

KNOWLEDGE MATERIALS

Children's work in the livestock sector: Herding and beyond



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Preparation of this document

This document is an explorative desk study report on child labour in the livestock sector. In order to address the knowledge gap on child labour in this sector, this overview of available data was prepared by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), in the framework of its participation in the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture (IPCCLA).

The report draws on available information on child labour in the livestock sector, retrieved through a literature search and the consultation of a wide range of organizations and livestock and child labour experts. It was prepared by Hanna Gooren, FAO intern, under the supervision of Bernd Seiffert and Jacqueline Demeranville at FAO. The contributions provided by FAO Representations in Bolivia, Chad, Namibia, Paraguay and Zambia are gratefully acknowledged, as are the comments and information provided by FAO colleagues and specialists outside FAO with expertise in livestock. The valuable contributions by Paola Termine and Halshka Graczyk at the International Labour Organization (ILO) are also gratefully acknowledged. Last but not least, a word of thanks to the members of the Decent Rural Employment Team within FAO's Gender, Equity and Rural Employment Division for all their valuable contributions.

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Executive summary

Agriculture is by far the largest sector where child labour is found and one of the most dangerous in terms of fatalities, accidents and occupational diseases. Almost 60 percent of girls and boys (aged 5–17 years) in hazardous work are found in agriculture, historically and traditionally an under-regulated sector and one in which regulation enforcement is also difficult in many countries. Livestock forms a considerable subsector within agriculture, with global demand for animal products rising. The livestock sector is one of the fastest growing segments of the agricultural economy and contributes 40 percent of the global value of agricultural output, according to the FAO State of Food and Agriculture report (SOFA, 2009). Furthermore, livestock represents at least a partial source of income and food security for 70 percent of the world's 880 million rural poor who live on less than USD 1.00 a day (Neely *et al.*, 2009). Within rural environments, livestock keeping has historical, cultural and traditional roots, and the involvement of children is very common.

Age-appropriate tasks that do not expose children to conditions that are likely to cause them harm, that do not have negative health or development consequences and do not interfere with a child's compulsory schooling and leisure time can be a normal part of growing up. Such acceptable work can teach a child certain skills and may have inherent social, educational and cultural value. However, much of the work children do in the livestock sector can be categorized as child labour: it is likely to be hazardous, to interfere with a child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. This definition is based on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Conventions No. 182 (ILO, 1999) on the worst forms of child labour (including *hazardous* work) and No. 138 (ILO, 1973) on the minimum age for admission to employment and work. A child is any person under the age of eighteen.

Poverty remains one of the major causes and consequences of child labour. Many children work for immediate household survival. Other major causes of child labour are those related to education, including lack of access to schools and perceived lack of benefits of education. Belief systems about the value of children working and of formal education, as well as a lack of knowledge about the possible harm inherent in child labour and missing school, are potential causes of child labour. Demand for child labour can stem from labour market forces and conditions, the need to pay off debt and a preference for children to perform specific activities. Child labour, through its negative effects on health and education, also contributes to creating or perpetuating situations of poverty.

Addressing child labour in agriculture is difficult due to the specificities of the sector. These include the fact that much of child labour in this sector takes place as unpaid family labour without formal contracts, the continuity that exists between the household and workplace and the tradition of children's participation in agricultural activities. In addition, agriculture and family undertakings have limited coverage in national labour legislation and there is often a low capacity of labour inspectors to cover remote rural areas.

This explorative desk study aims to give an overview of available data on child labour in the livestock sector and indicate potential avenues for action. By contributing to the knowledge base on this topic, FAO aims to provide a basis for further research and discussion on this topic in order to come to a common understanding of what efforts need to be prioritized and to encourage governments and other stakeholders to address this issue. Helping children to realize their rights and the reduction of poverty and food insecurity should be complementary goals. This study should contribute to reflection by agricultural, labour and other stakeholders on how to position themselves *vis-à-vis* the sociocultural issues related to children working with livestock, especially those concerning child herding activities within (nomadic) pastoralist communities.

There is currently little concrete information on child labour in the livestock sector; this has proved a limitation to this study. This was the case both in the literature and with the experts consulted. The lack of knowledge was a constraint to this study but at the same time confirms a strong need for further field research and more age- and sex-disaggregated data collection on child labour in the livestock sector.

The types of child labour in the livestock sector identified in the literature are work activities in poultry, animal traction, animal slaughter and work related to animal husbandry, but mainly general animal care and herding. The United States Department of Labor's List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor (USDOL, 2011) demonstrates that cattle products are among the goods commonly produced with child or forced labour. While the literature analysed in this study focuses primarily on children herding and caring for livestock (often cattle), this is a reflection of the current scarcity of information on other types of involvement of children in the sector, rather than an indication that child labour is only an issue in herding.

Both girls and boys are involved in livestock activities. In younger age groups, there appears to be little difference in the types of activities boys and girls undertake. As age increases, work activities are often, but not always, differentiated along gender lines. In the literature encountered, boys were generally more involved with herding activities than girls. Both girls and boys were involved in general livestock care, though there were sometimes gender divisions for specific tasks. In general, girls were more involved with household chores than boys, sometimes in addition to their livestock-related work activities (i.e. a double burden). In addition to competing demands for time from work, school and household chores, girls sometimes also face additional gender-based barriers to education.

A number of country-specific case studies focused on child labour in herding. From the literature, it appears that herding can start at a young age, anywhere between 5 and 7 years. The working conditions of children herding livestock are very context specific and vary greatly. Where some children might herd a few hours a week and still go to school, others might herd for days on end, sometimes far from the home, and with no possibility for schooling. Furthermore, there is variation in the conditions under which children work (e.g. climate, levels of isolation and loneliness, physical and mental burden, dangerous environments).

The conditions of employment or working contracts are not uniform. Children typically herd either for an employer or (unpaid) for their own household or relatives. If contracts do exist, they are usually verbal agreements. Children who work for others may be paid in cash or kind. Child herders working outside the household are vulnerable to exploitation by employers and to bonded or forced labour due to indebtedness (also that of parents under systems of intergenerational bonded labour). Of particular concern is the fact that some children are trafficked within and outside country borders for (forced) herding activities. This study urges a careful assessment of children herding livestock, especially within (nomadic) pastoralist communities where children have commonly been actively involved in livestock responsibilities from an early age. It also recommends a more general assessment of children involved in all subsectors of livestock work.

In households restricted by lack of financial resources, individual needs or rights are often subordinate to the direct needs of the household. When introducing internationally defined norms, it is important to acknowledge the existence of cultural norms, traditions and aspirations. Taking this into account, agricultural and labour stakeholders can contribute to addressing child labour in the livestock sector by taking the physical and mental health of children as a point of departure, recognizing that children have specific characteristics and needs when it comes to their physical, cognitive, behavioural and emotional development. It is essential to ascertain what the communities themselves consider important, while making them aware that herding and other livestock-related activities can be harmful to a child's development, and to then work together to find where a balance can be created between safe work activities and children's education. There are strong signals that pastoralist communities recognize the importance of education for their children and very much appreciate sending their children to school *if* the education is of a good level and relevant to the pastoral way of life, and especially if schooling can be combined with child work in the herd. The possibility of schooling leading to economic diversification of the pastoral livelihood appeals to many of these communities.

In many situations, the nature of the work of children in the livestock sector makes it difficult for children to attend formal school, or the hazards and conditions involved make it a worst form of child labour. This is both a violation of human rights and an impediment to the sustainable development of the agricultural sector and food security. Children working in the livestock sector, depending on their exact duties, are at risk of disrupted physical, mental, moral and social development. Working closely with livestock carries inherent risks of animal-related diseases, especially in situations without clear boundaries between working and living conditions; of health problems caused by working long hours in extreme weather conditions, poor sanitation and hygiene, using chemical products (e.g. disinfectants to treat animals) and inhaling (livestock) dust; as well as psychological stress resulting from fear of punishment from employers, fear of cattle raiders or a feeling of responsibility for the family capital. In addition, there are direct risks of injury when handling animals and sharp tools used in livestock work activities. Risks include being bitten (also by wild animals and insects), gored, kicked, stamped on; being abused by employers; and musculoskeletal disorders. Some children working in the livestock sector are also in situations of bonded or forced labour, or have been trafficked.

Recommendations

In order to prevent and eliminate child labour in the livestock sector, this study provides stakeholder-specific recommendations, building on previous work on child labour in agriculture. While not all specific to the livestock sector, they are undoubtedly *applicable* to the sector and can therefore lead to positive change with respect to child labour in the livestock sector.

Research institutes and academia (also within international organizations) can contribute to improving the understanding of the nature, scope and risks of children working in the livestock sector, in order to orient action. This will require more extensive and participatory research on child labour within the livestock sector, looking in depth at the incidence, causes, contributing factors, consequences, working conditions, contractual agreements, role of education and age and gender aspects of the different types of work within the sector. Research should also include precise, age- and gender-sensitive risk assessments in order to identify and define hazards and risks for children working with livestock so that national lists of hazardous work for children can be further defined. There is also an immediate need to identify, examine and further develop best practices for combating child labour in the livestock sector.

National governments are important stakeholders responsible for dealing with child labour issues at the national level, creating and enforcing national legislation to contribute to child labour elimination, and providing policies and infrastructure that address the root causes. Such efforts require close collaboration with different actors (within government, as well as producers', workers' and employers' organizations, development partners, researchers, and international labour and agriculture organizations) and should ideally include participation of those directly concerned: children, parents, communities and teachers. Governments should: strengthen the legal and political framework for the reduction of child labour in the livestock sector; create an enabling environment for the sustainable reduction of child labour; promote participation; improve access and incentives for education; and support direct action to stop the worst forms of child labour.

Producers', employers' and workers' organizations have an important role to play in awareness raising and campaigning against child labour in the livestock sector. Efforts aimed at corporate social responsibility and good practice standards should be enhanced. These organizations should support data collection and the implementation of risk assessments to identify children in hazardous work in the livestock sector and participate in the revision and establishment of national hazardous work lists for children. They should develop their capacity to address child labour and collaborate with respective government and development partners to find practical solutions to prevent child labour situations arising in the livestock sector. Teachers' unions can support the provision of quality education tailored to livestock-raising communities, monitor attendance, and act upon child labour situations, raising awareness amongst families and working actively to keep potential school dropouts in school. Pastoralist networks and organizations should participate in research on child labour issues within the livestock sector and collaborate with government bodies to find solutions specifically adapted to the pastoral way of life, including pastoralist-smart education systems. They can help initiate dialogue at pastoralist community level about child labour, education and decent working conditions, as well as assist communities in preventing and eliminating situations of child labour.

Rural communities, parents and children are direct stakeholders with considerable influence in the prevention and reduction of child labour in the livestock sector, because it is here that decisions for children to work or go to school (or both) are made. Dialogue should be initiated at community and household levels by these actors: to raise awareness of child labour in livestock activities and of the importance of education; and to initiate action. Actors within the local community should establish and participate in community child labour monitoring systems, and establish work contracts and standards for safety and health, working hours, holidays and remuneration. These stakeholders should also participate in research on child labour in the

livestock sector (including definition of research areas). Both children working with livestock and the local communities can supply important information on the actual risks and hazards they face in their work. They can also provide information on what types of work activities with livestock are perceived to be acceptable for children and under what conditions. Children can also provide information regarding their aspirations and what opportunities exist to change child labour situations.

Companies and multinational enterprises involved in the livestock industry can work with governments and other stakeholders to ensure that children are not engaged in child labour in their supply chains, and that when child labour is found, children and families are supported to engage in alternative solutions. Companies can build on the guidance in the UN Global Compact strategies (UN Global Compact Principle Five) for businesses and work with national stakeholders to further develop strategies for implementation. According to the Compact strategies, enterprises' responsibilities include awareness of child labour situations in the livestock sector; adherence to minimum age provisions of (inter)national labour laws and regulations; exercising influence on subcontractors, suppliers and other business affiliates to reduce child labour; and implementation of mechanisms to detect child labour. Multinational enterprises should work together to develop an industry-wide approach to address the issue. In the community of operation, they should also support and help design educational/vocational training, counselling programmes for working children and skills training for parents of working children.

Development partners or international and local non-governmental organizations, as well as (inter) national organizations with a focus on development issues, have a role to play in ensuring that child labour issues with regard to livestock are mainstreamed into development programmes and projects. They can help support initiatives that aim to improve school attendance within rural areas and that monitor for child labour situations. Development partners are also important when it comes to supporting governments to design and implement particular policies and actions with regard to child labour and within general poverty-alleviation strategies. In addition, they should support the knowledge base through data on child labour disaggregated by agricultural subsectors, research on child labour in the livestock sector, and risk assessments that will contribute to better covering the livestock sector in defining countries' lists of hazardous work for children. These stakeholders should also initiate and support awareness-raising and campaigning on education and child labour, producing specific sensitization material.

FAO should continue raising awareness on child labour in the livestock sector in FAO member countries, maintain dialogue on this subject within FAO, and promote actions in areas where FAO has a specific mandate and comparative advantage. It should also contribute to building stakeholders' capacity to mainstream child labour in livestock into agricultural and rural development policies, programmes, projects and activities. FAO could support the development and implementation of school curricula relevant to the rural and agricultural context and to pastoralist societies, and create tools to help reduce child labour in the livestock sector and promote decent rural employment. FAO should also help reduce the knowledge gap in child labour in the livestock sector by supporting research initiatives on the issue (especially those on the worst forms of child labour in livestock and on the exact hazards and risks related to particular work activities). Finally, FAO could work with partners to promote existing good practices such as integrated area-based approaches to child labour prevention in livestock-holding communities. FAO should also expand collaboration within established structures (e.g. with the ILO and the IPCCLA) and seek new collaborations to address child labour in the livestock sector.



1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Child labour has been common practice throughout time in many parts of the world. Despite the growing efforts to reduce child labour, it has not yet been eradicated, and a very large number of child labourers are still found in the agriculture sector. The causes of child labour and its consequences are intertwined. In addition to poverty, education has an important role within child labour dynamics (child labour and formal education have an inverse relationship) and has potential to be a major key to breaking the vicious cycle of poverty and child labour.

Of the 215 million child labourers worldwide in 2008, about 60 percent, or 129 million, were engaged in the agriculture sector, which includes farming, fishing, aquaculture, forestry and livestock. The agriculture sector is one of the most dangerous sectors in terms of fatalities, accidents and occupational diseases. Almost 60 percent of all children (aged 5–17) in hazardous work¹ (one of the worst forms of child labour²) are in the agriculture sector; this amounts to approximately 70 million children worldwide (ILO, 2010a). Two-thirds of the children in hazardous work are unpaid family workers (ILO-IPEC, 2011).

Globally, one billion people are estimated to depend on livestock (Neely *et al.*, 2009). Pastoralist societies make up the largest number of livestock-dependent people (who rely heavily on livestock for their food security and livelihood), around 120 million according to 2002 data (Raas, 2006 in FAO, 2011). Livestock also serves as at least a partial source of income and food security for 70 percent of the world's 880 million rural poor who live on less than

USD 1.00 a day (Neely *et al.*, 2009). The density of rural people below the poverty line and keeping livestock is highest in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) and sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria, Ethiopia, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Malawi and some systems in Kenya, South Africa and Niger). These two regions dominate in the absolute number of poor livestock keepers and together account for 72 percent of the 436 million poor livestock keepers. Of the poor livestock keepers in livestock-only systems (65 million), 47 percent (31 million) are located in sub-Saharan Africa (Robinson *et al.*, 2011).

Livestock as defined by FAO means “any domestic or domesticated animal including bovine (including buffalo and bison), ovine, porcine, caprine, equine, poultry and bees raised for food or in the production of food. The products of hunting or fishing of wild animals shall not be considered part of this definition.”³

Livestock keeping is a multifunctional activity in many places around the world. Besides generating food and income, livestock as such are a valuable asset and can serve as a store of wealth, collateral for credit and an essential safety net during times of crisis (SOFA, 2009). Livestock are also important in mixed farming systems, where they consume waste products from crop and food production, help control insects and weeds, produce manure for fertilizing and draught power for ploughing and transport. According to the FAO State of Food and Agriculture report (SOFA, 2009) the livestock sector is one of the fastest-growing⁴ segments of the agricultural economy and contributes 40 percent of the global value of agricultural output. This growth and transformation offers opportunities

1 Hazardous work is work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm.

2 See chapter 2.3 of this report for more information on the “worst forms of child labour”.

3 <http://termportal.fao.org/faoterm/search/pages/termUrl.do?id=35800>

4 This is due to income growth as well as technological and structural change.

for agricultural development, poverty reduction and food security gains. However, the speed at which the changes take place risks marginalizing smallholders. The risks to the environment and human health must also be addressed to ensure sustainability. Considering the importance (socially and economically) of livestock to rural livelihoods, there is a need – especially under changing climatic and environmental conditions – for sustainable management of the natural resources base (Neely *et al.*, 2009), especially given that the global demand for animal products is rising and livestock production is a fast-growing agricultural subsector (SOFA, 2009; Steinfeld *et al.*, 2006). Social sustainability of the livestock sector must also be factored in; sector growth must not come at the expense of children's rights to education and healthy development.

There are many challenges to face in addressing child labour in livestock. The agriculture sector in general (including livestock production), largely based in rural areas, is historically and traditionally an under-regulated sector in many countries, a sector in which the enforcement of regulation is difficult (Hurst, 2007). Other challenges include poor coverage of agriculture and family undertakings in national labour legislation, limited unionization, fragmentation of the labour force, low capacity of labour inspectors to cover remote rural areas, invisibility of child labour in agriculture (as the majority of child labourers work as unpaid family labour without formal contracts and do not feature in statistics), continuity between rural

households and the workplace and the tradition of children participating in agricultural activities from a young age (ILO-IPEC Web site).

It is not always easy to distinguish between child labour and acceptable child work,⁵ where the latter is not considered harmful and can be beneficial to children in certain situations. Especially in the context of rural family-based endeavours, it is important to realize that age-appropriate tasks that carry minimal health and safety risks and do not interfere with a child's schooling and leisure time can be a healthy part of growing up in a rural environment. It can provide children with agricultural knowledge and skills for their future. Child labour, on the other hand, interferes with compulsory schooling or is likely to cause harm to the mental, physical, psychosocial or moral development of a child.

"The Hague Global Child Labour Conference 2010" and the adoption of the "Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016" demonstrated the global commitment to tackle child labour, particularly its worst forms. However, action must be significantly accelerated, and addressing hazardous child labour in agriculture needs to be a top priority if the promise is to be fulfilled.

Reducing 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.

5 The distinction between child labour and acceptable child work is based on the hours and conditions of work, the child's age, the exact activities performed and the hazards involved (ILO-IPEC Web site).

1.2 Purpose and structure of this study

The information currently available on child labour in the livestock sector is limited. The intention of this literature review is to explore available information and identify possible avenues for action for governments and other stakeholders to limit child labour in livestock. There is a need to learn more about the situation of children involved in the livestock sector in order to reach a common understanding of when this work is appropriate for a child's development and when it is exploitative or harmful child labour. Such an understanding should help prioritize the efforts necessary to eliminate child labour (particularly its worst forms) in this agricultural subsector.

The overall objective of this report is to contribute to the reduction of child labour in the livestock sector by increasing the understanding of girls' and boys' involvement and identifying further necessary research. This study puts forth possible recommendations for tackling child labour in the livestock sector and should form a starting point for further research and reflection on children working with livestock. It should also help FAO to develop a clear position on the issues related to children working with livestock, especially those related to children's herding activities within pastoralist communities.

In this overview, a value chain perspective has been considered, since child labour does not, for example, stop with the raising of livestock. Within slaughterhouses and meat processing as well as in the leather garment industry, there may also be cases of child labour. However, without disregarding the rest of the value chain, this study focuses on girls and boys working with live animals and, to some extent, during the immediate post-mortem stage. Leather processing, dyeing and

use in products are typical activities in the leather garment industry and are no longer considered part of the agriculture sector.

This study has a special focus on child (herding) activities with regard to livestock in pastoralist communities. Though the livestock sector extends beyond herding, the available data and research on child labour in other parts of the livestock sector are limited. This does not mean that there is little child labour in other parts of the sector and that child labour is mainly found in pastoralist communities. Rather, the bias is due to the lack of data on children's working activities in all parts of the livestock sector. Considering that this study intends to create an overview of the available literature on child labour in the livestock sector, it reflects the available data, which concern mainly children's herding activities in pastoralist communities.

This introductory chapter presents child labour in agriculture and describes the dependence of a large majority of the world's rural poor, including pastoralist families, on livestock for their livelihoods. Given the rise in global demand for animal products (SOFA, 2009; Steinfeld *et al.*, 2006), not only the environmental implications, but also the role of children in livestock production deserves careful attention. The introduction concludes with a short description of the methodological constraints of this study. Chapter two then applies child labour definitions and dynamics to the livestock sector, paying particular attention to causes, consequences and international regulations as well as the role of education. Chapter three focuses on the activities of children in the livestock sector, examining the tasks undertaken by girls and boys, their working conditions and the precise hazards faced when children work with livestock. The final chapter provides conclusions and presents recommendations for different stakeholders.



Children ploughing in Eastern Uganda

1.3 Methodology and constraints

There is little concrete data on children working in the livestock sector. In order to obtain information and gather knowledge, experts were consulted and an online search for articles conducted. Search terms included: *Child labour/work, impact of child labour/work, data on child labour/work, addressing child labour/work, hazardous child labour* combined with *livestock, poultry, plough, traction, dairy, piggery, cattle, herding, meat, slaughter*. There were very few articles specifically on child labour in the livestock sector, though some limited information related to child labour and livestock was found within more general published work on child labour or livestock production. The specific articles were mostly on children's (herding) activities in pastoralist communities.

Contact was made via e-mail with numerous people whom it was believed could lead to more information on the topic, including researchers and FAO colleagues working on livestock issues at headquarters and in the field. Experts were consulted within the ILO's International Programme

on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC, 2010); the Department of Animal Health and Livestock Development of Malawi; WINROCK International, Tanzania; the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers Associations (IUFA); the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI); the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF); Wageningen University and Research Centre (WUR); the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), Mozambique the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR); the Foundation for International Research on Working Children (IREWOC); the Understanding Children's Work Programme (UCWP); HIVOS;⁶ and the Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development of the European Commission. Furthermore, information requests were sent to the FAO representatives in those countries with clearly reported incidences of child labour in the livestock sector (Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bangladesh, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritania, Mongolia, Namibia, Paraguay, Swaziland, Uganda and Zambia).⁷ Five FAO representatives shared new contacts and country-specific information. From the experts consulted, there was quite a good response, but experts agreed on the fact that little concrete information was available on the topic. Their own thoughts on the acceptability of children herding livestock, however, were interesting, including their awareness of the sensitive nature of the topic of child labour (i.e. herding activities) in pastoralist communities from a cultural point of view.

The major constraint of this desk study was the lack of concrete data available on the topic. There is a definite need for more research on the specific topic of child labour in the livestock sector, in particular on its incidence, the exact conditions of work (including impact on health and social development), the social and economic causes and consequences, age and gender dimensions, the employment agreements and the role of education.

⁶ HIVOS: Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, a Dutch non-profit organization.

⁷ Identified by the United States Department of Labor's List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor (USDOL, 2011).

Summary points 1

Sixty percent of child labourers are found in the agriculture sector, one of the most dangerous sectors in terms of fatalities, accidents and occupational diseases.

There are many challenges to addressing child labour in agriculture.

Distinguishing between acceptable child work and child labour is necessary, as the latter is by definition harmful and unacceptable.

Livestock serves as at least a partial source of income and food security for 70 percent of the world's 880 million rural poor who live on less than USD 1.00 a day. Pastoralists make up the largest number of livestock-dependent people.

Child labour within the livestock sector remains clearly understudied. The information available is patchy and concrete data difficult to find. The literature mainly reflects herding activities within pastoral settings.

There is a need to learn more about the situation of girls' and boys' involvement in the livestock sector.



A young girl feeding the pigs on a family farm

© FAO / Saul Palma

2 Framework for child labour in the livestock sector

2.1 Defining child labour

It is not always easy to define child labour. The term depends on the exact meaning of other constructions such as ‘child’ and ‘childhood’, and there is a difference between child ‘labour’ and work activities that are age appropriate and not harmful to health and development. A child, according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) 1989 is any person under the age of eighteen. In this study, child labour is defined in line with CRC Article 32 as **a child performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development**. It is important to note that not all work done by children is considered child labour. Child labour consists of work for which the child is either too young (work done below the required minimum age) or work which, because of its nature or conditions, is considered unacceptable for children and should be prohibited. Chapter 2.3 looks more closely at two legally binding conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO): No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour and No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work (ILO, 1999 and 1973).

Drawing the line between child labour and acceptable work can be difficult in practice, and the livestock sector is no exception. Stakeholders can disagree about what work is potentially beneficial or harmful for children. Social and cultural constructions and different ideas of what is in the best interest of the child are at play. Furthermore, exhaustive information on health hazards or labour markets may not be available to all parties.

2.2 Causes and consequences of child labour

This section looks at the typical causes and consequences of child labour, and how these relate to the livestock sector.

2.2.1 Causes: supply and demand factors

Causes of child labour are those factors that push or pull a child into an undesirable working situation; they are otherwise known as the supply and demand factors of child labour.

Demand factors

Pull factors are those related to a demand for child labour. These include labour market forces and conditions (e.g. labour shortages – due to, for example, migration, illness or death of adults or youth, and seasonal peaks in labour demand – financial constraints to hiring labour or purchasing alternative technology, and the cheapness of child labour), as well as a preference for children to perform specific activities (e.g. because they are less able to organize and protect themselves against exploitation) or are perceived as suitable for particular activities due to their physical or behavioural characteristics. For example, it was reported that in Malawi children are generally perceived as honest and trustworthy employees by many adults due to their innocence. Stakeholders in Malawi also explained that the demand for child labour in cattle herding was linked to the perception of communities that the use of adult men for this activity was a waste of labour potential (IPCCLA, 2011).

Pull factors can also stem from within the household; livestock and land ownership are both productive household assets that can increase the household demand for child labour (Cockburn, 1999). Woldehanna *et al.* (2006) attribute this to the fact that credit and labour constraints, even amongst wealthier cattle- and landowners, make it difficult for farmers to hire additional labour. Being cattle-rich does not necessarily mean that households can easily sell their cattle to have access to needed cash and the accumulation of cattle can be of high cultural value. In addition, hired labour can be perceived as an imperfect substitute for flexible family (child) labour. One reason for this is that some households do not trust non-family members to take care of their herds and are wary of the threat of theft.

Supply factors

The main push factors contributing to the supply of child labour generally include poverty (poor and marginalized families), the need to pay off debt with an employer (especially in situations of bonded labour), absence of parents/carers, migratory developments,⁸ vulnerability to shocks, urbanization, inadequate education systems (lack of access to schools, poor quality of schooling, lack of safety in schools, irrelevant and unattractive school curricula, inflexibility in the school system etc.) and belief systems about the value of children working and of schooling. Informal education valued by the community as providing practical skills and teaching a way of life to their children can, in some situations, contain elements of child labour, but be perceived by parents and the community as normal. Further factors that can allow for child labour to occur include a lack of understanding of the distinction between acceptable work by children and child labour, and insufficient or ineffective legislative provisions concerning child labour.

Often there is no clear link between formal education and a future livelihood: children might

complete formal education but still have little access to employment opportunities. In situations where there is a long school-to-work transition, or where (low quality) education is believed to hold little advantage over employment and its immediate returns to the household, work may be chosen over schooling. Beliefs of parents and children about the usefulness of education can fall short when they do not have full labour market information, and they might believe that a lack of schooling does no harm. Furthermore, families often consider children's involvement in livestock activities as essential to the socialization process and to teaching livelihood skills to children (Clanet, 2002; ILO-MOFALI, 2009; IER, 2012). Parents with a higher level of educational attainment are more likely to send their children to school.

The incidence of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) directly affect children, as those without parents are at risk of having to work for their immediate survival. Orphanhood makes children particularly vulnerable to (bonded) child labour and trafficking.⁹

Poverty

Child labour can be explained mainly in terms of structural poverty. Poor families often rely on the roles performed by children in order to meet immediate needs for survival (Ansell, 2005). Particularly in times of income fluctuation or shortfall, child labour may occur to broaden income sources and increase the household income (Ravinder, 2006). Possession of livestock can either mitigate the impact of negative shocks on children's labour and schooling or increase the likelihood that children will be withdrawn from school in order to work, depending on the herd size and value (Dillon, 2008).¹⁰ Once children are out of school to work, the transition back to education is difficult, especially when unassisted. This points to a need for bridging education programmes to

8 For example, when parents migrate in search of employment, making it difficult for children to attend school, and children are involved in the labour taken up temporarily by parents at sights.

9 Child trafficking is described by ILO-IPEC as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt (either by force or not) of children (under 18) by a third person for exploitative (ILO Convention No. 182) purposes. Trafficking is distinguished from other slavlike practices by its movement component. The use of threat, force, other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability are often indicators of child trafficking (ILO-IPEC, 2010).

10 The principle findings of the study undertaken in northern Mali were that greater herd value made it more likely that children would be in school, while greater herd size made it less likely. Livestock value mitigated the effects of large production shocks, increasing the likelihood that a child would stay in school. However, in the case of health shocks to men, higher livestock value increased the likelihood that children would be withdrawn from school in order to substitute men's labour. As tasks are gendered, the effects of a parent's illness on children's activities vary, and assets requiring work (such as livestock) may mitigate or increase the negative effects of shocks.

support children's reintegration into education. It also highlights the importance of prevention mechanisms such as safety nets and insurance schemes to prevent children's withdrawal from schooling in the first place.

2.2.2 Consequences of child labour

The consequences of child labour lead back to a situation of poverty and increased vulnerability. Inability to attend school can lead to frustration and feelings of inferiority among citizens, illiteracy and general wasted human talents and skills. It can also lead to continued vulnerability to ill treatment, discrimination and exploitation, on the labour market and elsewhere. It should be noted that through its negative impact on education, child labour can result in a shortage of skilled human resources; within the context of the livestock sector, child labour can impede sectoral development. As an example, lack of basic education can hinder higher level skills acquisition and lead to a shortage of skilled animal health specialists in rural communities.

In addition, the short- and long-term health of children may suffer, with problems of malnourishment, illness, injury and early morbidity. Children working in the livestock sector are exposed to a number of health and safety risks (see section 3.2). Children exposed to hazardous substances or conditions in their young life may not experience the negative health effects until much later due to the extended latency periods of many occupational illnesses (i.e. silicosis and musculoskeletal disorders).

Child labour can have significant economic consequences at both household and national levels. Galli (2001) looks at the negative effects of child labour and recognizes six channels through which child labour might affect a country's long-run growth.

In the case of children from poor households, child labour can be a direct contribution to short-term household survival. However, there are long-term negative implications that can trap the household and future generations in poverty.

A vicious cycle: The vicious cycle of poverty and child labour (see Figure 1) expresses the mutual reinforcement of structural poverty and child labour. Child labour perpetuates poverty and poverty often leads to situations of child labour.

Poverty and a lack of decent employment (including sufficient income) for rural adults and youth can result in child labour; children work to supplement adult labour, often to the detriment of their health and/or ability to attend school. This can trap children in unskilled labour later in life, where they are faced with low wages and weak bargaining capacity. Low levels of education and income can hamper individuals' and communities' ability to acquire higher-level skills, develop agribusinesses, innovate and respond to shocks. Without such capacities and developments, the agricultural productivity and performance of rural economies is likely to remain low, perpetuating poverty and food insecurity as well as child labour in rural areas.

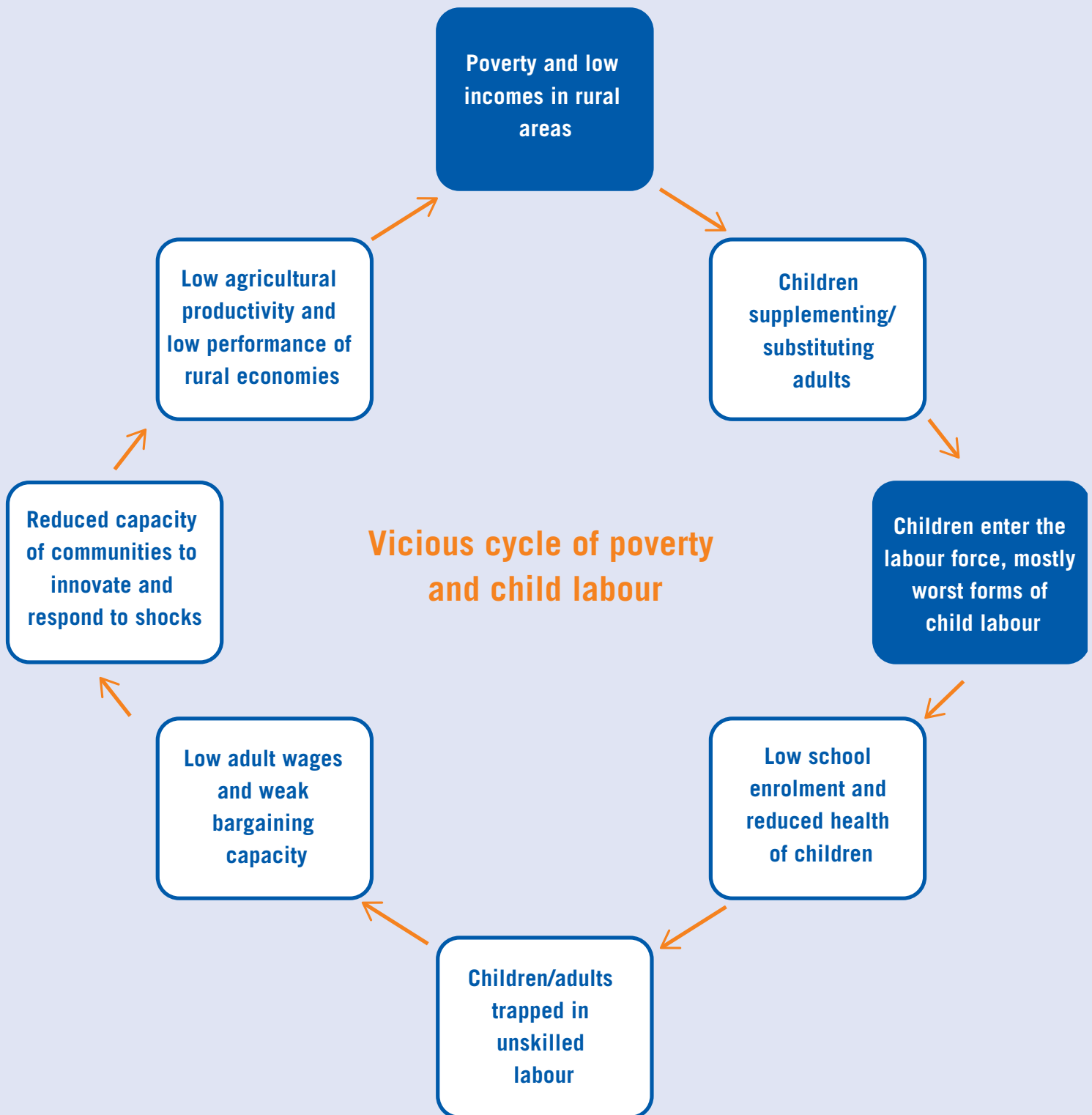
The cycle demonstrates that child labour is a major threat to future decent employment in youth and adulthood, and an impediment to long-term agricultural and rural development, both locally and regionally.

Economic consequences of child labour:

1. Lower human capital accumulation
2. Higher fertility
3. Worse health
4. Slower investment and technical change (availability of cheap, unskilled child labour dampens employers' incentives to invest in fixed capital and to upgrade production processes)
5. Higher income inequality (family income is affected negatively by low education and high fertility)
6. Higher gender inequality (in contexts where children's work activities are based on gender, school attendance can be affected along gender lines – sometimes in favour of boys' attendance, sometimes in favour of girls', depending on cultural influences – which in turn can lead to higher gender inequality in a society)

Source: Galli, 2001.

FIGURE 1 Poverty and child labour cycle



2.2.3 Education and child labour in livestock

It is widely argued that education is an important solution for breaking the poverty-child labour cycle, reducing the incidence of both child labour and poverty, especially when education is adequately accessible, safe, equitable, relevant to community needs and of good quality. The provision of education, however, also needs to be flexible to local conditions (Saith, 2009). Especially in rural areas, enrolment in education might be higher if schooling (times, holidays) were in line with agricultural seasons, making it easier to combine education with rural work. Nevertheless, many child labourers are from poor families who cannot afford quality education and the related costs.

Children not being in school is often the result of households needing the direct labour contribution of their children for immediate survival or not having the means to finance schooling. Even when school is free, the indirect costs (i.e. books, uniforms, transport) can be a heavy financial burden. A trade-off is usually made between education and work. In the case of poor quality, poorly accessible,

inequitable or unsafe¹¹ education, work naturally has priority, especially in times of financial hardship. Poor employment prospects after completion of schooling can also discourage investment in education. In more prosperous communities, formal (primary) education might be seen as a basic right or need, while in others it is seen purely as an economic investment (De Groot, 2007).

As a strategy against child labour, it is important to take into account that some children may have a double and possibly a triple burden, combining education, economic work and domestic activities, and programmes must address the specificities of rural areas. Bhalotra (2003, in Oterová, 2010: 104) illustrates this in the case of rural Ethiopia: “Over the past two decades, many national and international policy efforts were targeted at increasing educational levels and decreasing child labour in rural Ethiopia. Some have been successful, but many of them did not come to full effect. One of the problems is that many of them do not account for factors specific to the rural parts of the country”.

Van den Berge (2009: 49) also evaluates education as a strategy against child labour in Peru: “improved education does not tackle some of the structural constraints that lead to children working in traditional agriculture”. He points here to structural poverty constraints that lead to parental migration, and thus increase the workload of the children who stay behind. Hiring outside labour is not an option because of the low returns on agriculture.

In the livestock sector, time-consuming activities such as herding and factors such as migration introduce further challenges to education or to combining education with work. Other less time-consuming forms of livestock care which do not involve travelling long distances or frequent migration may be more easily combined with schooling. The literature reviewed in this study discusses a number of barriers to education for children, in particular in pastoralist communities. However, a number of the factors (discussed in Box 1), especially with regard to perceptions of formal schooling, may very well also apply to children involved in the livestock sector in non-pastoral rural communities.



Children collecting eggs from a chicken coop set up in their school

¹¹ Where children are beaten, harassed, abused by classmates or teachers.

BOX 1 Potential challenges faced by pastoralist children seeking to benefit from formal education

Education system often not suited to pastoral way of life. Nomadic communities are constantly on the move in search of water and pasture for their livestock, and accessibility to schools is a problem of distance and infrastructure (Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008). The school calendar does not take into account livestock responsibilities, which makes school attendance difficult. An informant in Kenya therefore proposes: “rather than stopping children herding the animals, adapt the schooling to suit the pastoral system” (Allport, 2011).

Teaching materials for pastoralists sometimes inaccurate, out of date or demeaning (Siele *et al.*, 2011: 10), and formal schooling of little relevance. Schools teaching that pastoralism is outdated and destructive are not encouraging pastoralist parents to send their children there (Allport, 2011). Formal education is usually unsuitable for a pastoral livelihood (Krätli, 2001) as it tends to exclude components pastoralists find important in education.

Education in remote areas often of poor quality. There is a lack of qualified teachers from pastoralist communities and other teachers are often unwilling to teach in remote areas (Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008). Language can also be an accompanying problem.

Limited possibilities of transition to higher levels of education or employment following formal primary school. Secondary school opportunities can be a long distance away and boys and girls may be obliged to move. The costs involved and protective attitudes towards the girl child are potential constraints.

Long-term benefits not always fully appreciated by pastoralist parents and communities. Considering the weaknesses of formal education in remote areas, the limited perceived employment possibilities and the context of everyday life being a matter of survival, the resources and incentives for education are limited (Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005).

Traditional values and lifestyles perceived to be threatened (Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005). Afenyadu (2008, in Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008: V11) describes how “some cattle owners see the efforts to withdraw boys from herding as an ‘attempt to crash the local economy’”. School systems based on religious or other beliefs differing from those of pastoralists can be hard to accept.

School sometimes perceived as a government venture. Krätli (2001: 42) describes this perceived link and the way people see it as entangled with their general impression of the state as “potentially helpful but ultimately unpredictable, and therefore not trustable”.

Changing attitudes

Despite the reserved attitudes to formal education, there is in general an increasing demand for education from pastoralists (Siele *et al.*, 2011). There are strong signals that pastoralist communities (e.g. in Kenya and Mongolia) see the importance of education and want to send their children to school if the education is of a good level and not disdainful to the pastoral way of life, and especially if there is a way schooling can be combined with children's work activities in the herd. In Lesotho, where herding is deeply engrained in the culture of the Basotho, formal education is gaining ground. The elders find themselves being "caught in a dilemma between the herding tradition whereby boys earn lobola for marriage and their desire to obtain basic education for herd boys without forfeiting their valuable contribution to the subsistence economy of their households" (RECLISA, 2008). There is widespread agreement about the importance of education particularly when it is seen as appropriate and relevant (RECLISA, 2008). This is also what Kenyan pastoralists in Krätli's 2001 study indicated: they want education that is relevant to their needs and also allows the child to participate in the productive systems (herding). In Mongolia as well, pastoralists have indicated they wish to educate their children. According to the ILO-MOFALI (2009) survey, herders prefer formal education and try to prevent their children from dropping out of school.

There is a demand for education because it can support the production system in times when it is increasingly difficult to rely solely on livestock (drought, cattle raids, epidemics). It can be used for economic diversification: "Education is not an escape route from pastoralism but a resource they want to use in order to strengthen the pastoral enterprise, a security net" (Krätli, 2001: 4). The flexibility and adaptation skills of pastoralists are a case in point here. Odonkor (2007a:1 in Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008: V11) confirms that despite a situation of low quality education, the limited access to schools and the uncertainty of finding employment after schooling, parents still see the importance of education and develop coping strategies, such as sending some children to school and others to engage in work.

This selective prioritization of education among children is not an uncommon strategy. Krätli (2001) demonstrates that in Kenya, the Turkana do not see the logic of educating all children because education is considered within the logic of household diversification and survival. Instead of focusing on the future prospects of individual children, decision-making focuses on the future prospects of the household. Families may reason that it is sufficient that one of their children have the necessary knowledge gained from education to improve the family business, while the others serve as labourers. Sending some but not all children to school makes pastoralism as it is at present not so different from many farms and family businesses or cooperatives elsewhere in the world. According to Krätli (2001: 32): "people respond to education more or less in the same way, investing some children in it (which in Europe would mean a degree in accountancy, law or a technical specialisation like agronomy) and making sure that others continue with the business. The difference of course being that in Europe, primary and secondary education is free and easily accessible, so children's education only starts to be a family investment from upper-secondary or university level and onwards". The choice to educate children is often based on the opportunities available and on the household resources, and it is likely to be gender-biased. There is a need to increase the financial accessibility of basic education to children within poorer households so that families have a real choice.

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A young Fulani boy tending a herd of oxen

In an attempt to bring (formal) education to pastoralist children, a variety of more flexible methods taking into account the uncertainties of pastoral life have been experimented over the years. These include boarding schools, distance learning, mobile schools that relocate with the pastoralists, and school feeding programmes or cash transfers (see de Souza, 2006; Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008; Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005; Siele *et al.*, 2011). School feeding programmes or cash transfers can increase school enrolment, but attention should be paid to how they apply to the poorest, as the increase in school enrolment can be limited amongst the poor and very poor (Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008). Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) also mention that such programmes may be demanding in terms of capacity to implement and manage. Adequate resources must be allocated, and strategies for households to 'graduate' from these programmes (e.g. by building risk resilience and human capital) may need to be considered. Issues of accountability, monitoring and evaluation are also important to ensure the right targeting and to prevent capture by local elites. Mobile and boarding schools cease to be valid solutions if the quality of education is inadequate and the facilities poor. Distance learning strategies have high potential when it comes to cost-effectiveness, but according to Carr-Hill and Peart (2005) the quality and sustainability of such education methods may not be guaranteed. Finding the best ways to reach pastoralists and other remote rural communities with education remains very context-specific and dependent on the quality and content of the education provided.

At present, a distance learning strategy in which children are schooled by means of radio learning modules (in addition to having mobile teachers in their vicinity) is being implemented in Kenya (Siele *et al.*, 2011). It allows for formal education to be scheduled between the herding tasks of children, equipping them with low-cost reception devices to receive radio lessons. Such

approaches, circumventing problems of mobility, teacher shortage and flexibility may represent the way forward in addressing child labour within (nomadic) pastoralist communities. However, their implementation might be difficult in practice.

Two livestock education methodologies worthy of mention are the Pastoralist Field School and the Livestock Farmer Field School initiatives. The 2001 Livestock Farmer Field School approach adapted the FAO Farmer Field School approach (dating from 1989) to livestock production systems. Animal health concerns and crop and forage production activities were integrated into the Farmer Field School curriculum. The Livestock Farmer Field School approach is directed primarily at adult farmers; it could strengthen its impact on child labour reduction and the creation of youth employment opportunities by more explicitly targeting youth and including sessions on issues of child labour within livestock farming.

The Pastoralist Field School approach builds on the Livestock Farmer Field School¹² approach and was set up with the recognition that pastoralists need to supplement their traditional knowledge and practices in order to deal with developments such as climate change and emerging diseases. The approach strengthens local communities' capacity to analyse their livelihood systems, identify main constraints and test possible solutions. Combining traditional knowledge and external information should help pastoralists identify and adopt practices and technologies suited to their livelihood systems, so as to make them more productive, profitable and responsive to changing conditions. The Pastoralist Field School¹³ approach applies to adult and youth pastoralists. It does not yet explicitly take into consideration the role of children and children's work within pastoralist communities. The inclusion of child labour issues within the livestock sector in the Pastoralist Field School approach's modules could have an impact on child labour prevention and reduction.

12 The Livestock Farmer Field School approach was created by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), with the support of FAO and the Animal Health Programme (AHP) of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). For the Livestock Farmer Field School guide refer to: http://www.farmerfieldschool.net/document_en/Livestock-FFS-Manual.pdf

13 The Pastoralist Field School approach was piloted (as an adaptation of Farmer Field Schools to the pastoralist situation) in 2006 by ILRI and Vétérinaires Sans Frontières Belgium, working directly in the arid and semi-arid and conflict-prone areas of Uganda, Kenya and south Sudan. For the Pastoralist Field School approach, refer to: http://governanceandpeacebuilding.com/Celep/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/FAO-VSF_PastoralistFieldSchools_2009.pdf

2.3 International standards and legislation on child labour

With regard to child labour in the livestock sector, the following conventions make up the international normative framework on children's work. They provide international standards that are translated into national legislation by countries that have ratified them. Private companies and initiatives also establish their own private voluntary standards based on the conventions, and they apply them both within their own companies and with their suppliers.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is internationally the most widely recognized set of universal child rights and the most widely ratified human rights treaty today. Somalia, South Sudan and the United States are the only countries that have not yet ratified it.¹⁴

With regard to child labour, Article 32 of the CRC is especially important as it stresses that State Parties recognize the right of the child (under 18 years) to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. Article 35, stating that State Parties shall take (national, bilateral and multilateral) measures to prevent the abduction of, sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form, is also relevant, as child trafficking for the purpose of herding livestock has been reported.¹⁵

ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour (1999)

ILO Convention No. 182 (ILO, 1999), ratified by 174 countries, focuses on the urgency to eradicate the worst forms of child labour, without compromising the long-term goal of eliminating all forms of child labour. The ILO conventions are drafted and negotiated between (representatives of) governments, workers' and employers' organizations

of member countries and, when ratified, are legally binding. With ratification, a country falls under the ILO's regular supervisory system, which ensures that national legislation is brought into accordance with the Convention and is applied in practice.

Convention No. 182 uses the term 'child' to refer to all persons under the age of 18. The term 'worst forms of child labour' comprises slavery (also debt bondage), prostitution, illicit activities and, probably most important with regard to child labour in agriculture, "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",¹⁶ (commonly referred to as *hazardous work*). Convention No. 182 does not provide a list specifying which types of work and conditions are hazardous, but rather requires that State Parties to the Convention create national hazardous work lists after consultation with workers and employers. ILO Recommendation No. 190 provides guidance on characteristics that help define hazardous work.

Characteristics helping define hazardous work (ILO Recommendation No. 190):

1. Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse
2. Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces
3. Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads
4. Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health
5. Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer

Source: ILO Web site.

¹⁴ Although they have signed the Convention.

¹⁵ USDS (2011) and USDOL (2010).

¹⁶ ILO Convention No. 182, Article 3: the term "the worst forms of child labour" 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; (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

Section 3.2 of this study describes the various hazards related to children's work in the livestock sector, which can serve to assist governments in taking into account the livestock sector when establishing or revising their hazardous work lists for children.

ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work (1973)

Convention No. 138 (ILO, 1973), ratified by 161 countries, states that the minimum age for employment shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and shall not be less than 15 years (13 for light work). Furthermore, the minimum age for hazardous work shall not be less than 18 years. There is, however, an exception permitting State Parties to allow certain types of hazardous work from the age of 16 under specific conditions.¹⁷ There is also flexibility, and developing countries may set the minimum age temporarily at 14 for non-hazardous work (12 for light work). However, in some developing countries, the minimum age has been independently set at 16 years (e.g. Brazil, China and Kenya).

The application of Convention No. 138 to child labour in the *livestock* sector, and in other subsectors of agriculture, might involve challenges where children work within a family subsistence context. Convention No. 138 includes a flexibility clause which developing countries may choose to use at the time of ratification in order to exclude some economic sectors from its application (Article 5). However, only a handful of states chose to use this flexibility clause when they ratified the Convention.¹⁸ Nevertheless, even when the flexibility clause is adopted, the Article contains a provision concerning obligatory coverage – i.e. what must not be excluded (Article 5, Paragraph 3):

The provisions of the Convention shall be applicable as a minimum to the following: mining and quarrying; manufacturing; construction; electricity, gas and water; sanitary services; transport, storage and communication; and plantations and other agricultural undertakings mainly producing for commercial purposes, but excluding family and small-scale holdings producing for local consumption and not regularly employing hired workers.

The provisions, therefore, make it clear that – even when the flexibility clause is used – the Convention must apply to plantations and other agricultural undertakings, mainly producing for commercial purposes. It does not mean that small-scale or family farms are automatically excluded from the application of the Convention.

In accordance with ILO Conventions No. 182 and No. 138, Table 1 (page 26) illustrates permissible work in relation to age.

ILO Convention No. 184 on safety and health in agriculture (2001)

Both research on and measures to enforce occupational safety and health standards for children in the livestock sector are limited. The first international instrument that addresses the safety and health hazards facing workers (i.e. all workers, not specific to children) specifically in agriculture is the ILO's Safety and Health in Agriculture Convention No. 184 (ILO, 2001). However, it has only been ratified by 14 countries to date. It is supplemented by Recommendation No. 192 (ILO Web site).

Convention No. 184 covers animal husbandry (Article 1). However, Article 2 states that the Convention does not cover subsistence farming. Instead, it applies more to agricultural employers, their workers and the workplace. The degree to which Convention No. 184 covers all the types of work child labourers take up in the livestock sector seems marginal, because these types of work often take place within the context of (family) subsistence farming. However, in those situations where children work under a contract with an employer, the Convention should apply. Convention No. 184 is in line with Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 in its Article 16 which refers to young workers and hazardous work.

The ILO 2010 Code of Practice on Safety and Health in Agriculture (ILO, 2001) complements (and gives guidance on the application of) Convention No. 184 and its supplementing Recommendation (No. 192). The objective of the Code is to help promote occupational safety and health in agriculture globally, including in livestock production, and it provides recommendations for doing so. Guidance

17 Specific conditions include that appropriate prior training is given, and the safety and health of the young workers are fully protected.

18 For other countries (i.e. the vast majority) that did not use this flexibility upon ratification, the option to exclude certain economic sectors is not applicable. Moreover, states that ratified Convention No. 138 without adopting this exemption clause do not have the option of adopting it at a later stage.

TABLE 1 Minimum ages to work

	Minimum age at which a child can start work	Possible exceptions for developing countries
Hazardous work Any work likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18	18 (16 under strict conditions)	18 (16 under strict conditions)
Basic minimum age The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, generally 15	15	14
Light work Children may do light work, as long as it does not harm their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training	13–15	12–14

Source: ILO-IPEC Web site.

on occupational health and safety in livestock production is included in Chapter 8: Machinery and work equipment safety; Chapter 9: Ergonomics and the handling of materials; Chapter 10: Chemicals; Chapter 11: Dusts and other particle matter and other biological exposure, with sections on animal wastes, zoonoses, injuries from wild animals, diseases and parasitic infections; Chapter 15: Agricultural installations, with a section on animal handling; Chapter 16: Animal production and Chapter 17: Weather and the environment.

Corporate codes of conduct and ethical trade initiatives

On top of the international conventions and national legislation on child labour, the private sector¹⁹ is also setting additional private standards on labour issues for their own companies, subcontractors and suppliers and along the supply chain, including on the abolition of child labour, in the framework of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Companies that have signed up to CSR initiatives, such as the UN Global Compact, Global Reporting Initiative, Social Accountability 8000 standard and Ethical Trading Initiative, have committed to the abolition of child labour within their spheres of influence. This commitment is often translated into the

development of codes of conduct for their own companies and subsidiaries as well as codes for their suppliers prohibiting the use of child labour and sometimes prescribing the required corrective action. Purchasers of livestock products are no exception.

Though these private-sector standards are less relevant to the child labour in the livestock sector taking place within the subsistence setting of the household, CSR is important in those situations where child labour is used to contribute to the delivery of animal products to (suppliers of) larger purchasing companies (e.g. large processors and marketers of beef, dairy, poultry, pork and large supermarket chains). Tyson Foods for example, one of the largest processors and marketers of beef, chicken and pork, prohibits through their code of conduct forced and child labour in its suppliers' business practices. McDonalds, in their code of conduct for suppliers, also prohibits child labour – in line with ILO Convention No. 138. Large supermarket chains, such as Tesco (using the Ethical Trade Initiative base code) and Walmart (through its Standards for Suppliers), have also set standards for their suppliers prohibiting child labour. In addition, producers' organizations wishing to participate in

¹⁹ Companies (multinational and local), trade unions, producers' organizations, non-profit/voluntary organizations.

value-adding certification schemes such as Fair Trade must also meet standards that include no child or forced labour.²⁰ Traceability is a challenge in today's complex supply chains; however, a number of technologies and social or business enterprises are springing up to deal with these limitations. Forward-looking producers and policy-makers may want to consider the expansion of private sector standards on child labour and their extension further down the supply chain when planning their agrobusiness development strategies. CSR policies may also provide development opportunities, as some of these standards also require or support corrective measures, such as education of children withdrawn from child labour.

2.3.1 Universality of child rights

Besides being defined by biological and developmental characteristics that make a child different from an adult, notions of 'child' and 'childhood' are cultural and social constructions. In different parts of the world, in different societies and cultures, children have different functions.

Eurocentric ideas of childhood are largely based on the individual, while many non-Eurocentric ideas of childhood are related to the functions and roles of a child within the family or community. Gamlin and Pastor (2009) issue a warning with regard to the individualistic aspect of universal child rights; what is in the best interest of the child can interfere with the best interest of the household. A debate exists between the universalism and (cultural) relativism of human rights. The debate, however, has reached an impasse and human rights anthropologists are now concerned primarily with the uses, meanings and relationships of rights in particular local contexts (Speed, 2006).

Finally, it should be acknowledged that from the basic provisions from which universal and regional rights instruments operate, there is usually a call for implementation through national laws and regulations that conforms to local realities. International legislation should be designed so that it meets local needs and is reflective of the diverse interests of those in the local context.

Summary points 2

Child labour is defined as any work performed by a child (under 18 years) that is likely to interfere with the child's compulsory education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

Consequences of child labour can include adult and youth un-/underemployment, low wages, poverty and general vulnerability. Child labour can also have consequences for agricultural development and economic growth at the national level due to its negative impact on human capital.

Structural poverty is a principal cause and consequence of child labour.

Child labour is often caused by poverty plus other additional pull or push factors, such as those related to education and social and cultural traditions and beliefs.

The quality, accessibility and safety of education, as well as the employment prospects after completion, influence how children's time is allocated between education and work, as do social and cultural beliefs.

In the livestock sector, time-consuming activities, such as herding, and other factors, such as migration, introduce further challenges to education or combining education with work.

Innovative approaches that aim to address these barriers to education include boarding schools, distance learning, mobile schools, school feeding programmes or cash transfers, as well as Pastoralist Field Schools and Livestock Farmer Field Schools.

Pastoralist communities are increasingly recognizing the importance of education, as it can contribute to income diversification for the household when it is difficult to rely on livestock.

Important conventions providing the framework for international standards on child labour are the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment and Work. The first international instrument that addresses the safety and health hazards facing workers specifically in agriculture is the ILO's Safety and Health in Agriculture Convention No. 184.

International legislation should be designed so that it meets local needs and is reflective of the diverse interests of those in the local context.

20 For example, the Fairtrade Standard for Hired Labour and the Fairtrade Standard for Small Producer Organizations.



3 Children's work activities in the livestock sector

The livestock sector includes both the smallholder and commercial settings of animal holding. Of course there are evident differences between (and within) these two settings when it comes to their scale and the labour performed. Labour itself is something that varies according to the level of available mechanization within an animal holding or farming operation. Likewise, the characteristics of children's work vary, depending on the setting and conditions of the work.

Children's involvement in the livestock sector ranges from helping out with light household chores to situations of worst forms of child labour. Working in the livestock sector can take the form of bonded child labour²¹ or child trafficking for (forced) herding activities. According to the United States Department of State's Trafficking in Persons Report (USDS, 2011), Chad is both a source and destination country where children are sold or bartered into forced herding as a means of survival by families. Angolan boys are also reported to be taken to Namibia for forced cattle herding. The United States Department of Labor's Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (USDOL, 2010) reports that in Kenya trafficking for forced child labour also takes place, including in the livestock sector. It is very likely that child trafficking for herding activities is not restricted to these reported cases.

The current chapter provides an overview of the different types of work children undertake in the livestock sector, with child labour occurring in those situations where work conflicts with a child's education or where a child faces hazards due to his or her work or where the maximum number of work hours for a child of a specific age are exceeded. The hazardous aspects of children's work in the livestock sector are also described.

3.1 What activities do children undertake?

According to the United States Department of Labor, cattle products are among the goods most commonly produced with child or forced labour. On their List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor (2011), cattle products are produced with child labour in Bolivia, Brazil, Chad, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mauritania, Namibia, Paraguay, Uganda and Zambia. Leather goods are produced with child labour in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

Child labour in herding, particularly cattle herding, is the most apparent in the literature reviewed in this study. In addition, there are indications that children are active on commercial farms such as poultry farms. Child labour has also been found further down the value chain in milk-processing, slaughterhouses, meat processing and leather-garment preparation. However, information on these forms of child labour is limited. Children have also been found to be involved with animal traction in farming (e.g. in Mali and central and northern regions of Malawi). Handling large animals is the domain of men in most societies, and children's tasks in livestock handling often follow these gender lines (Bradley, 1993 in De Lange, 2009). General animal care is very common and there is widespread evidence of this kind of activity with regard to cattle and other ruminants as well as pigs and poultry.

3.1.1 Children undertaking herding activities

Within the livestock sector, herding seems to be an important activity involving child labour. It often takes place in (nomadic) pastoralist communities, and mainly involves cattle, goats, camels, sheep, alpacas and llamas. Herding describes the activity of keeping a number of animals (usually of one

21 Bonded labour or debt bondage: the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined (Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1957).

kind) together as a group while in search of pasture or water. Herding activities can involve guiding the animals, keeping them together and retrieving those that wander off, separating fighting animals, watching over their safety (as animals can have accidents, be attacked by wild animals or stolen by raiders). Besides the actual act of herding, boys and girls involved in herding also take up various other activities with regard to livestock care (cleaning animals and their housing, caring for sick animals, collecting water and fodder etc). Children typically herd either for an employer or for their own household or relatives (either paid or unpaid).

In an assessment of the primary household work activities of 3038 children (1537 girls and 1501 boys) aged between 4 and 15 from rural households in **Ethiopia**, Cockburn (1999) found that within the 4–7-year-old category, 48% of the boys and 21.7% of the girls herded cattle. Respectively, for the 8–11-year-old category, the figures were 53.3 and 15.4%, and for the 12–15-year-old category, 28.6 and 8.9%. The percentage of boys and girls involved in cattle herding decreased with age, especially when comparing the 8–11- with the 12–15-year-old category. When comparing the primary household work activities of children within these age categories, boys were increasingly more involved with farm work and girls with domestic work as ages rose. In the 12–15 years group, 47.3% of the boys had farm work as their primary work activity (compared with 28.6% in cattle herding). For girls in the same age category, 29.9% had domestic work as their primary work activity (compared with 8.9% in cattle herding). When looking at the main activity type (work, student or inactive), Cockburn's study (1999) showed that peak school attendance rates were reached at the age of 14. When the three age categories are compared, there is an increase in 'student' as the main activity type for both boys and girls as age rises. This trend is seen even more clearly in the 'work' category. There is a strong decline in the 'inactive' category as age increases. With regard to school-going children, 97.1% were involved in some form of work activity (for girls this was 97.7%, for boys 96.6%). The percentage of school-going children who were not involved in some form of work activity was 2.9% (2.1% for girls and 3.4% for boys). The primary reason for girls in the 8–11-year-old category to not attend school was that they were required for other household activities (primarily domestic housework). The main reason for boys not attending school in

this age category was that they were required for farm activities. These reasons for non-attendance increased significantly within the 12–15-year-old category. As age rose, non-attendance due to school being too expensive also increased.

According to the UNICEF UK campaign "End Child Exploitation" (2005), 20 percent of boys in **Lesotho** are herders and never go to school. They begin herding as young as three or four years old, accompanying other herd boys, and by the time they are seven, they qualify as full-time herd boys. A similar situation exists in **Ghana**, where livestock herding is typically assigned to children (mostly boys). The time occupation of herding activities varies. While some children only herd a few hours per day, or during weekends and holidays combining it with school, others are with the herd day in day out with no chance to access basic formal or non-formal education. In Ghana, Afenyadu (2008, in Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008) recorded the daily routines and working conditions of cattle boys (most of them between the ages of 8 and 16) in North and South Tongu. Boys herding cattle were usually observed to work in teams of up to three, working 10–12 hours a day, 7 days a week. Herding tasks consisted of herding cattle to the field to graze and drink and making sure they did not destroy farms or get lost or stolen. Additional husbandry activities included bathing the cattle and milking cows. The cattle boys ate twice a day (breakfast and supper) and for lunch hunted for rodents, gathered fruit or caught fish. According to Zdunnek *et al.* (2008) herding cannot be combined with schooling as the long working hours fall during lesson times. However, in North and South Tongu, some boys continued schooling after completing their herding contract. Girls had very low school enrolment rates and were actively involved in helping mothers with household work. They engaged in selling and head portage on market days as well. Girls often migrated to larger towns, where they worked to acquire basic household equipment and other goods before marriage.

In Tolon-Kumbungu, Ghana, Zdunnek *et al.* (2008) concluded that while boys working for their own families did not complain about their herding tasks, they did want better equipment (wellington boots and raincoats). The small amount of money earned through selling milk was an incentive to most of the cattle boys, especially the prospect of using it to invest in chickens and subsequently, if they bred well, in a goat (Zdunnek *et al.*, 2008).

Afenyadu (2008) and Zdunnek *et al.* (2008) have described how in North and South Tongu (Ghana), boys herd cattle for relatives (and non-relatives), also outside their own communities. They work for 3–5 years under contracts agreed verbally by the parents, boys and employers, at the end of which they receive a calf or cow. Zdunnek *et al.* (2008) describe the dependence of boys on employers when it comes to food, clothing, accommodation and medical bills, as well as the phenomenon of no earnings at all when employers do not release the promised calf or cow, usually if the boys lose cattle or if they get stolen during the contract period. Tagoe (2011) also notes that in Ghana the agreed payment of a calf or cow is not usually provided to young herders because the cost of food crops destroyed by cattle is charged against the compensation. Herd boys, in such situations, are not only denied their earnings, but they can also run into debt and be compelled to work for more years to pay it off. This scenario may result in debt bondage.

Arditi (2005), citing a 1999 survey for UNICEF in **Chad** (Kemneloum and Donalbaye, 1999), noted that most children in herding were not contributing family workers²² (only 8.2% were); rather they were mostly from agriculturalist families and were hired by pastoralists (from a different religious and ethnic group), usually on the basis of an oral contract between the child's family and the employer. Over 90 percent of the child herders were paid, usually in kind. Payment in kind allowed children's families (agriculturalists) to acquire draught animals, which they used for ploughing (in cotton production). Half of the surveyed children were enrolled in school at some point, but their involvement in herding activities (watering animals, leading them to pasture etc.) meant that they could not continue with school. The work conditions were described as harsh and sometimes unbearable, reflecting the severity of the pastoral lifestyle.

Clanet (2002) investigates camel and dromedary herding communities in the area north of the Lake Chad Basin. In contrast with Kemneloum and Donalbaye's findings in 1999 (in Arditi, 2005), Clanet found children working primarily as contributing family workers. He describes



A young boy herding sheep

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how children in these communities start working especially early, at the age of 5 years, and as children grow up, they advance to jobs involving more responsibility. The youngest children are primarily used for the supervision of small ruminants and then for transporting water (with pack animals) to relatives herding nearby. Once children are 6 years old, they start to take care of the dairy herd in the vicinity of their family's base. After reaching the age of 12, children are responsible for taking care of the general herd. This is a daily activity lasting 7–16 hours, during which children cover large distances on foot in relative isolation. Child herders are usually on their own with the herd for most of the day. In the case of long-distance herding, children can be alone for several weeks on end. At the age of about 17 years, children are given responsibility for complex activities related to watering and well management; these activities are strategically important for the entire family and in general involve hard physical labour. It is clear that the children in Clanet's study are fully exposed to difficult living and working conditions that are partly inherent to nomadic communities in desert environments where health and education facilities are rare or non-existent.

²² Contributing family workers are unpaid family workers.

According to a report on child labour in **Mongolia**, undertaken by the Understanding Children's Work Programme (2009) and based on the 2006–07 Mongolia Labour Force Survey, 10% of children aged 7–14 work (90% of them in agriculture) and 2% of all boys and 1.3% of all girls work and are also out of school. The majority of children are in school (over 80% for both girls and boys) while 9.4% of all boys and 7.2% of all girls combine schooling with work. Within the 15–17 years category, 10.9% of all boys and 5.2% of all girls are in employment and out of school. An ILO-IPEC baseline survey on domestic workers in Mongolia (2007, cited in UCW, 2009) covered 270 children (64% boys, 36% girls) herding livestock for other families. The children, mostly between the ages of 15 and 17, not only herded but were also involved in other everyday activities in their employers' households. There was a high drop-out rate among these children, because they worked, on average, 9 hours a day and 80% of the boys and girls did this 7 days a week.

Mongolia is a country of pastoral animal husbandry. A large part of herding households (44.6%) are 'poor' and have small herds of up to 100 animals (ILO-MOFALI, 2009). Climatic conditions in the country are extreme: cold snowy winters, dust storms in different periods of the year and droughts in the summer. In the ILO-MOFALI assessment of occupational and employment conditions of children working in the livestock sector of Mongolia (ILO-MOFALI, 2009), the data show that 60% of the 263 surveyed children working in animal husbandry began helping between the ages of 7

and 9, and some at 4 years. They began herding on their own generally at the age of 11. Of these herding children, 77% were boys and 23% girls. Some 2.3% of the herders had never been to school, while 42.9% of the respondents indicated that they had dropped out of school. Most of the surveyed children worked 9–12 hours a day (a slight majority of the respondents were aged 15–18 years). Such long working hours make it difficult to attend school.

The analysis also showed that 30.4% of children working in animal husbandry worked for and lived with other herding households. They were usually paid in kind, but 6.2% were not paid at all. Contracts were negotiated verbally between parents and employers in 57% of cases, between children and employers in 22% of cases and not at all in 21% of cases. The report urges for serious attention from local authorities to the group of vulnerable children working for other households.

According to the assessment of the conditions of children working in Mongolia's livestock sector (ILO-MOFALI, 2009), children working in animal husbandry are subjected to pressure and violence. Activities cited by the children as most difficult were herding animals during snow and dust storms, removing compressed animal dung, goat combing, taking care of newborn animals, horseriding in winter, managing horses and losing part of the herd. Some children were afraid of wolf attacks on the herd. In some cases, the children had to compensate the employer for loss of part of the herd.

In the far and mid-western districts of **Nepal**, an ILO-IPEC rapid assessment in 2001 surveyed a sample of 650 from an estimated total of almost 20 000 Kamaiya households (Sharma *et al.*, 2001). These households live and work under the Kamaiya system, an agriculturally based bonded labour system in Nepal. Of the 5–18-year-old children identified in the 650 households (the total number of children was 1 885), 557 were working for an employer and 622 were attending school. A total of 240 child labourers (two-thirds below the age of 14 years) working for an employer were identified and surveyed. Two-fifths of these child labourers lived with their employers and the majority started working for their employer before the age of 10 years. Four-fifths of the children had never attended school, with especially low attendance rates for girls. Only 5 percent of the sampled child labourers were still attending school.

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A child herding cattle for grazing

Of the 126 boys in the sample, 75% were employed in animal grazing, while of the 114 girls, it was 7.9%. Boy labourers were mainly involved in animal grazing and farm work while girls primarily worked in the household (103 of the 114 girls did domestic chores and/or looked after children). Some 70% of the child labourers in the sample worked more than 12 hours a day. Almost 60% of the child labourers were paid in food or cash to take home, and about 40% received food only. The remuneration of about 25% of the child labourers was implicitly included in the father's wage or in the output share of cropped land by the parents. The majority of the child labourers perceived their work with their employer as negative, mainly because of the high workload and bad treatment (physical and verbal abuse).

In a study (Miniere, 2009) in Palanpur, a village in north **India**, almost 54% of a sample of 362 children (198 boys and 164 girls) aged 4–21 years, took care of family livestock (buffaloes, goats, oxen or cows). Some 60.8% of children taking care of livestock were boys, with an average age of 12.3 years. The study showed that 88.7% of children took care of livestock every day, making school attendance impossible. Taking care of livestock included providing food and water, grazing (children with an average age of 9.5 years) and washing (children with an average age of 14.2 years). In general, girls and boys were equally involved in most of these tasks, including those highlighted as especially hard work, such as washing buffaloes. With regard to other responsibilities, girls were more involved with household work activities and sibling care while boys did more farm-related work. Girls were also found to have less schooling than boys.

Van den Berge (2009) looked at child labour (largely herding) in the rural communities of Ccasacunca and Cusibamba in **Peru**. What is interesting in this region, is that girls rather than boys are most involved with herding. Young children of both sexes from the age of 5 years (practically all children under the age of 12) of both sexes herd (cows, bulls, sheep, goats, llamas, alpacas and vicuñas), but in adolescence (14–18 years for the purposes of this study), the majority of herders are girls out of school (often because of the long distance to school). At around 12 years of age, boys in these rural Peruvian communities either head towards villages in search of employment or increase their activities on the land, while girls tend to stay close to the home and perform domestic and



Child herding cattle in Cambodia

agricultural tasks (Van den Berge, 2009). A typical day of a child herder combines school with herding. Children start at 4.00 hours with the preparation of breakfast; they then guide the livestock to the grazing grounds (for 2–3 hours), head to school at 8.00 until 13.00 hours, have lunch at home and walk back to the grazing grounds to collect the animals, returning home at around 19.00 hours. While herding activities can be combined with primary school, often they cannot be combined with secondary school as the schools are further away. Herding adolescents are therefore mostly out of school. The long distance is especially problematic in the case of girls; parents are apprehensive about sending their daughters to faraway schools (fearing they will engage in relationships with boys and/or get pregnant). In interviews with children, complaints were voiced about concentration difficulties and tiredness at school due to early morning herding activities. Children often mentioned that herding was boring and monotonous.

According to the 2000 National Labour Force Survey in **Morocco**, 450 000 of 600 000 working children aged 7–14 years are found in the agriculture sector, most of them working for their families. Some 37 percent of these 450 000 children working in agriculture are involved in feeding and tending livestock and 30 percent in cultivation, while 33 percent are involved in livestock *and* cultivation (UCW, 2004). Of all working children in agriculture in Morocco (household chores excluded), only 14 percent of working boys and 8 percent of working girls



A boy herding goats on horseback

are also able to attend school. Half of the 2.8 million 7–14 year olds in Morocco are involved in household chores for over 4 hours each day. If the definition of work included household chores, girls' involvement in work would be significantly larger than that of boys. Of the children involved with household chores for over 4 hours a day, 68 percent are full-time students (this is more often the case for boys than for girls), while 22 percent neither work nor attend school (this is more often the case for girls than for boys).

In **Kenya**, Krätli (2001: 25) observed children working from the age of 5 years: helping with herd management, housework and looking after younger siblings. Reflecting the differences in opinion that exist regarding the burden of herding activities, Krätli states that this work “never seemed to be a burden for the children, certainly no more than going to school is in a ‘modern’ context”. Krätli notes that the burden often derives more from the relationship of the child with the supervisor rather than from the work itself. While boys were more involved with herding livestock, girls carried out work activities with the older women such as watering animals, food preparation and other domestic tasks. In any case, girls were far less likely than boys to ever attend school as parents thought school had a bad influence (sex-related behaviour) on their daughters and feared that it would change their moral (and sexual) customs.

Krätli (2001: 22) gives us an interesting picture of child herding activities amid the constant dangers of cattle raiders faced by the Turkana in Kenya:

“On the grazelands, the boys stay with the animals whilst the adults constantly patrol the surroundings, or observe from strategic positions ready to ward off attackers. Each day of grazing is a military operation requiring considerable preparation, including intelligence work, information analysis and planning. The herders come back in the evening: the small stock and the camels at about six; the cattle, with most of the armed people, between eight and nine. When all the teams have arrived, elders from different camps usually meet with the kraal leader in order to share information and plan for the next day. Information is collected in a variety of ways, including the use of scouts deep in ‘enemy territory’. In general, everybody keeps their eyes and ears open and reports every unusual sign, particularly unknown foot prints. Every evening, as they finished their tasks, the children (aged approximately between five and fifteen) spent hours singing together or playing and running around. They were remarkably lively and energetic, often playing until midnight even after a full day of work (and waking up again at 5!).”

Despite this depiction of the children's positive energy, five hours of sleep is too little for a child and his/her healthy development; according to sleep guidelines, 5–10 year olds need an average of 10–11 hours of sleep per night and 10–17 year olds 8.5–9.5 hours (CDC, 2012).

In **Malawi**, where it is reported that 23.3 percent of children under the age of 14 are involved in child labour, the livestock industry significantly employs these children as shepherds, for marketing livestock and livestock products, for fetching feed and water for the livestock and in general animal husbandry. However, data to quantify the extent of child labour in these livestock-related tasks are not available. In some cases, children are able to combine livestock work with formal schooling. For example, under the village modified grazing system, goats are tethered in the morning and then herded by young boys after school. The trend continues throughout the year and is mainly practised in the northern and central regions of Malawi where there is ample grazing space but most adults do not tend to goats (Banda *et al.*, 1993). Goats are known for their difficult behaviour and can cover long distances grazing for food; consequently, most elders find it challenging to tend them and they transfer responsibility to the children who are energetic and can cope with the goats' behaviour (Malawi Department of Animal Health and Livestock Development – MoAFS, 2012).

3.1.2 Sociocultural aspects of children herding livestock

When talking about child labour in pastoralist communities, it is important not to disregard the historical sociocultural traditions related to the division of labour within the household. Local sociocultural contexts influence attitudes about what is in the best interest of a child and what puts them at risk (Hunte, 2009).

For centuries, pastoralist communities have involved their children with the family livestock; the future and survival of the pastoralist family relies on the transfer of complicated local knowledge from parent to child. The cultural identity of communities is also transferred from generation to generation in this way. Carr-Hill and Peart (2005: 41) refer to the pastoralist use of child labour as “simply part of a traditional lifestyle and economic organization”. Pastoralists who envision the future as a continuation of their way of living consider it important that children learn all the ‘tricks of the trade’ about livestock, and that they do so through an early involvement and responsibility with regard to animal care.

Various livestock experts consulted for this study emphasized that the topic of child labour and pastoralist children herding livestock needs to be treated with care as it is intertwined with social and traditional cultural aspects: “Talking about children involved in agriculture is rather a complex issue especially in pastoral areas as they are seen to be just doing their normal duties as part of the household” (Opio, 2011). Herding is intrinsic to many pastoralist communities, often seen as a rite of passage that is part of becoming a man (RECLISA, 2008). An informant, who spent years among the Masaai in Kenya, noted that herding teaches children responsibility for the family possessions, and to break this down, would in effect mean breaking down pastoral culture (written communication from G. Grootenhuis, 2011).

The introduction of internationally defined norms (on child labour and hazardous activities for children) must take care to respect cultural norms, traditions and desires. Analysis of hazards and risks needs to be conducted together with pastoralists in order to build a common understanding of what tasks have a negative impact and which tasks are appropriate for a child. It is extremely useful to find out what pastoralists themselves find important,



A child running with a herd of goats out grazing

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making communities (in general, not only pastoralists) aware of the fact that herding can be detrimental to a child’s development and finding out where a balance can be created between herding activities and school. This includes discussion about the content of education and how it should be delivered to (nomadic) pastoralist communities. In line with FAO’s policy on indigenous and tribal peoples, the strategy for reducing and preventing child labour needs to approach pastoralist leaders, parents, employers and children “in a way that answers to, interacts with and learns from their unique food and agriculture practices, livelihood systems and specific socio-cultural circumstances, thus building on their potential contributions and actively encouraging ‘development with identity’” (FAO, 2010). Dialogue must be sought in the spirit of participatory approaches that respect the dynamic social constructs of cultures and their peoples.

3.1.3 Other activities children undertake within the livestock sector

Beside the extensive involvement of children in animal husbandry and herding activities, there are other types of work that involve children handling animals. One such example is animal traction. From a recent study of child labour in the cotton and rice sectors in **Mali**, it appears that both boys and girls guide oxen in ploughing activities. This was most apparent in the 5–11 year age range and was more related to cotton than rice production (IER, 2012). Handling heavy animals carries risks of physical



Girl guiding oxen in Mali

injury, for example, being trampled by hooves, goring and chest pains. It could generally be said that using oxen for ploughing reduces labour demand and that it is therefore a labour-saving technology. This may be true. However, it is not always a *child-labour-free* technology, and special attention must be paid to the implications of labour-saving technologies for the situation of children.

There is also evidence that children have worked in slaughterhouses and meat processing, although information is limited. Children are involved in this type of work despite the fact that, given the interaction with dangerous heavy equipment and the possible psychological impact, it is prohibited for under-18s in most national law. The physical and psychological ramifications for children working in these hazardous industries are serious. According to the United States Department of Labor's Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (USDOL, 2010), children are involved in animal slaughter in both **Brazil** and **Ecuador**. In the urban pockets around New Delhi in **India**, Sekar (Bahugana, 2004) identified children engaged in the slaughter, segregation, cleaning, cutting and

selling of meat. According to Sekar, in addition to the high risk of physical injury, the difficult working conditions of being exposed to "tortured, bloody and dying animals" has an adverse impact on the mental, physical, moral and psychological development of children (ibid). Even though the slaughter and meat-processing industry is situated on the divide between the agriculture sector and meat industry, children working in this sector are, by the nature of their work, involved in child labour activities and therefore deserve attention.

Some children work in dairy. The literature used in this desk study did not provide substantial information on child labour and dairy or milk processing. However, some children were reported to be involved in milking activities for household consumption or for small-scale sale of milk (perhaps also to local milk processing units), for example in **Tanzania** (ILO, 2006) and in **Ghana**. Cattle boys in Ghana were, for example, reported to milk cows and sell the milk on a small scale in order to earn some money on the side and invest in buying chickens. There is evidence that children work in milk processing on dairy farms and plants, although information is limited: dairy farming was reported to be one of the most common agricultural activities for children in Fiji (ILO, 2010b); general news sources in **India** reported on the rescue of children from a dairy plant;²³ and a study of occupational injuries of adolescents in New York State in the **United States** found that 39 percent of injuries among adolescents working on farms occurred among those working on dairy farms (ILO, 2006, citing Belville *et al.*).

Child labour has also been reported in poultry production in various countries. For example, poultry products are reportedly produced with child labour in **Bangladesh** (USDOL, 2011). According to Edmonds (2010), 55 percent of all working children in Bangladesh are found within the agriculture sector (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003). In turn, 4 percent of children working in the agriculture sector are found in the poultry sector. Children work with poultry (small-scale) and on poultry farms in

23 For example: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/rajasthan-govt-child-labourers-rescued-state-run-dairy/1/197609.html>

different parts of the world; the conditions and nature of the work determining whether there is a situation of child labour or not. In west **Kenya**, rural poultry production is something most households are involved in (5–20 chickens per household). Okitoi *et al.* (2007) analysed 407 households in west Kenya, and revealed that children: owned poultry (18% of poultry was actually owned by children); were involved in building poultry sheds (with the men); and were involved in routine daily poultry management (with the women), said to be time-intensive and including cleaning, feeding, watering and ‘treatment’. In **Pakistan**, children have also been reported to work in the poultry sector (Awan *et al.*, 2011). This is also the case for the **Philippines** (Manila: ILS, 1994). Besides poultry slaughter and meat-processing, working with poultry as such can also carry serious health risks – especially zoonoses. Avian influenza, for example, is an emerging and threatening risk for child labourers handling poultry (Hurst, 2007).

According to a UNICEF report (Ledo Garcia, 2004), children in **Bolivia** are involved in breeding and care of livestock (llamas, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry). The 2001 national census revealed that there were 29 536 children aged 7–17 years in rural Bolivia involved with cattle breeding and animals (compared with 2 050 children in urban Bolivia). Of these children, the majority were girls (18 937 compared with 10 599 boys). The care and upbringing of cattle, sheep, goats and poultry by children has also been reported in Tarija, Bolivia (Burgos Lino *et al.*, 2002).

In the rural north central region of Viet Nam, Save the Children data from 1997 provide several starting ages for work in certain occupations related to livestock (Edmonds, 2003). Collecting pig feed, digging up worms for ducks and feeding chickens started at the age of five. Cooking food for pigs and feeding them began at the age of six. Tending cows and buffaloes, collecting grass, fetching water and collecting cattle manure started at the age of nine. While the data are not recent, they give an idea of livestock activities in which children have been involved and probably continue to be so today in some locations.



Integrated dairy scheme in Afghanistan

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A member of the Dinka ethnic group transferring milk from a milking calabash to a storage calabash

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TABLE 2 Principal findings on children's work in the livestock sector

Activities undertaken by children	Children are involved in herding different kinds of animals, but cattle herding features most in the literature reviewed in this study. Herding describes the activity of keeping a number of animals (usually of one kind) together as a group while in search of pasture or water. Herding activities can involve guiding the animals, keeping them together, separating fighting animals, watching over their safety as animals can have accidents, be attacked by wild animals or stolen by raiders. In addition to the actual herding, boys and girls also take up various other activities with regard to livestock care (e.g. cleaning animals, caring for sick animals, collecting water and fodder).
	Children can be involved with animal traction in farming; guiding oxen to plough land.
	Boys and girls can be involved with general pig care (e.g. breeding, collecting pig feed, cooking for pigs, feeding them). However, this study found limited information in this regard.
	Children work with poultry (small-scale) and on poultry farms in different parts of the world, the conditions and nature of the work determining whether there is a situation of child labour. The United States Department of Labor's List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor (USDOL, 2011) shows that poultry products are produced with child labour in Bangladesh.
	Children are also engaged in dairy activities, including milk collection, processing and marketing.
	There is evidence of child labour in slaughterhouses and meat processing, although information is limited. According to the United States Department of Labor's Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (USDOL, 2010), in both Brazil and Ecuador children are involved in animal slaughter. Children may be involved in the slaughtering, segregation, cleaning and cutting of meat.
Ages of working children	In general, the literature showed that boys and girls started working with livestock at a very young age (4–7 years), especially in herding and general livestock care. Responsibilities and involvement between activities tend to change with age.
Working conditions in herding	Some children herd a few hours a week, while others herd for days on end in isolation.
	Herding can take place in unsafe environments (e.g. cattle raiders or attacks from wild animals such as wolves) and under harsh climatic conditions (snow and dust storms, extreme temperatures etc.). Further conditions under which children work, e.g. levels of isolation and loneliness, physical and mental burden, vary.
	Children typically herd either for an employer or for their own household or relatives (either paid or unpaid). Child herders working outside the household are vulnerable to situations in which employers can take advantage of their labour. They can also be exposed to verbal or physical maltreatment by an employer.
	The conditions of employment and working contracts (if existent) are not uniform. Contracts are often negotiated orally between parents and employers, with varying involvement of the children in the negotiation. If children are paid by an employer, this may be in cash or kind.
	Children who herd can run into debt (compensating for lost cattle and destroyed farmers' crops) or may work under a general situation of bonded labour, compelled to work for additional years to pay off the debt. This is indication of the vulnerable situation to which child herders can be exposed.
	Children are trafficked for herding activities. According to the United States Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report (USDS, 2011), Chad is both a source and destination country where children are sold or bartered into forced herding. Angolan boys are reported to be taken to Namibia for forced cattle herding. The United States Department of Labor's Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor (USDOL, 2010) reports that in Kenya trafficking for forced child labour takes place also in the livestock sector. It is very likely that child trafficking for herding activities is not restricted to these reported cases.
Combining formal education with herding	Herding activities, due to their time-intensiveness, are difficult to combine with formal education. Many herders indicate they have dropped out of school, and some have never been to school. This is, however, very context specific, as there are situations where herding is combined with school attendance.
	Combining herding activities with school usually becomes more difficult with age; within rural areas, secondary schools are often further away from home than primary schools. The distance is especially a problem for girls in many areas as parents fear their daughters will be exposed to (sexual) attention from boys and men.

TABLE 2 (cont'd) Principal findings on children's work in the livestock sector

Gender differences in children's work in the livestock sector	Handling large animals is the domain of men in most societies, and children's tasks in livestock handling often follow these gender lines (Bradley, 1993, in De Lange, 2009).
	In many countries both boys and girls are involved in herding activities. In the majority of countries reviewed in this study, a higher percentage of working boys herd than do working girls. However, the percentage of working girls involved in herding activities is not insignificant.
	Boys and girls are both involved in general livestock care (e.g. cleaning and combing animals, collecting fodder and water). Girls in the livestock sector are often more involved in general livestock care than in herding.
	While boys are more likely to be involved in farming activities (next to livestock activities), girls tend to be more involved in household work.
	Children are also engaged in dairy activities, including milk collection, processing and marketing.
	Due to patterns of migration in which fathers migrate and boys make up for the foregone farm labour, girls' work activities may include making up the foregone loss of work activities formerly carried out by sons/boys, e.g. herding.

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Boy with goats in Myanmar

3.2 Children in hazardous work

Defining which activities and situations are hazardous for a child is not always clear-cut. What is clear is that children's work activities in the livestock sector largely take place in rural settings where the boundary between working and living conditions is blurred. Children not only work, but also often live in close proximity to animals. This exposes them to diseases transmitted by animals and animal substances (urine, faeces, hair, meat, carcasses, bones, and products of rejection, abortion or slaughter). It is also clear that children, because they are still growing, "have special characteristics and needs that must be taken into consideration when determining workplace hazards and the risks associated with them, in terms of physical, cognitive, and behavioural development and emotional growth" (Hurst, 2007: S366). Biologically, a child's body differs from that of an adult (e.g. thinner skin with greater absorbing capacity, faster and deeper breathing which makes children inhale more airborne particles), and they are, therefore, more vulnerable than adults to occupational risks and hazards (USDOL, 2010). Children are also perceived to be less likely to recognize and complain about risks in their work.

The hazards that children may face when working with livestock largely depend on context-specific working or environmental conditions as well as health risks inherent to the sector. Hazards in the livestock sector can be related to the physical and psychological conditions of heavy work. Working with livestock can also expose children (and adults) to diseases transmitted by animals, especially in situations where there is no clear boundary between working and living conditions. The inability to attend formal schooling due to time-consuming labour activities can be harmful to a child's development as well. Situations of child labour are hazardous if they can lead to disrupted physical, mental, psychosocial or moral development. It should also be recognized that not all health problems related to work in the livestock sector are immediately apparent, but may develop later in life, for example, respiratory illness due to chronic exposure to organic dusts (e.g. from animal feed or in animal confinement buildings), cancer or

reproductive problems resulting from exposure to toxic chemicals and musculoskeletal disorders from handling heavy loads at an age when the body is still developing. Working children in the livestock sector, depending on their exact duties and the time spent, are at risk of their healthy development being jeopardized; thus, their labour can often be categorized as hazardous.

Table 3 summarizes the risks of injury and illness to which children working with livestock can be exposed; these constitute the main hazards of child labour in the livestock sector. Some of these hazards and their potential injuries and health consequences are more general and also typical of the rural context. However, the risk of injury or health consequences is assumed to be higher if a child is not only living but also *working* in this environment.

Further major hazards that can lead to injury or illness include exposure to situations of cattle raiding, where a child has to defend him/herself and the herd (Afenyadu, 2008). Also, lack of guardianship (there are cases where young herders are out with the herd for days on end without returning home each night) in remote cattle posts leaves children vulnerable to various outside dangers including abuse by older herd boys (Procek, 2006). Zdunnek *et al.* (2008) have also stressed the risk of child trafficking for forced labour in the livestock sector.

There is definite scope for increasing knowledge about the actual hazards faced by children working with livestock and the potential to cause harm. Careful, precise, age-disaggregated and gender-sensitive risk assessments need to be done specifically for children's work in the livestock sector. These assessments should also differentiate between general hazards in the rural context and those that are directly related to working with livestock. They should clarify how exactly children working with livestock are more exposed to certain hazards than those children who are just living (and not working) in the same environment. Such risk assessments would be very helpful when designing interventions and instruments that are to tackle the worst forms of child labour in the livestock sector.

TABLE 3 Tasks, hazards and potential injuries and health consequences

TASKS	HAZARDS	INJURIES AND POTENTIAL HEALTH CONSEQUENCES
All activities involving handling or being near livestock	Exposure to biological hazards through direct contact with the animal, with substances derived from it (such as hair, meat, carcasses, bones, and the products of rejection, abortion or slaughter), or with contaminated environments, e.g. animal houses, slaughterhouses	Numerous zoonotic or parasitic infections and diseases (see Annex 1 for full list of potential health consequences)
All activities involving direct animal contact	Large or dangerous animals	Being bitten, jostled, butted, gored (by horns), kicked, stamped on or trampled by animals; infection of wounds; diseases passed through bites
Outdoor livestock (herding) activities	Exposure to extreme weather; solar radiation; lack of drinking water; exposure to wild animals and insects (especially without appropriate protective clothing, footwear and shelter)	Frostbite, sunstroke, and other thermal stresses; skin cancer; dehydration; respiratory infections in cold and wet working conditions; illness from drinking stagnant or polluted water; bites, stings; attacks from dangerous wild animals and insects; diseases transmitted through insect bites and wild animal attacks; cuts, bruises, thorn punctures; infection of wounds
Herding	Exposure, or fear of exposure, to punishment or beatings for animal loss or crop destruction by animals; excessive feeling of responsibility for (family) capital	Injuries related to physical abuse from employers; psychosocial stress or trauma
Working long hours or days on end away from home (herding)	Poor diet; inadequate food intake; long periods of isolation; fatigue or drowsiness	Malnutrition; stunting; psychosocial stress from working in isolation; poor judgement in performing duties, potentially leading to dangerous decisions; lack of concentration, interfering with schooling; psychological pressure from working in isolation
Herding on horseback	Exposure to horse-related accidents and diseases	Injuries related to handling horses (bites, being kicked) and riding (falling off horseback); diseases transmitted through bites; infection of wounds; contracting horse-related diseases or parasites due to close contact
Slaughtering or slaughterhouse activities	Sharp objects; dangerous tools or machinery; forceful repetitive movements; exposure to carcasses	Injuries from slaughtering tools or machinery; cuts, infection of wounds, stress injuries; skin disorders; zoonotic and fungal infections
Activities requiring physical effort, e.g. loading and carrying water, collecting fodder and manure	Handling of heavy loads and sharp or dangerous tools; extended awkward postures; repeated movements	Musculoskeletal injuries and disorders, e.g. joint and bone deformities; injuries and wounds from using dangerous tools; blistered hands and feet; aches, pains, sprains, strains and swelling
Activities involving water, e.g. washing animals, fetching water, drinking stagnant or polluted water	Exposure to contaminated water (also by livestock)	Cryptosporidiosis; giardiasis (see Annex 1)
Handling chemicals used for (livestock) treatment of internal and external parasites	Exposure to toxic chemicals	Rashes and other skin disorders, dry or cracked skin that can become infected; allergic reactions; breathing difficulties; eye irritation; chemical poisoning; liver damage; nerve and neurological disorders; cancers; male and female reproductive health disorders
All livestock activities	Poor sanitation and hygiene	Infectious diseases, dermatitis, urinary tract infections, respiratory illnesses, eye disease, spread of parasites due to poor sanitation and hygiene

Sources: Procek, 206; Afenyadu, 2008; Hurst, 2008; ILO-IPEC, 2011; Van den Berge, 2009; Zdunek et al., 2008.

Summary points 3

Children are involved in work activities with cattle, goats, buffaloes, oxen, sheep, llamas, alpacas and vicuñas. Activities connected to these animals are, in particular, herding and general animal care. Draught animals are used by children for ploughing activities. Children are also involved in work on poultry farms and in rural small-scale (household) poultry care. Involvement in pig breeding and care, as well as care of ducks, is also documented. There is evidence that children work in dairy, slaughterhouses and meat processing, although information is limited.

Herding livestock is often viewed as a tradition and is intertwined with social and cultural factors.

Working conditions vary, as does the ability to combine livestock work with schooling.

Hazards (that can cause physical injury and illnesses) faced by children working with livestock are largely dependent on context-specific working conditions. Working with livestock can also expose children to diseases transmitted by animals, especially in situations where there is no clear boundary between working and living conditions.

Some negative health impacts of children's work in the livestock sector might not be immediately apparent in childhood, but can develop later in life.

There is definite scope for increasing knowledge about hazards and their potential to cause harm as well as the risk levels to children. Careful, precise and age- and gender-sensitive risk assessments need to be made specifically for children's work in the livestock sector. A distinction should be made between the hazards of actually working with livestock and hazards that are inherent to children living in the rural environment.

4 Conclusion and recommendations

4.1 Conclusion

This explorative desk study aims to provide an overview of available data on child labour in the livestock sector. It will hopefully contribute to more research, thinking and also discussion about the topic in order to come to a common understanding of what efforts need to be prioritized for different stakeholders to eventually eliminate the worst forms of child labour.

This study should also contribute to reflection by agricultural stakeholders and others on how to position themselves *vis-à-vis* the sociocultural issues related to children working with livestock, especially those concerning child herding activities within (nomadic) pastoralist communities. Within many rural environments, livestock keeping has historical, cultural and traditional roots, and the involvement of children is very common. It is important to find out what (pastoralist) communities themselves consider important, making communities aware of the benefits of education and that herding and other livestock-related activities can be harmful to a child's development, and finding out where a balance can be created between work activities and education.

There are strong signals that pastoralist communities recognize the importance of formal education for their children and very much appreciate sending their children to school if the education is of a good level and relevant to the pastoralist way of life, especially if schooling can be combined with children's activities with the herd. The possibility of school leading to economic diversification of pastoral livelihoods appeals to these communities.

It is clear that a large proportion of child labour in the livestock sector takes place as unpaid family labour or without formal contracts. Agriculture and family undertakings have limited coverage in national labour legislation, and there is a shortage of labour inspectors to cover remote rural areas. Continuity between household and workplace and a tradition of children's participation in agricultural activities pose further challenges.

The literature on child labour within the livestock sector mainly focuses on herding and caring for livestock (often cattle). There is only limited information relative to other involvement of children in the sector. Girls and boys are both involved in livestock activities, however the literature consulted revealed boys to be, generally speaking, more involved in herding activities than girls. Both girls and boys are involved in livestock care. In general, girls are more involved in household chores than boys, sometimes in addition to their work activities with livestock (a double burden). In younger age groups, there seems to be less difference in the types of activities boys and girls do. As age increases, work activities are often, but not always, more differentiated along gender lines.

The nature of the work often makes it difficult for children to attend formal school. Working children in the livestock sector, depending on their exact duties and the time spent, are at risk of disrupted physical, mental, moral and social development. Working closely with livestock carries inherent risks of animal-related diseases (especially in situations where there is no clear boundary between working and living conditions); diseases caused by working long hours in extreme weather conditions (often applies to herding activities), by poor sanitation and hygiene and by using chemical

products (e.g. disinfectants to treat animals); health problems caused by inhaling (livestock) dust; and psychological stress due to fear of punishment from employers or of cattle raiders, or a feeling of responsibility for the family capital. In addition to risks of illness, there are direct risks of injury when handling animals and (sharp) tools used in livestock work activities. These include being bitten (also by wild animals and insects), gored, kicked, stamped on; being abused by employers; and musculoskeletal disorders. An additional major hazard of children working in the livestock sector is that they can end up in a situation of bonded or forced labour, and can even be exposed to trafficking. It is important to realize that some of the hazards of child labour in the livestock sector are inherent to rural life in general. Risk assessments should differentiate between the additional risks of working with livestock and the risks of simply living in a rural environment.

There are insufficient data and knowledge concerning child labour in the livestock sector; this was encountered both in the literature and among the experts consulted. This confirms a strong need for more field research and (age- and sex-disaggregated) data collection on child labour in the livestock sector (including information on working conditions, employment contracts, causes and consequences of child labour particularly in livestock, education dynamics, assessments of hazards involved) that can serve as a starting point for more action against these forms of child labour. Information on good practices for combating child labour in the livestock sector is also much needed.

4.2 Recommendations

When it comes to reducing and preventing child labour (especially its worst forms) in the livestock sector, there are several important stakeholder-specific recommendations that might be worthwhile. However, it should be noted that many recommendations deserve attention and participation from multiple stakeholders. The recommendations also build on other general work in the area of child labour prevention and reduction in agriculture as a whole and are, thus, not all specific to this explorative study of child labour in the livestock sector.

4.2.1 Research institutes and academia (also within international organizations)

In order to improve the understanding of the nature, scope and risks of children working in the livestock sector, and find possible solutions, more research needs to be conducted. Labour and agricultural stakeholders (e.g. ministries and international organizations) need to have more information and knowledge at their disposal in order to prioritize policy areas as well as action. Various steps should be taken:

- Undertake extensive research on child labour within the livestock sector, looking in depth at the incidence, causes, contributing factors, consequences, working conditions, contractual agreements, role of education and age and gender aspects of the different types of work within the sector.
- Carry out precise and participatory risk assessments in order to correctly identify and define hazards and risks for children working with livestock. Investigate the possible greater vulnerability of children in this regard in order to help identify differences between acceptable child work, child labour and worst forms of child labour, and contribute to national lists of hazardous work for children as well as prioritize what needs to be most urgently addressed.
- Undertake research on addressing child labour in the livestock sector, in order to identify initiatives and practices which have proven successful.

4.2.2 National governments

National governments and their government bodies are important stakeholders responsible for dealing with child labour issues at the national level and creating and enforcing national legislation that contributes to child labour elimination, as well as providing policies and infrastructure that address its root causes. Such efforts should include close collaboration with different actors (including within government, but also producers', workers' and employers' organizations, development partners, researchers and international labour and agriculture organizations) and should ideally include participation of those directly concerned: children, parents, communities and teachers. In the case of (nomadic) pastoralist communities practising child labour in livestock production, local pastoralists (and their networks) should ideally be included in government endeavours to eliminate child labour in the livestock sector. In general, important recommendations for national governments are as follows:

Strengthen the legal and political framework for the reduction of child labour in the livestock sector:

- Undertake and support research on child labour in the livestock sector, including systematic data collection and interpretation within national surveys and censuses, in order to develop adequate policy, legal and institutional frameworks to eliminate child labour in the livestock sector.
- Integrate approaches to end child labour in the livestock sector into national poverty alleviation, socio-economic and agriculture- and rural-development-related strategies, policies and programmes.
- Install effective mechanisms for the implementation and application of protective legislation for children working with livestock. This includes setting up proper enforcement policies and monitoring systems.
- Include in national lists of hazardous work (in line with ILO conventions) tasks that children under 18 should not undertake with regard to livestock.

Create an enabling environment for the sustainable reduction of child labour:

- Foster integrated area approaches that combine awareness raising on child labour in livestock with livelihood diversification and income-generation approaches, Community-Based Monitoring Systems, education services and infrastructure development targeted at reducing child labour (e.g. safe potable water close to homesteads and schools, and natural resource management such as fuel-saving stoves and sustainable community forestry for biofuels).
- Reduce vulnerability to risk and extend coverage of social protection to agriculture, the self-employed and migrant communities.
- Promote decent youth employment, identifying and promoting non-hazardous work for children of legal working age.
- Identify substitutes for hazardous substances, technologies and practices in livestock production, improving working conditions in the sector for all workers.
- Support the modernization of farm technologies and the use of innovative agricultural practices in order to reduce labour (intensity) for the household and for children in particular.
- Create an enabling policy and institutional environment for small-scale livestock producers' sustainable livestock and range management.

Promote participation:

- Create an enabling environment for producer organizations and other livestock stakeholders to be actively involved in policy and programming processes at all levels, including through the creating/strengthening of multistakeholder platforms in order to rebalance the power relations between different stakeholders. Encourage pastoralists to strengthen and form their own organizations to be represented in national policy processes and actions relevant to the future of their children.
- Contribute to efforts (awareness raising and campaigning, especially within rural communities) aimed at changing attitudes

towards education and child labour in the livestock sector. Produce specific sensitization material, for example through Livestock or Pastoralist Field Schools, on education and on child labour in the livestock sector and transfer this through suitable channels.

Improve access and incentives for education:

- Provide adequate, relevant and lifestyle-sensitive education opportunities (including agriculture extension, vocational training in rural industries, radio education systems, and Livestock/Pastoralist Field Schools). This includes improving the availability and quality of schools (both primary and secondary) in rural areas, possibly adapting the school calendar and times, making it possible for light, non-hazardous work to be combined with schooling.
- Introduce incentives (e.g. transfer schemes in the form of either cash or meals) to get children into school by offsetting the costs faced by poor households to do so.
- Ensure vocational training for youth and consider strategies beyond training (labour market analysis, entrepreneurship, microfinance, job placement, access to resources).
- Support the development of childcare services that will allow children, especially girls, to go to school and adults, especially women, more time to engage in economic activities.

Take direct action to stop the worst forms of child labour:

- Support direct action to prevent child labour and to withdraw children from child labour within the agricultural livestock subsector, with special attention to trafficking and other worst forms of child labour. Withdrawal efforts should be supported by formal (and non-formal) education programmes in order to give withdrawn children better future employment prospects and by providing alternatives to families.

4.2.3 Producers', employers' and workers' organizations

- Contribute to awareness raising and campaigning against child labour, especially its worst forms, in the livestock sector. Efforts aimed at corporate

social responsibility and good practice standards with regard to child labour should be enhanced among more commercially oriented employers and producers, while more rural (informal) small-scale employers and producers should be supported to improve working conditions and reduce the harmful engagement of children in their livestock endeavours.

- Support data collection and the implementation of risk assessments to identify children in hazardous work in the livestock sector.
- Actively participate in the revision and establishment of national hazardous work lists for children and the coverage of agricultural activities, including livestock rearing.
- Build capacity of members to reduce child labour. This includes collaboration with respective government and development partners to find practical solutions to prevent child labour situations.
- Extend membership to include those working in the informal sector.
- Teachers' unions can support their members to provide quality education tailored to livestock-raising communities, monitor school attendance, and act upon child labour situations, raising awareness among families and working actively to keep potential school dropouts in school.

Recommendations specifically for pastoralist networks and organizations:

- Extend networks where possible to reach and include more pastoralist communities.
- Participate in research on child labour issues within the livestock sector and collaborate with government bodies to find solutions specifically adapted to the pastoral way of life.
- Initiate dialogue at pastoralist community level on child labour, education and decent working conditions.
- Assist pastoralist communities in preventing and eliminating situations of child labour.
- Advise governments in designing pastoralist-smart education systems to increase parents' interest in sending their children to school instead of engaging them in long hours of work.

4.2.4 Rural communities, parents and children

It is within communities and within households especially, that decisions are taken on whether children go to work or to school (or both). Therefore, these direct stakeholders have a considerable influence on preventing and reducing child labour in the livestock sector. The following recommendations are directed at communities, parents and children:

- Initiate dialogue at community and household levels to raise awareness about the negative health consequences of child labour and about the value of education for children and their families. Obtain the facts (from governments and development partners) about child labour in the livestock sector and become aware of the potential negative consequences (and dangers).
- Create room for discussion at the community level and explore options for changing cultural perceptions.
- Establish and participate in community child labour monitoring systems.
- Devise methods to reduce the need, duration and strenuousness of children's work activities with regard to livestock (e.g. herding).
- Establish clear work contracts respecting minimum standards owned by the community for the employment of children in acceptable forms of work in the livestock sector. Standards and agreements should refer to safety and health, working hours, holidays and decent remuneration.
- Participate in research on child labour in the livestock sector (including the definition of research areas). Children working with livestock can provide important information on the actual risks and hazards they face in their work. Within livestock-holding local communities, parents and children can have important insights into what types of work activities (under which conditions) with livestock are perceived to be acceptable for children and what aspirations and especially opportunities there are to change situations of child labour.

4.2.5 Companies and multinational enterprises involved in the livestock industry

The UN Global Compact provides strategies for businesses to uphold the effective abolition of child labour as below.²⁴ Companies can work with government and other stakeholders to further develop respective implementation strategies.

In the workplace:

- Be aware of countries, regions, sectors, economic activities where there is a greater likelihood of child labour and respond accordingly with policies and procedures.
- Adhere to minimum age provisions of national labour laws and regulations and, where national law is insufficient, take account of international standards.
- Use adequate and verifiable mechanisms for age verification in recruitment procedures.
- When children below the legal working age are found in the workplace, take measures to remove them from work.
- Help to seek viable alternatives and access to adequate services for the children and their families.
- Exercise influence on subcontractors, suppliers and other business affiliates to combat child labour.
- Develop and implement mechanisms to detect child labour.
- Where wages are not determined collectively or by minimum wage regulation, take measures to ensure that wages paid to adults take into account both their needs and those of their families.

In the community of operation:

- Work in partnership with other companies, sectoral associations and employers' organizations to develop an industry-wide approach to address the issue, and build bridges with trade unions, law enforcement authorities, labour inspectorates and others.

24 <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/aboutthegc/thetenprinciples/principle5.html>

- Establish or participate in a task force or committee on child labour in representative employers' organizations at the local, state or national level.
- Support and help design educational/vocational training and counselling programmes for working children, and skills training for parents of working children.
- Encourage and assist in launching supplementary health and nutrition programmes for children removed from dangerous work, and provide medical care to cure children of occupational diseases and malnutrition.

4.2.6 Development partners

Development partners are both international and local non-governmental organizations as well as (inter)national organizations with a focus on development issues. The following recommendations are directed at development partners:

- Ensure that child labour issues with regard to livestock are mainstreamed into development programmes and projects.
- Support initiatives that aim to improve school attendance within rural areas, for example, increasing access to quality and affordable education relevant to the community.
- Support governments in the design and implementation of particular policies and actions with regard to child labour and within general poverty alleviation strategies.
- Monitor child labour issues at the community level and support the development and institutionalization of child labour monitoring systems and databases.
- Undertake and support research on child labour in the livestock sector, including providing support in risk assessments and defining countries' lists of hazardous work for children.
- Initiate and support awareness raising and campaigning on education and child labour, especially its worst forms.
- Produce specific sensitization material on child labour in the livestock sector and transfer it through suitable channels.

4.2.7 FAO

It is recommended that FAO:

- Continue to raise awareness on child labour in the livestock sector within FAO and in FAO member countries to promote actions in areas where FAO has a specific mandate and comparative advantage to help prevent and reduce child labour in agriculture, for example, supporting poverty alleviation as a specific and targeted means of reducing child labour.
- Contribute to building stakeholders' capacity to mainstream child labour in livestock into agricultural and rural development policies, programmes, projects and activities in order to create an enabling environment for child labour reduction and prevention.
- Support the development and implementation of primary (and secondary) school curricula that are relevant to the rural and agricultural context and pastoralist societies.
- Work with partners to promote existing good practices (e.g. integrated area-based approaches to child labour prevention), develop related tools and explore in which specific situations alternative livestock practices, such as community-managed herding and child labour rangeland management, can be useful for reducing child labour.
- More actively address child labour in its ongoing work on livestock, for example in the work undertaken in the context of governance of the livestock sector.
- Promote decent rural employment, particularly for youth, turning situations of hazardous child labour into conditions for decent youth employment.
- Contribute to reducing the knowledge gap in child labour in the livestock sector by supporting research initiatives on the issue, especially with regard to the worst forms of child labour in this sector and the exact hazards and risks related to particular work activities.
- Actively expand collaboration within established structures (e.g. with the ILO and the IPCCLA) and seek new links with international organizations (including those of the United Nations) to work together on the prevention and elimination of child labour, especially the worst forms, in the livestock sector.

Annex List of zoonotic and parasitic diseases and infections

It is important to note that not all zoonoses are associated with handling livestock or domesticated animals. The zoonotic and parasitic diseases and infections mentioned in this annex are not specific to children and in fact apply to all human beings working with livestock. However, children may be more susceptible to contracting these diseases, due to biological or behavioural factors. More research is needed in this area.

In some cases, livestock or domesticated animals may act as a vector of a disease-causing organism, such as in the case of rabies, where an infected animal directly transmits the rabies virus to the human host via its bite. In other situations, livestock or domesticated animals can act as a host for a disease-causing organism. In zoonotic sleeping sickness, for example, the tsetse fly acts as the vector, while livestock or domestic animals act as the host to the *Trypanosoma brucei* protozoa. Livestock maintains the parasitic infection, and close proximity to infected animals increases the risk of transmission for herding or pastoral populations.

Zoonotic and parasitic diseases and infections often associated with handling livestock or domesticated animals

Name of disease	Description	Transmission	Symptoms or related health effects
Anthrax	Bacterial disease caused by <i>Bacillus anthracis</i> . Often affects cattle, sheep and goats, but all livestock and wildlife are at risk.	Inhalation of contaminated dust, consumption of contaminated meat. Biting flies can also transmit the bacterium from animals to humans.	Sudden death.
Brucellosis	Bacterial disease caused by the <i>Brucella</i> genus. Can affect a wide variety of animals, including cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, horses and dogs.	Consumption of unpasteurized milk products, handling infected aborted fetuses or afterbirth of livestock.	Fever, weakness, headache, joint pain and night sweats.
Bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE)	A transmissible, neurodegenerative, fatal brain disease of cattle. Believed to be caused by a self-replicating protein, known as a prion.	Handling infected animals, particularly during the slaughter process, consumption of infected meat.	Degeneration of the brain, severe neurological symptoms, death.
Bovine tuberculosis	Bacterial infection caused by <i>Mycobacterium bovis</i> , mainly found in domestic cattle.	Inhalation of aerosolized bacterium, ingestion of contaminated milk.	Severe cough, respiratory infections, general malaise and weakness.
Campylobacteriosis	Bacterial infection caused by the <i>Campylobacter</i> genus.	Handling of infected animals or faeces, consumption of contaminated foods.	Severe diarrhoea, cramps, fever.
Cryptosporidiosis	Protozoal parasite (<i>Cryptosporidium</i>) transmitted when infected livestock shed faeces into water sources used for drinking. Infects wide variety of livestock and wildlife.	Consumption of contaminated water or foods, handling infective faeces or animals. Living in close proximity to livestock increases the risk of water-borne infections.	Diarrhoea, abdominal pain, vomiting, fever, muscle cramps. Young children, pregnant women and immune compromised adults are most severely affected.
Extrinsic allergic alveolitis (EAA)	Refers to a group of lung diseases resulting from exposure to dusts of animal origin. Specific types of EAAs are known as “animal handler’s lung” and “bird fancier’s lung”.	Intense or prolonged exposure to animal dust. Animal dusts are complex mixtures that may include mould particles, microorganisms including bacteria and fungi, aerosolized urine and faeces.	Cough, shortness of breath, sweating, sore throat, headache, nausea.
Giardiasis	Intestinal protozoal parasite (<i>Giardia lamblia</i>) present in soil, food and water that have been contaminated by infected faeces. Infects wide variety of livestock and wildlife.	Consumption of contaminated water, handling infective faeces or animals.	Diarrhoea and abdominal cramping.
Influenza A (specifically, highly pathogenic avian influenza)	Viral disease caused by RNA viruses of the family Orthomyxoviridae. Avian influenza virus subtypes H5N1 and H9N2 and swine influenza virus subtypes H1N1 and H3N2 are of particular concern.	Direct or indirect exposure to infected live or dead animals or contaminated environments.	Respiratory infection, severe fever, death.

Zoonotic and parasitic diseases and infections often associated with handling livestock or domesticated animals (cont'd)

Name of disease	Description	Transmission	Symptoms or related health effects
Leptospirosis	Bacterial disease caused by <i>Leptospira interrogans</i> that can occur in a large number of animals, including cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses and dogs. Spread through urine of infected animals.	Ingestion or inhalation of bacterium from aerosolized droplets.	Fever, cough, muscle pains. May progress to severe liver and kidney disease if untreated.
Listeriosis	Bacterial disease caused by <i>Listeria monocytogenes</i> . Cattle, sheep and goats are commonly affected.	Consumption of meats or unpasteurized milk products.	Septicaemia, spontaneous abortion in pregnant women.
Lyme disease	Infectious bacterial disease caused by <i>Borrelia</i> genus.	Infection by bite from ticks. Domestic livestock can maintain infection and close proximity to domestic livestock increases risk of transmission.	Rash, fever, muscle soreness. If untreated, infection can lead to neurological effects, acute or permanent paralysis.
Pseudocowpox	Disease caused by the <i>Parapoxvirus</i> genus. A world-wide disease of cattle.	Handling or milking infected cattle.	Painful scabby sores on the hands and arms.
Q fever	Caused by the bacterium <i>Coxiella burnetii</i> . Causes abortions in cattle, sheep and goats.	Assisting in reproductive process of infected livestock, consumption of contaminated milk.	Fever, night sweats, pneumonia. Severe cases may result in hepatitis.
Rabies	Deadly viral infection affecting all mammals.	Exposure to infected saliva in open wounds (commonly via animal bite) or mucous membranes (eyes, nose and mouth).	Light or partial paralysis, cerebral dysfunction, anxiety, insomnia, confusion, agitation, abnormal behaviour, paranoia, terror, hallucinations, progressing to delirium.
Ringworm	Skin infection caused by <i>Trichophyton</i> or <i>Microspora</i> fungi.	Direct dermal contact with infected animal.	Itchy, round and irritated patches on the skin.
Salmonellosis	Bacterial infection caused by <i>Salmonella</i> genus. Affects wide range of livestock and animals.	Consumption of contaminated foods, ingestion of bacterium through handling faeces of infected livestock.	Diarrhoea, abdominal cramping, severe fever.
Zoonotic sleeping sickness or human African trypanosomiasis (HAT)	Caused by the protozoan parasite <i>Trypanosoma brucei</i> . Limited to Africa where its insect vector, the tsetse fly, is found. Most often infects domestic livestock.	Infection by bite from the tsetse fly. Domestic livestock maintains infection and close proximity to domestic livestock increases risk of transmission.	Severe neurological symptoms and eventually death.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
IPCCLA	International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO)
IREWOC	Foundation for International Research on Working Children
MoAFS	Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security of Malawi
MOFALI	Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Light Industry of Mongolia
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
UCW	Understanding Children's Work Programme
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USDOL	United States Department of Labor
USDS	United States Department of State
WHO	World Health Organization



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