children aged 13-14 years old should not perform any type of work for more than 14 hours per week. Those who work no more than 14 hours per week were considered to be undertaking light work, and this is acceptable according to ILO standards, regardless of the type of work they perform.

To understand children's time use, this study employed a material method, as part of a creative method, to help interview children. The creative method was used as many studies have revealed that undertaking interviews with children by employing creative methods will improve the quality of the data obtained (Didkowsky, et al., 2010; Frankel, 2007; Thompson, 2008). This method was undertaken to reveal two types of information: the children's time use and the ideal time allocation. The time allocation refers to how children, in general, spent their time for school, play, and work. While the ideal time allocation refers to the child's perception of how children should spend their time, regarded as most suitable for children. Through this method, I used seven bundles of marbles, three colourful plastic cups, and a diagram of time allocation: school, work and play. Each cup represents each time allocation and is placed on the appropriate diagram (see Appendix 8). To reveal children's existing time-use, informants were then asked to put seven bundles marbles into each cup, corresponding to their time allocation. Table 7.9 provides information on how children distributed marbles to show their existing and ideal time allocations. As shown, most of the informants distributed all marbles, seven bundles, into three cups; some of the children did not used 7-bundle marbles; instead, they put 4, 5, or 6 bundles into the cups, depending on how they

imagined their time-use. For the second question on ideal time-use, by employing the same method, the children were asked to evaluate whether the distribution of the marbles already had showing their existing time distribution described their ideal time allocation. If not, the informants were asked to add or to remove the marbles, moving them from one cup to another.

As can be seen from Table 7.9, this study differentiates the children into four categories regarding their existing and ideal time allocation to school, work and play. Starting from a perception that work is less important for children, the categories include children perceiving: (a) school as the core activity while maintaining a balance between work and play, (b) school as the core activity, work as semi-peripheral, with play as a peripheral activity, (c) maintaining a work-school balance, with play as a peripheral activity, and (d) work as a core activity, school as a semi-core activity, with play as a peripheral activity.

The first category “school as the core activity while maintaining a balance between work and play” refers to children who perceived that education should be the main activity for children by allocating children’s time mainly for school; work and play were perceived as less important than school. Although work was perceived as less important than education, in fact among the seven children who prioritised to reflect this category, two were involved in un-acceptable work, as banned by age and by working hours, while five performed acceptable work. The second category “school as the core activity, work as semi-peripheral, with play as a peripheral activity” refers to children who perceived that their existing time-use was mainly for education and work and play were perceived as less important than school. In this category, children also perceived that work was more important than play. There were five children in this category, including three children involved in un-acceptable work, as banned by age and by type of work, and two involved in acceptable work. Compared to children in the first category, children in second category had a similar view regarding time allocation for education, that is, school as the core activity. However, they had a different perception with regard to how to allocate their time for work and play. While children in the first category tried to maintain a balance between work and play, children in the second category acknowledged work as more important than play and, therefore, perceived play to

be a peripheral activity. Children in the first category had a higher appreciation of play activities compared to those in the second category.

Different from children in the two previous categories that placed emphasis on school, the third category “work-school balance” refers to children who perceived that work and school should be performed in balance with each other; work was equally as important as school. Less attention was given to play activities and, therefore, similar to the children in the second category, children in this category perceived play as a peripheral activity. Six children were in this category, including three involved in un-acceptable work, as banned by age, working hours, and the type of work (ILOBAHW), and three involved in acceptable work. The last category “work as core activity” refers to children who gave a higher priority to their time for work. Children in this category perceived school and play as less important than work. They had a similar perception to children in the second and the third categories, which perceived play as a peripheral activity, meaning that play was less important than school. This category includes two children involved in un-acceptable work, banned by working hours and by type of work (ILOBHW).

The comparison between existing and ideal time allocation shows that most of the children, 17 in total, distributed marbles to describe existing time allocation in similar proportions to those describing ideal time allocation. This means that they perceived that they were allocating their time to school, work, and play in an ideal manner, seeing their existing time-use as normal. The notable exception was found with Endang [F:14:ILONB] who differentiated ideal time allocation between children in elementary school and junior high school. She perceived that children in junior high school should allocate their time primarily to school and gave less attention to work and play activities, while children in elementary school should maintain balance between school and play, and gave a lower priority to work.

The remaining informants, three children, were found distributing marbles between existing and ideal time allocation in different proportions. Two children, Yayah [F:13:ILONB] and Wawan [M:14:ILONB], perceived that their existing time allocation was mainly for school while trying to balance work and play. However, when asked to explain their ideal time allocation, Yayah had a different opinion, that is, that children should maintain a school-work balance. Meanwhile, Wawan

put more emphasis on his time allocation for school, by moving a bundle of marbles from the cup representing work to the one representing school. Another boy, Surya [M:14:ILONB], also changed his view from balancing work and school in his existing time allocation to school as the core activity in his ideal time allocation.

Four categories of children in this study placed different emphasis regarding children's time allocation to school and work: the first two emphasised school, the third maintained a work-school balance, and the fourth emphasised work. In general, children perceived that school should be the core activity and work as a semi-core activity for children. They also shared similar views regarding children's time allocation for play; none of children in these categories put an emphasis on play. Three different views regarding time to play existed within these categories, either maintaining a work-play balance, a school-play balance, or with play as a peripheral activity, which means that play was not considered a vital activity for children in this study. In relation to an attempt to determine appropriate work for children, these categories provide evidence of how children perceive the appropriate time allocation for work, which can inform "in which situations" children should be involved in or perform work.

Table 7.9 Children's perception of their time allocation

Informant/child	Existing time allocation (bundle of marbles)			Ideal time allocation (bundle of marbles)			Number of working activities		
	School	Work	Play	School	Work	Play	On-farm	Domes-tic	Non-farm
	School as core, balancing work and play								
Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW]	2	1	1	2	1	1	18	3	-
Angga [M:13:ILONB]	3	2	2	3	2	2	6	2	-
Dodok [M:13:ILONB]	3	2	2	3	2	2	10	4	-
Dika [M:12:ILOBA]	3	2	2	3	2	2	8	4	-
Putra [M:13:ILONB]	3	2	2	3	2	2	8	N/A	N/A
Yayah [F:13:ILONB]	3	2	2	3	3	1	9	4	-
Wawan [M:14:ILONB]	3	2	2	4	2	1	12	4	-
	School as core, work as semi-peripheral, play as peripheral								
Endang [F:14:ILONB]	4	2	1	4(3)*	2(1)*	1(3)*	8	3	-
Udin [M:12:ILOBAW]	3	2	1	3	2	1	15	2	-
Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]	3	2	1	3	2	1	15	1	2
Aan [M:11:ILOBA]	4	2	1	4	2	1	14	3	1
Septa [F:13:ILONB]	4	2	1	4	2	1	15	4	1
	Work-school balance, play as peripheral								
Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]	2	2	1	2	2	1	18	N/A	N/A
Gigih [M:11:ILOBA]	3	3	1	3	3	1	14	4	-
Pelita [F:14:ILONB]	3	3	1	3	3	1	8	4	1
Rio [M:12: :ILOBA]	3	3	1	3	3	1	16	2	2
Dewi [F:13:ILONB]	3	3	1	3	3	1	15	4	1
Surya [M:14:ILONB]	3	3	1	4	2	1	7	3	1
	Work as core, school as semi-peripheral, play as peripheral								
Suti [F:13:ILOBW]	2	4	1	2	4	1	10	5	-
Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]	2	4	1	2	4	1	9	5	-

ILOBA : Child under age and banned from working according to ILO definition

ILOBH : Child aged 13-14 years and banned from working due to long working hours; Less than 15 hours per week is used as an indication of light work.

ILOBW : Child banned from this work as hazardous according to ILO definition

ILONB : Child non-banned from working according to ILO definition

N/A : Not available

* Endang differentiated the ideal time allocation between children in elementary school and junior high school. Inside the brackets are ideal time allocations for children in elementary school

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

7.6 CHILDREN'S FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

This section focuses on how children perceive their future aspirations, including future jobs and future education. Table 7.10 describes how children perceived their

future education and future aspirations as can be broadly distinguished into three different types: high-level of aspiration, middle-level of aspiration, and low-level of aspiration.

As explained in Chapter 5, the term high-level of aspiration refers to children who had aspirations to obtain a certain type of job with higher social status and better payment compared to agricultural work. It also refers to those intending to pursue higher education as a requirement to obtain a better job. As shown in Table 7.10, seven children in this study are categorized as having a high-level of aspiration. Regarding their future job, although living in an agricultural society, their aspirations were that they would do anything but work on a farm, such as be a teacher, doctor, soldier, football player, or policeman. Interestingly, none of the children in this category were found to be engaging in intolerable work. None of the children, except Dewi, were involved in paid work. Some considerations seemed to influence their aspiration, including altruism and personal interests. To take one example regarding altruism, when asked about her future job, Dewi replied: “to be a doctor... It looks interesting... and I want to help people who are sick”. Evidence with regard to personal interest was also found in an interview with Septa. When asked to explain her future job, she replied:

Septa : Being a teacher.
Interviewer : What kind of subject?
Septa : Natural sciences.
Interviewer : Why are you interested in teaching natural sciences?
Septa : I love natural sciences.

The second category, children with middle-level aspirations are defined as those who had aspiration to obtain a better job with higher social status and better payment compared to working on the farm, although including jobs with less education requirements. Their future-job preferences seemed to be strongly associated with their aspirations to pursue future education, which was lower when compared with that of children in the first category, in either senior high school or vocational high school. Eight children in this study are categorized as having middle-level aspirations with future job preferences including teacher, soldier, policeman, pilot, and as a migrant labourer in Jakarta. Their aspirations towards their future jobs seem similar to children’s in the first category; however, their desire to become soldiers or police corresponds to lower grades with lower

education requirements. Their future aspirations seemed to be influenced by a sense of competence and enjoyment. One example was found in an interview with Pelita [F:14:ILONB]. When asked about her future plan after finishing SMK, she replied:

- Pelita : To get a job.
Interviewer : Where do you prefer to work?
Pelita : I don't know yet.
Interviewer : Have you ever discussed that with your Grandpa and Grandma?
Pelita : With my Grandma.
Interviewer : Where?
Pelita : On the farm.
[It seems she did not understand correctly the question by referring the place where she discussed with her grandmother]
Grandfather : He's asking where you want to have a job, either in Surabaya or Jakarta, once you graduate from SMK.
Interviewer : Do you want to work in another city?
Pelita : Yes, I do.
Interviewer : Where is that?
Pelita : To get a job in Jakarta
Interviewer : What kind of job do you want to apply for?
Pelita : Whatever, anything I can do.
Interviewer : You don't have any preference?
Pelita : Not yet.
Interviewer : Have you ever discussed this with your friends?
Pelita : No, I haven't.

Different evidence, from an interview with Dika [M:12:ILOBA], shows how children's preferences were influenced by their conceptualization of enjoyment at work. When asked to explain his future job, he replied:

- Dika : I want to be a teacher.
Interviewer : What kind of teacher?
Dika : Teacher in an elementary school.
Interviewer : Why do you want to be an elementary school teacher?
Dika : It's not too difficult.

None of the children in this category, except Pelita and Surya, were involved in paid work. However, five children were involved in intolerable works, banned by age.

Children with a low-level of aspiration are defined as those who had an aspiration to obtain work with a lower level education requirement or to remain in the agriculture sector. Their aspirations towards future education were also lower; that

is, only to finish nine-year compulsory education at the junior high school level. As shown in Table 7.10, five children in this study are categorized as having a low-level of aspirations for future job preferences including being a dairy farm worker, farmer, farm worker, salesclerk, garment factory worker, or bakery worker. Their future aspirations seemed to be influenced by their poverty and their sense of a lack of competence or lack of skills. To take one example, one boy in this study, Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW], explained his future education. When asked about his future career, he explained:

- Iyan : Working for myself, finding a new job.
 Interviewer : What's your plan, your preference?
 Iyan : I prefer, if I can, to be an employee at a company.
 Interviewer : So after you graduate from Junior High School, where do you want to continue your study?
 Iyan : I don't have money to pay school fees.
 Interviewer : So you want to find a job in a company once you graduate from junior high school?
 Iyan : Yes, I do.
 Interviewer : What kind of company do you want to work for?
 Iyan : In an animal husbandry.
 Interviewer : Where is that?
 Iyan : In Central Argomulyo.
 Interviewer : Oh, is that a dairy farm?
 Iyan : Yes, it is.
 Interviewer : Why is that your preference?
 Iyan : Because that is the only thing I can do.

Children in this category lived in very poor conditions; and interestingly, all of the children were categorised as involved in un-acceptable work, banned by age, working hours and type of work (ILOBAHW). Two children were also found to be involved in paid work and two other children were involved in mutual aid, either in agricultural or non-agricultural fields. They apparently felt incapable to pursue the next level of education, neither to senior/vocational high school nor to university. Graduation from a junior high school was perceived as adequate among children in this category.

Table 7.10 Children's aspirations for their future job and education

Informants	Current type of work	Future education	Future job
		High-level of aspiration	
Yayah [F:13:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	teacher (English)
Angga [M:13:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	doctor
Dodok [M:13:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	respectively: soldier, football player, policeman, doctor
Endang [F:14:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	doctor
Wawan [M:14:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	teacher (Mathematics)
Septa [F:13:ILONB]	Unpaid work	higher education	teacher (Natural science)
Dewi [F:13:ILONB]	Non-farm paid work	higher education	doctor
		Middle-level of aspiration	
Gigih [M:11:ILOBA]	Unpaid work	senior high school	teacher
Dika [M:12:ILOBA]	Unpaid work	vocational senior high school	teacher
Dhani [M:11:ILOBA]	Unpaid work	senior high school	soldier
Pelita [F:14:ILONB]	On-farm paid work	vocational senior high school	unspecific job, a migrant labour in Jakarta
Surya [M:14:ILONB]	Non-farm paid work	vocational senior high school	soldier
Aan [M:11:ILOBA]	Unpaid work	senior high school	policeman
Putra [M:13:ILONB]	Unpaid work	vocational senior high school	policeman
Rio [M:12: :ILOBA]	Unpaid work	vocational senior high school	pilot
		Low-level of aspiration	
Iyan [M:13:ILOBHW]	Mutual aid	stop at junior high school due to financial reason	dairy farm worker
Hari [M:14:ILOBHW]	On-farm paid work	stop at junior high school	farmer and farm worker
Suti [F:13:ILOBW]	Mutual aid	non-regular/vocational junior high school due to financial reason	salesclerk
Upari [F:14:ILOBHW]	On-farm paid work	stop at junior high school, then continuing skills course (sewing course)	garment factory worker
Udin [M:12:ILOBAW]	Unpaid work	junior high school (islamic boarding school)	bakery worker

ILOBA : Child under age and banned from working according to ILO definition

ILOBH : Child aged 13-14 years and banned from working due to long working hours; Less than 15 hours per week is used as an indication of light work.

ILOBW : Child banned from this work as hazardous according to ILO definition

ILONB : Child non-banned from working according to ILO definition

N/A : Not available

Source: Author's summary of interview transcripts with children

7.7 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter has examined the perspectives and experiences of children on their involvement at work. It set out to explain key issues on child work from children's own perspectives, including the benefit of child work for the family and for the children, as well as the disadvantages of child work. It also discusses the involvement of children at work and their future aspirations. From the child's perspective, this study found that child work is perceived as a family obligation. There are four benefits of children working for their family, based on the idea of the child as a complementary worker, the child as a substitute worker, the child as an economic contributor, and child work as a moral obligation. The first three benefits inform that children may be involved in family work, even in child labour, for its benefit to support family livelihood. While the last benefit informs that children's involvement in family work may be influenced by the meaning of child work as a means to fulfil moral demands towards parents and family. Therefore, prohibiting children from performing any type of work may disrupt family livelihood and possibly damage the child-parent relationship.

The most noticeable idea of the value of child work for children's current benefit is child work as a self-supporting activity for children. The benefit for child well-being includes the idea of the child as an economic contributor for their own needs, child work as a source of happiness for them, child work as a free-time activity, and child work as a religion-based action. While the benefit for children's well-becoming includes the idea of child work as a personal development activity and the child as an economic contributor for their own future. These imply that applying the ILO standards to prevent children from performing work is potentially against children's efforts to meet their own wellbeing and well-becoming.

Children in this study had different perceptions about the disadvantages of child work, and those mainly pointed to the hazards and risks of work, mainly related to workplace hazards, health risks, injury risks, and interference with education. There were two types of responses to hazards and risks of work: (a) ignoring hazards and risks, and (b) coping with hazards and risks, as done by those who acknowledged the disadvantages of child work but, at the same time, they also tried to cope with the hazards and risks they identified. This study found three reasons

for their responses to hazard and risk, mainly related to working conditions, working attitudes, and working behaviours. We need to understand these from the children's perspectives for how they define and live with risk and hazards.

Based on children's experiences and perceptions of their involvement when they first began work, this chapter attempts to examine one of the ILO criteria on appropriate work for children: "which children". It is found that children's views towards their involvement in work did not correspond to the ILO standards for two reasons: (a) their involvement in work was done underage, and (b) their decision to work was not merely based on age but also on how they defined the effect of work for education, children's maturity or competence to work, parent intentions, and children's personal agency. This chapter also attempts to examine the second feature on the ILO criteria: "in which kind of work". This study found two issues related to how children perceived different types of jobs they were able to become appropriately involved in when beginning work and their responses to those types of job, including their sense of competence to work, feelings of doing work, and actions to their involvement in work. The last feature on the ILO criteria, 'in which situations', has also been discussed, mainly with reference to children's time allocation to work, school and play. Four categories of children's time allocation were found, including: (a) school as the core with play as peripheral, (b) school as the core with a balance between work and play, (c) work as the core, and (d) a work-school balance. They had different emphasis regarding children's time allocation: the first two emphasising school, the third emphasising work, and the fourth maintaining a school-work balance. In general, they perceived school to be the core activity and work as a semi-core activity for children. Play was given less attention when compared to two other activities.

Having discussed parents' and children's views on child work in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, the next chapter will discuss the key findings of the study, drawing on relevant literature on child work and childhood studies.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

As stated in Chapters 1 and 4, this study aims to answer three research questions: (1) how children and parents understand child work, (2) how children become involved in their world of work and (3) the implications of these findings for child labour policy. Chapters 5 and 6 provide a detailed analysis of data on the first and the second questions. This chapter will discuss three key sets of findings. First, the study provided new data on child and parent perspectives on 'work' performed by children in Javanese society. Second, the study also found that children and parents were able to identify several sources of risk and harm associated with this work. In some cases, however, children and parents were not always aware of the risk and harm associated with some types of work. Third, the findings indicate that child work was not viewed as a separate sphere of children's activities, rather, it was perceived as an integral part of childhood in Javanese society, embedded within cultural and family practices.

This chapter discusses these three issues, drawing on key concepts in the new sociology of childhood and the sociology of the family. As discussed earlier, the sociology of childhood views children as social actors and highlights the concepts of children's agency and of children's competence. James and Prout ([1990] 2015:7) argued that "children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just the passive subjects of social structures and processes". This analytical approach also introduced the concept of the plurality of childhoods and the notion that childhoods are socially constructed in different ways at different times and in different places. James and Prout ([1990] 2015:6) also argued that "the immaturity of children is a biological fact of life but the ways in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful are a fact of culture . . . childhood is both constructed and reconstructed both for and by children". Another proponent of the new sociology of childhood, Jenks (2009:105), also suggests that in attempt to examine childhood as socially constructed we have to "suspend a belief in or a willing reception of its taken-for-granted meanings". He further asserts that "within a socially constructed, idealist world, there are no absolutes. Childhood does not exist in a finite and identifiable form" (p. 105).

Therefore throughout this chapter I will discuss how child work was constructed by children and parents in this study through examining the plurality of childhoods within culture, as Jenks ([1996] 2005) has suggested that the plurality of childhoods occurs within the same society in which children live their lives.

8.1 THE SUBJECTIVE MEANINGS OF CHILD WORK

From a constructionist perspective, an action can be interpreted in various ways and its meaning may be understood differently by different actors. As discussed in the two preceding chapters, this study found that from child and parent perspectives, 'work' performed by children in Javanese society encompassed three subjective meanings: as economic participation, as personal development and as moral obligation. Perceptions of the meaning of child work influence parent and child decisions regarding child work. The following sub-sections will discuss the findings in more details.

Child work as economic participation

One of the drivers of the involvement of children in work is economic necessity. This lies behind the need to involve children in economic production. This was the view of many of the parents and children interviewed in this study. They thought that child work was economically profitable for the family; it was perceived as contributing to family income, family consumption and family labour. As the evidence presented in Chapter 6 showed, some of the parents' comments indicated that children's involvement in work made an economic contribution to their family. Some parents mentioned that their children earned money from child work and spent the money to fulfil family needs, such as buying rice and cigarettes. Some parents in East Java also explained that their children provided food for the family through river-related activities, including fishing and collecting freshwater mussels. Furthermore, many of the parents in this study felt that children also contributed to family labour by performing two types of roles: the child as a complementary worker and the child as a substitute worker.

Many of the children also agreed that this was an important reason for their involvement in child work. They thought that child work was a vital component in

the life of the family. However, a few children appeared to have different views to their parents about the economic value of child work for the family. On the one hand, some children thought that child work made an economic contribution to the family, while their parents seemed to disagree. On the other hand, a few parents felt that children were making an economic contribution through their work but their children did not seem to acknowledge that fact. A few children thought that they contributed to family labour both as complementary and substitute workers; while a few other children perceived their contributions were only one or the other.

It is also interesting to note that children and parents understood the meaning of help from children differently. While many of the children perceived that their help was essential for the family, this was understood differently among parents in this study. Some parents agreed on the significance of help from their children, but a few parents did not think that children's help contributed to the family significantly. For this latter group, the main reason to involve their children in work was to educate their children (we shall discuss this notion below). Children's sense of making significant contribution to the family economy is also evident from other studies, for example research on children working as rubbish pickers in Indonesia has shown that some see themselves as "making an important contribution to their families' livelihood, rather than helping out" (Bessell, 2009:529).

It is clear that while in a few cases children and parents did not acknowledge children's contribution to the family economy, in most cases children and parents agreed on the positive value of child work for the family economy and this, therefore, becomes a pull factor for children to be involved in work. This evidence is consistent with several previous studies that argue that child work is beneficial in supporting family income. Mishra's (2014) study, for example, showed that beedi making in India was socially accepted work for girls due to its benefit to family income, although at the cost of their health and education. It is also evidenced in developed countries; for example, Gasson and Linsell's (2011) study of child work performing chores and paid job such as a dog-walking business in New Zealand found that work performed by some children from low-income families was able to help support their family income. The finding from this study that child work supports family labour has also been found in another study. Diamond and Fayed's (1998:62) study on the substitutability of adult and child labour in Egypt's economy

found that “adult males appear to be complementary with, and adult females substitute for child labour”. More recently, Bhukuth and Ballet’s (2006) study on child labour in the brick kiln industry in Tamil Nadu, India, found that child labour is complementary to adult labour. Moreover, Woldehanna and Jones’ (2009:262) study on child labour in Ethiopia suggested that “children often substituted for their parents in food-for-work programs” in which children received payment either in cash or in-kind, such as grain and oil.

Both the children and the parents in this study appeared to feel that, in terms of the benefits to children, child work is not only economically profitable for the family, but also economically advantageous for children’s well-being and well-becoming. Many of the children considered that their involvement in family and non-family work benefited their own economic well-being and well-becoming. Through work, they were able to provide for their own basic economic needs, such as paying for school fees, purchasing school equipment, buying bus tickets and providing pocket money for themselves. They also contributed to fulfilling their secondary economic needs, such as, in two cases, using family income to purchase a motorcycle with which children contributed to earning money through their involvement in the production of crops and livestock. A few children in this study also thought that child work provided an opportunity for children to save some of the money they earned for their future education and future family.

Similar to the children, some parents agreed that earning money was an important reason for children’s involvement in child work. However, in reality only six children actually got paid for their work, so in ‘real’ cash terms the value was not high. Rather, the value seemed to lie in converting the labour through crop production and keeping and selling animals. For example, some of the parents explained the idea of animals as wealth to support children’s needs for schooling. As discussed in the two previous chapters, most children in the two locations were involved in animal care activities, such as collecting grasses, collecting leaves, feeding animals and herding goats/cattle. Some parents in this study perceived that these activities were vital to support livestock production, which became a family asset to be sold when they were in need. They emphasized children’s need for a big amount of money for school fees during the new academic year and explained that their animals were a source of income to pay those fees.

These findings are consistent with the findings of those of several earlier studies of child work in different contexts. Bourdillon's (2006a) study of child work in Zimbabwe, for example, found that in some cases child domestic work benefitted children's education for its ability to fulfil school-related expenses. Similarly, Okyere's (2013) study of children working at an artisanal gold mining site in Ghana found that work was a vehicle for children to fulfil their rights to education and to meet other opportunities. Therefore the evidence that child work benefits children themselves challenges Sadler's portrayal of parents as monsters who require children to provide for them (cited by Hobbs, et al., 1999:184). Sadler was, however, referring to a different time and place: the industrial revolution in Britain. In contrast, evidence from this study suggests that children interviewed in this study were 'active economic agents' in supporting their families and their own lives (Zelizer, 2002:377).

The evidence from this study that child work is beneficial for family economy as well as advantageous for children's economic well-being and well-becoming suggests that children in rural Java are clearly social actors in their household economy. Oswell (2013:269), however, reminds us that "it makes little sense to frame children's agency in terms of a simple binary, having or not having agency, capacity and power". Therefore, what is interesting to know is how the agency of children in this study was embedded within the family in which children lived their lives. Children's sense of personal agency, in this case, refers to how children constructed meaning of their work and how they felt that they were freely acting in accordance with their willingness to work. Through their involvement in economic production, should one consider children as victims of economic adversity? Or should one see children's lives at work as a series of their own choices, in which they freely choose to contribute to the family economy? As discussed above, many of the children felt that they themselves benefited from working.

In terms of children as economic actors within the family, the involvement of children in this study in domestic and agricultural work can be seen as both a necessity and a choice. As a necessity, this was supported by evidence in which children and parents felt that, as villagers, they needed to involve children in work on the farm as a response to family poverty and hardship. Children's participation in work helped the family to maintain their livelihood. In some cases, children's

participation in economic production was seen as a vehicle for the family to struggle against economic adversity. At this point, a necessity can still be seen as a form of agency, as according to Lieten (2008:116) “it is one way to change one’s situation”. However, as explained in the aforementioned passages, some of the children did not feel that they were forced by their economic adversity to become involved in work. Instead, they constructed their participation in work as a choice. This was supported by several pieces of evidence where children perceived the value of work for their own economic benefit, both for their own economic well-being and well-becoming. Their willingness to work was partly influenced by their desire to gain personal benefit from doing this work. Those children who consider that they have chosen to become involved in work were expressing their sense of their own agency. This finding is similar to Lieten’s (2008:91-119) study of children’s participation in development, a study conducted in six countries, including Vietnam, India, Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Bolivia and Nicaragua. In his study, he found that, in general, children who performed housework and agricultural work may view the economic benefit that they gain from work as an opportunity to escape from the shackles of economic and social constraints. This is also similar to the study by Hosseinpour and colleagues (2014) on different types of child labour on the farm, industrial school, industrial workroom, household workroom and masonry in Iran. They found that most of children performed their work to help their family to pay debts and to support family income, as well as to pay for their own schooling.

Regarding the question of child-parent relations within children’s working lives, evidence from this study suggests that in many cases child work created a sense of economic interdependence between children and their parents that was mutually beneficial. Without question, children’s economic dependence on their parents is a commonly held view in both the majority and the minority worlds. This was also evidenced in this study in which all parents provided primary and secondary economic needs for their children, such as paying for school fees, travelling and purchasing a motorbike, clothes or a mobile phone. However, parental sense of partial dependence was also evidence in this study; some of the parents felt that without the help of their children, it would be difficult to manage their house and farm work. A father in Central Java and a mother in East Java, for example,

expressed a sense of difficulty in managing their work, such as animal care and planting activities, without the help of their children. This is consistent with Punch's (2007) study of young children in rural Bolivia, which highlighted interdependent relations among parents and their children who performed reproductive work or household tasks and farming. She found that "parents depend on their children's help and need their co-operation" to maintain household chores (p. 154). Conversely, "parents may give children land or animals as part of their inheritance to enable them to establish a more independent livelihood" (p. 162).

Evidence from this study also shows that children seemed to work freely; any pressure was indirect, arising from a shared assumption about family and cultural practices. This is supported by evidence in this study which shows that many of the children and parents agreed on the economic benefit of child work for the family and for children themselves. Their shared perception indicates the high degree of children's agency in their working life, as Robson and colleagues (2007) have argued that the maximum degree of agency is displayed when children act in accordance with adults' approval. It should be noted, however, that the agency of children in this study was embedded within family and cultural practices (as discussed below).

Child work as personal development

Interviews with children and parents in this study suggest that children and parents saw childhood as a period of personal development and thought that child work contributed to this development, being seen as a form of learning. Children and parents appeared to agree on this issue. As mentioned above, aside from economic reason, the main reason for parents to involve their children in child work was to educate them. Most parents believed that work was an important form of learning. They thought that by participating in work, children might be able to develop their ability to become skilful adult workers and to gain their independence and autonomy. Many of the children also agreed that this was an important reason for working. However, parents were more concerned about developing responsible adult workers and developing awareness of work for when children reached adulthood. Some of the children similarly perceived work as an opportunity for personal development, an arena in which they could educate

themselves to prepare for their future education, future job and future family. For example, a boy in Central Java perceived his involvement in work as a means of becoming a skilful adult worker and, for a more specific reason, becoming a responsible father in the future.

These findings are consistent with several previous studies. Gasson and colleagues (2014), for example, found that parents perceived the involvement of young people in New Zealand in paid work as invaluable experience for children to learn how to manage their earnings. Similarly, previous studies found several key elements of child personal development gained from children's involvement at work. These, for example, include the study of Gasson and Linsell (2011) on young children doing housework and paid work in New Zealand and the study of Zepeda and Kim (2006) on farm parents' perspectives on agricultural child work. Separately, they found that through child work, children had an opportunity to develop their skills, experiences, work ethic, confidence, and self-esteem, to become responsible members of society and to establish relationships.

Sociologists of childhood have often contrasted the notion of childhood as becoming (implying children's incompetence) to the notion of childhood as being (implying children's competence as social actors). As Uprichard (2008:309) has put it, children are often constructed as 'human becomings' rather than 'human beings'. However, by focusing on the 'becoming' child, the temporality of the 'being' child is potentially lost. Uprichard goes on to remind us that it is important to maintain a balance between the notion of 'being' and 'becoming' and to avoid neglecting the personhood of the child. It is more useful to see children as both 'being and becoming'.

Evidence from this study in rural Java suggests that children and parents may consider that child work is performed for multiple purposes. Not only was work presented as economic participation, it was also presented as personal development. These purposes of work were not seen as separate; rather they were seen as two complementary objectives. Other scholars have also argued that work should not be defined as merely a means to earn a living (Akin, 2009); it should also be defined as an arena for children to learn a profession or to develop their personality (Akin, 2009; Liebel, 2004). It implies, as Uprichard (2008) suggests,

that it may be better to avoid suggesting that there is a dichotomy between children's economic participation and children's personal development for children in rural Java, as both are embedded within children's life at work. This is consistent with Crivello and Boyden's (2014:385) study of children's poverty in Peru. They found that adults in rural communities were often of the view that "work is the most important means by which children can both learn and contribute". At this point, the finding of the current study therefore suggests that childhood needs to be presented as both "a period of productivity" through children's participation in economic production and "a period of non-productivity" through children's involvement in work to develop their skills, responsibility and maturity.

Child work as moral obligation

The decision to involve children in work is also shaped by moral values, as the evidence from this study suggests that children's participation in work may be a form of moral obligation. Similar views were expressed by both parents and children in this study. Parents seemed to be influenced by moral considerations to involve their children at work, by focusing on "how to be a 'good' parent with a 'good' child". In their views, child work was intended to fulfil parental obligations to develop their children's personality, such as: being disciplined, obedient to parents, aware of the need to help parents and displaying empathy to parents. Based on these values, parents perceived that child work was beneficial to their children's moral development. Child work was perceived as an arena for parents to educate children to behave honourably in their day-to-day lives. Here, parents are trying to fulfil two moral demands: practising to be a 'good' parent and educating their sons and daughters to be a 'good' child. Parents seemed to be attempting to fulfil their responsibility and, at the same time, to develop children's morality. They presented themselves as 'moral educators'.

Some of the children agreed with this view. They thought that children's engagement in child work was meant to fulfil moral demands; thus moral obligation seemed to be another key concern driving children to participate in family labour. Some children seemed to be influenced by family and cultural values regarding "how to be a 'good' child" in two ways. A few children were influenced by religious values, commenting that "helping parents is dedicated to being a pious child" or

“helping parents is to avoid sin”. Another boy understood this in a different way, explaining that he attempted to give value to his free time by doing work. These children seemed to focus on developing morality for themselves. At this point, children and parents agreed on the importance of child work to raise children’s morality, suggesting that children’s involvement at work is shaped by moral considerations.

The evidence that child work is sometimes viewed as a moral arena has also been found in some studies of child work in other contexts. For example, the study of Sackey and Johannesen (2015:1) on children involved in fishing and farming practices in Ghana found that “[m]ore than anything, the moral dimension of participation is highlighted when children talk about how they earn their identity, respect, and competences through work”. Similarly, Mayblin’s (2010:26) study of a rural community in Northeast Brazil showed that performing physical labour was treated as a way to raise children’s moral knowledge, as an alternative to schooling that they saw unable to make a person moral. Even in a morally-disputed activity, child work was still seen as moral obligation. Montgomery’s (2014:169) study on child prostitutes in Thailand found that child prostitution was performed as ‘filial duty’. Certain children perceived prostitution not as a form of work or necessarily as a form of abuse but, instead, as a way of fulfilling perceived moral and family obligations, to keep the family together.

The finding suggests that perceptions of morality may underpin the ways in which children and parents construct childhood. Children’s views of work are influenced (understandably) by parental and cultural constructions of moral behaviour. Children live in a social context; therefore it is not surprising if they hold views of morality that are consistent with family and cultural views. Frankel (2012:78) has similarly suggested that morality contributes “to which children bring meanings that accompany their actions”.

To summarise, this section has shown that children’s involvement at work is driven by their construction of the value of child work, ranging from gaining economic benefit, developing children’s personality and fulfilling moral obligation. Furthermore, the three above-mentioned findings are in agreement and may extend the definition of ‘work’ as proposed by Charles and Chris Tilly. They define

work as “any activity that produces transferable use value and/or produces human capital” (Levey, 2009:197). In this definition, the first phrase ‘produces transferable use value’ is closely related to economic production, while the latter phrase ‘produces human capital’ refers to personal development. Tilly and Tilly’s definition seems to cover the meaning of work in the first two findings, yet not to cover the meaning of work as moral obligation. This study, along with those previous studies, may widen the meaning of work by adding a notion of work as moral obligation.

Taken together, the findings explained in this section provide several suggestions to the study of child labour, particularly in an agricultural context. First, children are active agents who are competent to construct values surrounding their life (family and cultural values) and provide meanings of their actions. This brings an implication that in order to understand children’s lives, adults need to engage with children and learn from them on how they perceive meanings of their actions. Second, the multiple meanings of children’s lives at work in Javanese society provide strong evidence that childhood in Javanese society was not treated as merely a period of non-productivity; rather, it was seen both as a period of productivity through children’s economic participation and a period of non-productivity through children’s involvement in personality development and moral obligation. Finally, certain activities of children provide several dimensions of childhood, therefore in attempt to study children’s lives we need to avoid separation of children’s lives. It is worthy to categorise children’s activity into certain types of activity; however, the categorisation should not become an end. Rather, it should serve as a tool of analysis towards the interconnectedness of children’s activities (Bourdillon, 2006b).

8.2 PERSPECTIVES ON RISK AND HARM

Findings from this study indicate that although children and parents identified child work as beneficial for children and their own families, they also identified several sources of risk and harm associated with children’s work. However, in some cases children and parents were unaware of the risk and harm of child work. This notion is discussed through the examination of children’s and parents’ perceptions of children’s daily lives at work. The investigation on children’s daily lives is

important to help to understand the risk and harm of child work, as Scott and colleagues (1998:700) have suggested that “parental risk anxiety and children’s consciousness of risk need to be set in the context of what children actually do”.

Child and parental awareness of risk and harm of child work

Child work may cause children to experience hazardous working conditions and expose them to injury. It may also affect children’s health and interfere with their education. The effects of child work on their psycho-social well-being, to some extent, influences decisions on the involvement of children in certain types of jobs. Children and parents seemed to hold similar views in this respect. The parents in this study identified four types of risk and harm faced by children in their working lives including the environment in which the work took place, the tools or equipment children had to use, dealing with harmful chemicals and, more indirectly, the harm caused when work interfered with children’s education.

For example, a few parents in East Java explained that their children could have a risk of suffering snakebites while herding goats in the pasture. A few parents also thought that children might experience injuries because of the sharp tools they use when collecting grasses, hoeing or clearing the bush. Other parents viewed falling from vehicles as a source of risk for children. These concerns were mainly expressed in the interviews in East Java where some children had to carry agricultural equipment by riding a bicycle or a motorcycle on poor road conditions. A negative effect on health was also reported by some parents as a risk of work as the application of fertilizer might cause children to suffer from burnt hands. A few parents also acknowledged that work interfered with children’s education. Although this group of parents recognised the risk and harm of doing certain types of work, they continued to involve their children in those jobs.

Children in this study shared similar perceptions regarding risk and harm of child work with their parents, mentioning unsafe environments, injuries, effects on health and interference with their education as the downside of doing certain types of work. Children nevertheless decided to become involved in these types of jobs, even though they were aware of the risk and potential harm of this work.

Other studies have reported similar findings. Zentner and colleagues' (2005) study of children involved in farm work in the United States and Canada, for example, found that parents perceived farming as more dangerous than other occupations. Another study conducted by Hosseinpur and colleagues (2014) on children working on the farm, industrial schools, industrial workrooms, household workrooms and in masonry in Iran also found injury as one of the disadvantages of child work. Similarly, Mull and Kirkhorn's (2005) study of children performing agricultural tasks in Ghana cocoa production reported health problems, such as physical and chemical hazards due to inappropriate training or personal protective equipment, as another risk of child work. While the study of Holgado and colleagues (2014) on children working on the farm/family business, as street vendors, in domestic service (housework) and in construction in Colombia found that child work interfered with children's education. Similar evidence has also been found from the study of Mohammed and colleagues (2014) on child labour working at quarries and farming in a rural Egyptian community showing that children reported suffering from "severe work-related physical exhaustion"; however, children were still "satisfied with their current job" (p. 639).

Evidence from this study also suggests that children's and parents' perceptions are shaped by their understanding of the safety of children's physical environment by conceptions of appropriate types of work, by judgements about children's competence to do the work and by their ability to cope with the risks. For example, in East Java some parents perceived that their children were able to swim and/or use the traditional canoe and therefore they had no concerns about their children drowning due to the strong river currents when they were out fishing or collecting fresh water mussels. A few parents did not believe there was any risk attached to child work because either the children had never complained about the work they did, or because child work had been practised in the community for generations.

In contrast, some of the parents who acknowledged that work could be risky to children actively protected them from some risks, by only allowing their children to do light work or by making sure children had an appropriate balance between the time spent at work, play and school and thereby minimising the risk of work adversely affecting their education. Some parents also worried that their children were not as competent physically to be able to join in with some of the activities the

other children engaged in (such as collecting river mussels) and some expressly forbade the children collecting sand for pocket money because it was seen as harmful. This latter activity was not 'child work' in the sense of working for the family or working on the farm but rather was an activity that would only benefit the child through gaining pocket money. This could show that parental assessment of risk and harm was different depending on whether children were engaging in economic activities that were for collective gain or personal gain.

Different intergenerational awareness of risk and harm of child work

Parents, however, are sometimes unaware of what is perceived by children as risk or experienced as harm, leading parents to ask or allow their children to participate in a certain type of risky or harmful work. These intergenerational differences in the perspectives of risk and harm were the experiences of some of the children and parents taking part in this study when children pointed out their concerns about falling out of trees, working in hot weather and dealing with the smell of manure. The evidence suggested that children reported different harmful experiences that parents did not recognise. For example, some children had further evidence of risky or unsafe environment, viewing extreme hot weather as another source of risk. This was the case in Central Java and East Java where a few children reported that they occasionally had to get involved in harvesting at noon.

Some children also explained two types of activity triggering injury: falling down from a steep hill when collecting grasses and falling from a tree when harvesting leaves – both of these activities were related to caring for the animals rather than harvesting crops. In relation to health problems, some children also complained about carrying heavy loads on their heads, resulting in painful neck and/or back aches and some found the strong smell of manure very difficult to deal with. One of the children in this study also explained that applying fertilizer was harmful, but unlike the parents who knew it could burn the hands, the child pointed out it could burn their mouth if they accidentally wiped their lips while applying the fertilizer. None of the parents of these children appeared to be aware of these risks and harms perceived by their children.

Similar evidence has been documented in Boyden's (2009) study on child poverty in Ethiopia. She highlighted intergenerational differences in perspectives of risk

and adversity in which parents were unaware of that experienced by their children. In her study, she found that while children perceived themselves as preoccupied by health problems, adults acknowledged these problems but seemed not to consider them as influencing either household functioning or child well-being.

There are some possible explanations for parents' lack of awareness of the risk and harm perceived by their children. One possible explanation is related to cultural considerations that shape parental awareness of risk. Child work was seen as a common practice and a longstanding activity in Javanese society; therefore parents perceived this practice, taken for granted, as normal for children (see also: Bessell, 1999; Irwanto, et al., 1995; White, 1994, 2004, 2009a, 2011, 2012; White and Tjandrasari, 1998). Another possible explanation is that children, perhaps, do not express any dissatisfaction about their work, including the risks they face; or parents may assume that children are not mature enough to notice the risks and harm of child work. Parents are reasonably more competent in work and are able to handle any risk of work. Therefore, they ignore what children perceive as risky or harmful work. Adult physical endurance may also be another contributing feature toward parental unawareness of risk and harm. As adults are physically stronger than children, they may be more resistant to any risk of work.

Children's accounts in the interviews suggest that children in rural Java are competent agents in identifying risk and harm threatening their health and/or lives whilst undertaking child work. Interestingly, they also go further than their parents and have identified the risks associated with caring for animals in terms of gathering grasses and leaves. Children could be even more competent than their parents in providing a more complex explanation of the risk and harm to themselves. As Kellet states (2005) children are experts of their own lives. Therefore this evidence counters Craddock's (2004:317) view that by their nature "children are not able to adequately calculate their own risk conditions".

Moreover, both parents and children are sometimes unaware of risks and harm that are internationally recognised in hazardous work, leading children to participate in such work. This was the view of some children and parents in this study in which they perceived children's involvement in tobacco farming as normal practice. While the ILO and several studies categorise this as hazardous work,

children and parents viewed this activity as not having an effect on children's health. As explained before, a few parents in Central Java reported their children's involvement in cultivating tobacco on the family farm, including topping, picking axillary buds and harvesting tobacco leaves. Similarly, a few children also reported their involvement in growing tobacco, such as picking tobacco leaves and spraying pesticides. However, none of the parents and the children thought that this was harmful for children.

Their perceptions seem contradictory to some studies showing that the involvement of children in tobacco plantations causes children to become contaminated with poison. A possible health risk may come from the pesticides that are commonly used in high amounts. Another health risk may result from absorbing nicotine from tobacco leaves. A study conducted by Plan Malawi (2009) on children working on a tobacco plantation in Malawi found that child tobacco pickers are at risk of absorbing nicotine through their skin equal to 50 cigarettes a day. Similarly, Gamlin's (2011) study on child labour in Mexico found how children were affected by tobacco resin, "a sticky substance that transfers nicotine and pesticide residues onto their bodies" (p. 339). Furthermore, McKnight and Spiller (2005:602) have also reported that:

"Tobacco farming presents several hazards to those who cultivate and harvest the plant. Although some of these hazards, such as pesticide exposure and musculoskeletal trauma, are faced by workers in other types of agricultural production, tobacco production presents some unique hazards, most notably acute nicotine poisoning, a condition also known as green tobacco sickness (GTS)."

Children and parents appeared to be unaware of this risk that might affect children whilst they performed their work, or perhaps they were not prepared to acknowledge it in the interviews.

Evidence from this study, and from several earlier studies, suggests that child and parental unawareness of risk and harm leads children to become involved in hazardous work. One possible reason is that perhaps public discourse of risk and harm is absent from their everyday lives. Another reason may be that children and parents' everyday lives might be fuelled by public discourse of risk and harm, but they simply ignore it as it is embedded within social practices, being seen as a normal routine. This is consistent to Scott and colleagues' (1998) view that child

and parental construction of risk and harm are shaped by their “immediate locality in which children live their lives” (p. 700); however, “individuals are left to find their own ways of coping with the uncertainty it engenders” (p. 690).

Taken together, these findings point to the importance of understanding the potential risk and harm arising from child work from the perspectives of both children and parents. As also suggested by Meguire and Shirlow (2004:70), “to look at either parental or children’s perceptions in isolation is insufficient”. The findings also suggest that children and parent ideas about risk and harm of child work may determine the involvement of children in child work. Through weighing up risk and harm, children and parents constantly negotiate to what extent children are able and allowed to participate in a certain type of work. However, in some cases, children and parents may simply ignore risk and harm of work as it is embedded within social practice. This is supported by Woodhead’s view that “the psycho-social impact of child work is embedded in social relationships and practices, and it is mediated by cultural beliefs and values of parents, employers and children themselves” (2004: 330; 2007:36).

8.3 CHILD WORK AS CULTURAL AND FAMILY PRACTICES

The perceptions and experiences of working children and parents in this study indicate that child work was perceived as an integral part of childhood in the rural Javanese communities studied. ‘Child work’ and ‘family life’ are intimately connected psychologically in the minds of children and parents and in their parenting practices. They do not exist in separate spheres of life. This suggests that we need to understand child work within the framework of cultural and family practices. It is therefore important in this section to explain briefly Morgan’s (1996, 2011a, 2011b) work on family studies in which he suggests a notion of family practices to analyse family life. He defines family practices as “those relationships and activities that are constructed as being to do with family matters” (1996:192). Cheal (2002:12) also provides a further definition: “family practices consist of all the ordinary, everyday actions that people do, insofar as they are intended to have some effect on another family member”. In this sense, families are what families do. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, Morgan (2011a) further

suggests that the actions of family members are “rarely a matter of rational calculation and is more a matter of routinised, taken-for-granted attention to practicalities”.

In the context of studying children, relying on Morgan’s work James (2013:53) suggests that “it cannot be ‘the family’ that ‘socialises’ children; rather [...] it is through their involvement in family practices that children become socialised. This is a subtle but important distinction”. She therefore suggests that recent work within contemporary childhood studies needs “to explore children as family participants and to understand children’s perspectives on family life, rather than just seeing children as the passive recipients of parental care or neglect through child-rearing practices” (James, 2013:51). She also points to the need to understand children’s socialisation from a child’s perspective by looking at the cultural setting in which children’s socialisation takes place. In the context of cultural practices, Hutchins (2008:2012) provides a clear definition that “cultural practices are the things people do and their learned ways of being in the world”. He goes on to say that “a practice will be labelled cultural if it exists in a cognitive ecology such that it is constrained by or coordinated with the practices of other persons” (Hutchins, 2008:2012). It implies that within cultural practices, one’s individual agency is highly constrained. It is also important to highlight the notion of generational structuring or ‘generationing’ referring to “the complexity of social processes through which people become (are constructed as) ‘children’ while other people become (are constructed as) ‘adults’” (Alanen, 2001:129).

It is in this context of family and cultural practices which also involves generationing that child work in this study took place in the two communities in Central Java and East Java. Child work is commonly perceived as being of value rather than an exception within the community; thus, it is also conducted to fulfil cultural and parental expectations of children’s help. Children and parents seemed to agree on this notion of parental obedience as a drive to work. All children in this study emphasized the importance of helping parents; for example, a few children perceived that refusal of parental requests to work would cause children to commit a sin and that helping parents would educate them in becoming a pious child. Similarly, a few parents interviewed in this study also thought that helping parents

creates a sense of pride and happiness for both children and parents. Thus, children's involvement in many forms of work is driven by both parental power and the local conception of a 'good' childhood. Recent studies have also highlighted the persistence of this perception of children; for example, this can be found in Lieten's (2008) study on child work in Tanzania and Okyere's (2013) study on child labour in an artisanal gold mining site in Ghana.

This evidence suggests that child work is perceived as a family and cultural demand. A 'good' child is one who obeys his/her parents, in this context, those who accept their parents' request to help the family. This cultural construction of parental obedience may create generational power relations within households in certain forms that, according to Punch (2007:155), "do not always involve struggle, resistance, and contestation". In this context, children's sense of agency is 'thinned' (Klocker, 2007) by parental requests and cultural values, referring to "decisions and everyday actions that are carried out within highly restrictive contexts, characterized by few viable alternatives" (p. 85). Therefore, it may be suggested that adult recognition of what is right and wrong for children, either to involve children in work or not, shapes the ways children should be governed within the community (Becher, 2008).

Finding from this study also suggest that child work and family life are intimately connected psychologically in the minds of children and parents and in their parenting practices. In the context of parenting practice, evidence in this study highlights that child work is perceived as a means to educate children, borrowing Such and Walker's (2004) term, for being responsible beings. As already explained, child work is perceived as personal development: to educate children to be responsible adults in the future; it is also perceived as economic participation: to involve children as responsible beings for the family. However, it is also an integral part of parenting practice. Most parents in this study considered that child work was mainly meant to educate their children. In explaining their parenting principles, they emphasised the importance of child work as a medium for children to mature. A father in Central Java, for example, used the metaphor: "parenting is as driving a motorcycle". He thought that parents need to be good drivers by 'increasing the speed of the vehicle' if children need to be motivated. In contrast, parents need to 'put the brakes on

the children' when the children are moving too fast and heading in the wrong direction. Another father in Central Java also explained that parents who give too much direction or, in contrast, too little direction to their children would fail to educate their children for becoming responsible adults. These parents considered children's involvement in work as a necessary element in parenting practice, provided that the work children did was not excessive.

On a new but related point, evidence in this study also suggests that child work is a means to avoid the perceived-negative impact of play and doing nothing. Some parents in this study thought that the involvement of children in work would allow children to avoid inappropriate friends, places and activities. A few parents, for example, preferred to involve their children at work to prevent them from finding undesirable new friends and doing uncontrolled activities. As explained in Chapter 5, with whom, how long, and where their children usually play were among important features to these parents in relation to parental surveillance of children's time-use. In these cases, it is clear how parents were trying to govern their children through involving children in child work and limiting their involvement in other activities that parents may be unable to control. Parents are trying to overcome parental fear, seeing their children as angels and other children as devils (Valentine, 1996) by involving their children in many forms of working activity. From parenting practice, this hints at how parenting power drives children into child work as a form of surveillance and protection and also control of how children spend their time and who with.

It is also interesting to note that child work and family practices are not conducted in separate spheres, for example not a separation of 'spatial' dimensions. Some parents and children in this study appeared to agree on this respect. They seemed not to differentiate between housework, working on their family farm and working for others as a means to contribute to the family. Although children and parents used various terms to describe children's involvement at work, such as helping parents, work, helping neighbours, doing farm worker and mutual aid, they all referred to the same meaning as performing work. Another example of this lack of separation is the notion of overlapping arenas of children's lives. This was also the view of some of the parents and children in this study. Most parents perceived child work as working and learning simultaneously, while a few parents perceived child

work as working and playing simultaneously. A few parents, for example, explained that they took their children to their place of work (the fields) as a safe place to play. Similarly, some children also perceived themselves as able to improve their skills and to learn to become responsible adults, implying child work is working and learning simultaneously. Some children also perceived child work as an arena to play with their siblings on the farm, to meet their friends, to play with their goats or cattle (animal as play-mate) and also to enjoy the beauty of the scenery around the farm.

Similar to this finding, some studies have also documented how children in the majority world in diverse settings integrate work, school and play; for example, the study of Katz (2004) on children's lives at work and play in northern Sudan, Punch's (2003) ethnographic study on rural children in Bolivia, and Robson's (2004) study on child work in rural Northern Nigeria. Furthermore, Rogoff (2003:133) has also suggested that "in some communities children are included in almost all community and family events, day and night, from infancy". According to Nukunya (2003, as cited in Sackey and Johannesen, 2015:11) the involvement of children in these kinds of events is seen as "an indigenous instrument that is used to integrate children into the social and economic life of their families". This is in contrast to the global north where the child and adult worlds of work and education are conducted more commonly in separate spheres.

8.4 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the key findings of the study drawing on key concepts from the new sociology of childhood and the sociology of the family. Three key sets of findings have been examined, including the subjective meanings of child work, children's and parents' perceptions of the risk and harm of child work, and child work as family and cultural practice.

This chapter has highlighted the perspectives of children and parents on child work in agricultural societies in rural Java and found that child work is seen through different viewpoints: as economic participation, as personal development and as moral obligation. This chapter has also highlighted the perspectives of children and parents on the risk and harm of child work. The findings suggest that children and

parents are able to identify risk and harm of child work. However, this study has also found intergenerational differences in perspectives on risk in the agricultural context among children and their parents. Moreover, the findings also suggest that in some cases children and parents are unaware of the risks and harm that are internationally acknowledged as hazardous work.

Finally, this chapter strongly emphasised the idea of child work as cultural and family practice. The findings show that the way children and parents value child work, as well as perceive risk and harm of child work, indicates that child work is embedded within cultural and family practices. Several notions are presented in this chapter, for example, the integration of work into child play and education as well as child work as a parenting practice, conducted as normal routines in children's daily lives. Taken together, the findings presented in this study suggest that child work is presented as family and cultural practice in which parents and society attempt to govern their children, borrowing James and colleagues' (1998:38) terms, "through the regimes of discipline, learning, development, maturation and skill". At the same time, through their involvement at work, children are also able to actively learn and contribute to the family and cultural practices (Alanen, 2000; Corsaro, [1997] 2015; James, 2013).

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This final chapter will draw together the main ideas presented in this study. It begins with a presentation of the research questions, followed by a summary of the key findings drawn from the previous chapters. It then highlights its implications for policies on child labour in Indonesia. The two final sections, respectively, detail methodological strengths and limitations and identify implications of the findings for future research.

9.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Child labour remains a widespread problem in the global context, particularly in the majority world. Whether or not work should be part of children's activities is highly contested. This contentious issue is both a theoretical problem and barrier to the policies on child labour. As children are the main actors in their working activities it is vital to understand their own conceptions of child work. Children's everyday lives, however, are strongly influenced by their parents; it is therefore also important to understand parents' perspectives on child work. This study has set out to understand child and parent perspectives on child work in agriculture and to investigate the implications of their perspectives on child labour policies.

This study draws on contemporary theory and research on children and childhood, which emphasise the ideas of children as social actors and of childhood as a social construction. This influential paradigm promotes studying children from their own perspectives and examining childhood in the global south from the views of the children themselves. Throughout the thesis, this study has attempted to answer the following questions:

- (1) How do children and parents understand child work?
- (2) How do children become involved in their world of work?
- (3) What are the policy implications?

This thesis has investigated these questions through a qualitative case study, which examined children's and parents' perceptions and experiences on child work.

9.2 KEY FINDINGS

Three key sets of findings have been highlighted, derived from the interviews with 20 working children aged 11-14 and their parents or acting caregivers, including fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers; both children and parents participated in a one-visit interview. First, this study has highlighted child and parental views of child work in agriculture in Central Java and East Java and these were articulated through different viewpoints. From a subjective point of view, the first meaning of child work was a form of children's participation in economic production to support the family economy and meet the economic needs of the children themselves. Secondly, child work was seen as a form of learning. Through the involvement of children in employment, children are expected to develop their skills as will be useful in being skilful adult workers, as well as to develop their personality, such as responsibility and independence. Finally, child work was also perceived as a form of moral obligation. By involving their children in child work, parents are trying to fulfil their moral responsibilities to raise their child to be a 'good' child. Similarly, through their involvement in work, children are also trying to fulfil their moral obligations to be a 'good' child or someone who helps support their family. Overall, the findings suggest that child work is perceived as critical to family life, having a pivotal role in the success of the sustainability of their family livelihood and in the creation of a responsible generation. Involving children in work itself was seen as important, not only to the production of food and care of animals but also to develop children's skills and maturity and to fulfil their moral obligations.

The second obvious finding from this study is that children and parents are able to identify the risks and potential harm of child work. In some cases these concerns determine their decisions regarding the involvement of children in work; however, in many cases parents continue to involve their children in child work, although they acknowledge the risks faced by children from their work. This is possibly because the acceptance of risk is embedded within their everyday working lives, as a normal routine. The evidence also suggests that in some cases children seemed to produce more advanced conceptions of risk when compared to those of their parents.

This study found intergenerational differences in perspective on risk and harm arising from child work. Parents were sometimes unable to identify risk and harm affecting children while some children appeared to complain about these types of risks and harm during their interviews. Some children were aware of the risk and harm they face whilst working, indicating that they had a better understanding of their own lives than their parents. It is children who have expert knowledge of their own lives (Kellet, 2005; Mayall, 2008:109). However, children and parents appeared to not be aware of the risks and harm possible in certain activities considered harmful by the ILO and the Indonesian government, such as working with harmful crops. This particularly happened in Central Java, where some children were involved in growing tobacco.

The last key finding of this study is that child work was perceived as embedded within cultural and family practices, driving children to be involved or not involved in certain types of child work. 'Child work' and 'family life' were intimately connected psychologically in the minds of children and parents and were not considered to be conducted in separate spheres. This study highlights the integration of work into other children's activities, particularly children's play and learning activities. Children and parents appeared to agree that play activities were embedded within children's work. This, for example, was supported by the idea of the animal as a playmate or the notion that children were able to play with their friends or siblings in the fields. They also seemed to agree that child work was a learning activity. This was supported by the fact that children and parents perceived child work as a form of learning to be skilful and responsible adults. Child work was embedded within parenting practices, conducted within children's and parents' everyday lives as a normal routine, not in a separation with other everyday practices. These everyday family practices underpinned children and parents understanding of child work and, eventually, influenced how children became involved in child work. The term 'practice' applied in this study has, in fact, been widely used. In relation to studying the family, this term was introduced by Morgan (1996). Any originality this thesis might have is an attempt to put together the idea of family practices concerning children's lives at work from the perspectives of children and parents; specifically, this has been applied in the cultural context of

the rural family in a particular society from the majority world – Central Java and East Java.

9.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

To raise a debate on policy implications, it is important to restate how this study uses the terms such as child work, child labour, and hazardous work. As explained in Chapter 2, this study considers ‘child work’ to cover a wide range of children’s activities, including: ‘work for pay’, ‘children’s assistance in family businesses’, and ‘chores and other household obligations’. Moreover, the legal definitions of child labour, hazardous work, the worst forms of child labour, and light work, are employed as those subsets of ‘work’, meeting the ILO definitions. Chapter 2 has also highlighted the current policy issues on child labour in Indonesia. These can be broadly categorised into three main kinds. First, the government has formulated the statistical definitions of child labour and hazardous work, positing the child’s working hours, and the child’s age, as a basis for the definition. This definition is problematic, as it is unable to portray the type of work which is regarded as hazardous. Second, the government has also implemented a prioritization approach, through the zero child labour programme, which is concerned with the elimination of the worst forms of child labour by 2022. To achieve this goal, the government, in collaboration with the ILO, have also highlighted education provision as the key element to combat child labour. Third, the ILO and the government have highlighted incidences of child labour among indigenous people as one of the policy challenges.

The findings from this study, however, suggest that the policy makers should consider revisiting the current policy approaches. The evidence from this thesis highlights some potential flaws in the current approaches, because it seems that a complete abolitionary stance, of banning all forms of child work, is likely to fail, due to the following reasons. First, there is a lack of awareness among the parents, about the many types of harmful child work present in the community. These include growing hazardous crops, such as tobacco, and hazardous practices, such as breathing in harmful ammonia gases which comes from manure, carrying heavy loads, applying fertilizer, and spraying pesticides. If parents and children do not

recognise these as harmful activities, then they may resist any abolition policies. Second, the cultural practices of animal husbandry also involve considerable risk for the children. For example, children collecting grass and leaves may result in them falling from trees, or down steep hills, or, while herding goats in the pasture, children may be bitten by snakes. Animal husbandry is accepted as a part of normal cultural practices, going back generations, and, is again, not seen as very risky, or harmful, by the parents, but, is noted as harmful by the children.

Third, this study also highlights the economic gains obtained from children's work for the family, and the mutual interdependencies between the children and their parents. Children are perceived as competent economic agents in the family, and able workers, adept at carrying out valuable activities which are related to their age and capabilities. Fourth, there are also strong notions of parenting practices that are embedded in supporting the children's work activities, and the boundaries are blurred for both children and their parents, between their arenas of work and play, and also family time. The first and second points of the finding raise a discussion about the high level of risk that the families live with on a daily basis, and the tolerance they have for living with these high risks. The third point brings to the mind the implication of a policy which seeks to acknowledge a child's work as a form of economic support for the children and their families. The final point raises a discussion about the need to incorporate cultural and family practices into the current approaches. These three broad issues are discussed below.

Protecting children from harmful work

There are certain issues concerned with the current statistical definitions of child labour and hazardous work, which are defined, mainly, based on the length of the working hours and the child's age. The definitions are, therefore, unable to identify two features: first, they are unable to portray the children working in hazardous conditions, and if they perform their work under the permitted conditions, that is, less than 15 hours per week, for children aged 13-14, and less than 40 hours per week, for children aged 15-17. This means that the incidence of hazardous work, defined by the type of activity children do, is potentially unidentified. Second, the definitions are not able to identify the risks embedded within the light work

(permissible work). A prioritisation approach also raises a problem, as it pays no attention to the risks of other work activities, which is deemed to be not of priority.

The findings from this study, in contrast, show the importance of understanding the different risks associated with different local contexts and family life. In relation to the types of children's work, this study has identified, that in some cases, both children and parents seem to be unaware that they might be working with harmful crops, such as tobacco. They may not even be able to identify which crops could be harmful. This study also underlines certain intergenerational differences on the perceptions of risk and harm, in which the parents seem to present a lack of awareness towards child-perceived risk, and the harmful effects of work. Yet, the ILO and the Indonesian government clearly consider the children's involvement in growing tobacco as harmful work. Children are also involved in animal husbandry, which, according to them, was, in some cases, a risky activity. This lack of risk awareness raises an obvious policy implication: although the children are involved in culturally accepted work, they need to be protected from risk. The definition of hazardous work, which relies on the child's age, the length of their working hours, and the implementation of a prioritisation strategy, would fail to recognise the existence of these particular risks. Cultural practices, which have to do with children and animal husbandry, seem to be completely missing from the policy frame, and these practices are, thus, rendered invisible, because they are accepted as part of the normal, everyday life. The interesting question is whether the policy makers should consider these cultural practices, and the answer would depend on the ideologies of childhood that underpins the Indonesian Government's approach.

The ILO (2014b:21) identifies two possible options to protect children from risk: removing the children from the work they perform, or, removing the risk of work that may affect the children (eliminating the hazard). These might raise different sets of child labour policies for the Indonesian government: either, the goal of complete eradication of children in harmful work, or, the reduction/management of harmful work. The Indonesian government, however, has taken the first option: a complete eradication with a prioritisation approach. With regards to the findings from this study, this would seem to be a big challenge, seeking to reduce the harm through a complete eradication approach. As stated, parents seem to be unaware that they were asking their children to do harmful work. A sanction for the parents,

therefore, might be of no use at all, if they have no knowledge, or understanding, that what they are doing is unacceptable, and harmful to their children, at least in policy terms. Yet, some have argued that a parental sanction might be a useful prevention strategy, but it would be a difficult thing to do. Laird (2015:2), for example, shows how a Malawian MP (Member of Parliament) in 2010 expressed objections about the domestication of the UNCRC, in relation to the Child Care, Protection and Justice Bill. The MP said: “Are we serious, if parents are punished for asking their children to feed goats, assisting them on tobacco work or for bringing up their children in that way”. This implies that any penalty regulations would be at odds with cultural and family practices, and alternative approaches should be better grounded in people’s lives, which can take into account the socio-economic circumstances of families, under which, the harmful work takes place. This is notwithstanding the other regulations that might tackle both large and small scale employers more effectively, although it could be tricky, if the employers are also the parents.

A less radical policy option, through the reduction of risk, gives more space for a dialogue between the government and communities, about the practice of child work, and the risks involved in it. This policy alternative implies that the government is not to ban the children involved in a certain type of harmful work, provided that there is an attempt to protect them from risk and harm. It is important to acknowledge community practices, as the evidence in this study shows that child work is a persistent feature in the life of the community, and is deemed to be beneficial. There is a need to educate and guide the parents and communities, to protect the children from risk and harm. A risk-reduction approach, however, makes it difficult to identify what is considered as acceptable risk. There is a challenge, “where to draw the boundaries between what is safe for them to do and what is not” (ILO, 2014b:1). For example, the children’s involvement in growing tobacco is clearly defined as harmful for their health (Amigo, 2010; ILO, 2007a:29; 2007b:36-38; 2009b:7-8; Plan Malawi, 2009); however, neither parents, nor children in this study, seemed to be aware of this sort of risks. Rather, children identified several daily tasks, and animal husbandry activities, as harmful or risky, but their parents did not. This is because they were seen as normal practices, both by the parents and children, although, the children,

in fact, complained about these. This demonstrates the value of listening to the children under the UNCRC child rights' framework, and the policy makers should consider the methods to seek and incorporate the children's views within the policymaking process. This could be very challenging for all concerned (government, children and parents), as Indonesia does not see childhood in the same way as the global north, and, in any case, giving the children a voice in policy making is deemed a challenge for any government. There is a need to adapt the existing ILO and other guidelines for agricultural safety, by also considering the unique vulnerabilities of the child workers.

Another implication might be that the parents and communities need better information on identifying what crops are harmful, and working with them. The evidence shows that children's work, play, and education, are all interlinked and embedded in family practices. Therefore, this raises question for the policy makers: how can parents identify whether the children are doing harmful work, if the parents see this work as a part of normal, family life. However, the government might consider providing several resources, to deal with improving the community's awareness and children's safety at work. A culturally sensitive intervention might be useful here (Kraybill and Gilliam, 2012).

Acknowledging the economic benefit of children's work

The current policy, to tackle the problem of child labour, puts a greater emphasis on education and social protection. In education, in collaboration with the ILO, the government developed "a number of key directions for future education policy developments as an effective instrument for eliminating child labour" -- the term child labour is based on the policy definition of child labour – not child work (ILO, 2013:37). Through social protection policies, the government also implemented PPA-PKH, to combat child labour. This approach seems to locate poverty as the main cause of children's involvement in child labour, and education as the panacea of its elimination. However, the findings in this study also show that child work is perceived as a form of economic contribution.

Framing child work within family and cultural practices

Findings from this study suggest that the policy on child labour in Indonesia needs to be framed within the family and cultural practices, due to the following reasons. First, the moral dimension of children's work is one of the important features, which is mentioned by both children and parents during the interview related to the benefit of child work. Second, there is also the idea of child work as a form of personal development, and finally, there exists the notion of blurred-boundaries of children's activities. Therefore, there might be a cultural barrier, which would implement the current policy approach. As child work is embedded within certain cultural and family practices, the government needs an effort to change the community practices. However, a cultural barrier is not a simple business for policy implementation. A complete eradication of the involvement of children in harmful work, therefore, seems difficult to be fully realised.

Indonesian policy makers, thus, need to engage in debates about the imposed solutions from the minority north, which assumes a separate sphere of work, school/education, home, and play space. Policy makers need to be aware of both the benefits, and the risks of child work, and are not to make a priori judgement about harmful work (Bourdillon, et al., 2010:203; ILO, 2014b:4). The global standards on children's work do not always grasp the complexities of their lives, as they "generally assume that work is incompatible with schooling and hinders human capital formation" (Bourdillon, 2011:97; see also Wyness, 2013). Therefore, imposing the solutions, based on the right boundaries between work and other children's activities, is highly unlikely to be successful in Indonesia. This is because the evidence in this study shows that work, school, home, and play are not separate spheres of childhood. Rather, they overlap, and are embedded and closely interconnected within both cultural and family practices. Therefore, externally imposed solutions – such as full abolition of child work, will probably not succeed.

This study underlines the need to develop a policy on child labour, based on the children's lives, and not simply the development of a sector-based policy, that will neglect the unique relationship involving such activities. Only focusing on a work-based policy, for example, will neglect the children's lives with regards to play and education; and vice-versa. Indonesian policy makers need to have the courage, and

the resources, to engage with the reality of people's lives, parenting practices, and children should be seen as competent actors, to find more imaginative ways of engaging families, children, local communities, and employers in discussions about appropriate child work. The policy needs to be grounded within the people's lives. This study also highlights the need to acknowledge the value of working collaboratively with families. The evidence from this study shows that child work is embedded within, and vital to the life of the family; therefore, any decisions regarding child work will affect the family life. Indonesian policy makers might prefer to find protective solutions that are relevant to the local contexts and communities, and will work to educate the parents, and to minimise the harm done to the children.

There is also the idea of age – as a cut-off point between childhood and adulthood, and appropriateness to work, or not to work. The ILO and the Indonesian government have clearly set out interlinks between the child's age and hazardous work, i.e. the child's age determines whether they perform such hazardous work or not. However, children and parents use judgements about child competencies, skills, size, and physical strength to work and parenting practices, and not just the child's age. Thus, the children become involved in their world of work, or the adults' working place, since their early childhood, and neither they, nor their parents are always aware of the temporal markers concerning the involvement of the child in his/her first job. Indonesian policy makers, therefore, need to be aware of the complex understanding and experiences of children's work, in relation to their ages. Considering this social practice, any attempt to abolish work from children's activities, by only considering the age factor, seems wrong to be applied.

To summarise, the key findings in this study raise some difficult questions for the policy makers, as they need to find the ways to tackle the following issues at a local level. There is a need to raise parental and children's awareness about harmful work. There is also a need to work with the local communities, to identify the supportive mechanisms, and/or the equipment that can help minimise risks that are associated with animal husbandry. Moreover, there is a need to discuss with the local communities about the parental and cultural practices that might need changing, in order to reduce risks. At the national level, there is a need to tackle the employment of children in producing harmful crops. There is also a need to provide

national economic substitutes, and tackling both child and family poverty. Furthermore, the government needs to establish a more appropriate definition of child labour, and explain what entails hazardous work, to capture the right picture of the children at risk. Above all, the policy challenge for Indonesia is to tackle these deeply embedded cultural practices. There is not going to be any quick fix, and there will be no heavy penalties/sanctions work against such cultural practices. It will require a multiple approach, both at the local and the national levels.

9.4 METHODOLOGICAL STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to justify key theoretical and methodological decisions, discussing the findings and examining the implications while acknowledging their strengths and limitations. The findings should, therefore, be understood in relation to the strengths and limitations of the particular methodology adopted. These have been examined through four main issues, including children's involvement in research, the use of gatekeepers in sample selection, the presence of adults during interviews with children, and the generalizability of the study.

Having children involved in the study is one of its major strengths. By employing child-focused methods this study was able to reveal children's views of and experiences in their working lives. Children were interviewed directly, not through a third party, gaining an understanding of the children's own perspectives. Visual and material methods have been used in interviews with children, reducing the barriers for children in expressing their opinions. Their voice has been heard and they have brought unique insights, different from those of their parents, for example, in terms of identifying risk and harm. However, it should be noted that children were not fully involved throughout the research process. They were not involved in the formulation of the research design or in the process of post-fieldwork, and were not consulted about the analysis and interpretation of the data.

As discussed in Chapter 4, four ways of examining children and childhood have been identified. This study adopts the third approach of 'the child as social actor' and is not designed to include a newer approach that sees children as participants and co-researchers. In different terms, this study is undertaken as research *with*

children rather than as research *by* children (Christensen and James, 2008; Alderson, 2008). This study, therefore, cannot be categorised as fully child-centric; as a result, it may not be able to obtain children's voices as if children are fully involved in the study – as participants and co-researchers. Although this limitation is a major methodological issue, it is not exclusive to this study.

Another strength and limitation of this study is the use of gatekeepers to select study sites and to recruit informants. As noted in Chapter 4, this study relied on gatekeepers from different levels: provinces, regencies, sub-districts and villages/communities. The involvement of government officers, NGO officers and community leaders as gatekeepers in selecting areas or informants was beneficial for this study. It helped the researcher to choose appropriate study sites, as the gatekeepers had a better understanding of the locations studied. It also helped the researcher to gain access to the field, including formal access (by giving a research permit) and personal access (by directing the researcher to further gatekeepers and informants). More importantly, the use of gatekeepers also gave an opportunity for the researcher to gain trust and acceptance from informants, although the researcher was a stranger at the time of field study. It should be noted, however, there is a further critical issue that needs to be considered by investigators in employing gatekeepers. The use of gatekeepers may also be seen as a limitation of a study. It may reduce the validity of the data as gatekeepers may have particular interests in the way their governments, their regions or their communities are presented, preferring it to be in a favourable manner (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This study, therefore, also needs to be understood in this context. However, it was the best approach available at the time with the resources available for conducting this PhD.

This study also had strengths and limitations in relation to interviewing children. Interviews with children were conducted in two ways, either with or without the presence of a third party. On the one hand, this study underlines that to some extent the presence of others during an interview is beneficial to help researchers to explore the views of the children in certain aspects. In several instances, the presence of parents during interviews helped the children to understand the questions better and to formulate their answers more clearly. On the other hand, in some cases it was clear, and in some other cases it can be assumed, that the

presence of others may be detrimental to children's ability to freely express their views. In several interviews parents, to some extent, directed the children's answers, resulting in adult-influenced child views being expressed. Parents also sometimes refuted answers given by their children and overrode children's perceptions, resulting in a dispute between the children and the parents, which potentially prevented children from expressing their perceptions in their own right. Even so, children were able to provide unique information from their own perspectives, different from their parent's knowledge and understandings.

This study acknowledges the pitfall of the presence of others during interviews with children to "the possibility that respondents will provide different answers when the interviews are conducted in private and when others are present" (Evans and Reimondos, 2011:3; see also Beitin, 2008; Taylor and De Vocht, 2011). If I had employed different methods instead of a one-off interview with children, the study might have generated different data. There might be a tension between what people say in an interview and what they actually do in practice. For example, as discussed in Chapter 6, 7, and 8, there might be some negotiation, resistance, avoidance, or tension around the process of work allocation between children and their parents. In reality this was not commonly evidenced, as children might have had difficulties expressing this view during an interview in front of their parents. Ethnographic observational methods might have helped us see a different angle. For example, through the involvement of the researcher in children's daily activities in the fields, the study might have generated additional explanations on children's competence to work or on how they interact with their friends or siblings while working in the fields.

Another limitation of this study is its generalizability in terms of 'empirical generalization' (Mason, 2002:195) or 'statistical generalization' (Williams, 2000:215). This is seen from a quantitatively driven perspective, based on the logic that a study is generalizable if its population is statistically representative of the wider population. In terms of its population and its sample size, this study selected two small communities in Central Java and East Java with 10 children as informants in each location; this may be seen as a limitation. Although it has been argued that the sample size of a qualitative study depends on epistemological, methodological and practical issues (Baker and Edwards, 2012; see Chapter 4), meaning that it

does not have to be statistically representative, the small number of the sample in this study may be seen as unable to reflect the diversity of children in Central Java and East Java or to reveal more various perspectives of the children from a wider population. It means that from an empirical or statistical generalization point of view, findings of the current study can only be assumed to apply in a particular context, rather than to be fully generalizable into wider or different contexts.

However, it is suggested that the generalizability of a qualitative approach differs from that of a quantitative approach; it is a different approach and is still very useful in unique ways (Delmar, 2010; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Halkier, 2011; Mason, 2002:39, 194-200; Payne and Williams, 2005; Ruddin, 2006; Williams, 2000). Payne and Williams (2005), for example, have suggested that “[q]ualitative research methods can produce an intermediate type of limited generalization, ‘moderatum generalizations’” (p. 296) as different from ‘total’ and ‘statistical’ generalizations (Williams, 2000). While Mason (2002) suggests that qualitative researchers should employ ‘theoretical generalization’, rather than ‘empirical generalization’, as it is seen more productive. She further offers different ways of formulating theoretical generalization (p. 195-197). Similarly, Halkier (2011), using similar evidence from one qualitative study, provides suggestions for procedures and ways of generalizing qualitative research: ideal typologizing, category zooming and positioning. Taking theoretical/moderatum generalization rather than empirical/statistical generalization, this study is therefore justified to claim its generalizability. Following Mason (2002:195), at the least theoretical generalization, this study claims to have a wider resonance or to be generalizable into the wider population which shares similar characteristics to the sample and context of this study or, according to Delmar (2010:215), “shares similarities in situations [context] and human beings [sample]”. That is to say that this study may be generalizable into the wider population of child workers aged below 15 in agricultural contexts in Indonesia.

9.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

With regard to limitations of the current study, further investigation needs to be undertaken in the following areas: the diversity of childhoods in Indonesia, child-

centric studies and participatory studies. More research is needed to reveal the diversity of childhoods in relation to their world of work. This can be achieved through studying perspectives of child work from different actors and in different settings. Child work is a complex issue with different stakeholders involved; therefore it is understandable for it to be more appropriate to reveal its perspectives not only from children and parents but also from other stakeholders. It may be targeted to reveal the perceptions of other stakeholders such as international agencies, national and local governments, NGOs, employers and community leaders. This study is also designed not to include children aged 15-18, as this group of children are categorised as workforce in Indonesia; therefore, it is valuable to understand their perspectives and experiences, particularly as associated with the risks and harm of child work. It may be valuable to understand their perspective on whether they are in need of protection from harmful work, as this study suggests that risk and harm are sometimes difficult to be identified.

Another effort to understand the diversity of childhoods is to undertake research on child work in different contexts. This study has attempted to portray the diversity of childhoods within the same culture in an agricultural setting. It is, therefore, important to investigate the childhoods of children in an agricultural context from different cultures in attempting to understand the plurality of childhoods across cultures. This study has also claimed its generalizability for a wider population of child work in an 'agricultural context' in Indonesia. It is, therefore, important to examine child work in other different settings, such as child work in fishing, child work in urban areas, child domestic work and child prostitution. It is also important to study child work at the macro-level by incorporating socio-economic and socio-political aspects of child work.

Further studies also need to be conducted using more fully child-centric methods. This study has underlined the pitfalls of the presence of adults during interviews with children, which potentially block or influence children's voices. There may be other ways to help children express their views and experiences by being more involved in the co-production of knowledge. Certain methods allow children to be co-researchers, such as doing their own interviewing of other children or taking photographs (photo elicitation interview – PEI, see for example Mizen, 2005). Although the engagement of children as co-researchers or primary researchers is

still debatable in terms of its ethical, methodological and practical issues, it has been argued that “children as researchers are a powerful conduit for other children’s voices” (Bradbury-Jones and Taylor, 2015: 161; see also Cheney, 2011; Graham and Fitzgerald, 2010; James, 2007).

This study has also acknowledged the limitation of sample selection by employing gatekeepers to identify communities and child workers. Therefore, the last implication of this study for future research agendas is the need to involve researchers more deeply in the life of the society by conducting ethnographic studies. Certain methodological approaches might be an improvement for future research, such as ethnographic research with children. This approach allows a researcher to gain deeper insights into the lives of children in comparison to other types of approaches (Christensen, 2004).

APPENDIX - 1

PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS

“Children Working on the Farms”

What is my research about?

My name is Nurhadi, and I want to conduct a research project into the lives of agricultural workers and their families in Indonesia. I am a lecturer at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) and live in Yogyakarta with my wife and children. I am now doing a research project for my study, supervised by my senior teachers at the University of York in England.



I want to speak to parents and children in your community to find out what they think about children under the age of 15 working in agriculture?

- I want to ask parents what they think about children working. What they like and do not like about it.
- I want to talk to children too, to hear what they like and do not like about working.
- I also want to ask if anything needs to be done about children working that could help improve your children’s and family’s lives.

I hope the interviews can help policy makers improve children’s lives in Indonesia.

If you want to take part – what will you do?

Please help me by taking part in the study. If you want to help, then I will need your permission to interview you and any of your children who are aged between 10 and 14 years old and who are working in agriculture.

All you have to do is:

- Give me an hour of your time so I can come and talk to you in private in a quiet place. You can choose what place and time suits you the best – I will come to you at your convenience.
- Help me organise a time and place to interview your children in a quiet place. However, it should be in line with your children’s preference.
- You can decide when and where it would best for me to interview your children. You might like me to do that after I have finished talking with you so that I talk to them on the same day and in the same place. It would be really good if I could talk to your children on their own so they feel free to tell me what they think.

Is this study convenient for you?

Yes. I want to assure you that my study is supervised by my senior teachers in the UK and has been approved by my university and the local government. It means that my study is legally and ethically acceptable. For your convenience, this project is designed to minimise and eliminate any negative consequences in every steps of the study. You also need to know the following information, and again, this is to make sure that you feel convenient to do interview with me:

- You and any of your children don't have to agree to this interview if you or your children don't want to.
- You may stop the interview at any time.
- If there are any questions you don't want to answer, then you refuse to answer them - without saying why.
- I would like to record my interview with you so I can listen to it again later and write it down what you say.
- I will keep this recording and my written copy of the interview locked up in a safe place. The only people who will be able to see this copy of interview will be my teachers/supervisors and me.
- Your words and ideas may be quoted in the final research report, presentations, and in articles I write about my research project, but I will make sure that I protect your anonymity. I will not use your real-name, your children's real-name, your community real-name, and your district real-name.
- No one in your community will know what you or your children tell me about. I will not share with your children, your family, your community leader, and anyone else what you tell me. Conversely, I will not tell you what your children tell me.
- However, working for the best interest of children is my priority, so if you tell me things that raise concerns that your children or other children in your local community are being abused, I may have to break our confidentiality, and report that information to the responsible authorities.

You do not need to provide me with any food or drinks or hospitality, I have everything I need. I would like to thank you for taking part and giving up your time, so I want to give you a small gift from the UK.

My contact details are:

If you have any questions at all or want me to explain anything else then please contact me at:

- (The name of the hotel)
- (The address of the hotel)
- (Phone number)

The research study forms part of my degree. I am supervised by two senior teachers at my university in the UK.

For your information:

Professor Nina Biehal and Dr Christine Skinner
 Department of Social Policy and Social Work
 University of York, Heslington
 YORK, United Kingdom (UK), YO10 5DD
 Tel: (+44) 01904 321284
 Tel: (+44) 01904 321251

If you wish to make a complaint about my conduct, please contact:

Interim Ethics Committee
 Department of Social Policy and Social Work
 University of York, Heslington
 YORK, United Kingdom (UK)
 YO10 5DD

APPENDIX - 2

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

To be read out by the researcher for asking parents' consent. This should be done after re-explaining the project information sheet to the parent and before the beginning of the interview. A verbal consent will be recorded from each participant, transcribed by an independent typist, and kept by the researcher.

My name is Nurhadi. I am a student at the University of York.
I am doing research for my study on a project called:
Multiple perspectives of working children
and the implications for child labour policy in Indonesia.

I am now doing an interview with (name of parent)
on (day and date) at (time)
and this is to ask his/her verbal consent regarding the interview.



I would like to kindly ask you to do an interview with me and to record your verbal consent.

- Please can you confirm that I have discussed the information on my information sheet with you and that I have given you a copy of the information sheet to keep?
- Do you agree that I can interview you?
- Do you agree that I can interview your child?
- Do you agree if I record my interview with you so I can listen to it again later and write it down what you say? I will keep this recording and my written copy of the interview locked up in a safe place.
- Do you understand that everything you say will be confidential (apart from the exception I explained earlier) and I will not tell other people what you and your child said to me? Because everything you say will be private, this also means that I will not tell your child what you have said to me and what your child has said.
- When I write about my research or do presentations about it to other people, I may want to include some of the things you say. Do you agree that I can talk about your words and ideas when I write or talk about my research project, on condition that I protect your anonymity?

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project. Do you have any questions for my study? If you have any questions, my teachers, Professor Nina Biehal and Dr Christine Skinner, are supervising the project and can be contacted at:

Department of Social Policy and Social Work
University of York, Heslington, YORK, United Kingdom (UK), YO10 5DD
Tel: (+44) 01904 321284 and (+44) 01904 321251

Printed name :
Date of the interview :

APPENDIX - 3

TOPIC GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING PARENTS

Before we start our conversation, may I reassure you that this is not a test? There are no right or wrong answers. What I really want to know from our conversation is what life is like for you and your child, what your child enjoy about working, and that kind of things.

A. Work activities

As you know I am interested in finding out about the daily life of your children – the time they might spend in a typical day in school, in work and in playing. First, I would like to find out about their main job and the things they do at work, if they get paid and that kind of thing. Can you begin by telling me what their job is, what kind of activities they do?

1. *Can you tell me a bit more details about your child's work?*

Prompts:

- What kind of activities does the work involve?
- Which your child does less/more?

2. *Can you tell me how does your child spend his/her time for work?*

Prompts:

- How many hours does he/she work each day?
- What days of the week – schooldays or weekends or both?
- What time of day?
- How long they have been doing that job for?
- What age were they when they started that job?
- Is this their first job?
- If not the first job, ask about the details of that job, how old when started and when the job finished, why the job finished?
- Seasonal aspects – changes throughout the year in working hours?
- Paid – unpaid? How much if paid?
- Who work for?

Thank you, you have told me a little about how your child spends his/her time at work. I will ask you later details about how your child spends their time in school and play. Now, we will be talking about their competencies at work.

B. Work competencies

3. *Did they have to learn this kind of work?*

Prompts:

- What did your child have to learn?
- From whom?
- How did your child learn?
- Explain how difficult or easy was it for him/her to learn?

4. *What is your child good at doing? Why is that?*

5. *What is your child not so good at doing? Why is that?*

6. *Is there anything that could make your child's job easier?*

Prompts:

- Is there anything for your child that can make your child's work easier?
 - Possible answers: not working, long hours, better tools, different kind of jobs, etc.
- Can you do anything yourself to make it easier?
- Who else can do anything themselves to make it easier?
 - Possible answers: the child, the child's friends, the child's siblings, employers, aunt, uncles, etc.

7. *Do you think the work could be harmful for your child in any way? Explain how it might be harmful?*

Prompts:

- Depending on the work the child does – just the appropriate one: tools, machinery, chemicals, long hours, temperature, social relations, insect/snake bite, and transportation? Are those worried you?

8. *What kinds of things does your child have – or what kinds of things does your child have to do to protect themselves from harm or having an accident?*

Prompts:

- Are they useful?
- Is there anything that could make it safer? Please explain
- Who could help your child make your child's work safer?
- How could they make it safer?

9. *How would you explain to a new child worker how to keep themselves safe?*

Prompts:

- What would you tell them to do or not to do?
- How would the information other child workers might give be different from what the adults would tell the new worker?

C. Decisions to take up a job

So far, you have told me many things about your child being at work. I am interested to know how she/he began to involve in his/her work. Could you tell me about that – how your child involved in his/her work at the first time?

10. *Can you tell me how your child did his/her work at the first time?*

Prompts:

- Was it your idea or your child's idea?
- What were reasons?
- Did you give a choice about working or not working?

11. *When your child started the work, what do you think?*

Prompts:

- Was it a good idea?
- (If the parents' idea), did your child have any choice?

12. *How long do you think your child will carry on this work?*

Prompts:

- When will your child stop doing this work?
- For what reason? Why is that?
- What will your child do next? Why is that?

D. Experience of being in work, level of happiness and well-being/well-becoming

Can you tell me more about how your child finds the experience of being in work? Also, I would like to know how you find the advantages and disadvantages of your child being in work.

13. How does your child enjoy the work?

Prompts:

- What kinds of things does he/she enjoy? Why is that?
- What your child does not like about working? Why is that?
- All in all, does your child enjoy working? Why you said that?

14. How useful is your child's work for your child?

Prompts:

- Do you think it is useful for your child now? Why?
- Do you think it is useful for your child in the future? Why?

15. What about the money if paid?

Prompts:

- How much do they get paid for doing this work?
- What happens to the money?
 - Do they get to keep some of the money?
 - What do they do with it?
 - Do you think they enjoy that?
 - Who else gets the money?

16. How important is the money for your family?

- What does your family do with it?

17. How important is for your child to get the money now?

18. How important is to your child's future life that they get the money?

19. All in all, do you think it is good for your child to work?

Prompts:

- Is it useful for your child now to work?
- Is there anything they don't like?
 - Possible answers: feeling tired? Lost concentration in school?
- Is it useful for your child's future life when they become adult?

E. Family benefits of child work

Thank you for that. Now, I'd like to know how and why your child's work is important for your family. Could you tell me about that?

20. Do you think it is good for your family?

Prompts:

- Why you said that?
- It is a good idea to help the family like your child is doing?
- Do you think a child should do this?
- How important do you think it is to their families?

F. Daily activities of child & Impact of work on school and play/leisure

So far, you have talked much about your child work. I would like to know more about your child work in relation to his/her time to school and play; how the work affects his/her school and play?

21. *Can you tell me how does your child spend his/her time in school?*

Prompts:

- How many days of the week he/she goes to school?
- What time he/she goes to school?
- How many hours he/she is in school?

22. *Can you tell me how does your child spend his/her time for playing/hobbies?*

Prompts:

- What kind of hobbies does he/she like?
- When does he/she do this?
- Do you think it is enough for him/her or do he/she needs more time?
- Is there anything he/she likes doing with you or his/her brothers/sisters?
- How about something outside your family?
- Do you think he/she has enough time?

23. *Do you think your child likes going to school?*

Prompts:

- Why is that?
- What your child likes about it?
- What your child does not like about it?
- Do you think your child wants to spend time more/less in school?

24. *How does your child's job fit with their school work and their play/leisure time?*

Prompts:

- Missing school sometimes because of work?
- Not performing well at school because of work?
- Do their works interfere with their school anyway?

25. *Is there anything they would like to change about how they spend their time?*

Prompts:

- On school work?
- On play leisure?
 - Do they want to spend your time more/less for playing? Why you said that?
 - Do they have to stop from playing because of their job?
- On work?
 - How many hours do they go to work?
 - Do you think it is about right? Or too much/too little? Why is that?
 - Do you think they feel tired because of their job?
 - What are the good things about they are doing their job?
 - What are the bad things about they are doing their job?
- On all three?

G. General views on children working in their community

Lots of children do works in this community. I want to know what you think about it: is it about right, when children should go to work, and that kind of things.

26. *In general, do you think it is a good idea for children to work?*

Prompts:

- What is good? Why do you think that?
- Is anything bad? Why do you think that?
- Do you think children should not go to work? Why do you say that?
- Do you think we should treat children work as the adult?
- Are you worried that they might have hurt when they are doing their work?

27. *How do you think children aged between (10-14 years of age) should spend their time?*

28. *How does that compare to what the children in your community actually do with their time?*

29. *If you could choose to do anything you wanted – how would you choose your child spend their time?*

30. *What do you think the advantages are for children working?*

31. *What are the disadvantages?*

32. *Can I ask you general question: ‘some agencies/peoples think that children should go to school’, what do you think about that?*

Prompts:

- Do you agree/disagree? Why you said that?
- Do you think your child and your wife/husband think the same? Why do you think that?

33. *Does your child have to work helping out in your family, such as washing and cooking?*

Prompts:

- What kind of activities they do to help your family?
- Do they like doing that?
- How important is it to your family that they do this work?

34. *To finish our conversation, is there anything else you want to tell me that you think is really important?*

H. Personal background

Finally, one last question..... Can you tell me how old you are and your wife? How about your child? What is your final education? How about your wife/husband? What kind of work you and your wife/husband do? How much is your household income per month?

APPENDIX - 4

PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET FOR CHILDREN

“Children Working on the Farms”

What is my research about?

My name is Nurhadi, and I want to conduct a research project into the lives of agricultural workers and their families in Indonesia. I am a lecturer at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) and live in Yogyakarta with my wife and children. I am now doing a research project for my study, supervised by my senior teachers at the University of York in England.



I want to speak to parents and children in your community to find out what they think about children under the age of 15 working in agriculture?

- I want to ask parents what they think about children working. What they like and do not like about it.
- I want to talk to children too, to hear what they like and do not like about working.
- I also want to ask if anything needs to be done about children working that could help improve your children’s and family’s lives.

I hope the interviews can help policy makers improve children’s lives in Indonesia.

If you want to take part – what will you do?

Please help me by taking part in the study. If you want to help, then I will need your permission to interview you.

All you have to do is:

- Give me an hour of your time so I can come and talk to you in private in a quiet place to ask you what you think about working. You can choose what place and time suits you the best and that you and your parents are happy with – I will come to you at your convenience.
- You can decide you want me to interview you either alone or accompanied by your parents. It would be really good if I could talk to you on your own so you feel free to tell me what you think.

Is this study convenient for you?

Yes. I want to assure you that my study is supervised by my senior teachers in the UK and has been approved by my university and the local government. It means that my study is legally and ethically acceptable. For your convenience, this project is designed to minimise and eliminate any negative consequences in every steps of the study. You also need to know the following information, and again, this is to make sure that you feel convenient to do interview with me:

- You don't have to agree to this interview if you don't want to.
- You may stop the interview at any time.
- If there are any questions you don't want to answer, then you refuse to answer them - without saying why.
- I would like to record my interview with you so I can listen to it again later and write it down what you say.
- I will keep this recording and my written copy of the interview locked up in a safe place. The only people who will be able to see this copy of interview will be my teachers/supervisors and me.
- Your words and ideas may be quoted in the final research report, presentations, and in articles I write about my research project, but I will make sure that I protect your anonymity. I will not use your real-name, your parents' real-name, your community real-name, and your district real-name.
- No one in your community will know what you or your parents tell me about. I will not share with your parents, your family, your community leader, and anyone else what you tell me. Conversely, I will not tell you what your parents tell me.
- However, working for the best interest of children is my priority, so if you tell me things that raise concerns that you or other children in your local community are being abused, I may have to break our confidentiality, and report that information to the responsible authorities.

I would like to thank you for taking part and giving up your time, so I want to give you a small gift from the UK.

My contact details are:

If you have any questions at all or want me to explain anything else then please contact me at:

(The name of the hotel)

(The address of the hotel)

(Phone number)

The research study forms part of my degree. I am supervised by my teachers at my university in the UK.

For your information:

Professor Nina Biehal and Dr Christine Skinner
 Department of Social Policy and Social Work
 University of York, Heslington
 YORK, United Kingdom (UK), YO10 5DD
 Tel: (+44) 01904 321284
 Tel: (+44) 01904 321251

If you wish to make a complaint about my conduct, please contact:

Interim Ethics Committee
 Department of Social Policy and Social Work
 University of York, Heslington
 YORK, United Kingdom (UK)
 YO10 5DD

APPENDIX - 5

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN

To be read out by the researcher for asking children's consent. This should be done after re-explaining the project information sheet to the children and before the beginning of the interview. A verbal consent will be recorded from each participant, transcribed by an independent typist, and kept by the researcher.

My name is Nurhadi. I am a student at the University of York.
I am doing research for my study on a project called:
Multiple perspectives of working children and the implications
for child labour policy in Indonesia.

I am now doing an interview with (name of children)
on (day and date) at (time)
and this is to ask his/her verbal consent regarding the interview.



I would like to kindly ask you to do an interview with me and to record your verbal consent.

- Please can you confirm that I have discussed the information on my information sheet with you and that I have given you a copy of the information sheet to keep?
- Do you agree to do an interview with me?
- Do you agree if I record my interview with you so I can listen to it again later, write it down what you say, and keep this recording and my written copy of the interview locked up in a safe place?
- Do you agree that your words and ideas may be quoted in the final research report, presentations, and in articles I write about my research project on condition that I don't tell anyone that it was you who said these things, including your parents?

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project. Do you have any questions for my study?
If you have any questions, my teachers, Professor Nina Biehal and Dr Christine Skinner, are supervising the project and can be contacted at:

Department of Social Policy and Social Work
University of York, Heslington, YORK, United Kingdom (UK)
YO10 5DD
Tel: (+44) 01904 321284 and (+44) 01904 321251

Printed name :

Date of the interview :

APPENDIX - 6

TOPIC GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWING CHILDREN

Before we start our conversation, may I reassure you that this is not a test? There are no right or wrong answers. What I really want to know from you is what life is like for you, your parents and your friends in your community, what you enjoy about working, and that kind of things.

A. Personal background

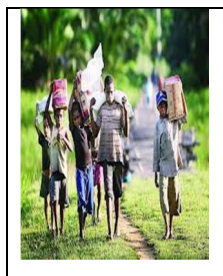
To start our conversation, can you tell me how old you are? In which year are you in your school? In general, how do you spend your time between school, playing/hobbies and work?

B. Work activities

I would like to know details about your job and what you do while you are working. Can you begin by telling me what your job is, and what kind of activities you do?

Techniques of interview: picture cards (types of children's work)

The interviewer will give participant several types of children's activities at the farm. The interviewer then will ask the child to choose some of the pictures that represent all the children do during their work. The interviewer will ask details about work activities from each chosen picture card. Below are some examples of the picture cards:



1. *Can you tell me a bit more details about your work?*

Prompts:

- What kinds of things do you do at work?
- Which you do less/more?

Thank you, next I am interested to know how you spend your time in a typical day at work, in school and in playing. Can you tell me in more details what you do during your days?

Techniques of interview: marbles and diagram

The interviewer will give participant 3 plastic cups in different colours and some marbles. Each cup represents the type of activities (for school, play, and work). The interviewer then will ask the child to put marbles into the boxes, in accordance with the child's time allocation. In addition to the marbles, the interviewer will also give the child a sheet containing some classified activities. The interviewer will ask the child to talk about child's time allocation using the boxes and ask the child to talk about their daily activities using the sheet.



2. *Can you tell me how do you spend your time for your work?*

Prompts:

- How many hours do you work each day?
- How many days of the week?
- What days of the week – schooldays or weekends or both?
- What time of day?
- How long you have been doing that job for?
- What age were you when you started that job?
- Is this your first job?
- *If not the first job, ask about the details of that job, how old when started and when the job finished, why the job finished?*
- Seasonal aspects – changes throughout the year in working hours?
- Paid – unpaid? How much if paid?
- Who work for?

Thank you very much for this, then we will be talking about your work in more details, and later we will continue to talk about your daily activities in school and playing.

C. Work competencies

3. *Did you have to learn this kind of work?*

Prompts:

- What did you have to learn?
- From whom?
- How did you learn?
- Explain how difficult or easy was it for you to learn?

4. *What are you good at doing? Why is that?*

5. *What are you not so good at doing? Why is that?*

6. *Is there anything that could make your job easier?*

Prompts:

- Is there anything for you that can make your work easier?
 - Possible answers: not working, long hours, better tools, different kind of jobs, etc.
- Can you do anything yourself to make it easier?
- Who else can do anything themselves to make it easier?
 - Possible answers: friends, siblings, parents, employers, aunt, uncles, etc.

7. *Do you think the work could be harmful for you in any way? Explain how it might be harmful?*

Prompts:

- Depending on the work the child does – just the appropriate one: tools, machinery, chemicals, long hours, temperature, social relations, insect/snake bite, and transportation? Are those worried you?

8. *What kinds of things do you have – or what kinds of things do you have to do to protect yourself from harm or having an accident?*

Prompts:

- Are they useful?
- Is there anything that could make it safer? Please explain

- Who could help you make your work safer?
- How could they make it safer?

9. *How would you explain to a new child worker how to keep themselves safe?*

Prompts:

- What would you tell them to do or not to do?
- What would your friends at work tell them to do?
- How would the information other child workers might give be different from what the adults would tell the new worker?
- What kind of help did you get from other child workers when you first started?

D. Decisions to take up a job

So far, you have told me many things about your job. I am interested to know how you started your job. Please tell me about that?

10. *Can you tell me how your parents or others talked to you about going to work – taking up your job?*

Prompts:

- Whose idea was it that you started working – this job?
- What were the reasons?
- How did you feel about starting work – this job?
 - Did anyone ask you what you wanted to do?
- Were you given a choice about working or not working?

11. *When you started your work, what do you think?*

Prompts:

- Was it a good idea?

12. *How long do you think you will carry on this work?*

Prompts:

- When will you stop doing this work?
- For what reason? Why is that?
- What will you do next? Why is that?

E. Experience of being in work, level of happiness and well-being/well-becoming

Can you tell me more about how you find your job, what you did and what you feel about it? Also, I would like to know how your job is important for you.

Techniques of interview: face cards (happy and sad cards)

The interviewer will give participants two cards: happy and sad cards; these are to represent their feeling about their activities. The interviewer will ask the child to group their chosen activity cards into two groups: happy and sad activities. The interviewer then asks the child about their experience and level of happiness based on their cards in each group.



13. *How do you enjoy your work?*

Prompts:

- What kinds of things do you enjoy? Why is that?
- What don't you like about working? Why is that?
- All in all, do you enjoy working? Why?

14. *How useful is your work for you?*

Prompts:

- Do you think it is useful for you now? Why?
- Do you think it is useful for you in the future? Why?

15. *What about the money if paid?*

Prompts:

- How much do you get paid for doing this work?
- What happens to the money?
 - Do you get to keep some of the money?
 - What do you do with it?
 - Do you enjoy that?
 - Who else gets the money?

16. *How important is the money to your family?*

- What do they do with it?

17. *How important it for you to get the money now?*

18. *How important is to your future life that you get the money?*

19. *All in all, do you think it is good for you to work?*

Prompts:

- Is it useful for you now to work?
- Is there anything you don't like?
 - Feeling tired? Lost concentration in school?
- Is it useful for your future life when you become adult?

F. Family benefits of child work

Thank you for that. Now, can you tell me how important it is for your family that you are doing your job?

20. *How do you think it is important for your family?*

Prompts:

- Why you said that?
- It is a good idea to help the family like you are doing?
- What about your friends – do they work as well?
- How important do you think it is to their family?

G. Daily activities & Impact of work on school and play/leisure

Thank you. You have talked much about your work. Now, I want to know about your school and play; and then how your job affects your school and play?

Question No 20 & 21 continued from "Marbles Activities"

21. *Can you tell me how do you spend your time in school?*

Prompts:

- How many days of the week you go to school?
- What time do you go to school?
- How many hours are you in school?

22. *Can you tell me how do you spend your time for playing/hobbies?*

Prompts:

- What kind of hobbies do you like?
- When you do this?
- Do you think it is enough for you or you need more time?
- Is there anything you like doing with your brothers/sisters/parents?
- How about something outside your family?
- Do you think you have enough time for that/those activities?

23. *Do you like going to school?*

Prompts:

- Why is that?
- What do you like about it?
- What don't you like about it?
- Do you want to spend time more/less in school?

24. *How does your job fit with your school work and your play/leisure time?*

Prompts:

- Missing school sometimes because of work?
- Not performing well at school because of work?
- Does your work interfere with your school anyway?

25. *Is there anything you would like to change about how you spend your time?*

Prompts:

- On school?
- On play leisure?
 - Do you want to spend your time more/less for playing? Why you said that?
 - Do you have to stop from playing because of your job?
- On work?
 - How many hours do you go to work?
 - Do you think it is about right? Or too much/too little? Why is that?
 - Do you feel tired because of your job?
 - What are the good things about you are doing your job?
 - What are the bad things about you are doing your job?
- On all three?

H. General views on children working in their community

Lots of your friends do work in this community. I want to know what you think about it: is it about right, when children should go to work, and that kind of things.

26. *In general, do you think it is a good idea for children to work?*

Prompts:

- What is good? Why do you think that?
- Is anything bad? Why do you think that?
- What do you think about your friend are doing work?
- What ages do you think children should start working? Why in that age?
- Do you think children should not go to work? Why do you say that?

27. *How do you think children aged between (10-14 years of age) should spend their time?*

28. *How does that compare to what the children in your community actually do with their time?*

29. *If you could choose to do anything you wanted – how would you choose to spend your time?*

30. *What do you think the advantages are for children working?*

31. *What are the disadvantages?*

32. *Can I ask you general question: ‘some agencies/peoples think that children should go to school’, what do you think about that?*

Prompts:

- Do you agree/disagree? Why you said that?
- Do your parents think the same? Why do you think that?

33. *To finish our conversation, do you have to work helping out in your family, such as washing and cooking?*

Prompts:

- What kind of activities you do to help your family?
- Do you like doing that?
- How important is it to the family that you do this work?

34. *One last questionIs there anything else you want to tell me that you think is really important?*

Appendix 7 – Picture Cards



Hoeing



Planting



Ploughing



Weeding



Preparing land



Watering plant

Appendix 7 – Picture Cards



Applying fertilizer



Harvesting



Spraying pesticides



Transporting crops



Harvest-bagging



Drying crops

Appendix 7 – Picture Cards



Herding goats



Harvesting leaves from trees



Collecting grasses



Using sharp tools



Transporting equipment

Appendix 8 – Activity Mapping



Work



School



Play

Appendix 9 – Face cards



Appendix 9 - Face cards



SAD

List of Abbreviations

BPS	:	<i>Biro Pusat Statistik</i> (BPS-Statistics Indonesia)
CRBP	:	Children’s Rights and Business Principles
CSR	:	Corporate Social Responsibility
ECEC	:	Early Childhood Education and Care
ESRC	:	Economic and Social Research Council
FAO	:	Food and Agriculture Organization
ICLS	:	Indonesian Child Labour Survey
IGO	:	Inter-Governmental Organization
ILO	:	International Labour Organisation
ILO-BA	:	Work banned by the ILO, due to age category
ILO-BH	:	Work banned by the ILO, due to work hours category
ILO-BW	:	Work banned by the ILO, due to working type category
ILO-NB	:	Work not banned by the ILO
INGO	:	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPCCLA	:	International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture
IPEC	:	International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
JARAK	:	<i>Jaringan Penanggulangan Pekerja Anak</i> (Network on the Elimination of Child Labour)
KLA	:	<i>Kota Layak Anak</i> (Child Friendly City)
KPA	:	<i>Komisi Perlindungan Anak</i> (Child Protection Commission)
MoM	:	Ministry of Manpower
MoMT	:	Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration
MoNE	:	Ministry of National Education
MoSA	:	Ministry of Social Affairs
MoSAE	:	Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment
MoU	:	Memorandum of Understanding
MoWE&CP	:	Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection
MP	:	Member of Parliament
MSDFAH	:	Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger
NAC-WFCL	:	National Action Committee on the elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
NAP-WFCL	:	National Action Plan on the elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PGRI	:	Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia
PKH	:	Program Keluarga Harapan
PKSA	:	Program Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak
PPA-PKH	:	<i>Pengurangan Pekerja Anak untuk mendukung Program Keluarga Harapan</i> (The Elimination of Child Labour to support Family Hope Programme)
PPE	:	Personal Protective Equipment
SD	:	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i> (Elementary School, Year 1-6)
SMA	:	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> (Senior High School – Year 10-12)
SMK	:	<i>Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan</i> (Vocational High School – Year 10-12)

SMP	:	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> (Junior High School – Year 7-9)
SMP Terbuka	:	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama Terbuka</i> (Non-regular Junior High School – Year 7-9)
SNA	:	System of National Accounts
UCW	:	Understanding Children’s Work
UN	:	United Nations
UNCRC	:	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WWI	:	World War I

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