



Child Labor in the Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh

TASK ORDER II, TASK VI:

IN-COUNTRY MIXED-METHODS RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION

August 2012



Submitted to:

United States Department of Labor
Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
Frances Perkins Building
200 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20210

Submitted by:



ICF International
11785 Beltsville Drive, Suite 300
Calverton, MD 20705
Tel.: (301) 572.0200
Fax: (301) 572.0999
www.icfi.com



Child Labor in the Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh

Task Order II, Task VI: In-Country Mixed-Methods Research and Data Collection

August 2012

Submitted to:

United States Department of Labor
Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
Frances Perkins Building
200 Constitution Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20210

Submitted by:



ICF International
11785 Beltsville Drive, Suite 300
Calverton, MD 20705
Tel.: (301) 572.0200
Fax: (301) 572.0999
www.icfi.com

Cover photos: left photo: © 2005 Arturo Sanabria, courtesy of Photoshare; right photo: © 2006 Araceli Curiel, courtesy of Photoshare

Funding for this report was provided by the United States Department of Labor under contract number DOLJ099K29549. Points of view or opinions in this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does the mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

CONTENTS

Acronyms	iii
1 Executive Summary	1
2 Introduction.....	4
2.1 Study Objectives	4
2.2 Research Team	5
2.3 Limitations of the Study	5
3 Literature Review on Child Labor, Forced Child Labor, the Informal Economy, and the Formal and Informal Garment Industry in Bangladesh.....	7
3.1 Child Labor and Forced Child Labor in Bangladesh	7
3.2 The Informal Economy in Bangladesh.....	10
3.3 The Bangladesh Garment Industry.....	12
3.4 Child Labor in Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh	13
3.5 The Laws and Policies in Bangladesh Regarding Child Labor.....	14
3.6 Programs in Bangladesh Regarding Child Labor.....	16
4 Methodology Design.....	18
4.1 Description of Research Methodology and Design.....	18
4.2 Research Design.....	19
4.3 Development and Description of Research Instruments	22
4.3.1 Formal Expert Interview Guide	22
4.3.2 Informal Expert Interview Guide.....	23
4.3.3 Child Interview Guide.....	23
4.3.4 Worksite Observation Guidelines	24
4.4 Final Research Questions	24
5 Fieldwork.....	26
5.1 Interviewer Training and Testing of Instruments.....	26
5.2 Field Management and Research Implementation	26
6 Findings.....	29
6.1 Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh.....	29
6.2 Workplace Observations	32
6.2.1 Characteristics of the Informal Garment Establishments Observed	32
6.2.2 Incidence of Child Workers in the Workshops Observed	33

6.2.3	Workplace Environment and Hygiene.....	34
6.3	Children Working in the Informal Garment Sector	36
6.3.1	Demographic Characteristics	36
6.3.2	Educational Attainment of Working Children.....	39
6.3.3	Pathways into Child Labor.....	41
6.3.4	Tasks Performed, Work hours, and Earnings	43
6.3.5	Work Environment and Injuries.....	47
6.5	Labor Migration and Trafficking	49
6.6	Childrens’ Perceptions of Their Work and Future	51
7	Conclusions.....	53

Annexes

- Annex A: Formal Expert Interview Guide
- Annex B: Informal Expert Interview Guide
- Annex C: Child Interview Guide
- Annex D: Workplace Observation Guidelines
- Annex E: Key Concepts and Definitions

ACRONYMS

BALFS	Bangladesh Annual Labor Force Survey
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BGMEA	Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association
BKMEA	Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters Association
DCC	Dhaka City Corporation
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILAB	U.S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Multi-Fiber Arrangement
MoLE	Ministry of Labor and Employment
NCLS	National Child Labor Survey
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPA	National Plan of Action for Children
OCFT	Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
RIC	Resource Integration Center
RMG	Ready-Made Garments
RTM	Research, Training and Management [International]
SCM	Supply Chain Methodology
TBP	Time-Bound Project
UNICEF	United Nation Children’s Fund
USDOL	United States Department of Labor

1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ICF International conducted this study of child labor and forced child labor in informal garment production in Bangladesh, using a mixed research methods approach based on the Supply Chain Methodology (SCM). The SCM is based on the economic concept of the supply chain, which involves a network of retailers, distributors, transporters, storage facilities, and suppliers. For the purpose of the study, the informal garment industry is defined as unregistered unit production, which includes permanent and temporary workshops as well as households. More specifically, none of the informal production units under study had membership of either the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) or the Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters (BKMEA).¹ All the production units, except the home-based production units, had a trade license, which is mandatory for carrying out business. The study covered the whole Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) area. This study was conducted in collaboration with Research, Training and Management (RTM) International, a leading research and training organization in Bangladesh.

Following exploratory research carried out in April 2011, the main study was conducted in two phases. The first phase mapped the informal garment manufacturing supply chain, which helped to identify the points in the network where child labor was used. In order to prepare a list of locations where child labor was known or was suspected to exist, the research team reviewed the requisite published literature and discussed the issues with a number of key informants with knowledge of the informal garment sector. The research team also visited the field to verify the list of study locations. During the second phase, the team selected 46 informal garment production units and developed worksite profiles through the observation of the workplaces.

A sample of 200 children working in the informal garment sector was selected from the 46 units visited, using a non-probability sampling approach. Working children between the ages of 5 and 17 at the selected locations were interviewed. Data on basic characteristics of children and their families, conditions of work, educational status, and information on entry routes into work were collected. In addition, the team conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants: 12 formal and 21 informal experts. The informal experts included individuals working in various activities throughout the garment industry supply chain and comprised BGMEA officials, factory owners, small workshop owners, family business owners, garment workers, transporters, garment vendors, and middlemen. The formal experts included local as well as international non-governmental organization (NGO) staff working with former child laborers/forced child laborers, together with government agencies, academics, and other key experts.

Both home-based and informal workshops/sheds were incorporated in the study. Home-based units tend to be small, unorganized, low capital-intensive, with a lack of facilities for the workers, and with no legal status. The permanent/semi-permanent workshops are relatively large but

¹ The Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) is the apex trade body that represents the export-oriented woven, knit, and sweater garment manufacturers and exporters of the country. A business owner who is not a member of the BGMEA is not allowed to export or import ready-made garments. The Bangladesh Knitwear Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BKMEA) was formed exclusively to promote the knitwear sector. Both organizations are committed to ensuring that their members do not use child labor.

traditional, labor intensive, more complex, and mostly operating without a formal legal framework—although they do have a trade license. In order to enhance the efficiency of the survey approach, regions of the DCC area where informal garment production was found to be particularly widespread were classified into six geographical zones/clusters: 1) Mirpur, 2) Mohammadpur, 3) Old Dhaka, 4) Uttara/Nikunja, 5) Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali and 6) Motijheel/Khilgaon.

The worksite observation data indicated that approximately one-third of the workers in the informal garment production sites observed were children under 18 years of age. The incidence of child workers was greater in the smaller and home-based production units, compared with the larger establishments.

Poverty seems to be the single most important factor driving the children's involvement in the garment production sector. Approximately 9 out of 10 working children said that they got involved with informal garment production just to be able help bolster their family income.

Approximately one in nine of children interviewed were either orphaned or had only one parent. Most—nearly three-fourths of the working children—were living with at least one of their parents, with the remainder living either with their brothers, sisters, relatives; at the owner's house; or alone. Family connections, therefore, remained strong. Anecdotal evidence from informal experts and the research team suggests that most children working in the informal garment sector live in the nearby slums within walking distance (3–5 km) of their place of work. School attendance was very low, with only 5 percent of children saying that they were going to classes. According to the informal experts, it was the children who had never attended school or who had dropped out from school who got involved in this kind of work. Employers, owners, and managers preferred to engage children to work, as they could be easily persuaded to work longer hours with low wages.

Children said that they performed a wide range of activities including embroidery work, cutting/trimming, cutting thread, printing, making labels/tags/stickers, packaging, machine cleaning, weaving, hand stitching, dyeing, decorative work (such as adding sequins, decorative stones), button stitching, knitting, washing, and button coloring. Almost all children—95 percent—said they worked 6 days a week, and the hours worked each day were very long. On an average day, a child worker had to work for 10.5 hours, with a minimum of 6 hours and maximum of 15 hours. Many children seemed to be interested in education, but very few reported going to school, because of their huge workload.

In addition to the long work hours, working children were exposed to myriad hazards, which include loud noise, lack of fresh air, extreme temperatures, sharp tools, machinery, machine oil, and dust, all of which can make the work environment more difficult for them. Just 1 child in 10 reported that safety equipment was provided; informal experts and workplace observation confirmed that safety equipment was uncommon and was hardly provided to the child workers.

Very few children—approximately 1 in 10—said that they had been mistreated by their employer at work. The workplace observations point to a similar direction, with most child workers seemingly enjoying their work with little sign of fear or tension. Nevertheless,

approximately one in five of the working children interviewed said they had suffered an injury in the last 12 months. The most common injuries were wounds/cuts, burns, and broken bones.

The study also attempted to document migration patterns and explored indicators of possible trafficking among the children interviewed. Applying a simple set of indicators with regard to how they had found their way into work in the informal garment sector, approximately one-fifth reported affirmatively to all four indicators. This result, while not sufficient to determine that these children had been trafficked, suggested areas for further investigation. However, as there was no firm evidence of forced child labor uncovered by the study, and few of the children reported the involvement of a recruiter in finding their work, it appears unlikely that trafficking is a common phenomenon. The patterns described may be a consequence of the forces that compel poor Bangladeshis to gravitate freely toward likely sources of employment. At the same time, that nearly a third (29 percent) of children reported migrating to Dhaka without their parents in search of work highlights a labor supply mechanism that could leave children vulnerable to trafficking.

Bangladesh has remained politically committed to and incrementally engaged with rigorous policies and programs/projects to reduce child labor and lead to its eventual elimination. Recognizing the damaging effects of using child labor in the hazardous informal sector, the Government of Bangladesh has recently finalized the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010, which aims to eliminate children from every sort of hazardous and worst forms of child labor category task, thereby ushering in a meaningful change in the lives of many Bangladeshi children. The findings of this study indicate that the informal garment sector should be recognized as one of the hazardous sectors of child labor in Bangladesh.

2 INTRODUCTION

The Bangladesh Annual Labor Force Survey (BALFS) 2005-2006 estimated that 5.1 million children 5–17 years old were economically active, engaged principally in agriculture and forestry. Approximately one-fourth were both attending school and working, and most of the latter were found to be working between 5 and 19 hours a week. Working conditions for children not attending schools were particularly stark, with more than half of the children working for 40 or more hours a week.

The garment sector was once a significant employer of child workers in Bangladesh; but since the introduction of the Harkin Bill in the U.S. Senate in 1992, child labor has almost entirely vanished from the formal garment sector.² However, child labor is widespread in the less regulated informal garment sector; recent observation research³ has established that children are engaged in a range of tasks, often for long hours and under unhygienic and unpleasant conditions.

The study was funded by the Office of Child Labor Forced Labor and Human Trafficking (OCFT), part of the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL's) Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), which is responsible for investigating and reporting on child labor around the world. OCFT plays an active role in research and policy initiatives relating to international child labor and forced labor and human trafficking. This study aims to inform current and future child labor/forced child labor technical assistance efforts of the USDOL/OCFT. This study also intends to raise awareness about the issues related to child labor/forced child labor in the informal garment sector in Bangladesh.

2.1 Study Objectives

The broad objective of the study is to gather data on child labor and forced child labor in informal⁴ garment production in Bangladesh using a mixed-methods approach based on the Supply Chain Methodology (SCM). The specific objectives of the study are to—

- Determine the extent to which children in Bangladesh work in the informal garment industry, and for what reasons;
- Understand the conditions under which children employed in the informal garment sector work;
- Identify where children's work in the informal sector fits into the larger garment sector supply chain;

² ILO-IPEC. (2004). *Addressing Child Labor in the Bangladesh Garment Industry: 1995 to 2001*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=556>

³ Naser, A. (2011). *Exploration Research for Child Labor and Forced Labor in the Garment Industry in Bangladesh*.

⁴ The informal garment production in this study refers to all garment production at household level or in unregistered workshops outside the registered RMG factories.

- Understand whether children’s work in the informal garment sector contributes to garment production for domestic consumption, export, or both; and
- Understand what efforts the Government of Bangladesh is taking to address child labor in the garment sector.

2.2 Research Team

The ICF International team for this study consisted of ICF International staff based in Calverton, Maryland, and the Bangladeshi field team in Dhaka. The Calverton team comprised the officer in charge, the project director, and one research manager. Throughout the planning and implementation processes, the officer in charge and the project director provided guidance on research design and project management to ICF International staff and to the Dhaka-based international consultant, Mr. Nazmul Huq, Associate Professor in the Department of Statistics at Jahangirnagar University, in association with RTM International. Prior to full fieldwork implementation, the research manager traveled to Dhaka to provide guidance and training on methodology and to participate in some pilot interviews in order to ensure that field protocols were followed and adjusted to local context when appropriate.

In addition to Mr. Nazmul Huq, the Bangladesh team consisted of two research officers, eight research assistants/interviewers, and a data processor. Mr. Mahboob UI Alam Bhuiyan and Mr. Maruf Hossain are currently working as research officers in at RTM International. The research team also obtained technical assistance from Mr. Ifjalul Haque Chowdhury, Formal Program Officer of the Time-Bound Project (TBP) at the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Dhaka. For the successful completion of the field data collection activities, RTM International recruited eight skilled interviewers who were experienced in interviewing child workers and had some knowledge of the informal garment sector in Bangladesh.

2.3 Limitations of the Study

In interpreting the research results, it is important to note the limitations of the study, both in terms of the methodology design and the constraints of field operation.

- **Identification of locations and informal garment production units:** The research team prepared a list of locations from the supply chain mapping exercise, where informal garment production activities were known to take place and where child laborers were known or were suspected to exist. The list was prepared from the information gathered from the literature review as well as the key informant interviews, which, together, identified approximately 500 establishments. Since the content of the list was not based on a full enumeration of all establishments, many workshops would have been excluded from the sample.

Since the sampling adopted for the project was not based on probability, the selection of establishments was guided by the need to capture a sufficiently wide range to give a good indication of the types of establishments and activities typical of informal garment production.

- **Statistical precision of results:** Since this is a mixed-methods study, the sites and respondents, as noted above, were drawn using the non-probabilistic criteria described earlier. Consequently, the results revealed from the study cannot be generalized with statistical precision to other locations.

Further, because of the qualitative nature of the study, this mixed-methods research investigated the presence and nature of child labor issues, as opposed to providing numerical estimates of the extent of child labor. Whereas the findings and conclusions of this research can be regarded as indicative of the experiences of the participating children, they should not be seen as representative of the industry in general.

- **Difficulties in getting access:** In almost all the informal garment production units, the field data collection teams faced initial difficulties in gaining access to the workplace. However, the research assistants were able to gain the cooperation of owners and managers in most cases. Of the 55 establishments approached by the research team, access was possible in 46 cases, representing a refusal rate of 16.4 percent. In such cases, the research team selected a similar informal garment production unit from the same location. In a few cases, the interviewers had to complete their interviews with the working children after the children's work was finished. In a small number of cases (5.5%), the research team had to conduct the interviews with the children at their home.
- **Interviewing in the workplace:** Given that most of the child interviews took place at their place of work, sometimes in the presence of other adults and children, it is possible that respondents' answers were influenced by the fact that others were in the vicinity. Therefore, some child interviewees may have been reluctant to be critical.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW ON CHILD LABOR, FORCED CHILD LABOR, THE INFORMAL ECONOMY, AND THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL GARMENT INDUSTRY IN BANGLADESH

Situated in South Asia, Bangladesh, bordering the Bay of Bengal between Burma and India, is the seventh most populous country in the world, with an estimated population of 151.4 million living in 147,570 square kilometers.⁵ The country has a young population: those 5 and 17 years old constitute 31.5 percent of the total population.⁶ The per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of Bangladesh was estimated at US \$684 in 2009-2010.⁷ Although the country's economy has grown at a rate of 5–6 percent per year since 1996,⁸ Bangladesh remains a poor, overpopulated, and inefficiently governed nation. In fact, the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics estimated that approximately 40 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. Poverty is higher in urban areas (43.8%) than in rural areas (28.4%).⁹

Because of the country's economic conditions and social norms, child labor is widely accepted and common in Bangladesh. Many families rely on the income generated by their children for survival, so child labor is often highly valued. Additionally, employers often prefer to employ children because child labor is cheaper and children are considered more compliant and obedient than adults.¹⁰

3.1 Child Labor and Forced Child Labor in Bangladesh

ILO Convention 182 (Article 2) defines children as all persons under the age of 18. In the absence of formal evidence that children under 5 years old are engaged in work, official statistics do not include children in that age group. National statistics, therefore, treat those aged between 5 and 17 years old as the universe from which child labor is drawn.¹¹

The report on the National Child Labor Survey (NCLS) 2002-2003 showed that of the 42.4 million Bangladeshi children between 5 and 17 years old, 7.4 million were economically active.¹² Of these, 3.2 million were considered child laborers, representing 7.5 percent of the entire child population.¹³ Since independence, Bangladesh has been incrementally engaged in raising awareness and initiating protective measures against the use of child labor. Even so, over the years, the absolute number of child workers has increased significantly because of a combination of factors; an increase in population, a persistently impoverishing situation in rural

⁵ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2010). *Statistical Pocket Book of Bangladesh 2009*.

⁶ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2006). *Household Income Expenditure Survey 2005*.

⁷ Ministry of Finance. (2010). *Bangladesh Economic Review 2010*.

⁸ *CIA World Factbook, Bangladesh*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bg.html>

⁹ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (September 2006). *Report on Household Income Expenditure Survey 2005*.

¹⁰ UNICEF. (2010). *Child Labour in Bangladesh*. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/bangladesh/Child_labour.pdf

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² As defined in NCLS 2002-2003, economically active children refer to the children under age 18 who have worked for 1 or more hours, with or without pay, in any form of occupation during the last 7 days.

¹³ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2003). *Report on National Child Labor Survey 2002-2003*.

areas; and migration from rural to urban areas because of poverty, erosion of land by rivers, inheritance laws, and the breakup of families. The number of economically active children rose from 4.1 million in 1989 to 6.3 million in 1996, and 7.4 million in 2003.¹⁴

However, the Bangladesh Annual Labor Force Survey (BALFS) 2005-2006, which is designed to cover the whole labor force—not just children—estimated that a total of 5.1 million children 5–17 years old were economically active.¹⁵ The previous NCLS covering the period 2002-2003 permits a look at how the level and composition of children’s activities, particularly children’s employment, changed from 2002-2003 to 2005-2006. A comparison of the results from the two surveys shows a decline in children’s employment of 5 percentage points during this period (from 17% to 12%). The apparent progress in reducing the number of economically active children during this period extended to both boys and girls, and to both urban and rural places of residence.¹⁶

Overall, according to the NCLS, working children in the period 2002-2003 were engaged principally in agriculture and forestry (52.7%), followed by manufacturing (14.6%), trading (14.2%), and the other sectors (18.5%). Looking at the working conditions of 3.2 million child workers, 26 percent were both attending school and working; of the latter category, 63.9 percent (approximately half a million of working children) were found to be working between 5 and 19 hours a week. Working conditions for children who were not attending schools are striking, with more than half of these children (56.2%) working 40 or more hours a week.¹⁷ These were among the most disadvantaged working children, since their work responsibilities preclude their rights to obtain schooling, study, leisure, and adequate rest. Their prolonged exposure to workplace risks also undoubtedly increases their susceptibility to work-related sickness and injuries, although an absence of reliable data makes this difficult to demonstrate empirically. Consequently, child labor constitutes an important obstacle to achieving Universal Primary Education and other Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in Bangladesh.¹⁸ It not only hampers the welfare of individual children, but also slows down broader national poverty reduction and development efforts.¹⁹

Certain groups of children are more likely to work than others. The BALFS 2005-2006 shows that while nearly one-fifth (19.9%) of all boys 5–17 years old could be classified as child labor, this was just 5 percent for the girls.²⁰ Further, boys comprise about three-fourths of all working children.²¹

The NCLS 2002-2003 covered a representative sample of 5.7 million households. According to the survey, there was, on average, at least one working child in a household, while the number of

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Bangladesh Annual Labor Force Survey 2005-2006*.

¹⁶ International Labour Organization, UNICEF, the World Bank. (2011). *Understanding the Children's Work in Bangladesh. Country Report, July 2011*.

¹⁷ Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2003). *Report on National Child Labor Survey 2002-2003*.

¹⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkqd.shtml>. Goal 2 is to “ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling”

¹⁹ International Labour Organization, UNICEF, the World Bank. (2011). *Understanding the Children's Work in Bangladesh. Country Report, July 2011*.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ UNICEF. (2007). *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2006*.

working children increased as the household became larger. Interestingly, approximately 69 percent of the households surveyed said that the living standards of the household would fall if their children were to stop working. However, there was no strong indication that these households would slide into extreme poverty as a result of the parents withdrawing their child from work; only 8.1 percent of parents in these households said that it would be hard for them to survive if their children were not working.²² Hence, it can be loosely concluded that poverty may not be the only primary reason for child labor in Bangladesh.²³

Working children are engaged in more than 300 different types of activities, mostly in the informal sector. Of these, 47 are classified as most hazardous, including work in dangerous environments causing damage to children's physical and mental development, and exposure to physical, sexual or emotional abuse, beating, or even rape. Whether working as domestic servants or in the streets, the children are exposed to violence and other abuses. The worst forms of child labor consist of the exploitation of children being forced to engage in prostitution. It puts girls in serious risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and having unwanted pregnancies, in addition to physical abuse, social rejection, and psychological trauma. These children are also deprived of education and health care, adequate nutrition, safe water, sanitation facilities, and legal protection. Leisure, rest, and recreation after work are almost unknown to working children. These children remain largely excluded from services or rights, and hard to reach for either.²⁴

It is also estimated that there were approximately 420,000 child domestic laborers 5–17 years of age in Bangladesh in 2005, of which approximately 147,000 (35.0%) were in Dhaka City alone, meaning that they completely depend on their employers and often have restrictions on their mobility and freedom. Approximately 60 percent of these working children report some kind of abuse during their work, such as scolding or slapping. Levels of exploitation are also extremely high, as indicated by the fact that more than half receive no wages at all. The numbers involved make child domestic laborers the single largest hazardous child labor sector in the country.²⁵

Since those figures were produced, five NCLSs conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) on the worst forms of child labor in five segments (automobiles, battery recharging, street children, transport, and welding) have summarized the situation as follows:²⁶

- Extreme forms of poverty play a crucial role in increasing child labor in Bangladesh. Child labor is part of a vicious cycle, with poverty as its main cause as well its main consequence. This implies that child labor cannot be addressed in isolation.
- Among the factors contributing to child labor are rapid population growth, adult unemployment, income erosion due to the negative health consequences of bad working conditions, lack of minimum wages, exploitation of workers (i.e., mostly low wages, standard of living, quality of education, and capacity of institutions; lack of legal

²² Ibid.

²³ Md. Farid Uddin, S. Das Gupta, et al. (2006). *The Perceptions on WFCL Held by Leaders and Decision Makers in Bangladesh and How These May Affect Policy Reform*. ILO&SSI-2006, p 32–33.

²⁴ Ministry of Women and Children. (2005). *National plan of Action for Children: 2004–2009*.

²⁵ ILO. (2006). *Baseline Survey for Determining Hazardous Child Labor Sectors in Bangladesh 2005*.

²⁶ A.K.M. Masud Ali. (November 2009). *Mapping of Policies and Legislation and Analysis of Child Labour Programs in Bangladesh*. UNICEF.

provisions and enforcement, gender discrimination, conceptual thinking about childhood). One or more of the above conditions contribute to the large number of children working under exploitative or hazardous conditions.

- There is a direct link between child labor and education. Among the 42.4 million of children ages 5–17 years, approximately 5 million (11.8%) were working and not attending school. Furthermore, nearly 50 percent of primary school students drop out before they complete grade 5; they then gravitate towards work, thus swelling the number of child laborers.

However, the level of awareness on the issue of child labor is still low. Society has a rather indifferent attitude toward the problem. In many cases, it is not realized that the children who are employed in domestic service, for example, often have no access to education or medical care.²⁷

The U.S. Department of State’s Trafficking in Person Report 2011 listed Bangladesh as a source and transit country for men, women, and children subjected to trafficking in persons, specifically forced labor and forced prostitution. The report stated that a significant share of Bangladesh’s trafficking victims are men recruited for work overseas with fraudulent employment offers who are subsequently exploited under conditions of forced labor or debt bondage. Children—both boys and girls—are trafficked within Bangladesh for commercial sexual exploitation, bonded labor, and forced labor. Some children are sold into bondage by their parents, while others are induced into labor or commercial sexual exploitation through fraud and physical coercion. Women and children from Bangladesh are also trafficked to India for commercial sexual exploitation.²⁸

3.2 The Informal Economy in Bangladesh

The informal economy in Bangladesh is vast and important. It provides many opportunities and benefits to millions of Bangladeshis and to the country. However, it also lacks sufficient protection for those who work in the sector. Official sources estimate that almost 90 percent of the 3.2 million child laborers (ages 5–17) in unacceptable (hazardous) forms of work are engaged in the informal economy—representing almost 3.1 percent of the overall child population in this age range.²⁹

The informal economy includes all enterprises and workers not recognized, regulated, or protected by comprehensive legal and regulatory frameworks. On the basis of its location, the informal economy can be divided into two types: rural and urban. The rural informal economy consists mostly of rural non-farm activities, while all the major non-agricultural activities—namely manufacturing, trading, services, construction, and transport—are covered by the urban informal economy. For the most vulnerable population among the urban labor force—the poor, migrants, women, and children—the urban informal economy is often the only source of employment. Most cases of child labor in urban areas are known to occur in the urban informal economy, where laws and regulations on the minimum age for employment can be more readily

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ U.S. Department of State. (2011). *Trafficking in Person Report*. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/>

²⁹ Documentation of Urban Informal Economy Project of TBP-ILO 2007.

flouted or ignored. A large number of child workers are engaged in hazardous activities. The main features of informal economy are as follows:

- It provides significant employment for the poor.
- It provides cheap goods and services.
- It contributes a substantial share to Bangladesh’s GDP.
- The actors involved are not covered by laws designed to regulate economic activity and provide legal protection (i.e., both workers and businesses are vulnerable).
- It comprises mostly subsistence-level activities, motivated by the need for survival.
- It features low level of income, productivity, skills, technology, and capital.
- It caters largely to local/domestic demand.
- It co-exists (linkages) with larger even export-oriented formal sectors (e.g., RMG, leather, ship recycling).

The poor are often forced to take up unattractive jobs in the informal economy, where average incomes are much lower than in the formal economy, thus reinforcing the cycle of poverty. In many communities, certain groups—women, migrants, ethnic minorities—are less likely to have access to education and skills training. Because they are excluded from formal employment, these vulnerable groups are concentrated in the informal economy.

The urban informal economy comprises a wide range of sectors (manufacturing, transport, trade, etc.) and sub-sectors (plastics manufacturing, road transport, retail trade, etc.) in which employers, employees, and own-account workers engage in various activities to earn a living (see **Table 1**). Almost all the sectors and sub-sectors found in the informal economy also exist in the formal economy. However, the activities carried out by informal enterprises are generally much simpler, technologically far less developed, and more labor intensive than those undertaken by formal establishments.³⁰

Table 1: Sectors Employing Child Labor in the Urban Informal Economy of Dhaka

Sectors	Activities
Automobile	Repair, servicing, cleaning, spraying, polishing, vulcanizing
Engineering	Metal cutting, shaping, molding, tool and die manufacture, nut/screw/bolt manufacture, welding
Electrical	All types of electrical work, refrigeration and AC repair and recharge
Metalwork	Tin work, aluminum recycling, casting, painting, hurricane lamp fabrication, steel furniture manufacture
Plastic	Plastic recycling, molding, shaping, production of sandals, balloon production, etc.
Woodwork	Carpentry, furniture manufacture, shaping, polishing
Textile	Tailoring, embroidery, dyeing, weaving, mattress fabrication
Food	Cooking and food preparation, biscuit and bread baking, flour and spice milling, salt manufacture
Skill trades	Plumbing, goldsmith, blacksmith, book binding, printing
Transport	Tempo/bus, ferry helper, porter
Leather	Cleaning, cutting, shaping, sewing, shoe manufacture

³⁰ *Breaking the Cycle, Key Learning from an ILO-IPEC Project in Bangladesh.* (2008).

Sectors	Activities
Chemicals	Battery breaking, soap manufacture, packing and weighing
Scavenging	Collecting waste plastic, paper, glasses, jars, toys, rubber items, steel items, food items, tin items, animal bones, etc.
Glass	Recycling, cleaning, smashing, melting, molding, bangle production

Source: Breaking the Cycle, Key Learning from an ILO-IPEC Project in Bangladesh. (2008).

3.3 The Bangladesh Garment Industry

For Bangladesh, garment exports, totaling \$12.3 billion in fiscal year 2009, account for 12 percent of the country's GDP and are the most important export product.³¹ Bangladesh's formal garment industry is reportedly free of child labor. Given the significance of the industry, the garment sector was once a significant employer of child workers—mostly girls—in Bangladesh, until the introduction of the Harkin Bill in the U.S. Senate in 1992; the Bill aimed to prohibit importation into the United States of manufactured and mined goods that are produced by children under the age of 15.³²

Although the Harkin Bill was never passed, the BGMEA responded by urging its members to remove underage workers from their workplaces, in conformity with Bangladesh's Factory Act, which sets a minimum age of 14 years for employment.³³ An estimated 10,000–30,000 children—mostly girls—were said to be employed in the garment manufacturing industry prior to BGMEA's response in 1993.³⁴ Citing a BBS survey, Global March Against Child Labour states that this has contributed to the decline of child labor in Bangladesh by as much as 22 percent since 1995-1996, more notably for girls (43%) than for boys (6%).³⁵

In the wake of the BGMEA's dismissal of underage workers, the BGMEA, ILO-IPEC, and the United Nation Children's Fund (UNICEF) reached a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 1995 on a phased and measured program to remove children from factories and place them in schools, a program that was partially funded by USDOL. According to the evaluation conducted by ILO-IPEC and UNICEF, only approximately 30 percent of children working in the garment industry during August 1995 to December 2001 went to project schools.³⁶

Bangladeshi garment workers reportedly work in hazardous environments and under exploitive conditions.³⁷ For instance, cases have been reported where the exit doors of the factories/workplaces have been locked, which has often resulted in high casualty counts when accidents happen.³⁸ Although wages were sometimes higher than the minimum required wages because of skilled labor shortages, it has also been reported that garment factories sometimes

³¹ Supra Note 4.

³² ILO-IPEC. (2004). *Addressing Child Labor in the Bangladesh Garment Industry: 1995 to 2001*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/ipeinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=556>

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Feldman, S. & Larson, D. (2004). *Child Labor in a Global View*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

³⁵ Supra Note 6.

³⁶ Supra Note 15.

³⁷ U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. (2008). *Bangladesh*. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100612.htm>

³⁸ Retrieved from <http://libcom.org/news/article.php/bangladesh-garment-revolt-140706>

force workers to work overtime, delay their pay, and deny them full-leave benefits.³⁹ These working conditions led to tension between garment workers and employers, which in turn led to clashes and violent demonstration periodically.⁴⁰

The country's garment sector started to grow with the introduction of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement (MFA) in 1974, which was in place until 2005. The MFA placed quota restrictions on the amount of textile and garment products developing countries could export to developed countries. Unable to export to developed markets, many East Asian firms began to invest or relocate to Bangladesh, where labor costs were significantly lower. Those foreign firms, either in the form of direct investment or joint ventures, have led the growth of a complex subcontracting system in the garment sector, thus giving rise to an active informal garment industry.

3.4 Child Labor in Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh

The formal sector garment factories regularly subcontract garment production to small-scale factories, vendors, middlemen, or unregistered household production units, particularly when receiving large orders (through retailers and other international or local buyers). In general, subcontracting arrangements between formal and informal garment sectors are conducted on a non-contractual basis. Further, workers in these informal production units, rather than manufacturing complete garments, manufacture single components of finished garments, and/or perform functions such as labeling/tagging, affixing stickers, embroidery, button stitching, etc. After the informal units complete their orders, they return the orders to Ready-Made Garment (RMG) factories.⁴¹

Exploratory research conducted on behalf ICF International observed the existence of child workers in the informal garment production activities. These child workers could either be hired directly by the employers or come to work with their parents/guardians. In most cases, children perform the same tasks as adults. In some cases, children worked as helpers in the production process. The tasks they performed include carrying items from one table to another, embroidery, cutting and trimming threads, sewing buttons, packing garments, cleaning, etc.⁴²

The exploratory research also observed that the work environment could be unhygienic and suffocating, and that children were working in some cases for more than 12 hours a day. It was further evident that the child workers were overburdened with work and hardly had any time for recreation. The child workers also said that they had to work until midnight during shipment times, which is more or less normal practice in the production system.⁴³

³⁹ Supra Note 20.

⁴⁰ *The Daily Star*. (2010). Retrieved from http://www.thedailystar.net/newDesign/latest_news.php?nid=27381

⁴¹ Naser, A. (2011). *Exploration Research for Child Labor and Forced Labor in the Garment Industry in Bangladesh*. Work carried out in April 2011 in Dhaka metropolitan area and Ashulia.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Image 1: Children in a Printing Factory in Motijheel



3.5 The Laws and Policies in Bangladesh Regarding Child Labor

As one of the countries with high prevalence of child labor, ever since its independence Bangladesh has remained politically committed to, and incrementally engaged with, rigorous policies and programs/projects to reduce child labor and lead to its eventual elimination. Bangladesh has already passed the milestones of ratifying the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and Convention 182 on prohibiting worst forms of child labor, and is moving towards ratification of ILO-IPEC Convention 138 against the backdrop of the adoption of National Child Labor Elimination Policy of 2010.⁴⁴ This policy provides a framework for eradicating the worst forms of child labor. The Policy serves as a guiding instrument for the formulation of future laws and policies regarding child labor. The Policy also calls for the formation of a National Child Labor Welfare Council to monitor the child labor situation at the national level.⁴⁵

Although not specifically concerned with child labor issues, the Birth and Death Registration Act of 2004 addressed one of the fundamental human rights specified in the Convention on the Rights of the Child—that all children have the right to a name, identity, and nationality. Birth registration is a first and significant step in upholding these rights. Birth registration is the State’s first official acknowledgement of the child’s existence; it is also the means to secure other child rights such as access to health care and education. In addition, birth registration protects children from exploitation because it enables the use of legal age limits for employment, marriage,

⁴⁴ *National TBP Framework, Project Document, TBP-ILO.* (2006).

⁴⁵USDOL, (2010). *2009 Findings on Worst Forms of Child Labor.* Retrieved from <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/programs/ocft/pdf/2009OCFTreport.pdf>

recruitment for armed forces, and criminal responsibility.⁴⁶ The Government of Bangladesh committed itself to achieving universal birth registration by 2010, with registration numbers having significantly increased since initial targets were set in 2008.⁴⁷ Final completion was delayed until December 2011.⁴⁸

Bangladesh enacted the Labor Act in 2006, which includes a chapter on child labor. This new law prohibits employment of children under 14 years old, as well as hazardous forms of child labor for persons under age 18. However, children who are ages 12 and older may be engaged in “light work” that does not pose a risk to their mental and physical development and does not interfere with their education. The law does not provide a strong enforcement mechanism for its child labor provisions. Additionally, the vast majority of children (93 percent) work in the informal sector, which makes it challenging to enforce the relevant legislation.⁴⁹

The recent adoption of National Child Labor Policy 2010 and the third National Plan of Action (NPA) for Children (2005–2010) also stands as testimonies of Bangladesh’s commitment to the issues of child labor and child rights. The recently finalized National Child Labor Elimination Policy of 2010 aims to eliminate children from every sort of hazardous and worst forms of child labor category task, and to bring meaningful change to the lives of many Bangladeshi children. The specific objectives of the Policy are as follows:⁵⁰

- Withdraw working children from certain forms of occupation.
- Involve parents of working children in income-generating activities.
- Offer stipends and grants to children and families in order to bring working children back to school.
- Extend special attention to children who are affected by natural disasters.
- Provide special emphasis to indigenous and physically challenged children to bring them back to a congenial environment.
- Ensure coordination among the concerned stakeholders who work for the welfare of working children.
- Enact pragmatic laws and strengthen institutional capacity for their enforcement.
- Raise awareness among parents, the people, and civil society about the harmful consequences of child labor.
- Plan and implement different short-, medium-, and long-term strategies and programs to eliminate various forms of child labor from Bangladesh by 2015.

Based on the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010, a National Plan of Action has been finalized to implement the Policy with support from ILO-IPEC, UNICEF, Save the Children, and other child labor-related stakeholders. It is expected that the Ministry of Labor and Employment

⁴⁶ Retrieved from [http://www.unicef.org/bangladesh/Birth_Registration\(1\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/bangladesh/Birth_Registration(1).pdf)

⁴⁷ Retrieved from http://www.idlo.int/doccalendar/bangladeshreport_final.pdf

⁴⁸ Retrieved from http://www.lgd.gov.bd/index.php?option=com_projects&id=116&task=project&title=&Itemid=75&lang=en

⁴⁹ Supra Note 4.

⁵⁰ Ministry of Labor and Employment. (2010). *National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010*.

(MoLE) will very soon officially declare the Plan for implementation, although no such declaration had been made by the end of 2011. Some observers consider the Plan's target of eliminating child labor by 2016 to be unrealistic.⁵¹ In the meantime, the MoLE has also finalized the list of hazardous work, which has been technically cleared by the MoLE's high power Tripartite Technical Consultative Group.⁵²

Among the formal experts interviewed, some believed that the legislation in place to deal with child labor was sufficient, but that implementation was lacking.

Laws, policies and programs in action are adequate, but the emphasis should now be to implement at all levels. (NGO official)

There are programs undertaken by various bodies, such as UNICEF, Save the Children, and the ILO, but these are insufficient and quick implementation of the laws is the prime need. (International NGO official)

3.6 Programs in Bangladesh Regarding Child Labor

ILO-IPEC was launched in 1992 to progressively eliminate child labor through strengthening national capacities to address child labor problems. The **TBP** is one of the means established by ILO-IPEC to help countries fulfill their obligations under ILO Convention 182 to take immediate and effective time-bound measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labor as a matter of urgency.

The **Urban Informal Economy (UIE)** project⁵³ is one of the projects supported by ILO-IPEC as part of the TBP in the Dhaka and other metropolitan areas of Bangladesh. The project succeeded an ILO-IPEC pilot project that began in 2001. The pilot project focused on building a knowledge base on the sectors and actors in the urban informal economy and on testing strategies and models for validity and cost-effectiveness.

UNICEF is advocating for a national child protection system to support all vulnerable children, including working children and the victims of trafficking, violence, abuse and exploitation.⁵⁴ The system will link all organizations and institutions (public and private) that support children at risk. Outreach activities will identify different groups of vulnerable children and help them access services for health, shelter, education, social, and legal assistance. To support the network, UNICEF is facilitating the development of a national child protection information management system and the design of national social services training.

Among many of its activities in Bangladesh, **Save the Children** has been working with the Government of Bangladesh and NGOs in five districts to set up special schools that are open during break times and at night.⁵⁵ Here, working children can drop in and catch up on missed classes. Save the Children says that 2,500 children between the ages of 5 and 12 are benefiting from this initiative and that approximately 2,600 children are able to obtain free basic medical

⁵¹ Retrieved from http://www.thefinancialexpress-bd.com/more.php?news_id=98169&date=2011-12-21

⁵² Ministry of Labor and Employment. (2010). *National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010*.

⁵³ Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/dhaka/Whatwedo/Projects/WCMS_106334/lang--en/index.htm

⁵⁴ Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/bangladesh/4926_4959.htm

⁵⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/where-we-work/asia/bangladesh>

advice and treatment through a referral system to NGO-run clinics and government health centers. As a result of the organization's lobbying, children's employers in 5,252 small factories and workshops have signed a code of conduct. This means that nearly 10,000 working children are now getting 1 hour off each day for their education, 1 day off from work per week, first aid service, regular wages, and a safer working environment. Also, in Kurigram, 149 children have been taking part in a savings scheme, so they can save a portion of their earnings.

In 2011, **CARE Bangladesh** launched the Providing Working Children with Functional Education and Marketable Skills project.⁵⁶ Set to run until April 2014, the project will, according to the job description, seek to implement life skill education as the key guiding values for working children.

The **Manusher Jonno Foundation** runs a Child Protection and Development (CP&D) program.⁵⁷ Through its partners, it targets children in who are in hazardous work and in vulnerable and disadvantaged situations. The program builds capacity to address child rights violations; improves and facilitate processes so that vulnerable children may access basic services such as education, health and recreation, thereby realizing their capabilities; and addresses key sensitive issues, such as sexual abuse and other forms of violence against children. The foundation notes that the program provides protection and development for 131,622 children directly and altogether addresses the needs of 658,110 people.

The **Resource Integration Center (RIC)** initiated the second phase of its Basic Education for Hard-To-Reach Urban Working Children program in 2004, in collaboration with the Government of Bangladesh, UNICEF, and SIDA (Sweden).⁵⁸ The long-term objective was to enhance the life options of urban working children and adolescents by helping them access their rights to education, protection, development and participation. Specifically the program sought to provide high-quality non-formal, basic education rooted in life skills to 200,000 urban working children and adolescents 10–14 years old, and to provide 20,000 urban working children and adolescents with livelihood skills training, as well as access to support systems in order to ensure optimal use of life skills.

⁵⁶ Retrieved from <http://hotjobs.bdjobs-server.com/bdjobs/care/care35.htm>

⁵⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.manusher.org/how.php>

⁵⁸ Retrieved from <http://www.ricbd.org/edu.php>

4 METHODOLOGY DESIGN

4.1 Description of Research Methodology and Design

ICF International adopted the SCM developed in other studies under contract with USDOL. The SCM is based on the economic concept of the supply chain, which involves a network of retailers, distributors, transporters, storage facilities, and suppliers. For the purpose of the study, the informal garment industry is defined as an unregistered unit production, which includes permanent and temporary workshops as well as households. More specifically, none of the informal production units under study was a BGMEA or BKMEA member. All the production units—except the home-based production units—had a trade license, which is mandatory for carrying out business.

The mixed-methods research comprised both quantitative and qualitative research strategies. The research techniques included key informant interviews, a supply chain mapping exercise (to identify informal garment workshops), direct observation of the workplaces, and interviews with child workers. The target population comprised child workers between ages 5 and 17 in the informal garment industry; the study examined carefully their working conditions with respect to child labor in general, worst forms of child labor, and, if encountered, forced child labor. Basic characteristics of children and their families, conditions of work, educational status, and information on entry routes into work were collected. To be eligible for the study, a child had to have been engaged in at least one of the garment-related activities listed in the questionnaire in the last 12 months.⁵⁹

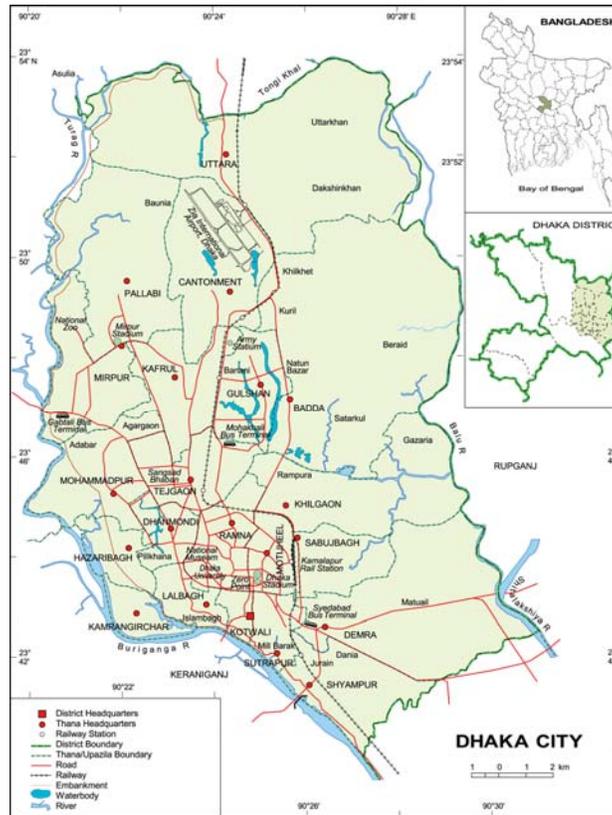
In order to gain further information on the experience of child labor in the informal garment industry, the ICF International research team also conducted semi-structured interviews with two types of key informant—formal experts and informal experts. The informal experts included individuals working in various activities throughout the garment industry supply chain. This group of key informants comprised a BGMEA official, factory owners, small workshop owners, family business owners, garment workers, transporters, garment vendors, and middlemen. The formal expert group included both national and international NGO staff working with former child laborers/forced child laborers, government agencies and, an academics.

Observations of worksites were also carried out to establish a profile of the establishments where children were engaged in informal garment-related work.

The geographical framework for the study was the Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) area as illustrated in Map 1. The DCC area (population approximately 7 million) is part of the Greater Dhaka metropolitan area and has an all-age population of approximately 16.6 million.

⁵⁹ The activities are listed in the Child Interview Guide, Question C2 (see Annex C).

Map 1: The Dhaka City Corporation Area



4.2 Research Design

The design of the study was informed by initial exploratory scoping research carried out in Dhaka in April 2011.⁶⁰ Using a mix of desk research, key informant interviews, and observations, the research addressed the following four key concerns, with particular attention paid to the informal sector:

1. How the garment industry works in Bangladesh in terms of the supply chain
2. Where garment products are manufactured
3. The types of garment products manufactured in informal settings
4. The use of child labor or forced labor in the manufacturing of garment products.

The preparatory work concluded that there was evidence of child labor in both the formal and informal garment sectors. In the formal sector, because of the restrictions placed by the BGMEA's code of conduct, child labor has decreased noticeably. In large garment factories and inside the Export Processing Zone (EPZ),⁶¹ where monitoring is very strong, child labor is almost nil. However, garment factories that take subcontracts from a parent factory or a large factory are employing children. They remain outside the monitoring of buyers, retailers, and

⁶⁰ Naser, A. (2011). op.cit.

⁶¹ Export Processing Zone where some of the fieldwork was done. The primary objective of an EPZ is to provide special areas where potential investors can find a congenial investment climate, free from cumbersome procedures.

other agencies. The research also concluded that there was no evidence of forced labor in the formal and informal garment sectors. Nevertheless, in the informal sector, the work environment was found to be unhygienic and suffocating, and children were working in some cases for more than 12 hours a day.

The main study was designed very much with these findings in mind. Given the scale of informal garment production activity in the DCC area, the team decided to enhance the efficiency of the survey approach by dividing regions of the DCC area where informal garment production was found to be particularly widespread into six geographical zones/clusters. In order to make an initial identification of where informal garment production facilities were most likely to be found, all the *thana*/ward maps of the DCC area⁶² were reviewed by the research team, together with two experienced persons from ILO-IPEC's Dhaka office. This was overlaid with information from available documentation, which helped to identify those areas and *thanas* where child labor was known or was suspected to exist. The research team members verified the list during their field visits, and informal experts were consulted before finalizing the list. Following these investigations, those *thanas* where use of child labor was not suspected were not visited.

In order to ensure adequate coverage, the following zones were defined based on the information revealed by the mapping exercise:

- **Zone 1—Mirpur** is situated in the northwest part of DCC area. This geographic zone consists of Mirpur and Pallabi subdistricts.
- **Zone 2—Mohammadpur** is positioned at the western part of the Dhaka city map. This geographic zone comprises Mohammadpur subdistrict.
- **Zone 3—Old Dhaka** is situated in the southern part of the Dhaka city with the highest concentration of informal garment production units. This geographic zone comprises Lalbagh subdistrict, Jartabari (in Demra subdistrict), and Hajaribagh subdistrict.
- **Zone 4—Uttara** is situated in the northern part of Dhaka city. This geographic zone consists of Khilket (in Badda subdistrict) and Uttara subdistricts.
- **Zone 5—Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali** is located in the northeast part of Dhaka city, which comprises Gulshan and Badda subdistricts.
- **Zone 6—Motijheel/Khilgaon** is situated in the east and northeast part of Dhaka city. This zone consists of Motijheel and Khilgaon subdistricts.

Map 2 shows the zones established within the context of the DCC area.

⁶² The DCC comprises 25 *thana*. The *thana* is a subdivision of the district, of which there are 64 in Bangladesh, including 17 in the Dhaka division.

Map 2: Dhaka City Corporation Research Analysis Zones

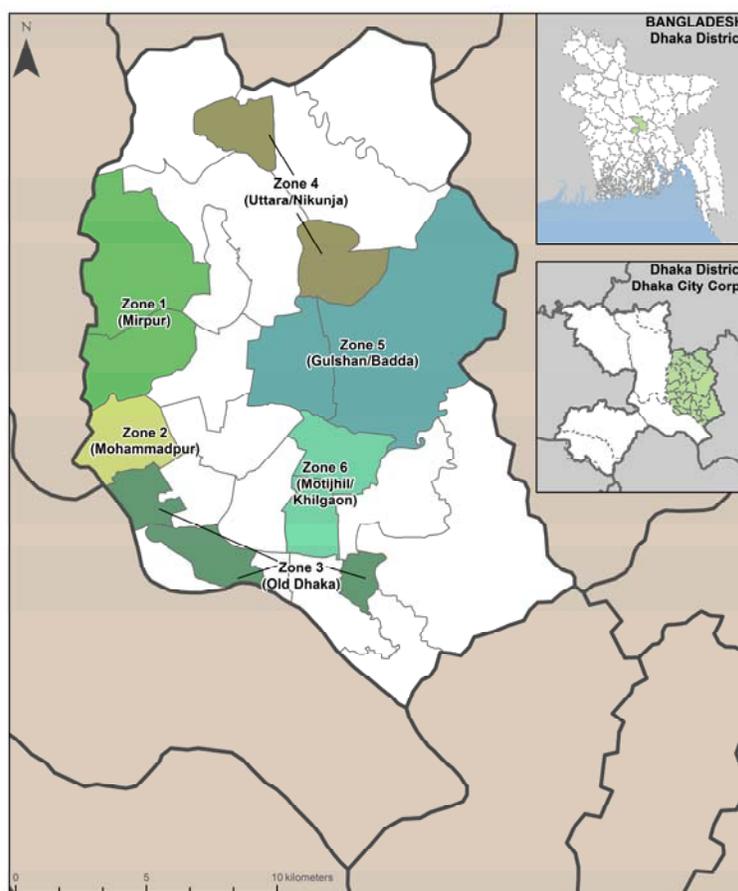


Table 2 shows details of the six zones that were established for the study; the *thanas*/subdistricts included in each zone, the locations within the *thanas*/subdistricts where relevant informal garment activity using child labor had been identified, the activities carried out in these establishments, and the number of relevant establishments set up by the research team.

Table 2: Distribution of Informal Garment Production Units

Serial #	Zones	Subdistrict/ thana covered	Activities	Estimated number of establishments
1	Mirpur	Mirpur Pallabi	Dyeing, printing, hangers, washing, packaging , crinkling	88
2	Mohammadpur	Mohammadpur	Embroidery work, decorative work (<i>karchupi</i>), jeans, pants, printing, dyeing	55
3	Old Dhaka	Lalbagh Hazaribag Jatrabari	Local garments, dyeing, accessory shops	259
			Garment accessory shops/factories	210
			Local garments, block, printing	55
			Local garments, decorative work, small accessory shops	15

Serial #	Zones	Subdistrict/ thana covered	Activities	Estimated number of establishments
4	Uttara/Nikunja	Uttara Khilkhet	Local garments, hats, printing, dyeing, decorative work, embroidery, labels, cartoons	27
			Local garments, decorative work, embroidery	25
5	Gulshan/Badda/ Mohakhali	Badda Gulshan	Local garments, washing, embroidery, printing, finishing, packaging, blasting, packaging, crinkling	47
			Dyeing, finishing	4
6	Motijheel/ Khilgaon	Motijheel/ Khilgaon	Screen printing, packaging, labels	15
			Embroidery	35
			Dyeing	13
			Screen printing	12

4.3 Development and Description of Research Instruments

ICF International’s research team developed English-language drafts of four different instruments; 1) a formal expert interview guideline, 2) an informal expert interview guideline, 3) a questionnaire for children in working in the informal garment sector, and 4) a workplace observation sheet. RTM International then translated the instruments into Bangla and made minor modifications. A brief description of the instruments is presented below; the full versions can be found in Annexes A to D.

4.3.1 Formal Expert Interview Guide

The semi-structured interviews with these qualified people with a professional interest in child labor sought to elicit informed views on the phenomenon based on their involvement and experience. Their insights, views, and opinions are particularly useful in helping the research team understand policy and other macro-level issues, as well as sector-related questions. Topics covered were as follows:

- Personal/professional involvement of each formal expert in child labor/forced child labor issues, particularly with regard to informal garment production
- Organization’s view or mission with regard to child labor, forced child labor, and the moving/trafficking of children in general, and in informal garment production in particular
- Assessment of the public’s perception and attitude toward child workers in Bangladesh, both in general and in informal garment production
- Laws, policies, and programs in Bangladesh regarding child labor
- Functioning of informal garment production in terms of the supply chain
- Nature of the work done by children in informal garment production
- Environments of children’s worksites in informal production

- Extent of trafficking or movement of children into informal garment production
- Extent of forced labor in the sector
- Factors affecting timing, seasons and locations where child labor and forced child labor occur
- Factors that influence children to work in informal garment production.

4.3.2 Informal Expert Interview Guide

Whereas the formal experts did not always have direct day-to-day experience of both the informal garment sector and the role of children within it, the informal experts—garment workers, owners, middlemen, and drivers—were much more closely involved with the work, and therefore were able to offer a level of insight that their professional counterparts could not. The principal topics covered in the interviews were as follows:

- Description of how informal garment production works
- Nature of the work done by children in informal garment production
- Characteristics of child workers in informal garment production
- Working conditions of garment workers under 18 years old in informal workshops
- Factors influencing children to work in informal garment production
- Perceptions of people in the community about children working in this sector
- Awareness of government or non-government programs/agencies promoting the welfare of working children.

4.3.3 Child Interview Guide

The child interviews were the primary source of direct information on the experiences of children working in informal garment production. Children between 5 and 17 years of age who had worked during the previous 12 months in the informal garment sector were eligible to be interviewed. The information collected through the child questionnaire fell into the following broad categories:

- Background characteristics
- Child's education
- Type of work performed, number of hours per day
- Working conditions, health, and risk issues
- Remuneration
- Family background
- Forced labor

- Migration
- Interviewer observation.

4.3.4 Worksite Observation Guidelines

In order to give some context to the information provided by the children interviewed, worksite profiles were developed by direct observation for each informal production unit visited. The key focus of the observations was as follows:

- Work activities and tasks performed at the site
- Estimate of child workers as a proportion of all workers observed
- Emotional appearance of child workers
- Treatment by employers
- Worksite environment and facilities
- Potential hazards.

Together, the four research instruments, each designed to meet a specific purpose, provided information from different perspectives, which provided the basis for a holistic consideration of the phenomenon of child labor in the informal garment sector.

4.4 Final Research Questions

The research questions corresponding to each objective of the study are summarized in **Table 3**.

Table 3: Research Questions

Serial #	Objectives	Research questions
1	Determine the extent to which and for what reasons children in Bangladesh work in the informal garment industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How significant/widespread is the problem of child labor in the informal garment industry? • What are the characteristics of children working in the sector? • What are the reasons children are entering informal garment production work? • Who is recruiting the child into informal garment production? How are they being recruited? Are labor brokers and other recruiters involved?
2	Understand the conditions under which children employed in the informal garment sector work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are their living arrangements? • Do children working in garment production go to school? • How exposed are children in informal garment production to hazards? What kinds of hazards? • Apart from hazards, what are the general working conditions of child workers in the industry? • What kinds of protective gear and safeguards, if any, are made available in the work areas? • What is the state of physical health and mental well-being of the children found to be working in the informal garment sector? • What are the hours of work per day? • What are the conditions of payment? • What times do children have off for rest or leisure? • If children are not living at home, are children allowed to visit home? Are they allowed to receive visits from family or friends? • Do children suffer verbal abuse or threats from the employer or others working at the site? • Do children experience stress? If so, what are the reasons for stress? • Do children suffer physical or sexual abuse from the employer or others working at the site? • Are children confined to the workplace? How free are children to leave the workplace?
3	Identify where children's work in the informal sector fits into the larger garment sector supply chain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are the key players in the garment industry? • What production activities are involved in the garment industry supply chain? • In which aspects of garment production are children engaged? • In which activities are forced child laborers engaged? • Where are garments manufactured? What kinds of garment products are manufactured? Among these products, which are manufactured by child workers, including any forced child workers? • How may market demands in the industry be affecting the forced labor of children and child laborers?
4	Understand if children's work in the informal garment sector contributes to garment production for domestic consumption, export, or both	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of the Bangladeshi garments produced for export, what proportion is estimated to have child labor/forced child labor in its supply chain? • What proportion of garments is produced for the domestic market?
5	Understand what efforts the Government of Bangladesh is taking to address child labor in the garment sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What laws, regulations, policies, and programs exist to combat child labor and forced child labor, particularly in the garment sector? Which government agencies implement and enforce them? • What support programs exist in the specified localities to assist child laborers and/or former forced child labor victims in the garment industry?

5 FIELDWORK

5.1 Interviewer Training and Testing of Instruments

Potential interviewers were selected by the in-country lead consultant from professionals with whom he had worked on earlier projects. Ten professionals were invited to participate in the training sessions, where they were assessed by the lead consultant and other RTM International staff. Of the 10 invited, 8—all male—were selected.

The training sessions were held on 3 consecutive days at the RTM International offices between February 7 and 11, 2012 and covered the following subjects:

- Concept training on the issues of child labor, forced labor, and trafficking;
- Introduction and review of research instruments;
- Introduction of procedures required by the Internal Review Board;
- Mock interviews and role playing;
- Description of geographic zoning and selection of informal garment production unit for research; and
- Field management protocols, which included field itinerary, team divisions and supervisor responsibilities.

The team also tested the research instruments in a number of Dhaka locations, followed by a detailed debrief with the field data collection staff. The instruments were then finalized after incorporating feedback from the field testing. The ICF International research manager accompanied some of the interviewers for the test interviews and subsequently participated in the debriefings.

5.2 Field Management and Research Implementation

In the first phase of the research, the mapping process outlined in Section 4.2 helped to identify the points in the network where child labor was most likely to be used. This information informed the research design and helped to develop a better understanding of locations, child labor populations, and work conditions. A list of locations where child labor was known or was suspected to exist was prepared after consultation with a number of key informants with knowledge of the informal garment sector. The team's research officers then visited the field to verify the list of study locations. The list of locations with the estimated number of informal garment production units was finalized after incorporating the information collected from the key informant interviews. **Table 4** gives details of the 21 informal experts interviewed.

Table 4: Distribution of Informal Experts

Serial #	Category	Number of interviews
1	BGMEA Official	1
2	Owner of formal garment factories	3
3	Owner of informal garment factories	8
4	Garment vendor/middleman	3
5	Garment workers	4
6	Transporters	2
Total	-	21

When the initial exploration of production facilities was being carried out by the research team, several different types of establishment were found. These were assessed and classified into two strata.

Stratum 1—Home-based: This stratum encompasses those small production units located in residential rather than commercial properties. They are characterized by relatively low levels of organization, low levels of capital investment, and a lack of facilities for those working there. They do not operate within a formal legal framework and do not have a trade license. Thirteen of the observed establishments fell into this category

Stratum 2—Permanent/semi-permanent workshop: This stratum includes the larger establishments operating in recognizably commercial premises. They are generally better organized than the home-based units, labor intensive, comparatively complex, but do not require particularly high levels of skills from their workers. Most operate without a formal legal framework, although they do have a trade license. Thirty-three of the workplaces observed in the study fell into this stratum.

In the second phase, ICF International conducted 200 interviews with child workers. Most children were interviewed at the 46 worksites observed (189 cases) or, where this was not possible, at their homes (11 cases). The majority of interviews (84%) were carried out with no adults present. In the minority of cases where adults were present, in only one case was the adult a family member. No employers were present. In 17 percent of the cases, the field team reported that other children were present.

The sample coverage of interviews with informal experts, workplace observations, as well as interviews with child laborers is summarized in **Table 5**.

Table 5: Sample Coverage, by Geographic Zone

Serial #	Zones	Informal experts	Observation	Child interview
1	Mirpur	4	11	45
2	Mohammadpur	5	9	37
3	Old Dhaka	2	8	45
4	Uttara/Nikunja	1	4	18
5	Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali	3	7	37
6	Motijheel/Khilgaon	5	7	18
Total	-	20*	46	200

* This study interviewed 21 informal experts, including 1 expert from BGMEA who was not associated with a particular zone

The in-depth interviews with 12 formal experts (4 government officers, 6 national NGO officials, 1 international NGO official and 1 academic) were carried out at their workplace by senior research officers of RTM International.

To enhance the efficiency of research implementation, the eight research assistants were divided into four pairs. Each pair was instructed to conduct five interviews with informal experts to gather information on the locations where child workers were suspected/known to exist. Interviewers were then instructed to visit approximately 10 worksites to conduct observations and interview 50 child workers. In most cases, interviews with children were carried out at the workplaces. In some cases, the interviews had to be completed away from the worksites, and in 5 percent of the cases the interviews were done at the child's homes.

In order to start the field data collection, each pair selected a spot from the list of locations with a relatively high concentration of informal garment production units. They moved forward following a particular road or lane and selected the workplaces that could be identified. Since children's working conditions largely depend on the type of activities they perform, interviewers endeavored to capture the widest range of activities by limiting the number of workshops producing similar types of products. Several locations were visited to obtain the required number of interviews.

From time to time, the research team encountered reluctance from workshop owners and managers who refused to permit access to their premises. Even when access was granted, interviewers were urged to complete their work as quickly as possible, which meant that observations were carried out as quickly. Since the observations did not consist of interviews, some of the information gathered was necessary, based on impressions, and were not claimed to be complete or definitive in all cases. Collectively, however, the observations provide a good picture of the establishments visited and the position of child workers within them.

At the end of each day, the research team reviewed each completed interview form and ensured that the interviews were correctly documented. Any necessary clarifications or follow-ups were addressed promptly.

Interviewing started in mid-February 2012 and concluded in mid-March 2012.

6 FINDINGS

This section of the report begins with a brief overview of the ways informal garment production in Bangladesh is organized. It continues with a description of the worksites observed by researchers, where the great majority of children were interviewed; these observations were structured and the results were quantified. The results from the interviews with children conclude the section, supplemented as appropriate by feedback from formal and informal experts.

6.1 Informal Garment Production in Bangladesh

The general characteristics of the informal garment production sector, as established by the literature, have been described in Sections 3.3 and 3.4. This section adds information and insights provided by the research team as well as formal and informal experts during the fieldwork.

Informal garment production facilities are not always easily identifiable, and during the fieldwork, the research team witnessed a wide range of establishments of differing size, function and complexity. Some occupied entire buildings or several floors in residential areas, others shared buildings with different kinds of neighbors, including in one case an English-medium school.⁶³ Some were in outhouses, more like sheds than factory buildings. Although there was a degree of clustering of establishments, it seemed to be the case that the garment production facilities were co-located with a wide range of residential and commercial properties. There tends to be informal garment activity in areas, which also serve other purposes. Equally, neighborhoods that serve unrelated economic activities may well also house significant informal garment production activities.

Production activities are not necessarily continuous throughout the year; one establishment seen was closed for three months in line with the cyclical nature of the knitwear business. Even where work may be continuous, the level of activity ebbs and flows at different times of the year. Both factories and home-based workshops are particularly active during the ‘Eid’ or ‘Puja’ festivals.⁶⁴ The busy period for the informal sector is the period between October and January every year. Since the study was fielded from mid-February to mid-March 2012, many establishments remained closed due to lack of orders. Fluctuations in demand across the industry also affected activities; as a formal expert noted: “...*withdrawal or reduction of orders by many foreign buyers reduces the workload of the garments factories in the formal sector, which consequently scales back activities of the informal production units,*” thus highlighting the almost umbilical nature of the relationship between the formal and informal sectors.

One way to view the informal garment sector is as a provider of surge capacity to carry out activities, which the formal sector is unable to do itself under the tight deadlines of this highly competitive business. A formal expert at the BBS described its function as “*feeding the mainstream production through suppliers when orders have to be dispatched at a particular time and to a tight schedule.*”

⁶³ A school that uses English as the primary [medium of instruction](#). English medium schools are mainly private

⁶⁴ *Eid* and *Puja* are the principal religious festivals of the Muslim and Hindu communities respectively.

The informal garment production units usually get contracts from large formal-sector garment factories. When an order is very large, or when a factory receives several orders simultaneously, the formal sector factories cannot fully handle the work and tend to subcontract all or part of the work to relatively low-priced informal garment factories, which is financially advantageous for the formal sector and can boost profit margins significantly. The key figures in this process are the middlemen, who facilitate the trade between the formal and informal sectors.

As a middleman, I work for various garment firms. This is our family business...The big garment factories make the order through us. They do some of the work; people in the informal sector do other work, generally different to what the big factories do. The big factories generally provide the materials. (Self-employed middleman)

I work on contract; any kind of work I can do distributing work to different informal factories. (Self-employed middleman)

Many formal garment factories can't do all [the] work, so middlemen are used to find smaller firms to help out with some of the orders. (Garment worker)

Production facilities in the informal sector rarely produce finished garments. The most common arrangement seems to be for formal factories to provide the informal units with garments or parts of garments which require particular treatment, either large scale and requiring special equipment (e.g., dyeing or crinkling) or more detailed work generally done by hand (e.g., sewing of labels, embroidery, buttons). Informal production units therefore tend to be highly specialized and to perform labor-intensive tasks. Hence, it is not uncommon for one informal unit, depending on its specialism, to work for a number of formal factories. Again, the middlemen ensure that this complex trade works.

A large formal sector garment factory got this order for ladies' twill wears from a foreign buyer. We get this contract from the factory through a middleman. The formal garment factory did the cutting and sewing part of the production and sent it to an informal garment factory for washing. After washing, all the items were sent to us for crinkling. The products will then be passed on to another factory for steam ironing and packaging. Finally, the finished products will be sent back to the formal garment factory for shipment. All of these activities are handled by a middleman. (Owner of an informal garment factory)

The subcontracting arrangements between the formal and informal garment production units are made mostly on the basis of mutual understanding, trust and long-term relationships between the owners of the informal garment factories and the middlemen. It is very common that an informal garment factory starts working immediately after receiving the materials from the middlemen. There are hardly ever any written agreements.

The contract is made completely through verbal arrangements, which both parties abide by. In fact, the middlemen play the key role in the subcontracting. They collect the materials from the big factories and send back the finished goods to the big factory after the tasks have been done in the informal garment factory. (Formal expert)

As noted above, informal sector establishments only rarely produce finished garments themselves. Whereas some small, home-based production units may also produce goods for the local market, their contribution toward the overall garment production and export would not be large.

Only BGMEA-accredited formal garment manufacturers are licensed to export; child labor in the formal garment sector is almost non-existent. Hence, estimates of the extent to which child labor might be involved in the production of garment components in the informal sector ultimately intended for export varied considerably. Many key informants interviewed admitted that they were unaware of any sources of relevant statistics. Those who did attempt to quantify the phenomenon may well have been guessing, with estimates ranging from 5 to 50 percent among formal experts. Informal experts were much more likely to give a lower figure, and their estimates ranged from 1 to 5 percent.

It might be 30 percent but it is reducing gradually due to intervention, increased awareness and the law. (Formal expert, NGO director)

Very little, actually. After the Harkins Bill, you don't find children in the formal garment sector. (Formal expert, ILO program officer)

It is probably not more than 5 percent and [it] is decreasing due to enforcement of laws relating to child labor. (Informal expert, business owner)

It may be in between 3–4 percent and [it] is decreasing. (Informal expert, owner of dyeing facility)

The nature of the informal garment industry and its relationship to the formal sector makes it difficult to establish how and in which ways children working in the informal sector contribute to the manufacture of goods for export. Since informal establishments themselves do not have contracts with foreign or other buyers, they do not directly export materials. However, they are actively involved in contributing to finished garments on a subcontracted basis, so many garments ultimately assembled and exported by the formal garment sector will have been in part processed by the informal sector, and children will certainly have been involved in that work to varying degrees. So although children do not appear to be directly involved in the manufacture of finished goods for export, they undoubtedly contribute to the process, although it would appear difficult, if not impossible, to quantify this.

6.2 Workplace Observations

Image 2: Printing Factories in Motijheel



6.2.1 Characteristics of the Informal Garment Establishments Observed⁶⁵

A total of 46 informal garment production units were observed, of which most (33) were informal workshops/sheds and the remainder (13) were home-based production units. These informal production units were selected from the following six geographic zones: Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Old Dhaka, Uttara/Nikunja, Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali, and Motijheel/Khilgaon of the DCC area.

The workshops and other production facilities observed were generally quite solidly built, with concrete floors and walls, and metal or concrete roofing; all but one site was completely roofed. Four in five sites were assessed to 60 square meters in size or larger,⁶⁶ and most sites (63%) comprised just one room. At approximately one-third of establishments the manager/owner lived either onsite or adjacent to the site. A similar proportion of sites provided living accommodation for some or all workers.

The average number of workers in the 33 informal production workshops/sheds observed was 41. The average masks a very wide range, from just 4 workers to as many as 300, with a median of 27. The 13 home-based production units were much smaller, with an average of 11 workers per unit. The range was 2 to 40, with a median of 7 workers (**Table 6**).

Table 6: Average Number of Workers and Child Workers, by Type of Production Unit

Type of production unit	n	Average number of workers observed per unit	Average number of child workers observed per unit
Informal workshop/shed	33	41	13
Home-based production	13	11	5
Total	46	33	11

⁶⁵ Please bear in mind when considering the descriptions below that they relate only to the worksites observed and are not necessarily representative of all such sites in the DCC area.

⁶⁶ Where measurements such as these are given, they are based on researcher assessments and not on actual measurements.

6.2.2 Incidence of Child Workers in the Workshops Observed

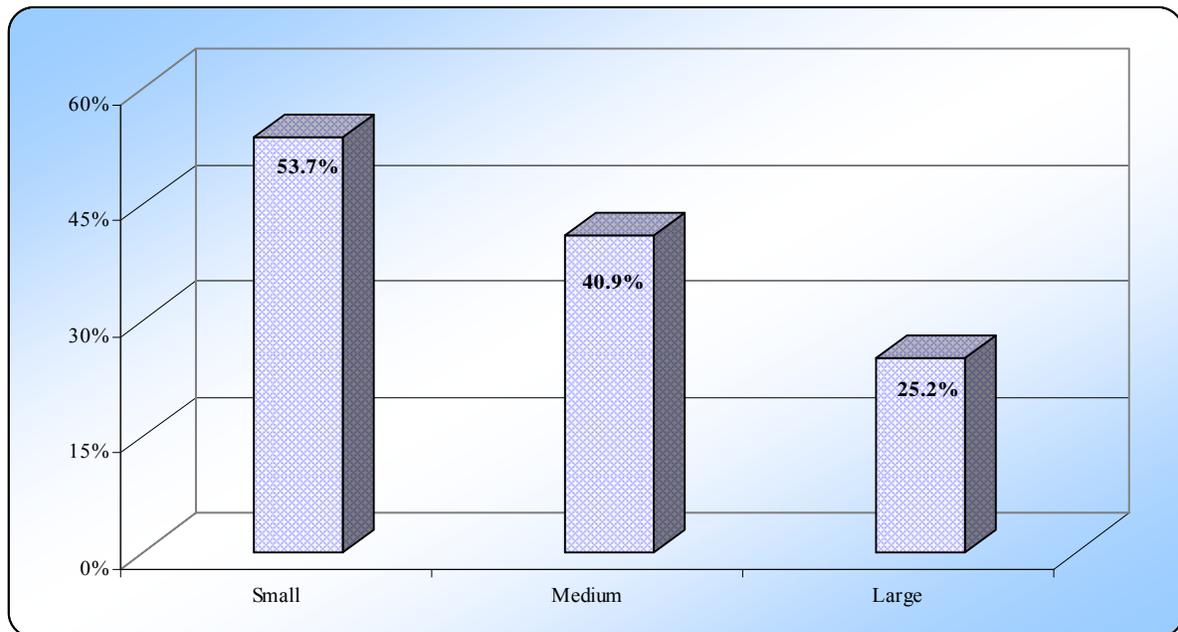
During the observation of the selected workplaces, the research team recorded both the total number of workers they saw as well as the number of child workers⁶⁷ visible on that day. **Table 7** shows that overall one in three of the observed workers involved in the informal garment production in the units visited were children younger than 18 years of age. Children were more likely to be found in home-based units than elsewhere; just over two-fifths of workers observed in home-based establishments were deemed to be younger than 18 years of age compared with nearly one in three in the informal workshops/sheds.

Table 7: Observed Percentage of Child Workers, by Type of Production Unit

Type of production unit	n	Average percentage of child workers per type of facility observed
Informal workshop/shed	33	31.4%
Home-based production	13	43.0%
Total	46	32.6%

For the purpose of the analysis, the informal production units observed were also classified into three size categories: 1) small (fewer than 15 workers), 2) medium (15–49 workers), and 3) large (more than 50 workers). **Figure 1** shows that the smaller the unit, the more likely that child workers would be used.

Figure 1: Percentage of Child Workers, by Size of Production Units



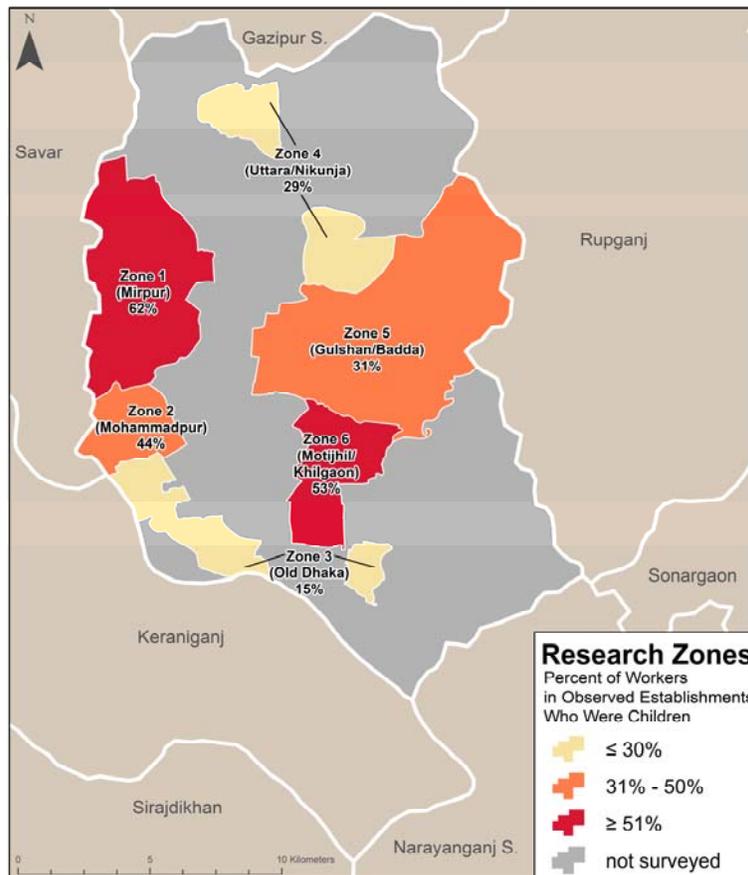
Base: Percentage of observed child workers in establishments visited

⁶⁷ Since the workers were not asked their age, those whose physical appearance suggested that they were under 18 years old were counted as child workers.

Based on these observations, the research team also analyzed the incidence of child labor in each of the six geographic zones of the DCC area and observed a notable difference. The percentage of child workers was markedly higher in Mirpur zone than in other zones. In Mirpur, nearly two-thirds of the observed workers were children, compared with one in seven in Old Dhaka. This seems to be because there were many small and home-based garment production units in the Mirpur area, and they are where child workers were most likely to be found.

Map 3 shows the proportion of workers in observed establishments who were children.

**Map 3: Dhaka City Corporation
Percentage of Workers in Observed Establishments
Who Were Children: Analysis, by Zone**



Base: Child workers as percentage of all observed workers in each zone

6.2.3 Workplace Environment and Hygiene

The children observed at the worksites were generally observed to be working continuously and concentrating on the work at hand. Although most appeared to be doing their own tasks, there were several cases where children were helping older workers. The activities they undertook seemed to vary. There was little sense of excessive workloads and the mood was generally positive, with very few children—approximately 1 in 10—showing signs of anxiety.

At approximately one site in five, the owner or supervisor was seen to be applying extra work pressure, using abusive language, or behaving very rudely. In most cases, however, no cases of abuse or bad behavior toward workers were noted.⁶⁸

The observed workplaces were in most cases at least tolerably clean and tidy, with 9 out of 10 (91.3%) found both to have some dust and just a few items rendering the floor untidy. Only two establishments were described as “dirty.” Air quality was assessed similarly, with 9 in 10 units found to be a little dusty, but without major breathing hazards. The quality of lighting in the selected workplaces was bright, but not excessively so, with 85 percent of establishments assessed as having bright or normal lighting. Relatively few workplaces (approximately 1 in 10) were found to have dim lighting. In only two cases did observers consider the lighting too bright. Electric lighting was the most common (82.6 percent of establishments), with the remainder of the establishments relying on natural light.

Most facilities observed (91.3%) had some form of ventilation, largely provided by fans (66.7% of relevant units). Windows were the only form of ventilation in one-fourth of cases (23.8%). Air conditioning was observed in 1 establishment in 10 (9.5%).

Observers nevertheless reported that there were potential hazards, principally excessive heat (52.2% of observations), poor air quality (50% of observations) and dust/dirt (39.1% of observations). In addition, although approximately one-third of the units (30.4%) were seen to have safety equipment available, the equipment was not necessarily always easily accessible. A first aid kit was seen at three-fourths of the sites where some safety equipment was observed. Very few establishments (3 cases) had a fire extinguisher.

Most establishments (84.8%) had both toilet facilities and a source of water, which were almost universally accessible. Communal latrines, found in about half of the establishments visited (48.7%), were the most common form of toilet, with flush toilets seen in two-fifths of the sites, divided equally between indoor and outdoor locations. Piped water was available in all but one of the garment facilities observed. An emergency exit—usually a door, but in one case, windows—was observed only in approximately two-fifths of the establishments (37.0%). Where available, these emergency exits were accessible (82.4% of establishments) and could be used.

⁶⁸ Since permission was obtained for the research team to observe the worksite, it is possible that the presence of third parties affected the behavior of those present, both workers and managers. Given that permission to observe was not granted in some cases, and that a different, more compliant establishment was substituted, it is also likely that observers were denied the opportunity to observe establishments where bad practices were more widespread.

Image 3: Screen Printing in Motijheel



6.3 Children Working in the Informal Garment Sector

A total of 200 children were interviewed across the six zones: Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Old Dhaka, Uttara/Nikunja, Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali, and Motijheel/Khilgaon. The findings from the child interviews were supplemented as appropriate by the information collected from the interviews with formal and informal experts.

To maintain the privacy of the respondents, all the names used in the verbatim and case studies are pseudonyms.

6.3.1 Demographic Characteristics

One of the prime objectives of the recently adopted National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010 is to withdraw working children from various forms of occupation, including hazardous work and the worst forms of child labor.⁶⁹ The Bangladesh Labor Act 2006 (Act XLII of 2006) defines ‘children’ as those under the age of 14, and ‘adolescents’ as those in the 14–17 age range.⁷⁰ These two age categories are used as the basis for the analysis.

Although the employment of children younger than 14 years is prohibited in Bangladesh, a significant proportion of the children interviewed for this study were nevertheless found to be children under 14; 35.5 percent of the working children were under age 14, with the remaining 64.5 percent in the 14–17 age group (**Table 8**). Across all ages, 49 percent were boys and 51 percent were girls.

⁶⁹ Ministry of Labor and Employment. (2010). *National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010*.

⁷⁰ Government of Bangladesh. (2006). *Bangladesh Labour Act 2006 (XLII of 2006)*, October 2006.

Table 8: Age and Gender of the Working Children

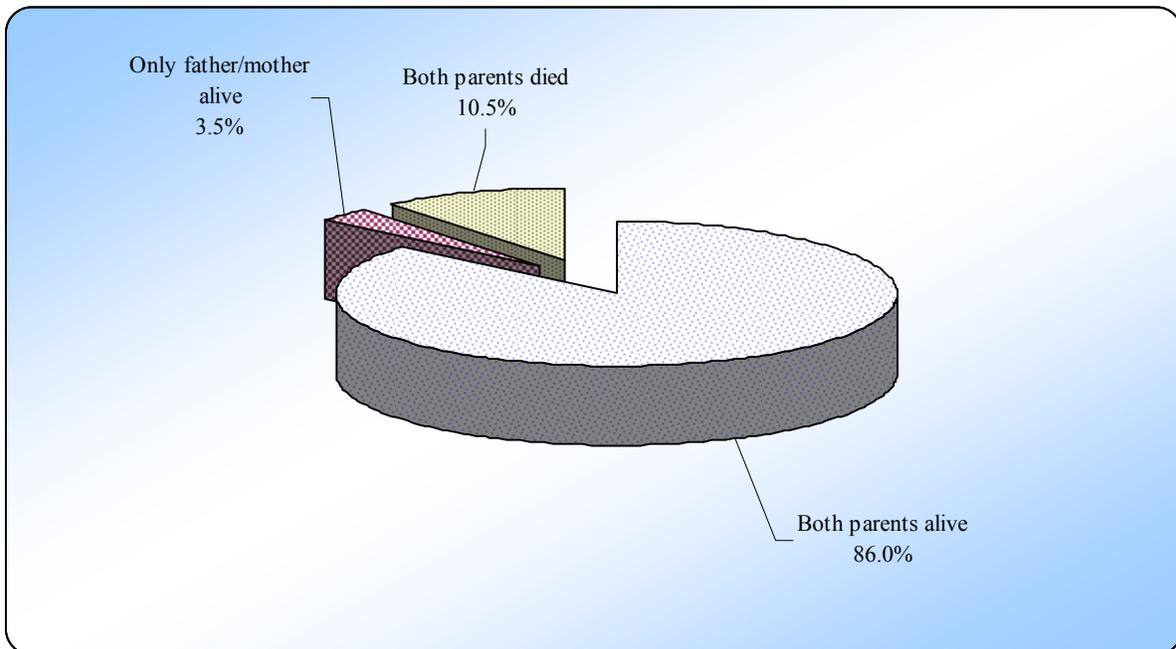
Gender	Under 14 years		14–17 years		Total
	n	%	n	%	
Boys	37	52.1%	61	47.3%	98
Girls	34	47.9%	68	52.7%	102
Total	71	100.0%	129	100.0%	200

Base: All working children sampled = 200

Formal factories do not employ children and are bound to compliance. Continuous monitoring by BGMEA and the buyers put a positive check on any violation of that compliance. But some factories get work done elsewhere, which is not related to rigorous quality problems—zippers, buttons, print embroidery work, etc. Workers come from the villages to Dhaka city for work and their children get involved in the informal sector, as there is no compliance issue there. (Owner of an informal garment factory)

The great majority of working children interviewed had one or both parents alive; 86 percent still had both parents and 3.5 percent either their father or mother. Approximately 1 child in 10 interviewed was orphaned (**Figure 2**).

Figure 2: Parental Status

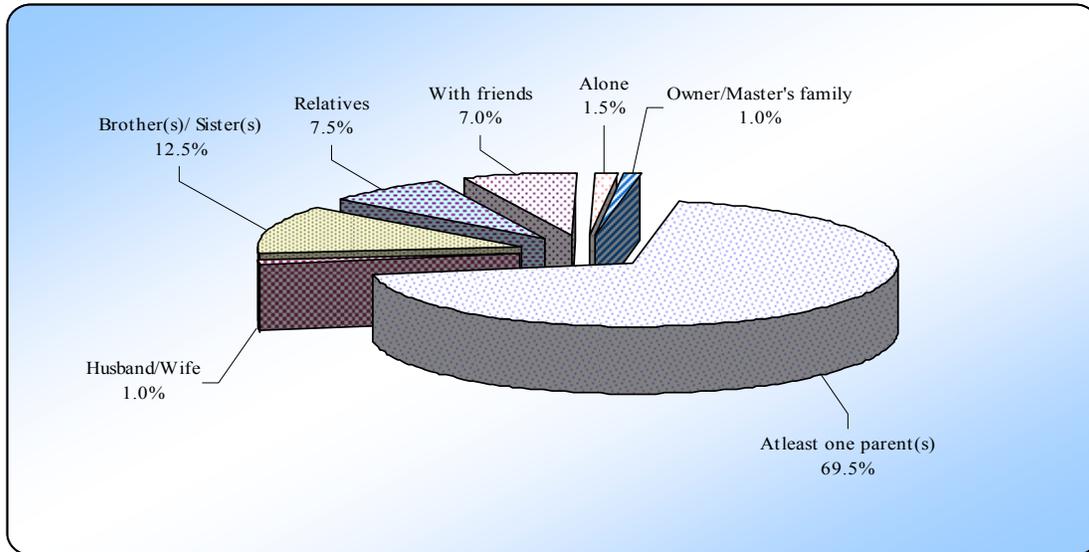


Base: All working children sampled = 200

Family links appear to remain strong. Given that the great majority of child workers still had living parents, it was to be expected that high proportions of children would live with one or both of them; the research found that 7 in every 10 working children (69.5%) lived in this way. Most of the remaining children said they lived with other family members, siblings, other relatives and, in a very small number of cases, marriage partners. Overall, 9 in 10 working children lived with other members of their family, with just 9.5 percent living either alone, with friends, or at their

place of work. Those under age 14 were most likely to live with parents, whereas older children were more likely to live with siblings or friends (**Figure 3**).

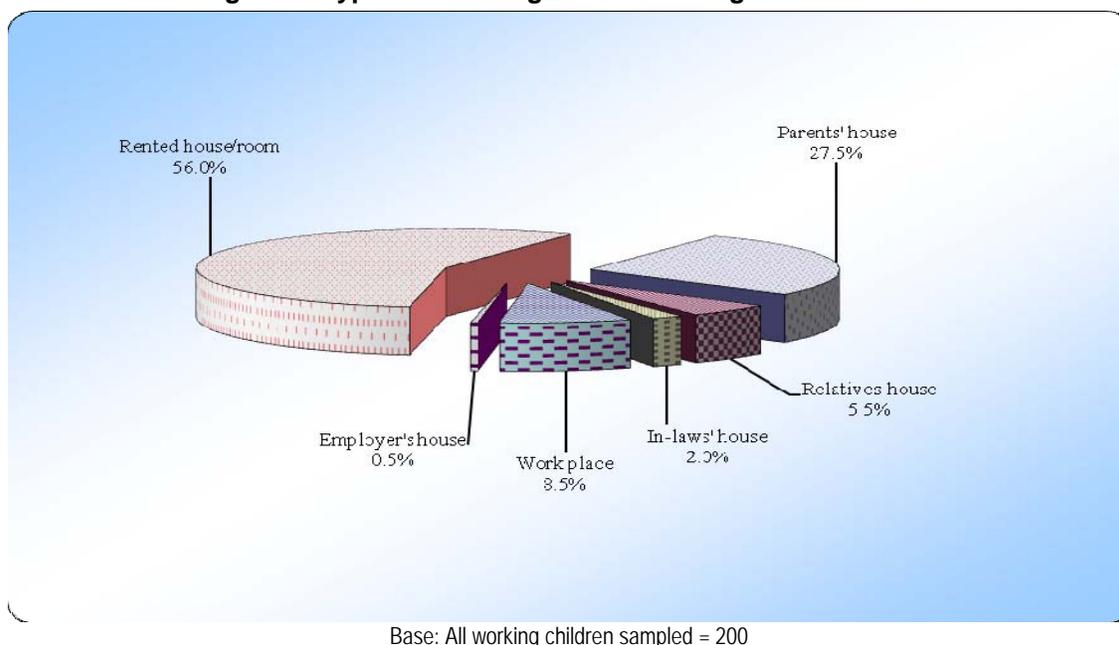
Figure 3: Types of People With Whom Working Children Lived



Base: All working children sampled = 200

When working children were asked where they lived, rented accommodation was the most frequently mentioned category; just over half (56.0%) said they lived in a rented house or room. Only about one-fourth of the children interviewed (27.5%) said that they lived in their parents' house, which is consistent with the finding elsewhere that most children (81.5%) had come to Dhaka from other parts of Bangladesh, most in the company of a parent/guardian. Some children also lived in the workplace (8.5% of the children interviewed), and another 5.5 percent said that they lived at a relative's house. (**Figure 4**).

Figure 4: Types of Housing Where Working Children Lived



Children come to work for additional income to their family. Poverty, family problems push them to work. They usually migrate from [the] village to [the] city for job, and [the] majority [of them] have no belongings in [the] village. They take a rented or temporary house nearby and commute there daily, which falls within walking distance varying from 3–5 km. They usually come to work with relatives, friends, or parents. (A van driver engaged in transporting garments)

Case 1

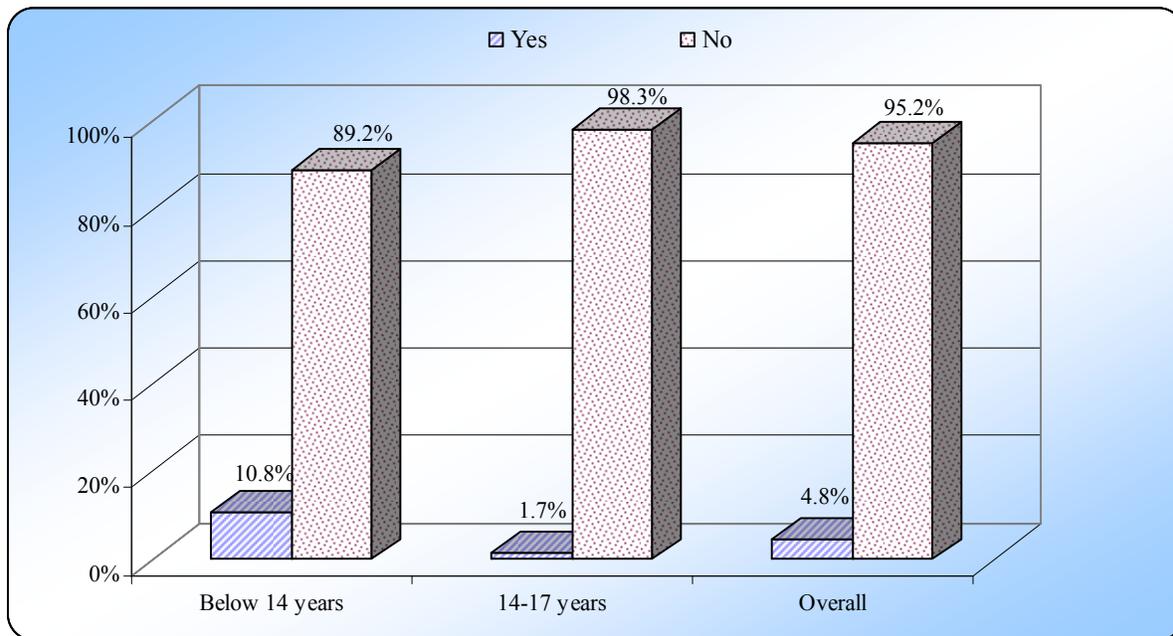
Mizan is an 11-year-old child, working in a printing factory. He started working after his father's death.

We were three brothers and three sisters. When I was 1 year old, my mother passed away. My father looked after us after my mother's death. My father was a day laborer. When I was a student in class 3, my elder brother got married and after that my father also passed away due to a severe heart attack. After my father's death, we fell into serious poverty. I came out of my family with one of my brothers who took me to Dhaka from our village and managed to get me this job. Now I am working as a helper in this printing factory.

6.3.2 Educational Attainment of Working Children

The overwhelming majority of the working children (93.0%) had attended school at some point, although only 4.8 percent of those who had were currently in school. The younger the children, the more likely they were to be attending school; nevertheless the rate of attendance was still low, with only 1 in 10 of those under 14 years old currently in class (**Figure 5**). Very few working children had progressed beyond the primary level (grades 1–5); nearly four-fifths had not progressed to the secondary level; and one in three had not made it beyond grade 3.

Figure 5: Current School Attendance of Working Children



Base = 186 = all working children sampled who had ever attended school

Why did school attendance drop off so rapidly? When the children themselves were asked, poverty was the single most important issue preventing them from going to school. More than 9 in 10 (94.2%) working children who were not going to school said that they had to support their family financially and did not get time for school (**Table 9**). Meeting the cost of education was also very difficult for them. A lack of interest in education also contributed to the low enrollment rates; approximately one-fourth of working children gave this as a reason.

Table 9: Reasons for Working Children Not Attending School

Reasons	n	Percentage*
Family insolvency/financial difficulties	180	94.2%
No interest in studying	48	25.1%
Parent's death	10	5.2%
Could not continue because of accident	1	0.5%

* Multiple responses possible.

Base: Working children sampled not currently attending school = 191

Opportunities to work were widespread, which made going to school a less likely option. According to the informal experts interviewed, employers, owners, and managers preferred to employ children, as they could easily be made to work longer hours for low wages. Once they started to work, children rarely had the time or the energy to pursue their studies during non-work hours, even if they wanted to. Consequently, attending school was very difficult. Some children said that they attended NGO schools at night and very few also managed to find time between their work activities to attend school. Clearly, working in the informal garment sector has an adverse effect on schooling; even the small numbers of children currently attending school said they found it difficult to balance the demands of school and the workplace.

Children seem to be interested in education, but family poverty pushes them into work. Very few children engaged in the informal garment industry go to NGO or night-shift school where they do not have to pay any fees. Some working children used to go to school, but eventually dropped out because of the huge workload. Most of them are not interested because they lose energy and become tired. (Middleman)

Usually I start my work at 9 am and return home at 6 pm. Sometimes the workload is too heavy and we have to work until midnight. I am happy to work here, as I get money to help my family. But I want to go to school. My father's dream was to educate me. Due to a huge workload, I cannot even manage to attend the free night schools. (Child, 16 years old, working in a knitting factory)

I live with my parents in a slum near my workplace. My father is [a] day laborer and my mother works at others people's houses. I used to go to school before coming here. One morning, my father took me to my uncle and told him to get a job for me. On the very next day, my uncle brought me to this factory and I started working straight away. My friends are going to school. I would also like to go to school. I also want to play with them [my friends]. I cannot do this, because we are poor. (Child, 12 years old, working in a dyeing factory.)

Case 2

Salina is a 14-year-old girl working in a factory at Badda. She is compelled to work to earn a livelihood.

I was living at Bikrampur and moved to Dhaka in search of a job. I discontinued my schooling when I was in class 5 in primary school. I lost my father during my childhood. After my father's death my mother remarried. She refused to take me with her to her new family. I was desperately looking for both work and shelter. I then came to this place with a distant aunt, who is also poor. I started working in this factory. I have to share costs with my aunt's family who were dependent on me. If I am unable to pay, they scold me and say I shall have to leave the house.

I have to help my aunt with the cooking when I return home. I am not doing this. I want some relief from it. But that may not be possible. If I leave the job, who will pay my living costs? Who will give me shelter?

6.3.3 Pathways into Child Labor

Even though child labor is clearly widespread in the informal garment sector, little evidence of significant forced labor was found that would satisfy the principal criteria—menace of penalty and the lack of consent on the part of the child worker. To the extent that key informants recognized that threats of any kind to the children were present, these threats were felt to come from the child's family rather than from the employer or third parties.

Generally, there is no forced labor, but in [a] few cases, the family forces them [the children] to work. (Ministry of Labor official)

They [the children] are not forced; but if they leave their study/education, the parents send them to work. (International NGO official)

When informal experts were asked how widespread they thought forced labor was among children in the informal garment sector, their estimates were very low and strikingly consistent—between 2 and 5 percent.

In the absence of compelling evidence of forced labor from the data collected, the analysis will just discuss the general pathways into child labor.

The reasons given by children for having to work for the most part reflect their reasons for having to forego their education. Their economic circumstances were the primary driver that compelled them to work; almost all the children interviewed (94.5%) said that they worked to provide financial support to their families. Most of the other reasons offered were financial, with approximately one-third of the children (36.5%) needing to pay assorted personal expenses and 1 in 10 (10.5%) hoping to earn money for school fees. Settling debts was a minor reason cited by the children for needing to work, with just 3.5 percent of them indicating this; however, none of the children said that the debt was associated with their current employer. In addition to these financial pressures, it was notable that approximately half (52%) of the children reported working to acquire skills (Table 10).

Table 10: Reasons for Children Working in the Informal Garment Sector

Reasons	n	Percentage*
To help family income	189	94.5%
To learn skills	104	52.0%
To pay personal expenses, food, clothing, entertainment	72	36.0%
Unable to afford school fees	21	10.5%
To pay outstanding family debt	7	3.5%
To help in household enterprise	6	3.0%

* Multiple responses possible.

Base: All working children sampled= 200

Case 3

Rozina is a 15-year-old girl working at a local garment factory in Jurain. She started working in the garment factory to help the family.

Our family moved from Bhola to Dhaka for a better life. After coming to Dhaka, my father got me a job in this factory to earn money and acquire skills. After 5 months, I married one of my colleagues who said that he came from a family which could support itself. He hid all his actual family information from me and was nice to me. It turned out he was a drug addict. By the time I found out about this, it was too late. Currently, we are living in a small room in the slum with my parents. We are struggling to manage even two meals a day.

The decision to work in garment-related activities was taken in almost equal measure (between 40 and 45.5%) by the children, their father, or their mother, sometimes with more than one person. More distant relatives were involved relatively infrequently (1 case in 10), friends were hardly involved at all. Labor contractors and employers appear to have had no involvement.

A majority of the children interviewed were at least somewhat aware of the conditions under which they would be working; just over half (53.5%) claimed to be fully aware, with a further 31 percent reporting being aware of some of the conditions they would be facing. There appeared to have been few surprises in what the children found at the workplace, with three-fourths (76.5%) of them saying that the job had lived up to their expectations, with little difference between older and younger children and between boys and girls. In the one-fifth of the cases where expectations had not been met, it was the amount of money earned and the frequency of the payments that were most likely to confound expectations. Factors such as work hours, time off, and type of work were less likely to be issues.

Most children said that they would be able to leave their jobs if they so chose, although a significant minority—approximately one-fourth—noted that this would not be possible, at least without notice. Most of those who said they would be unable to leave stated that this would only be possible if a replacement could be found. Others would have to give one month’s notice, which is apparently standard practice in the industry, and a small number said that they were under pressure from their families to stay. There was no evidence from the child interviews of employers preventing children from leaving work through menace of penalty.

6.3.4 Tasks Performed, Work hours, and Earnings

To understand the nature of children’s work in the informal garment sector in Bangladesh, the research team asked about the kinds of task they had carried out in the last 12 months, their work hours, and the wages they had earned.

Tasks Performed, by Gender and Age

Table 11 shows the kinds of task children had been involved with in the previous 12 months. It is clear that overall children had been engaged in a wide range of work, although the figures suggest that there was relatively little overlap between tasks, indicating that the range of tasks performed by any one child is relatively narrow. Workplace observation confirmed that workers tended to do their own tasks, but in coordination with the other workers, both adults and the other children. Embroidery, cutting and trimming, printing and label/tag/sticker making were the most widespread activities, even if no single task had been performed by more than one-fifth of children. There were, differences by gender and age, with girls considerably more likely to have done cutting and trimming work, dyeing and button stitching, whereas boys tended to do embroidery work, label/tag/sticker making, and weaving. Children under 14 years old were most likely to have been engaged in thread cutting, machine cleaning, hand stitching, and dyeing. Older children tended to predominate in weaving and button stitching and, to a lesser extent, embroidery and printing.

Table 11: Tasks Performed by Children in the Last 12 Months, by Gender and Age

Tasks	Boys		Girls		<14 years		14–17 years		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Embroidery work	26	26.5%	12	11.8%	12	16.9%	26	20.2%	38	19.0%
Cutting/trimming	9	9.2%	20	19.6%	12	16.9%	17	13.2%	29	14.5%
Thread cutting	7	7.1%	22	21.6%	15	21.1%	14	10.9%	29	14.5%
Printing	13	13.3%	14	13.7%	8	11.3%	19	14.7%	27	13.5%
Label/tag/sticker making	15	15.3%	11	10.8%	11	15.5%	15	11.6%	26	13.0%
Packaging	11	11.2%	11	10.8%	7	9.9%	15	11.6%	22	11.0%
Machine cleaning	7	7.1%	13	12.7%	11	15.5%	9	7.0%	20	10.0%
Weaving	13	13.3%	6	5.9%	4	5.6%	15	11.6%	19	9.5%
Hand stitching	8	8.2%	7	6.9%	9	12.7%	6	4.7%	15	7.5%
Dyeing	3	3.1%	11	10.8%	8	11.3%	6	4.7%	14	7.0%
Decorative work with the garment	7	7.1%	4	3.9%	5	7.0%	6	4.7%	11	5.5%
Button stitching	3	3.1%	8	7.8%	1	1.4%	10	7.8%	11	5.5%

Tasks	Boys		Girls		<14 years		14–17 years		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Knitting	6	6.1%	5	4.9%	4	5.6%	7	5.4%	11	5.5%
Washing	6	6.1%	2	2.0%	4	5.6%	4	3.1%	8	4.0%
Button coloring	1	1.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%

* Multiple responses possible.

Base: All working children sampled = 200

Work Hours

Work hours were very long, and there was broad similarity between the hours claimed by the children themselves and the informal and formal experts. In a typical day, child workers said that they worked for an average of 10.5 hours, with a minimum of 6 hours and maximum of 15 hours. Average work hours were found to be almost the same for boys (10.6 hours) and girls (10.3 hours) and for children aged under 14 (10.1 hours) and those aged between 15 and 17 (10.4 hours). Very few children reported working fewer than 6–8 hours/day, but approximately one in three (36.5%) reported working for 12 or more hours a day (**Tables 12 and 13**).

Long work hours were accompanied by a long working week; 95 percent of children said that they worked 6 days each week. Again, there were only minor differences in the number of days worked by age and gender.

Table 12: Work Hours, by Gender

Work Hours	Total		Boys		Girls	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
6–8 hours	4	2.0%	2	2.0%	2	2.0%
9–11 hours	123	61.5%	59	60.2%	64	62.7%
12+ hours	73	36.5%	37	37.8%	36	35.3%
Total	200	100.0%	98	100%	102	100%

Base: All working children sampled = 200

Table 13: Work Hours, by Age

Work Hours	Total		<14 years		14–17 years	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
6–8 hours	4	2.0%	3	4.2%	1	0.8%
9–11 hours	123	61.5%	43	60.6%	80	62.0%
12+ hours	73	36.5%	25	35.2%	48	37.2%
Total	200	100.0%	71	100%	102	100%

Base: All working children sampled = 200

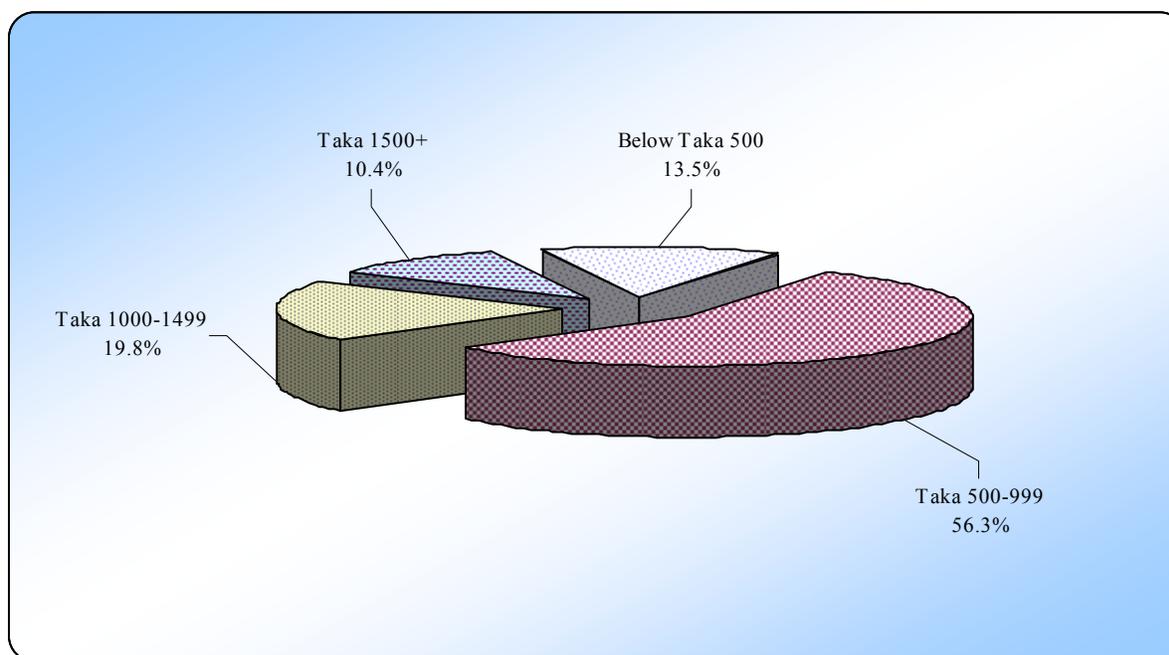
I start work at 9 am and finish at 9 pm. The work I do is physically difficult for me. The working hours are not suitable for me. Sometimes I have to do additional work when there is a huge workload. I feel very tired when I return home. (Shoma, 14-year-old girl, working in an informal factory at Lalbagh)

Earnings

Cash was by far the most common way for children to be remunerated for their work, with 96 percent saying they received money. The income categories shown in **Figure 6** indicate that more than half (56.3%) of the working children received between 500 and 999 *taka* per week.⁷¹ A further fifth (19.8%) reported receiving 1,000 to 1,499 *taka* in a week and 1 in 10 (10.4%) were paid 1,500 *taka* or more a week. At the other end of the scale, one in seven working children reported receiving less than 500 *taka* in a week.⁷²

Broadly speaking, the working children's remuneration increased proportionally with their age; whereas almost one-fourth (23.2%) of those under 14 years old were paid less than 500 *taka* a week, only 8.1 percent of the older children were in this income category. Conversely, approximately two-fifths (43.1%) of the working children 15–17 years old reported earning 1,000 *taka* or more in a week, compared with just 7.2 percent of those under 14. Pay rates for boys and girls were similar for most pay categories; it was only among those receiving 1,500 *taka* or more that boys took the lead—14.4 percent of boys were in this category compared with 6.9 percent of girls.

Figure 6: Weekly Earnings of Working Children



Base: Working children sampled receiving cash payment for work done = 196

⁷¹ On 30 March 2012, 1 US dollar was worth approximately 80 Bangladeshi *taka*.

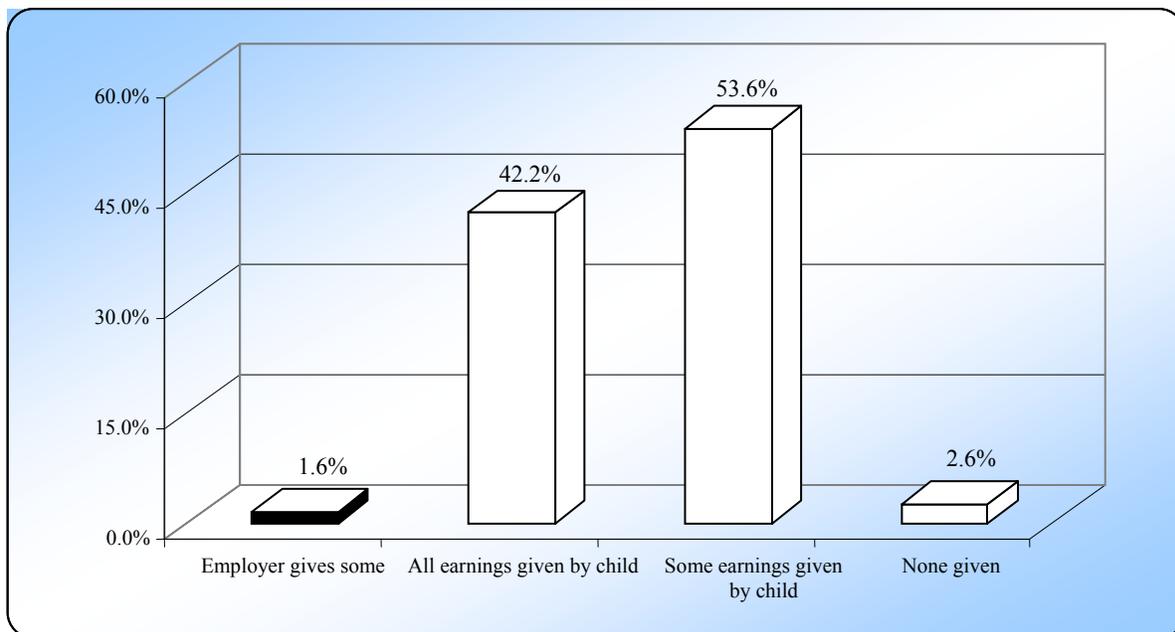
⁷² For comparison, it should be noted that monthly minimum wages for workers in the formal Bangladesh garment industry were increased in July 2010 from 1,662 *taka* to 3,000 *taka*. Against this background, the weekly wages reportedly earned by the children interviewed for this study may seem high. The levels of remuneration claimed may be influenced by the temporary and erratic nature of the work and the very long hours in the informal sector. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jul/29/bangladesh-garment-minimum-wage>

Analysis of the individual earnings claimed by children showed that their average income was 819 *taka* per week, ranging from a minimum of 100 *taka* and a maximum of 1,800 *taka*. A notable difference emerged between boys and girls. On average, working boys earned 859 *taka* per week, compared with 784 *taka* for girls. Girls therefore received approximately 9 percent less for their work than boys did.

Actual payment for the great majority of children (82.3%) occurred monthly rather than weekly, which, at 7.3 percent of children, was relatively rare. Other payment intervals—piece rates or payment upon completion of a task—were not very common, as reported by approximately 1 in 10 working children (10.4%). Very few payment problems were reported; with almost 9 working children in 10 (87.5%) saying they had received their payment on time. The problems that existed tended to be in the form of delayed payments, which were frequently 5 to 7 days late.

The lion’s share of children’s earnings was given to their parents/guardians. Two in five children (42.2%) reported giving all of their earning directly to their parents/guardians, and just over half (53.6%) said they gave some of their earnings to their parents/guardians and kept the rest. Very few working children (2.6%) said that they kept everything they earned. There was very little evidence that employers were paying money directly to parents/guardians (**Figure 7**).

Figure 7: Earnings Given to Parents/Guardians of Working Children



Base: All working children sampled paid in cash = 192

Among those who said that they retained some or all of the money they earn, approximately three-fourths (76.1%) put the money to practical use, such as buying food and clothing (**Table 14**). Approximately one in seven working children reported having used the money to pay rent. Despite pressures to meet basic needs, nearly half of working children (45%) said that they had spent money on amusements or entertainment. Very few reported that they had saved for the future.

Table 14: Uses for Retained Money

Responses	n	Percentage*
Buy food or/and clothing	83	76.1%
Spend on amusements/entertainment	49	45.0%
Pay rent	17	15.6%
Buy school material/books	3	2.8%
Save	3	2.8%

* Multiple responses possible

Base: Working children sampled who retained some cash earnings for themselves = 109

6.3.5 Work Environment and Injuries

This section examines the factors that indicate the extent to which the work environment of the selected establishments presented hazards and dangers to the children who worked there.

Health Hazards

The research team noted in their workplace observations that there was not a strong sense of anxiety among the children observed, a fact that was broadly confirmed by the children's responses to the questionnaire. Approximately 7 working children in 10 reported that they did not find their work physically difficult. Almost 9 in 10 said they had not been mistreated by their employer; moreover, a majority (58%) said that they were happy working in the informal garment sector. Nevertheless, significant minorities of children did report experiencing problems of one kind or another. Some children felt that their work hours were excessive, that the loud noise from the machines made work conditions uncomfortable, and the long hours of uninterrupted work were tiring. As noted below, injuries and illness stemming from work were not unusual.

This is not to suggest that children's working conditions were free of hazards or risks, as child workers themselves clearly recognized. When asked directly which potential dangers and hazards were present at their workplace, loud noise (51.5%), inadequate fresh air (41.5%), machinery (35%), machine oil (32.5%), extreme temperatures (27.5%) and sharp tools (25.5%) were the most frequently mentioned potential hazards. These overlap largely with the hazards identified by the research team during the site observations. Broadly speaking, the potential hazards tended to be environmental rather than directly related to the work the children performed, suggesting that children's concerns were linked principally to the conditions in which they worked rather than to the tools and equipment they used in their work (**Table 15**).

Table 15: Presence of Potential Hazards/Threats

Hazards/threats	n	Percentage*
Loud noise	103	51.5%
Inadequate fresh air	83	41.5%
Workplace very hot, very cold, or humid	55	27.5%
Darkness or rooms with poor lighting	36	18.0%
Possibility of slipping, tripping, or falling	31	15.5%
Sharp tools (knives, needles, etc.)	51	25.5%
Dust	34	17.0%
Fumes and smells that are irritating	11	5.5%

Hazards/threats	n	Percentage*
Chemicals and other substances that cause rashes, burns, or other skin problems	24	12.0%
Machinery	70	35.0%
Machine oil	65	32.5%

* Multiple responses possible.

Base: All working children sampled = 200

Despite the potential for harm from the hazards identified, safety equipment was only rarely in place; nearly 9 out of 10 children (89.0%) reported that no safety equipment had been provided for them. Gloves were the most common items distributed to the minority who had been given safety equipment. Despite the high incidence of loud noise, ear plugs were almost entirely absent; only one instance of ear plug use was recorded.

Treatment by Employers

As noted above in Section 6.2.3, workplace observations showed that most of the child workers seemed to enjoy working and there were few signs of fear or tension. In just a few workplaces, child workers seemed to be scared and anxious on account of verbal abuse.

During the interviews, 13.0 percent of working children said they were mistreated by their employer at the workplace, overwhelmingly in the form of verbal abuse. Threatening physical behavior was mentioned in two cases.

When there is a huge workload, the owner treats us badly and uses abusive language. He is also very rude to us. (Jaynul, 9-year-old boy, working in an embroidery house at Pallabi)

Prevalence of Injuries

About one-fifth (22.5%) of working children said that they had been injured at work in the past 12 months (**Table 16**). The most common injuries mentioned were wounds/cuts (16.5%), burns (3.0%), broken bones (1.5%), followed by skin infections/itchiness or other injuries (1.5%).

Table 16: Types of Injury Working Children Received

Response	n	Percentage
No injury	155	77.5%
Wounds/cuts	33	16.5%
Burns	6	3.0%
Broken bones	3	1.5%
Skin infections/itchiness	2	1.0%
Others	1	0.5%
Total	200	100.0%

Base: All working children sampled = 200

For most of the injured children, the impact on their ability to work was minimal. Most (71.1%) said their injury had not restricted their ability to work. Of the remainder, most reported being incapacitated for between 1 and 7 days.

Prevalence of Illness

Children's work was much more likely to be affected by illness than by injury. Nearly half (46%) said that they had contracted an illness due to their work conditions. Fever was the most likely illness, experienced by approximately four-fifths of those who had been affected by any illness. The number of children affected by other conditions trailed way behind. Whereas one-fourth (23.9%) said that their illness had not restricted the work they did, a majority (65.2%) reported that they had been incapacitated for up to 7 days.

6.5 Labor Migration and Trafficking

This study also attempted to assess issues related to child migration and possible trafficking in order to explore any indicators of these issues among the children interviewed.

There appear to be notable differences in children's migration patterns across the six geographic zones of the DCC area established for the research. These children were most likely to be found in Zone 3 (the old part of Dhaka city), where it stood at (44.4%), and lowest in Zone 1 (Mirpur), where none were found. One possible reason for this may be found in the living arrangements of the child workers. In Mirpur, 9 out of 10 (91.1%) child workers were living with at least one of their parents, which is significantly higher than in the other zones. In addition, migration from elsewhere in Bangladesh to their current location was higher for the Old Dhaka, Uttara/Nikunja, Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali and Motijheel/Khilgaon zones. For example, in the Motijheel/Khilgaon area, all the child workers interviewed were born elsewhere and had migrated to Old Dhaka. The migration rate was 86.7 percent for Old Dhaka, 94.4 percent for Uttara/Nikunja, and 94.6 percent for Gulshan/Badda/Mohakhali.

It should be noted that key informants were unlikely to consider such migration as trafficking; as they understood it, this was a common feature of the employment of children in the informal garment sector, as indicated by the following quotes:

They usually come to work through their parents or referrals. (Business owner)

We never collect. They come to us for work. (Director, garment business)

Notices of recruitment are posted. Children come by knowing about it through friends/parents/relatives and are offered a job. (Sewing machine operator)

Trafficking is not seen, because someone who knows the child brings him. Our religion and culture do not permit such a type of work. (NGO official)

Child trafficking is defined in the United Nations 2000 Trafficking Protocol⁷³ as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation.” For the purpose of this research, a simple set of working indicators, derived from responses to the child questionnaire, were established to explore the presence of indicators of possible trafficking. The questions and the percentages of children giving qualifying answers were as follows:

⁷³ United Nations. (2000). *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. Geneva: United Nations. Retrieved from http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf

1. The child in question was involved in any garment-related work activities in the last 12 months (100.00%)
AND
2. The child was not born in the area where he/she currently worked (81.5%)
AND
3. The child did not move with either one of his/her parents or his/her spouse (29.00%)
AND
4. The move was solely for work purposes—a job offer already existed or the child made the move in search of a job (29%).

Approximately one-fifth (21.0%) of the working children interviewed responded affirmatively to all four criteria. However, it is important to recognize that this result in itself is insufficient to determine that these children were trafficked, as each individual indicator is broad enough to capture a range of circumstances that might or might not contribute to a trafficking situation. For example, indicator #4 captures all children who moved for work without distinguishing between those who moved independently for a job, and those who had assistance from a third party. In fact, when this data is disaggregated, it provides little evidence of labor contractors or recruiters being used.⁷⁴ Conversely if the indicators are taken as a composite measure, they are too limited in number to capture all situations in which trafficking might occur. For example, indicator #2 only captures cases in which the child was not born in the area whether he/she currently worked, but this is not a necessary condition of trafficking.

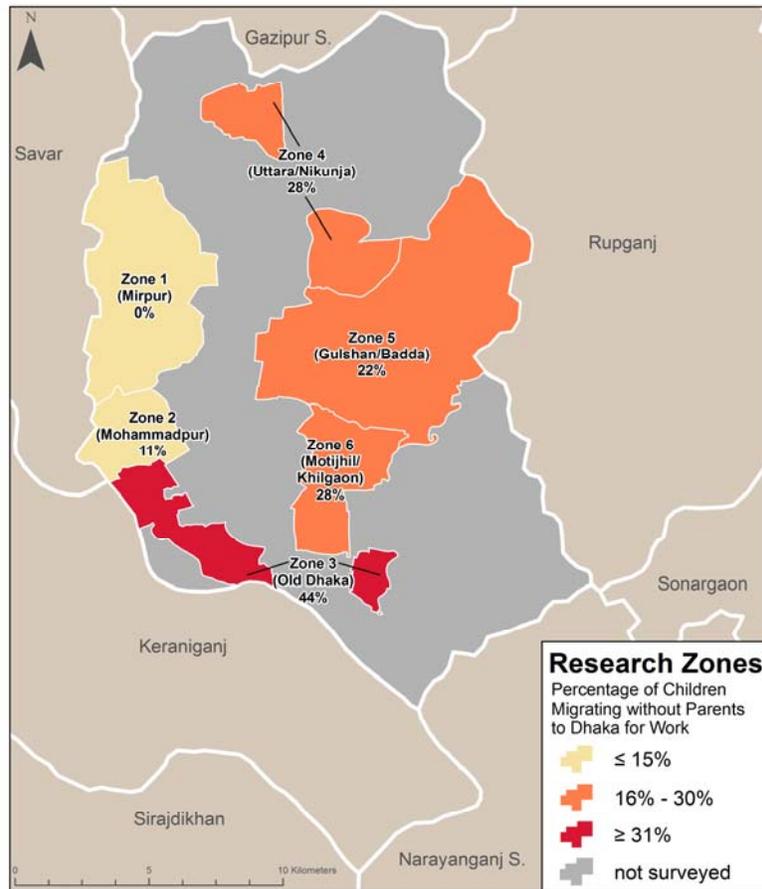
The indicators were therefore not intended to establish a number of children who were trafficked, but rather to identify conditions of migration that warrant deeper analysis and consideration in the context of other data. Noting the responses of key informants, the lack of third-party recruitment, and the absence of forced child labor reported in Section 6.3.3, it is unlikely that the migration patterns described commonly lead to trafficking. They appear to result from the forces that compel poor Bangladeshis to gravitate toward sources of employment. Finding work in the informal garment sector appears to be both easy and popular, and there do not appear to be strong reasons why employers would resort to trafficking in this sector. Nonetheless, the findings do not eliminate the possibility that trafficking may occur, and children migrating long distances in search of work, absent parental supervision, are clearly vulnerable.

Map 4 illustrates the distribution of children whose responses met the four criteria described above across the six zones.

⁷⁴ Just three respondents said that a recruiter/contractor had been used in the process.

Map 4: Dhaka City Corporation

Percentage of children migrating without parents to Dhaka for work: Analysis by zone



6.6 Children’s Perceptions of Their Work and Future

The children interviewed seem to have mixed perceptions of the work they do in the informal garment industry. When asked to choose the words that best described how they felt about working in this sector, ‘happy’ was the one most frequently mentioned (63.5% of children), and 15 percent indicated they were ‘proud’ to work in the garment industry. On the negative side, a minority of the children interviewed chose the words ‘sad’ (15.0%), ‘tired’ (12.0%), ‘indifferent’ (7.5%), and ‘bored’ (7%) to characterize their feelings (Table 17).

Table 17: How Children Feel About Working in This Sector

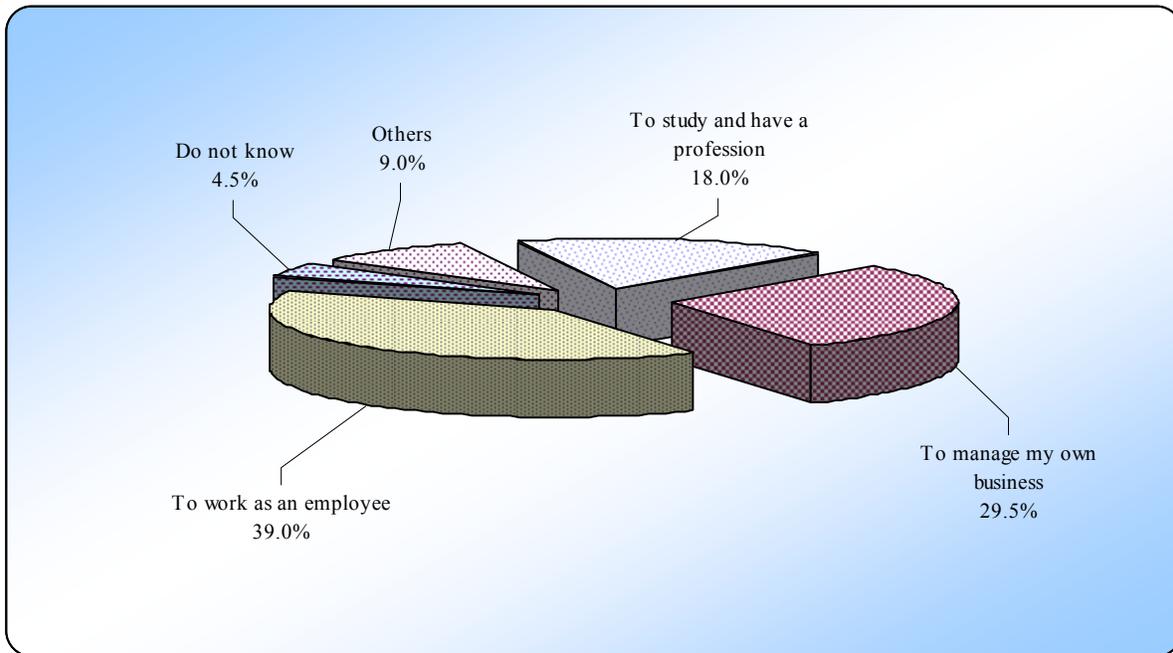
Response	n	Percentage*
Happy	127	63.5%
Proud	30	15.0%
Sad	30	15.0%
Bored	14	7.0%
Tired	24	12.0%
Indifferent	15	7.5%

* Multiple responses possible.

Base: All working children sampled = 200

When the children were asked what they would like to do when they were older, the largest proportion (39.0%) said they would like to remain in their current work, compared with 29.5 percent who said that they would like to have their own business (**Figure 8**). Nearly one in five children (18.0%) said they wanted to study so they could pursue a different career.

Figure 8: What Working Children Would Like To Do When They Grow up



Base: All working children sampled = 200

Case 4

Jamal is a 14-year-old boy, working in an informal garment factory at Khilgoan. He wants to be a schoolteacher in the future.

My work in the garment sector is mainly cutting thread and helping to finish the product. Before coming here, we were living in a village in Mymensingh district. I was reading by class 5 in the primary school. My father was a rickshaw puller. I was living peacefully with my family. Suddenly my father died and we fell into trouble. We had no land. My father was the only member of our family earning [money]. Our family moved to Dhaka. I am the eldest son of my family. All the responsibility lies on me. I started working in this factory. After 3 years I feel that I should continue my studies. With the help of a senior colleague, I was admitted to a night NGO school near my house. I work before school and after school at night. It is very difficult to continue at school due to my workload. Sometimes, I cannot go to school if I am [on] night duty. However, if I am to improve myself, I cannot drop out of school. I feel OK working in the garment sector because I am working as well as studying. I'm also earning money. I want to be a teacher. I also want to help the poor.

7 CONCLUSIONS

Even though the non-probability methods used for this research do not permit the results to be extrapolated to the entire industry or wider population, the study has nevertheless demonstrated that child labor is a significant phenomenon in the informal garment industry in the parts of Dhaka covered by the research. Both formal and informal experts confirm its existence and offer insights into how it operates. The workplace observations have helped to contextualize the experience and have found a large presence of children in the establishments observed. The 200 children interviewed have painted a detailed picture of how and why they work, and how this work affects their lives and aspirations.

It is clear from the research findings that children are a key part of the informal garment sector labor force. Article 2 of ILO Convention 138 states that “the minimum age for admission to work or employment shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.” The study has clearly demonstrated the widespread presence of children of this age in the informal garment sector. Using the definition of children in the Bangladesh Labor Act 2006 (Act XLII of 2006) as those under the age of 14, just over one-third (35.5%) of those interviewed fell into this age group, including 6.0 percent who were 10 years old or younger.

Article 3 of ILO Convention 182 states that “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” is included among the worst forms of child labor. Whereas little evidence was found of children being mistreated or harmed while performing their work, most working children seemed quite positively disposed towards the work they did, and the workplace observations did not uncover instances of anything other than relatively mild mistreatment, it was nevertheless clear that children had to face some hazards on a regular basis. Observers reported the presence of excessive heat, poor air quality, and dust or dirt. Safety equipment was seen in only a minority of establishments, and, in many cases, was not easily accessible. Most of these shortcomings were also reported by the children, who added loud noise, dangerous machinery, exposure to machine oil, and handling of sharp tools to the list.

Interviewed children also reported substantial rates of work-related injuries and work-induced illness. About one-fifth (22.5%) of working children said that they had been injured at work in the past 12 months, the most common injuries mentioned being wounds/cuts (16.5%), burns (3.0%), broken bones (1.5%), followed by skin infections/itchiness or other injuries (1.5%). Nearly half (46%) said that they had contracted an illness due to their work conditions. Fever was the most likely illness, experienced by approximately four-fifths of those who had been affected by any illness. Working in such establishments clearly constitutes hazardous work.

Whereas child labor in this industry was found to be very common, the research produced very little evidence to support the existence of forced labor in the informal garment sector as defined for this study—unregistered unit production, which includes permanent and temporary workshops as well as households. Even though some pressure to work was clearly exercised by children’s parents in many cases, this did not appear to translate into forced child labor according

to international standards; for instance, “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily” (ILO Convention 29 Article 2(1)). The children interviewed and observed for this study generally did not show signs of stress; they reacted quite positively to their working situation, while being aware of opportunities, such as education, which they were being denied. If forced child labor does exist in the broader informal garment sector, it is likely to be difficult to research the phenomenon properly, given both the undoubted reluctance of factory owners and managers to allow access to their premises and the reported transient and temporary nature of the work and its organization.

As in many other locations, poverty is the single most important factor driving children to take on work in Bangladesh’s informal garment sector. The children interviewed said that the overriding need is to earn money to help their family’s economic circumstances. As long as economic need fuels the supply of labor and the constant demands of the Bangladesh garment industry continue, there is unlikely to be a significant reduction in the incidence of child labor in this sector.

The extent to which the children interviewed for this study have sacrificed their education because of their need to earn a livelihood is very striking. Whereas virtually all the children interviewed reported that they had attended school at some point, only approximately 5 percent were doing so at the time they were interviewed. A recurring theme was that children would like to pursue their studies, but the strain of a 10–12 hour workday during 6 days of the week left them with neither the time nor the energy to do so.

About one-fifth (21.0%) of the working children interviewed were found to meet four basic criteria selected to identify circumstances of their migration that may have led to trafficking. However, the lack of positive findings on forced child labor conditions and the absence of third-party recruiters were triangulated with expert opinion data, leading to the conclusion that trafficking does not appear to be a common practice that brings children into the informal garment sector. Given the ease with which children can find a job in this sector and the apparently ample supply of poor children who actively seek this work, there does not seem to be a strong incentive for child trafficking.⁷⁵ The migration patterns identified by the report may instead be interpreted as a sign of “push and pull” economic factors typical of many developing nations, which lead people to seek employment outside of their home communities. Still, the findings point to a troubling phenomenon that separates child garment workers from their parents or guardians and places them in an unfamiliar environment, leaving children vulnerable to trafficking, forced labor, and other types of exploitation.

The nature of the informal garment industry and its relationship to the formal sector make it difficult to establish the extent to which children working in the informal sector contribute to the manufacture of goods for export. Informal establishments do not have contracts with foreign or other buyers, and they do not export. However, they do contribute to producing finished garments on a subcontracted basis. Hence, many garments ultimately assembled and exported by

⁷⁵ One NGO official remarked that vacancies for children are widely and openly advertised near garment factories that produce a steady stream of would-be employees. Against that background, he could see no reason why employers would need to resort to employing trafficked workers.

the formal garment sector have been in part processed by the informal sector, and children certainly have been involved in that work to varying degrees. Although children may not be directly involved in the manufacture of finished goods for export, they undoubtedly contribute to the process. Quantifying their participation would be difficult, if not impossible.

The Government of Bangladesh clearly recognizes the damaging effects of using child labor in the hazardous informal sector, of which the garment industry is just one part. It has recently finalized the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010, which aims to remove children from every sort of task in the category of hazardous work and other worst forms of child labor, and to bring meaningful change to their lives. The findings of this study provide some evidence that the informal garment sector constitutes a hazardous sector to which the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010 might be applied.

Annexes

ANNEX A: FORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Formal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) __ / __ / __	
Place of interview Division: _____ District: _____ Subdistrict/Upzila: _____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: __ _ <i>[To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]</i>		
Name:	Age: __	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: __ : __ (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: __ : __ (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Profession:		
Position:		
Employer/Affiliated Institution/Organization:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete, remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- Please ask all questions in this interview guide to each person you interview. If the person doesn't have the knowledge or cannot answer the questions, you should note "not applicable" or "No answer" as a response underneath each question. This way, we will be able to tell that the questions are at least asked.
- During the interviews, ask the respondents if they could provide copies of relevant materials and documents related to child labor/forced child labor in informal garment production in Bangladesh or research papers on this topic if they can recommend the sources/where you can find such documents.
- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different font color and note that it is the interviewer's note.

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- Hello, my name is _____ I am talking with people about production activities in the informal garment sector and children’s involvement in informal garment production. Employing mixed-methods research techniques, our project aims to collect exploratory data on the causes and consequences of child labor, and possibly forced child labor, in informal garment production in Bangladesh. We will collect information on children aged 5–17 working in informal garment production from key informants like you. The findings from this data gathering exercise are intended to contribute to promoting awareness of the issues and to inform future programs aiming to ameliorate the issues of child labor in the sector.
- The primary goal of the research is to collect data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence of child labor in informal garment production in Bangladesh. The child labor topics to be covered include any kinds of work children do, as well as whether child labor in the sector is forced or the result of trafficking. To this end, you will be asked to share your knowledge and opinions of your personal involvement and/or your organization’s work on child labor issues in Bangladesh, and your knowledge of children’s involvement in informal garment production. The information will be incorporated into the final analytical report.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary**. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30–45 minutes.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed

___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer’s Name _____

Interviewer’s Signature _____ Date _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____



Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]

1. What is your personal and/or professional involvement in the issues of child labor and forced child labor in general and children working in informal garment production in Bangladesh in particular?

2. What is your organization's view or mission regarding child labor, forced child labor, and moving/trafficking of children in general, and children working in informal garment production in particular?

3. What do you think is the general population's perception and attitude towards child workers in general, and children working in informal garment production in Bangladesh in particular?

4. What are the laws, policies and programs in Bangladesh regarding child labor?	
4.1	What are the laws/policies/programs in Bangladesh to combat child labor and forced child labor?
4.2	What government agencies are responsible for implementing the laws and programs and where are they located?
4.3	What non-governmental organizations and programs are in existence, in what locations, to assist child laborers and/or former forced child labor victims in (informal) garment production?
4.4	Who are the potential working partners for us in this area? What organizations could we approach to identify working children for individual interviews?
4.5	We would like to speak with former child workers and forced child laborers about their experience in informal garment production. Which governmental and non-governmental organizations could we approach to identify such individuals?
5. How does informal garment production work in Bangladesh in terms of supply chains?	
5.1	From the time a garment order is placed to the time when it is delivered, what are the production activities involved in the garment industry?
5.2	What is the role of informal garment production in this process?

<p>5.3 How are subcontracting arrangements made in informal garment production?</p>	
<p>5.4 What kinds of orders/products do informal garment workshops or home-based production units manufacture?</p>	
<p>5.5 Where are informal garment workshops or home-based production units located?</p>	
<p>5.6 Who are the key players in the garment industry? What about informal garment production (for example, workshop owners, middlemen, employers, workers, etc.)</p>	
<p>5.7 To your knowledge, how many children working in informal garment production in Bangladesh? What is the proportion of children below 18 compared to the total workforce in informal garment production?</p>	
<p>5.8 Who employs child workers in informal garment production? Is there a general pattern, or do different sites do things in different ways?</p>	
<p>5.9 Is it possible to observe the “actual” working environment? Or will taboo activities (such as those conducted by child workers) be removed before observations take place? Is it possible to interview the child workers?</p>	

5.10	Of the Bangladeshi garments produced for export, what proportion is estimated to have child labor/forced child labor in its supply chain?	
5.11	What proportion of garments is produced for the domestic market?	
6. What is the nature of the work done by children in informal garment production?		
6.1	What activities are done by children working in informal garment production? Do child workers perform different tasks/work than adult workers? If yes, how are they different?	
6.2	To your knowledge, how many hours do children usually work a day? How many days a week?	
6.3	Is the work done by children seasonal? Are some times of year busier than others?	
6.4	How about the physical requirements of the work? Do they usually have to carry out tasks that are physically demanding or otherwise hazardous to their health or safety?	
7. What are the characteristics of the children engaged in informal garment production in Bangladesh?		
7.1	How old are children working in informal garment production? At what age do these children start working?	

<p>7.2 Are there more girls or boys? Is there any difference between the work done by girls and boys?</p>	
<p>7.3 Do you know if children who work in informal garment production go to school?</p>	
<p>7.4 If they go to school, do they come to work before or after school in the morning or afternoon/evening? Do more of them come to work during school breaks?</p>	
<p>7.5 Do child workers live with their families and commute to work, or do they come from a distance and live near or on the worksite?</p>	
<p>7.6 If the children are from somewhere else but live close to or on their worksite, what kind of place do they live in (e.g., in a temporary housing/dorm with other children who they work with)? And with whom do they live?</p>	
<p>7.7 If children live in a temporary facility, do children live with adult workers or they are separate from adult workers?</p>	
<p>7.8 If children live in a temporary facility, are they free to come and go as they please? If not, what prevents them from doing so?</p>	

8. What are the environments of children’s worksites in informal garment production?	
8.1	Are child workers exposed to any kind of danger/hazard? What are the dangers/hazards? [Probe if necessary: sharp objects, heat, poor ventilation, narrow exits etc].
8.2	Where are the worksites at which child workers perform their work?
8.3	Are the majority of worksites in the vicinity of urban areas? Can some be found in rural areas?
8.4	Are they isolated from each other or do they tend to be clustered?
8.5	Are the working environments open, closed, or semi-open/closed to outsiders’ (or researchers’) observation? Specifically, are researchers able to access the worksites, either with or without permission?

9. To what extent are children moved/trafficked from within the country or from other countries into informal garment production?

Interviewer: In Section 9, note that in situations where the word “trafficking” may be sensitive, please probe to discover whether or not the phenomenon is occurring without asking explicitly about “trafficking.”

9.1 Do you know if children are moved/trafficked to work in informal garment production?
 [Interviewer, explain: Moving/trafficking in persons: the transport of persons, by means of coercion or deception for the purpose of exploitation. In the case of children, coercion is not required to be considered trafficking.]

9.2 If children are being moved/trafficked to work in informal garment production, what are the means by which they are moved/trafficked?
 For example, are there recruiters/brokers involved in the process?

9.3 From where are children moved/trafficked?

9.4 Could you give an example of how children are moved/trafficked to work in informal garment production?

10. To what extent can it be said that children working in informal garment production are doing so because they are forced?	
10.1	Do you know if children are forced to work in informal garment production? (Interviewer, explain: Forced labor—work under the menace of any penalty for which the child does not offer him or herself voluntarily.)
10.2	How widespread do you think forced labor is in this industry?
10.3	What do you think are the reasons that children are forced to work in informal garment production? Probe: Family reasons/debts to pay off? Other reasons?
10.4	Who receives payment for children’s work? The children themselves, a family member, or a third party?
10.5	Is work in informal garment production the only paid work these children have?
11. What factors may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor and forced labor occur?	
11.1	Is children’s work in informal garment production temporary or permanent? Why?
11.2	Are there times when child migrant workers periodically leave work to return home?

11.3 Under what circumstances do such children leave garment work?	
11.4 Do you know where the children come from?	
11.5 What are the factors that may affect timing/seasons and locations where child labor and forced labor occur?	
12. What do you think are the factors that influence children to work in informal garment production?	
<p>12.1 What are the reasons children work in informal garment production? [Probe the following when applicable]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do children have poor access to education? • Due to family circumstances <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty, recent income shocks. 2. Paying off debt 3. Family trauma, e.g., orphaned, death of parent. 4. Family origin/migration from rural area 5. Family structure, e.g., large number of children, single parent. 6. Are they in this situation from family intent? 7. Are parents or siblings employed? 8. If so, in what capacity? 9. Do children working in informal garment production in Bangladesh do so more often alone or with their parents? 10. Have their families recently relocated from places outside their work areas? • Economic disruption (Interviewer: An economic disruption is a change of economic conditions in the area that resulted in economic difficulties in local communities such as an increase in the jobless) • Civil disruption (Interviewer: A civil disruption is an incident—such as riots, strikes, or criminal activities—that disrupts a community and where an intervention will be required to maintain public safety). 	

<p>12.2 Why do you think that employers hire children to work in informal garment production?</p>	
<p>12.3 What particular aspects of informal garment production may encourage the use of child labor? What particular aspects of informal garment production may encourage the use of forced child labor?</p>	
<p>12.4 How may market demands in the industry be affecting child labor? How may market demands in the industry be affecting forced child labor?</p>	
<p>13. What are the other potential government and non-governmental organizations we could approach to discuss issues related to working children, particularly in informal garment production, in addition to those mentioned at the start of the interview?</p>	
<p>14. Is there anything else you would like to add?</p>	

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.

ANNEX B: INFORMAL EXPERT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Informal Expert Interview Top Sheet

Interviewer:	Date (mm/dd/yy) __ / __ / __	
Place of interview Division: _____ District: _____ Subdistrict/Upzila: _____		
Unique ID Number for the Key Informant: __ _ [To be provided by supervisor. Put Unique ID in this box and on the indicated line at top of Page 3, the start of the research questions.]		
Name:	Age: __	Sex: Male/Female
Time interview started: __ : __ (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Time interview ended: __ : __ (Use 24-hr. clock)		
Profession:		
Position (if applicable):		
Employer:		
Contact information:		

Instructions: After interview is complete remove top sheet. Place in envelope provided for top sheets only. Place interview form in separate envelope provided for interview forms only.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

- Please ask all questions in this interview guide to each person you interview. If the person doesn't have the knowledge or cannot answer the questions, you should note "Not applicable" or "No answer" as a response underneath each question. This way, we will be able to tell that the questions are at least asked.
- If the interviewer wishes to insert his/her own opinions/comments regarding certain responses from the respondents, please put the comment under each response with a different font color:

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement

Read the following statements to the respondent and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the individual has agreed to participate in the study.

- Hello, my name is _____ I am talking with people about informal garment production activities and children's involvement in the industry. The information will be incorporated into an analytical report that examines the causes and consequences of child labor in informal garment production in Bangladesh.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose to talk with me, you can choose to not answer some questions or end the interview at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one will know what you said. Your name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview will take about 30–45 minutes.
- I will answer any questions that you have about the study before we begin. Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we start the interview?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the respondent. I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed

___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer's Name _____

Interviewer's Signature _____ Date _____

Key Informant Interview Unique ID Number: _____



Research Questions

[FOR EACH ITEM, ASK THE GENERAL QUESTION FIRST, AND THEN PROBE THE SUB-ITEMS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED SPONTANEOUSLY]

1. Please describe how informal garment production works?	
1.1	What do you do in the garment industry [probe if necessary: what are your roles, your activities]?
1.2	What are the activities (or roles) that other people do in the informal garment production (in the workshop or place where you work)?
1.3	Can you briefly describe to me how things typically work in these establishments? [Probe: Where do the products (to be worked on) come from? Who delivers them? What kinds of products/materials are they? How quickly does the work have to be turned around? Who is in charge of the workshop? Who picks up the garments when they are ready? Where do the garments go when they are sent out? On what basis are people paid?]

<p>1.4 What types of products are manufactured in informal garment workshops?</p>	
<p>1.5 Do informal garment production activities take more time or less time than other garment production work? Is work in informal production permanent or temporary employment? Why?</p>	
<p>1.6 Is there a “busy” season or seasons, where production is considerably higher than during other times of the year?</p>	
<p>1.7 Of the Bangladeshi garments produced for export, what proportion is estimated to have child labor/forced child labor in its supply chain?</p>	

<p>1.8 What proportion of garments is produced for the domestic market?</p>	
<p>2. What is the nature of the work done by children in informal garment production?</p>	
<p>2.1 Aside from adult workers, from your personal experiences/knowledge are there children working in informal garment production? If so, how widespread is children's work in the sector. [Probe: Is it common for children to work in informal garment production? What is the proportion/percentage of child workers in a typical informal workshop?]</p>	
<p>2.2 What activities do these children do? How are these activities divided up? Do children perform different tasks from the adults? Do girls do different work to boys? If so, how do they differ?</p>	
<p>2.3 How many hours do children usually work a day? How many days a week?</p>	

<p>2.4 Do children working in informal garment production have to carry out physically demanding tasks? [Probe: Such as carrying heavy loads, moving or using heavy machinery or tools, etc.]</p>	
<p>2.5 Are child workers exposed to any kind of danger/hazard? What type of dangers and risks do such children face in informal garment production? [Probe if necessary: Such as sharp objects, heat, poor ventilation, locked exit doors, etc.]</p>	
<p>2.6 Who employs those child workers? [Probe: do children work for others, such as or unregistered garment employers, or for their own families?]</p>	
<p>2.7 Do children working in the informal garment production do so more often alone or with their parents?</p>	
<p>3. What are the characteristics of child workers in informal garment production?</p>	
<p>3.1 How old are the child workers? At what age do these children start working?</p>	

<p>3.2 Are there more girls or boys?</p>	
<p>3.3 Do you know if the children who work in the informal garment production go to school?</p>	
<p>3.4 If they go to school, when do they come to work? [Probe: do they come to work before or after school in the morning or afternoon/evening and if more of them come to work during school breaks?]</p>	
<p>3.5 Do you know if there are informal garment workers who come into your community/workshop periodically and return to their places of origin? If yes, are there any child workers among them? Where do they come from</p>	
<p>3.6 Do child workers live with their families and commute to work, or do they come from a distance and live near or on the worksite?</p>	
<p>3.7 How common is it for children to do their work at home?</p>	

<p>3.8 If the children are from somewhere else, what kind of place do they live in (e.g., in a temporary housing/dorm with other children who they work with)?</p>	
<p>3.9 If in a temporary housing/room, do they live with adult workers or the child workers are living separately from adult workers?</p>	
<p>4. I would like to talk to you more about the working conditions of garment workers (in informal workshops) who are under 18.</p>	
<p>4.1 Do you know if children are forced to work in informal garment production? (Interviewer explain: Forced labor—work under the menace of any penalty for which the child does not offer him or herself voluntarily)</p>	
<p>4.2 How widespread do you think forced labor is in this industry?</p>	
<p>4.3 What do you think are the reasons that children are forced to work in informal garment production? Probe: Family reasons/debts to pay off? Other reasons?</p>	
<p>4.4 Are they [child workers] free to leave their jobs if they want to?</p>	

<p>4.5 If not, why not? [Interviewer: probe if they would be punished by either the employers or the family, and in what way; if employers hold the payment, children's passports/travel documents/identification documents, children need to work to pay off debt and etc]</p>	
<p>4.6 Are they paid/compensated for their work? In what form, and how frequently? [Probe: In cash, other forms of payment or in-kind. How frequently: daily, weekly, monthly, or by piece?]</p>	
<p>4.7 Who receives payment for children's work? The children themselves, a family member, or a third party?</p>	
<p>4.8 Is work in informal garment production the only paid work these children have?</p>	
<p>4.9 Do you know if there are children being brought from somewhere else to work in the informal garment production in the community?</p>	
<p>4.10 If so, from where and how are they brought here and by whom?</p>	

<p>4.11 Do children usually work for the same employer(s)? Under what circumstances do children move from one employer to another?</p>	
<p>5. What do you think are the factors that influence children to work in the informal garment production?</p>	
<p>5.1 What are the reasons children work in informal garment production? [Probe the following when applicable.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do children have poor access to education? • Due to family circumstances <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty, recent income shocks. 2. Paying off debt 3. Family trauma (e.g., orphaned, death of parent) 4. Family origin/migration from rural area 5. Family structure (e.g., large number of children, single parent) 6. Are they in this situation from family intent? 7. Are parents or siblings employed? 8. If so, in what capacity? 9. Do children working in informal garment production in Bangladesh do so more often alone or with their parents? 10. Have their families recently relocated from places outside their work areas? • Economic disruption (Interviewer: an economic disruption is a change of economic conditions in the area that resulted in economic difficulties in local communities such as an increase in the jobless) • Civil disruption (Interviewer: A civil disruption is an incident—such as riots, strikes, or criminal activities—that disrupts a community, and where an intervention will be required to maintain public safety). 	
<p>5.2 Why do you think that employers hire children to work in informal garment production?</p>	

5.3	What are the reasons child workers would be used for informal garment production? What are the reasons forced child labor would be used for informal garment production?	
5.4	Other (Comment):	
6. What do people in your community think about children working in the informal garment production?		
7. Are you aware of any government, or non-government programs/agencies established to promote the welfare of children or provide assistance to children, either in your community or in Bangladesh?		
8. Is there anything else you would like to add?		

Thank you very much for your time and your valuable contribution.

ANNEX C: CHILD INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section A: General Information

[Respondents: All 5–17 years old]

A1.	Child ID Number	_ _ _		
A2.	Division			
A3.	District			
A4.	Subdistrict			
A5.	Worksite ID	_ _ _		
A7.	Location of interview	Child’s home	2. Other (Specify) _____	
A8.	Sex of Interviewer	1. Male	2. Female	
A9a.	Interviewer Name			
A9b.	Interviewer Code	_ _		
A10.	Date of Interview	Day _ _	Month _ _	Year _ _ _
A11.	Interview Start Time	_ _ : _ _ (Record time using 24-hour clock (e.g., 14:00, not 2:00 pm))		
A12.	Interview End Time	_ _ : _ _ (Record time using 24-hour clock (e.g., 14:00, not 2:00 pm))		

Introduction Including Informed Consent Statement (for children)

Child’s ID No: |_|_|_|

Child’s Name: _____

Instructions to Interviewer:

This form can be used to obtain parental consent for the child to be interviewed. Read the following statements to the parent/guardian of the selected child and answer any questions the individual may have. Do not begin the interview(s) until all questions have been addressed, the parent/guardian has agreed to let the child/children participate in the study, and the child has agreed to be interviewed. If parents/guardians are not available to give consent, the interviewer is required to seek consent from adults responsible for the child, such as work supervisors.



- Hello, my name is _____. I am talking with children who work in communities like this one. The information will be used in a study about children in Bangladesh who work.
- Now I would like to ask some questions of [child's name].
- Your child/children does/do not have to answer the questions and he/she can stop at any time.
- Your child's answers will be kept private and no one else will know his/her answers.
- Your child's name will not be used in any reports.
- The interview with your child will take about 30 minutes.
- Do you have any questions of me before I talk with your child/children?
- May I talk with your child/children?

Interviewer Certification of Parental Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed parental consent statement to the parent/guardian, and I have answered any questions asked about the study.

____ Parent/guardian gave consent for participation of selected child

____ Parent/guardian did not give consent for participation of selected child

Print Interviewer's Name

Date

Interviewer's Signature

Verbal Informed Consent Statement: Child Questionnaire Assent

Child's ID No: |_|_|_|

Child's Name: _____

Instructions to Interviewer: This form is to be used to obtain assent from a respondent over the age of 12 and younger than 18 years. Read the following statements to the selected respondent and answer any questions the respondent may have. Do not begin the interview until all questions have been addressed and the respondent has agreed to participate in the study. Do not interview the respondent if he/she does not give assent even if the parent has given consent.

- Hello, my name is _____. I am talking with children who work in communities like this one. The information will be used in a study about children in Bangladesh who work.
- Your mother/father/guardian has given me permission to talk with you.
- I would like to ask you some questions about the work you do.
- You do not have to answer the questions and you can stop at any time.
- Your answers to the questions will be kept private and no one else will know what you said.



- Your name will not be used in any reports.
- It will take about 30 minutes to talk with me.
- Do you have any questions about the study?
- May we begin?

Interviewer Certification of Consent:

My signature affirms that I have read the verbal informed assent statement to the child respondent, and I have answered any questions asked about the study, and the respondent has agreed to be interviewed.

___ Respondent agreed to be interviewed

___ Respondent did not agree to be interviewed

Print Interviewer’s Name _____

Interviewer’s Signature _____ Date _____

Interview Results:

Interview Completed	1
Interview incomplete/rejected	2
Child disabled/sick/cannot speak	3
Others (Specify _____)	96

Section B: Child Identification and Demographics

[Respondents: Ages 5–17 Years]

B1. Tell me how old you are (in completed years)

1. (If aged between 5 and 17, go to B3. If not, terminate the interview)
2. Don’t know (Go to B2)

B2. (If age is not known) Can you estimate for me how old you are? (Read responses)

1. 1–4 years (*Terminate the interview*)
2. 5–8 years (Go to B3)
3. 9–13 years (Go to B3)
4. 14–17 years (Go to B3)
5. 18 or older (*Terminate the interview*)

B3. Gender of the Respondent (Circle One)

1. Male
2. Female



Section C: Garment Related Work

C1. Have you engaged in any garment-related work activities in the past 12 months?

1. Yes
2. No
98. Don't know
99. Refused

C2. What garment related work activities have you engaged in during the past 12 months?

[READ OPTIONS. Circle all that apply.]

Label/Tag/Sticker making	1. Yes	2. No
Embroidery work	1. Yes	2. No
Hand stitching	1. Yes	2. No
Decorative work with the garment (such as adding sequins, decorative stones)	1. Yes	2. No
Button coloring	1. Yes	2. No
Button stitching	1. Yes	2. No
Printing	1. Yes	2. No
Knitting	1. Yes	2. No
Weaving	1. Yes	2. No
Cutting/trimming	1. Yes	2. No
Dyeing	1. Yes	2. No
Washing	1. Yes	2. No
Packaging	1. Yes	2. No
Others (Specify) _____	1. Yes	2. No
Others (Specify) _____	1. Yes	2. No

C3. Child engaged in at least one garment-related work activity?

[CIRCLE ONE.]

1. Yes: child is engaged in at least one garment-related work activity
(Continue to C4)
2. No: child is not engaged in any garment related work activities
(Finalize interview)

C4. When was the last time you engaged for at least one hour in any of the work activities you mentioned?

1. Yesterday or today
2. In the last 7 days
3. In the last month
4. In the last 3 months
5. In the last 12 months.
98. Don't know
99. Refused

C5. Please tell me about the number of hours you usually spend per day on garment related work activities? Please give me your best guess if you don't know the exact number of hours.

[_][_] Hours/Day

98. Don't know
99. Refused

C6. How many days a week do you have to work in garment-related work?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

98. Don't know
99. Refused

C7. On a typical workday, what time do you usually start and finish working on garment related work activities?

[Record time using 24-hour clock (e.g., 14:00, not 2:00 pm)]

If child unable to provide a specific time, enter 98 (Don't know) or 99 (Refused).

Start time [_][_] Finish time [_][_]

98. Don't know
99. Refused

[IF CHILD IS UNABLE TO REPORT SPECIFIC TIMES, BUT ONLY GENERAL TIMES (e.g., “early in the morning,” “late at night”) INTERVIEWERS SHOULD RECORD THE VERBATIM ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW]

C8. In addition to your garment-related work, do you do any other work?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 99. Refused

C9. Please tell me what kind of work this is.

[INTERVIEWERS SHOULD RECORD THE VERBATIM ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW]

C10. Are you paid for this work?

- 1. Yes (*Go to C11*)
- 2. No
- 99. Refused

C11. How are you paid for this work?

- 1. Cash
- 2. New skill (apprenticeship)
- 3. Education
- 4. Shelter, food, clothing
- 5. Medical assistance
- 96. Other (Specify) _____ (*Go to F1*)
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

Section D: Work Conditions, Health and Hazards

D1. Overall, do you think the work activities you do are physically difficult for you?

1. Yes
2. No (*Go to D3*)
98. Don't know (*Go to D3*)
99. Refused (*Go to D3*)

D2. If yes, please tell me why.

[INTERVIEWER: Record answer in the space below.]

--

D3. Which of these things are present in your current work in garment production?

[Read each of the following options and circle affirmative answers.]

	Yes	No
1. Loud noise	1	2
2. Workplace very hot, very cold or humid	1	2
3. Darkness or rooms with poor lighting	1	2
4. Having to work high up	1	2
5. Not much fresh air	1	2
6. Possibility of slipping, tripping, or falling	1	2
7. Sharp tools (knives, needles etc)	1	2
8. Dust	1	2
9. Fumes and smells that are irritating	1	2
10. Chemicals and other substances that cause rashes, burns or other skin problems	1	2
11. Machinery	1	2
12. Other (Specify) _____		

13. Other (Specify) _____		
14. Other (Specify) _____		

D4. Is any kind of safety equipment provided in your work?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 99. Refused

D4a. If yes, what kind of safety equipment is provided?

- 1. Ear plugs
- 2. Gloves
- 3. Other protective clothing
- 99. Refused

D5. In the past 12 months have you ever been injured due to the work conditions you mentioned?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (*Skip to D7*)
- 99. Refused (*Skip to D7*)

D5a. If yes, what types of injury? [Probe: Any others?]

(Do not read. Circle all that apply.)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wounds/cuts 2. Broken bones 3. Insect bites 4. Back pains 5. Muscle pains 6. Burns 7. Skin infections/itchiness 8. Eye infections
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Other (Specify) _____ 10. Other (Specify) _____ 11. Other (Specify) _____

D6. (If yes to D5) How long were your normal activities restricted as a result of this injury or illness?

- 1. No restriction
- 2. Less than 1 day
- 3. Less than 7 days
- 4. Less than 14 days
- 5. Less than 1 month
- 6. 1 month or more
- 7. Permanently disabled
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

D7. In the past 12 months have you ever become sick due to the work conditions you mentioned?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (*Skip to D9*)
- 99. Refused (*Skip to D9*)

D7a. If yes, what types of illness? [PROBE: Any others?]

[Do not read. Circle all that apply.]

1. Diarrhea
2. Vomiting
3. Fever
4. Respiratory or breathing problems
5. Malaria
6. Typhoid fever
7. Anemia
8. Cholera
9. Eye problems
10. Extreme fatigue
11. Stomach problems
12. Other (Specify) _____
13. Other (Specify) _____
14. Other (Specify) _____

D8. (If yes to D6) How long were your normal activities restricted as a result of this illness?

1. No restriction
2. Less than 1 day
3. Less than 7 days
4. Less than 14 days
5. Less than 1 month
6. 1 month or more
7. Permanently disabled
98. Don't know
99. Refused

D9. Have you been mistreated by employer at work?

1. Yes
2. No

D10. If yes, can you tell me what kinds of mistreatment you have received?

[INTERVIEWER: PROBE if appropriate the reasons of being mistreated/reprimanded, who mistreated the child]

Section E: Earnings

E1. What do you get in exchange for your work in garment production?

1. Cash
2. New skill (apprenticeship) *(Go to F1)*
3. Education *(Go to F1)*
4. Shelter, food, clothing *(Go to F1)*
5. Medical assistance *(Go to F1)*
6. Nothing *(Go to F1)*
96. Other (Specify) _____ *(Go to F1)*
98. Don't know
99. Refused

E2. If you receive cash, how much do you get paid in a typical week?

Amount _____ (taka)

E3. Do you or your employer give part or all of your earnings to your parents/guardians or other relatives?

1. Yes, all given directly through the employer
2. Yes, I give all myself
3. Yes, part given through the employer
4. Yes, I give part myself
5. No, none is given to my parents or other relatives
98. Don't know
99. Refused

E4. If you keep some of the money you earn, what do you do with it?

1. Buy school material/books
2. Buy food or/and clothing
3. Spend on amusements/entertainment
4. Pay rent
5. Save
6. No cash income
96. Other: (Specify) _____
98. Don't know
99. Refused

E5. How is your pay determined?

[DO NOT READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES. INTERVIEWERS SHOULD RECORD THE ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW AND CIRLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES. MULTIPLE RESPONSES, CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.]

1. Piece rate or by tasks completed
2. Hourly
3. Daily
4. Weekly

- 5. Monthly
- 6. Upon completion of a task
- 96. Other: (Specify) _____
- 99. Refused

E6. Do you have problems with your payment, such as delay on payment, inadequate amount, etc.?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

E7. If yes, Please describe and say how often this happens.

[INTERVIEWER: Record answer in the space below]

Section F: Education

F1. Have you ever attended school?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (Skip to F6)
- 99. Refused

F2. What is the highest level/grade that you have completed in school?

0	Nursery/kindergarten	
1	Grade 1	Primary
2	Grade 2	
3	Grade 3	
4	Grade 4	
5	Grade 5	

6	Grade 6	Secondary
7	Grade 7	
8	Grade 8	
9	Grade 9	
10	Grade 10	
11	Grade 11	Higher Secondary
12	Grade 12	
98	Don't know	
99	Refused	

F3. Are you currently attending school?

1. Yes
2. No (Skip to F6)
99. Refused

F4. Does your work in garment related work activities interfere with your studies?

1. Yes
2. No (Skip to G1)
99. Refused (Skip to G1)

F5. [If YES in F4]. How does your work in garment related work activities affect your studies?

[INTERVIEWER: Record answer in the space below]

F6. What is/are the reason(s) why you are not currently attending school or have never attended school?

[INTERVIEWER: Record answer in the space below].

Section G: Family Background and Living Conditions

G1. Is your mother alive?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

G2. Is your father alive?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

G3. Who do you live with? (Multiple answers possible)

- 1. Mother
- 2. Father
- 3. Husband/Wife
- 4. Brother(s)/Sister(s)
- 5. Uncle(s)/Aunt(s)
- 6. Grandparent (s)
- 7. Other relatives
- 8. With friends
- 9. Alone
- 10. Owner/Master's family
- 96. Other: (Specify) _____
- 99. Refused

G4. Where do you live?

1. In parents' house
2. In relatives' house
3. In-laws' house
4. In friend's house
5. Hotel/hostel
6. Workplace
7. Employer's house
8. Rented house/room
96. Other (Specify) _____
99. Refused

Section H: Introduction to Work

H1. What are the main reasons why you work?

[DO NOT READ RESPONSE; INTERVIEWERS SHOULD RECORD THE RESPONSE IN THE SPACE BELOW AND CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES; Multiple Responses. Circle all that apply.]

1. To help family income
2. To pay outstanding family debt
3. To help in household enterprise
4. To learn skills
5. Cannot afford school fees
6. To pay personal expenses, food, clothing, various amusements
96. Other: (Specify) _____
98. Don't know
99. Refused

H2. (If mentioned paying off family debt in H1) You mentioned you work to pay off family debt. Is the debt owed to your current employer or associated with your current employer?

1. Yes
2. No

H3. Who made the decision for you to work in garment related activities?

[Multiple Responses. Circle all that apply]

- 1. Father
- 2. Mother
- 3. Other relative
- 4. Friend
- 5. Employer
- 6. Labor contractor
- 7. Self
- 96. Other: (Specify) _____
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

H4. Before coming here, were you fully aware of your work conditions, including your salary, days off, working hours, housing, and other benefits?

- 1. Yes, all
- 2. Yes, some
- 3. No
- 99. Refused

H5. Has this job lived up to your expectations?

- 1. Yes (Go to J1)
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know (Go to J1)
- 99. Refused (Go to J1)

H6. [If NO in I15] What hasn't lived up to your expectations?

[DO NOT PROBE. Interviewers need to record the answer and circle appropriate answer(s) below]

1. Salary (payment timing or amount of payment)
2. Living quarters
3. Time off
4. Working hours
5. Work type
6. No schooling/not allowed/no time for study
96. Other: (Specify) _____
98. Don't know
99. Refused

H7. Are you able to leave your job if you want to?

1. Yes (Skip to H5)
2. No
99. Refused (Skip to H5)

H8. [If NO in H4] Why are you unable to leave your job?

[PROBE WHEN NECESSARY]

Section I: Mobility/Migration

I1. Were you born in Dhaka or elsewhere?

1. Here (Dhaka) (*Go to J1*)
2. Elsewhere
99. Refused (*Go to J1*)

I2. You mentioned that you were not born in Dhaka. Please tell me where you lived prior to coming here?

Country (if not Bangladesh) _____

Division _____

District _____

Subdistrict _____

Don't know 98

Refused 99

I3. When did you come to this village, town, or locality? If you can, please give the year and the month.

Year |_|_|_|

Month |_|

[IF CHILD IS UNABLE TO REPORT SPECIFIC DATES, BUT ONLY GENERAL TIMES (e.g., "after my father died") INTERVIEWERS SHOULD RECORD THE VERBATIM ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW]

I4. When you moved here, did a parent/guardian move with you?

1. Yes (*Skip to I8*)

2. No

I5. How often do you visit your parents/home?

1. Every month

2. Every 6 months

3. Every year

4. Never

96. Other (Specify) _____

99. Refused

I6. Did you send any money to your parents or other family members in last 12 months?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

I7. Did your employer/contractor send any money on your behalf to your parents/family members in last 12 months?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

I8. What was the main reason you came to this village, town, or locality?

[DO NOT PROBE. Interviewers should circle only one applicable answer]

- 1. I was transferring jobs or had found a job
- 2. I was looking for a job
- 3. To be closer to school
- 4. Marriage or divorce
- 5. Moved with family
- 6. Refugee
- 96. Other: (Specify) _____
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

I9. [If coming here for a job or job transfer] You mentioned you came here for a job or for job transfer. I would like to learn about how that happened. Was a labor contractor/recruiter involved in finding you your job?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 98. Don't know
- 99. Refused

I10. Who made the decision that you would move to your current place of residence?

[DO NOT READ THE RESPONSE. Multiple Responses. Circle all that apply.]

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Other relative
4. Friend
5. Employer
6. Labor contractor
7. Self
96. Other: (Specify) _____
98. Don't know
99. Refused

I11. Did anyone receive money or anything else or repay a debt in exchange for your moving to your current place of residence?

1. Yes
2. No (*Skip to I13*)
98. Don't know (*Skip to I13*)
99. Refused (*Skip to I13*)

I12. [If yes at I11] Who received the money/the benefit?

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Other relative
4. Friend
5. Employer
6. Labor contractor
96. Other: (Specify) _____
98. Don't know
99. Refused

I13. Did you come here of your own will?

1. Yes
2. No
99. Refused

Section J: Perception of Works and Future

J1. Which of the following words best describe how do you feel about working in the garment sector?

[Read out. Multiple responses possible]

1. Proud
2. Sad
3. Bored
4. Happy
5. Tired
6. Indifferent
7. Other (Specify) _____

J2. What would like to do when you grow up?

[Read out. Single response]

1. To study and have a profession
2. To manage my own business
3. To work as an employee
4. Do not know
5. Other (Specify) _____

Section K. Interviewer Note

K1. Was there any adult present during this interview

1. Yes
2. No (*Go to K3*)

K2. If yes, who was present?

1. Parents
2. Other adult family members
3. Others adults from outside the family

K3. Was anybody coaching the child's responses or scolding during this interview?

1. Yes
2. No

K4. Were there any children present during this interview?

1. Yes
2. No

K5. Did the child being interviewed have any observable injuries?

1. Yes

2. No

K6. If yes, what kind of injuries did they have?

ANNEX D: WORKPLACE OBSERVATION GUIDELINES

Name of the Observer:			
Date of Observation:	Day _ _	Month _ _	Year _ _ _
Time of Observation	_ _		
Workshop ID Number			
Location of the Workshop	Division	District	Subdistrict
Type of Production Unit	Informal Workshop/Shed Home-based Production		

A Working Activities

A1.	How many laborers are visible?	_ _
A2.	How many child laborers are visible?	_ _
A3.	How many child laborers are apparently injured?	
A4.	If child laborers with injuries are observed, specify the nature of the injuries	
A5.	Please describe exact tasks being carried out by children Please list the specific tasks performed by children and describe relevant aspects, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>series of actions</i> to perform these tasks • The <i>speed/stress</i> associated with the tasks • In <i>coordination</i> with other children/adults or alone, • If it is "<i>non-stop</i>" from one cycle of tasks to the other, • If it has a <i>formative character</i> (learning of skills or it is just a repetitive task, etc.) 	

A6. Emotional appearance

Please describe the observed psychological/emotional appearance of the children. For instance, do you see any (and how many) children appearing to be fearful, worried, outgoing, shy, alert, or tired? If children seem to be in a healthy emotional state, please also report this.

--

A7. Treatment by employers

Please describe any abuse against the children that you may notice while observing any particular activity, including:

- **Physical abuse:** direct blows, pushing, kicks, blows with objects
- **Verbal abuse:** shouting, insults, offensive nicknames

Try to establish if it is a separate incident occurring with a victim or a constant way of relation with a child or group of children within an activity.

In the absence of abuse, please note how children are being treated by employers. For example, are children treated well? Neutrally? Ignored?

Please make a note if you did not observe any interaction between child workers and employer(s).

--

A8. Are there any children not appearing to work in the worksite? How many? What do they do (such as sitting on the floor, bench, standing somewhere in the worksite)? Please specify.

--

Worksite Environments and Conditions

B1.	How large is the worksite? (Circle one)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. < 10 sq. meters 2. 10–19 sq. meters 3. 20–39 sq. meters 4. 40–59 sq. meters 5. ≥ 60 sq. meters
B2.	How many rooms are part of the worksite?	_ _
B3.	Does the manager have living quarters attached or adjacent to the worksite? (Circle one)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes, attached 2. Yes, adjacent 3. Yes, both 4. No
B4.	Are living quarters for some or all of the laborers provided in or adjacent to the worksite?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes, living quarters are provided, and some laborers live in or adjacent to worksite 2. Yes, living quarters are provided, and all laborers live in or adjacent to worksite 3. No, living quarters are not provided for any laborers
B5.	Are there any signs (such as rolled blankets or cooking pots) in the worksite that indicate that some laborers are living there?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
B6.	Is the worksite shared with another business that is run by another manager?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Unclear
B7.	Is the worksite completely roofed, or is part or all of the worksite without a roof?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Completely roofed 2. Part of worksite without roof 3. No roof over all of worksite

B8.	What material is used at the worksite for the:	
	a. Roof _ _ _____	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Straw/Thatch 2. Earth/Mud 3. Wood/plank 4. Iron/Metal 5. Cement/Concrete 6. Tiles/Slate 96. Other (Specify)
	b. Floor _ _ _____	
	c. Walls _ _ _____	
B9.	How clean is the worksite? <i>(Look for dust, wool particles, tools, carpets)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very clean (nothing on the floor) 2. Somewhat clean (some dust and a few items and pieces on the floor) 3. Dirty
B10a.	How is the air quality inside the worksite?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clean 2. A little dusty 3. Hard to breathe
B10b.	How is the lighting in the main work environment?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Too Bright 2. Bright 3. Normal 4. Dim but not unusually so 5. Too Dark

B11. Are the following facilities part of the worksite?						
Facility	B11a. Is it there? (Y/N)		B11b. (See codes below)	B11c. Is it accessible? (Y/N)		
	1. Yes	2. No		1. Yes	2. No	
a. Bathroom	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
b. Water source	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
c. Ventilation source	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
d. Lighting source	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
e. Emergency exit	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
f. Safety equipment	1. Yes	2. No	_____	1. Yes	2. No	
Bathroom:		Water source:		Ventilation:		
1. Indoor flush toilet		1. Pipe water		1. Windows		
2. Outdoor flush toilet		2. Covered well/hand pipe		2. Fans		
3. Private latrine		3. Open well		3. Air conditioning		
4. Communal latrine		4. Open water		4. Open worksite (no walls or barriers)		
96. Other (Specify)		96. Other (Specify)				
Lighting:		Emergency exits:		Safety equipment:		
1. Natural		1. Doors		1. First aid kit		
2. Electric		2. Windows		2. Fire extinguisher		
3. Lamps		96. Other (Specify)		96. Other (Specify)		
4. Candle						
96. Other (Specify)						

B12.	B12a. Are laborers exposed to any of the following hazards?	B12b. Are there safety measures? (Y/N)		B12c. (If YES to B12b.) Specify safety measure:
	a. Dust/dirt	1. Yes	2. No	
	b. Particle matter	1. Yes	2. No	
	c. Chemicals (Solvents, sprays)	1. Yes	2. No	
	d. Liquids (Oil, etc.)	1. Yes	2. No	
	e. Congestion	1. Yes	2. No	
	f. Noise	1. Yes	2. No	
	g. Poor air quality	1. Yes	2. No	
	h. Machinery	1. Yes	2. No	
	i. Excessive heat	1. Yes	2. No	
B13.	Are there any other visible hazards not listed above?	1. Yes (Specify) _____ 2. No		

ANNEX E: KEY CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

The study is concerned with activities covered by the following definitions:

- Child labor: All work performed by a person under the age of 15. It also includes all work performed by a person under the age of 18 in the following practices:
 - a. All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale or trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, or forced or compulsory labor, 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 purposes;
 - c. The use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; and
 - d. Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. The work referred to in subparagraph.
 - e. Is determined by the laws, regulations, or competent authority of the country involved, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, and taking into consideration relevant international standards.
- Forced labor: All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily, and includes indentured labor. “Forced labor” includes work provided or obtained by force, fraud, or coercion, including—
 - a. By threats of serious harm to, or physical restraint against any person.
 - b. By means of any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause the person to believe that, if the person did not perform such labor or services, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint.
 - c. By means of the abuse or threatened abuse of law or the legal process.
- Forced or indentured child labor: All work or service 1) exacted from any person under the age of 18 under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily; or 2) performed by any person under the age of 18 pursuant to a contract the enforcement of which can be accomplished by process or penalties.
- Determining forced labor: ILO Convention 29 Article 2 (1) defines forced labor as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.” In other words, two elements make labor forced: The first is a menace of penalty. The second is the lack of consent on the part of the worker.
 - The *threat of a penalty* (which represents the means for keeping someone in forced labor) includes the actual presence or credible threat of—

- ❖ Physical violence against the worker, family or close associate
- ❖ Sexual violence
- ❖ Threat of supernatural retaliation
- ❖ Imprisonment or other physical confinement
- ❖ Financial penalties
- ❖ Denunciation to authorities (police, immigration officers, etc.) and deportation
- ❖ Dismissal from current employment
- ❖ Exclusion from future employment
- ❖ Exclusion from community and social life
- ❖ Removal of rights or privileges
- ❖ Deprivation of food, shelter, and other necessities
- ❖ Shift to even worse working conditions
- ❖ Loss of social status.
- Voluntary nature of work: Lack of consent to (involuntary nature of) work (the route into forced labor) includes—
 - ❖ Birth/descent into “slave” or bonded status
 - ❖ Physical abduction or kidnapping
 - ❖ Sale of person into the ownership of another
 - ❖ Physical confinement in the work location—in prison or in private detention
 - ❖ Psychological compulsion (i.e., an order to work, backed by a credible threat of penalty for non-compliance)
 - ❖ Induced indebtedness (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices, reduced value of goods or services produced, excessive interest charges, etc.)
 - ❖ Deception or false promises about types and terms of work
 - ❖ Withholding and non-payment of wages
 - ❖ Retention of identify documents or other valuable personal possessions
 - ❖ Voluntary participation in work situation is irrelevant in case of children under 18 working in a WFCL.