

**Child Labour: An Exploration from the Perspective of
Extreme Poor Children**

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1. Introduction

The understanding and use of the term 'childhood' varies across time and space. Within the context of Bangladesh, as with the rest of the world, constructions of the child are shaped by a number of factors concerning themselves and their families; these include gender, age, stage in life, class and property, birth order, status in society, work and education, ethnic or social origin, race, color, ethnicity, nationality, language, disability, HIV status, political opinion and religious identity. As with perceptions and definitions of 'child', the terms 'work' and 'labor' are also contested. A division between 'child work' and 'child labor' is highlighted by a number of studies, 'child work' denoting activities that are relatively harmless to the child's well-being and development (and may even contribute to these factors), and 'child labor' signifying activities that are increasingly injurious and hazardous, and that may consequently prevent education, damage health and or subject the child to physical, sexual or emotional abuse or exploitation.

The UNICEF defines 'Child work' as children's participation in economic activity - that does not negatively affect their health and development or interfere with education, can be positive. Work that does not interfere with education (light work) is permitted from the age of 12 years under the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 138. According to UNICEF, 'Child labor' refers to children working in contravention of the above standards. This means all children below 12 years of age working in any economic activities, those aged 12 to 14 years engaged in harmful work, and all children engaged in the worst forms of child labor' which is when these involve children being enslaved, forcibly recruited, prostituted, trafficked, forced into illegal activities and exposed to hazardous work. This is forced and bonded child labor.

Poverty, unemployment/under-employment and illiteracy are the most important factors that contribute to child labor. Given the complex socio-economic dimensions of the problem, improvement in the living and working conditions of parents and in their economic conditions is crucial to the elimination of child labor. Education is also an indispensable component for eliminating child labor (Embassy of India, Washington, DC). Children from poor families work for survival of their family and themselves. In developing countries the working children are the objects of extreme exploitation in terms of work conditions, toiling for long hours for minimal pay, often not providing the stimulation for proper physical and mental development and relegated instead to a life of drudgery because these laborers cannot legally form unions to change their conditions. But there are problems with immediately abolishing child labor to prevent such abuse. Any plan of abolishment depends on schooling as schooling is the only alternative to keep a child off from labor. The

state could make attending school worthwhile by providing nutritional supplements or increasing the quality and usefulness of obtaining an education. But there also if the minimum working age is lower than the required age of compulsory education, giving children access to employment before they have even completed the minimum amount of schooling then the impoverished children will be allowed to work legally. In the reverse situation, if the minimum age requirement for work is greater than the compulsory schooling age, children who have completed the required schooling must stay inactive for a period of time before they can legally work. For example, when a poor child from Bangladesh finishes the required (compulsory primary education for 5 years) schooling at 10 years of age, that child is not legally supposed to work until the age of 14. Such an expectation seems unreasonable. Legislation has been able to control child labor to some degree in the formal sectors. As a result, child labor is most prevalent in the highly unmonitored, informal and rural sectors.

In the paper 'Child Labor: Issues, Causes and Intervention' Faraaz Siddiqi and Harry Anthony Patrinos quote that parents represent 62 percent of the source of induction into employment. Children make their own decisions to work only 8 percent of the time. Children seem to be much less of an economic burden in developing countries. Therefore, parents in developing countries make use of children's ability to work. Traditional factors and social class separation also contribute to child labor and illiteracy. For the notion that educated females will not get married, nor have children, many poor families raise daughters solely to take over the household duties in order to release the mother for paid labor. Lower caste Hindus are expected to perform manual and menial labor and therefore their children are more apt to give labor and not to attend school. Many poor families, however, are able to recognize good quality schooling and are frequently prepared to sacrifice child labor in order to invest in a good education for their children. Economic change in the condition of a struggling family is essential to free a child from working, and family subsidies from the state can help. Often parents assign different roles to their children; certain siblings, especially the eldest, go to school while others work. Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1993) find that the number of siblings does not have much of an effect on school enrollment, although it does have a significant effect on child labor.

The global scene is that an estimated 246 million children are engaged in child labor. Of those, almost three-quarters (171 million) work in hazardous situations or conditions. They are everywhere but invisible, toiling as domestic servants, laboring

in workshops, hidden in plantations. Millions of girls work as domestic servants and unpaid household help and are especially vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, other millions work under horrific circumstances. They may be trafficked (1.2 million), forced into debt bondage or other forms of slavery (5.7 million), into prostitution and pornography (1.8 million), into participating in armed conflict (0.3 million) or other illicit activities (0.6 million). The vast majority of child laborers - 70 per cent or more - work in agriculture. Much violence is hidden. Children may not feel able to report acts of violence for fear of retribution from their abuser. The child victim may feel ashamed or guilty, believing that the violence was deserved. This often leads the child to be unwilling to speak about it. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that over the whole world 40 million children below the age of 15 suffer from abuse and neglect, and require health and social care.

An exploratory study was conducted in BRAC's Targeted Ultra Poor (TUP) Program area in the northern part of Bangladesh to identify the children's work pattern from the perspective of extreme poor households and reveal its nature. Since child labour was a new study arena for BRAC's Research and Evaluation Division (RED), a collaborative effort was pulled together including Save the Children UK (SC-UK), which had an intensive experience and expertise in working with the children, especially the children involved in labour force. Over the long experience, SC-UK has developed outstanding child facilitation technique, while RED evolved as a connoisseur of qualitative research. The joint effort of the study team through the child friendly facilitation techniques of SC-UK and the expertise of BRAC on qualitative research methods was found to be effective in successfully conducting the study. The study was intended to be a step forward in the accumulation of knowledge on working children of TUP households and, therefore, to build a foundation upon which further analysis and research could be based; however, it does not endeavor to be a comprehensive account or analysis of the lives of working children of TUP households.

2. Objectives

- To identify from the children's perspective the work patterns of the children in the study areas
- To reveal from the perspective of children the classification of work within the area of adult vs. child work and harmful vs. harmless work for better understanding of the nature of children's work in extreme poor households.

3. Methodology

BRAC and Save the Children UK collaboratively held a sharing meeting to identify the appropriate field operation technique for exploring the perspective of child labour of extreme poor children.

It was unanimous understanding between SC-UK and RED that children's participation was prime to collect data while the focus was to understand the child labour perspective in extreme poor households. The Key respondents were children from TUP as well as non-TUP households of both rural and peri-urban areas. To achieve the comparative point of view, two TUP concentrated areas were selected - one in rural area named Dangapara in Sayadpur and another in peri-urban area named Bujaripara. This helped in comparing the work pattern of people, especially children between the rural and peri-urban area and facilitated to portray the understanding and perception of the children regarding their (children's) work pattern and its nature. However, in the process of fixing /locating the peri-urban site it became apparent to the research team that there was no TUP area in urban or near to urban areas. Therefore, one site was selected as the TUP concentrated area nearest to city and which had both TUP and non-TUP children involved in labour force; since, where the research actively included involvement of working children, it was more likely to provide a more pragmatic indication of the nature of the work incorporating both their perspectives and experiences.

A number of participatory qualitative tools were used in the study to identify the children's work pattern. For successful completion of the study, it was undertaken in two phases. The first phase was more of an experimental nature (combining the BRAC and Save the Children UK expertise and experience of field work) intended to apply as well as sort out the appropriate technique for data collection from an especial group of respondents - the children. The field operation was inclined mostly to experience gathering and facilitation technique sharing between the research teams (BRAC and Save the Children UK) than to demonstrate planned activities for data collection.

Free listing and pile sorting through individual contact were fixed as data collection techniques. But, as the approach of individual contact revealed to be much time consuming in first phase/ field-testing, it was decided to shift the methodology from individual to group approach and incorporate Group Discussion as the data collection method. The open ended tool - free listing, helped to gather information from the perspective of children. Through this method the children responded to make list of all the works (whatever they could recall) performed in their respective areas. The method was applied extensively in the second phase of the study.

In the second phase free lists were compiled from the respondents (children) through Group Discussion regarding the works performed in their respective localities- rural and urban. These free lists were again used in group discussions to further explore the work patterns involving adult or child labor and the harmful or harmless works. This method was selected since it allowed each respondent, who possessed experience and knowledge on the subject of discussion, to contribute in group processes. It helped to bring in the collective knowledge and perception of all the individual members representing the studied group of children. Participation of each and every child was ensured through this method and everyone took part in the process of arriving at a consensus. For comparative study, groups were divided according to the categories of children from TUP and non-TUP households, and as boys and girls. Since there were two sites, the fieldwork for the data collection involved eight different categories of children's groups (consisting of minimum 4 and maximum 17 participants). A total of sixteen group discussions were held during the study along with two sessions for rapport building with the children and the community. To build rapport, sessions were held for about half a day which included induction between the research team and the respondents (children), explanation of the objectives of the research team, clarification of the queries of the key informants (children) and the community (mostly guardians). The session incorporated staging a series of games, selection of team leaders from the attended children to contact with and gather more children, and fix up time for the following sessions.

Group Discussion and Rapport Build-up Matrix

Rapport Build-up Session		
Type of Participants	Number of Sessions	Number of Participants
Community members including TUP and Non-TUP Boys and girls, and their guardians	2	62 (In rural site)
		47 (In peri-urban site)

Group Discussion	
Type of Participants	Number of Sessions
TUP Boys	4
TUP Girls	4
Non-TUP Boys	4
Non-TUP Girls	4

Since it was a children's participatory study, all the group discussions and sessions, followed by ice-breaking consultations, were child-friendly and were facilitated with lots of games and amusement to ensure the highest participation of children. The study was conducted during the period of March and April 2004.

5. Child Labour: Bangladesh Context

A number of research studies have attempted to enumerate working children in Bangladesh. Other studies suggest that the figures of working children have been severely underestimated, particularly where non-income generating 'economic' activities get included in the statistics. For example, the number of child domestic workers in Bangladesh is unknown, but estimates suggest that there may be as many as one million in Dhaka City alone. As there are approximately 40 million children aged five to eighteen in Bangladesh, at least 20 million of whom are in 'poverty', it can be estimated that the majority of them undertake economic or non-economic work to supplement the livelihoods of themselves and their families. It is widely acknowledged that there are significantly more children working in rural areas than in urban areas, simply because around eighty-five percent population of Bangladesh live in rural areas, although it is often argued that there is a greater concentration of children working in the urban areas, and the more hazardous occupations are situated there. This is disputed when occupations such as bidi factory work are considered. Moreover, little research has been done on rural work, most significantly agricultural work, undertaken by children. As such, the enumeration of working children will be dependent upon the methodology used as well as the adopted definitions of 'work' and 'child' (King, M.A and Knox, R.L).

According to the National Census data, 12% of the Bangladesh labor force is constituted of children under the age of 14. Child labour has been challenged by NGOs and UN agencies promoting the rights of the child. It is argued that child labour should be eliminated since it 'deprives children of their right to a childhood, prevents access to basic needs, undermines development and health, and entails exploitative terms of employment' (BSAF Child Labour Work Plan (draft), 1993) (Blanchet, T, 1996).

According to Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (1996), 82.75% of economically active working children are situated in rural areas and 65% of economic activities undertaken by children broadly fall into the agricultural sector.

All research studies include income generating 'economic' activities, but in the majority of cases they exclude the household domestic activities mainly undertaken by women, adolescent girls and young children. If these aspects of the labour force

are continually excluded in studies, a crucial contribution to the livelihoods of the people of Bangladesh is effectively ignored. Non-economic activities, such as food preparation, cleaning, animal husbandry, and cow dung and firewood collection, all these support the survival strategy of the household, as through these activities the children can support other family members who may be earning or undertaking agricultural tasks. Further studies are required on domestic and unpaid tasks in order to ascertain the hazards and risks involved and the effects on children's development and well being.

Girls and younger children who have limited employment options outside the household, most often carry out activities such as domestic chores, food preparation and animal husbandry. It has been known little about the nature, determinants and effects of such work and this limited understanding is exacerbated by an assumption that unpaid work for the 'family' is hazard free. To date this assumption seems to remain untested in Bangladesh, although studies elsewhere, such as in Latin America, have found that children, when asked, prefer work outside the household.

Glaring gaps remain in the understanding of children working in a significant number of occupations and in many geographical areas, particularly those that are considered to be remote and peripheral. Children that belong to groups that are fashionable in development discourse and interventions, such as street working children and children working in the garment industry, have received a great deal of attention in research studies. However, the majority of areas of child work that are not high on the development agenda, but may be equally or more prevalent, such as children that work for their own families undertaking unpaid domestic tasks or agricultural work, remain 'hidden' in research literature.

Official statistics claim that fewer girls work than boys, although more girls do not attend school, so it is likely that they are working at home or in activities that are not considered to be 'economic'. This gender bias needs to be addressed and would be best served through the adoption of a broader definition of 'work' in research studies.

Rahman, W. in 'Rapid Assessment of Child Labour Situation in Bangladesh' (1996), has reported over three hundred types of economic activities undertaken by children, forty-seven of which are deemed to be highly hazardous. Razzak, S. M. in 'State of Child Labour in Bangladesh' (1st Draft) (2001), lists 425 occupations undertaken by children, 67 of which he highlights as hazardous.

Child domestic workers have also begun to escape their 'invisible' status as significant campaigns have sought to highlight their plight. Approximately 65% of economically working children are employed in the agricultural sector.

It is important to consider a number of key factors when exploring the nature of children's work. These include the treatment of the children by employers, their co-workers and the community, working hours, pay, working environment and conditions, access to unions, holiday entitlement and rest days, possibility for education and the vulnerability of hazards, abuse and exploitation. These vary greatly depending upon the industry, the employer and may differ on a case-by-case basis.

It is increasingly seen as important to ascertain children's perspectives regarding the nature of their work, as well as the hazards that they face. Woodhead argues that a sophisticated set of factors can be analysed in order to decide the best and worst forms of child labour. This includes income, security, career potential, safety, hazards and risks, social status of the occupation, family circumstances of the child and the potential for exploitation. As 'insiders' what children see as hazardous or benign, harmful or valuable, exploitative or educational, may not always be the same as how 'outsiders' view these issues'. Incorporating children's perspectives and those of the community may produce surprising results. Research conducted using a 'children's perspective protocol' has found that working children often feel that the relationship with their employers and co-workers, the way they are treated, is more important than the hardships and hazards of their work. The quality of the relationships that the child has, rather than simply the task that the child undertakes, is considered to be as important; the only way to learn this is to ask the child, as such findings cannot be observed. For example, it is argued that child domestic workers often suffer both physically and psychologically due to their extremely long working hours as well as the emotional isolation that they face away from their own family and home, as from a very impressionable age they live within a family, totally devoid of any rights, surrounded by their own loneliness. In every occupation, children are vulnerable to abuse from adults and this vulnerability can best be determined by consulting the children themselves.

With regard to the worst forms of child labour, studies have tended to concentrate on the physical hazards and effects of work on children. Rahman demonstrates that many of the occupations, which are primarily factory and workshop based, have the potential to be hazardous to the children's health. Razzak lists 67 hazardous occupations undertaken by children highlighting the physical risks associated with some of them. Many of the studies cite the physical dangers of the occupation for children, and indicate that simple training or protective equipment could alleviate the situation to a certain extent removing the hazard from the work. Similarly, long

hours are seen as detrimental to the children's health as well as their psychological welfare. It is reported that some domestic servants work up to 17 hours each day. However, many studies have tended to focus primarily, if not exclusively, on the negative effects of work, especially the physical conditions and effects of work, to the exclusion of positive effects and social and psychological consequences (both positive and negative).

Since 1995 the ILO's International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has been active in Bangladesh promoting policies and programs designed 'to reduce and eliminate child labour with emphasis on hazardous occupations.

A shift in the child labour discourse has promoted a growing consensus in more recent years around the elimination of children's participation in intrinsically hazardous work. This has been formalized in ILO Convention 182; the Government of Bangladesh is obliged to publish a National Plan of Action to ensure effective implementation of the Convention. The elimination of the worst forms of child labour is intended as a starting point in the gradual elimination of all child work.

ILO Convention 182 concentrates on the effects of work on children and seeks to eliminate child labour that is harmful to the child's health, safety or morals. However, preliminary primary research in Bangladesh indicates that there is a discrepancy between what children and adults regard as hazardous work; it is argued that children's participation in work is dependent upon many factors that may not be considered by adults such as the child's income, security, career potential, as well as the safety, hazards, social status, family circumstances, relationship with employers and other adults and the possibility of physical, sexual and psychological exploitation. Once again, Woodhead's findings highlight that it is necessary to ask the children and have participatory research when assessing the effects of work and the worst forms of child labour.

Delap, E. in 'The Worst Forms of Child Labour and Family Livelihoods in North West Bangladesh' (3rd Draft) (2000), has shown that when applying the criteria of ILO Convention 182, quite different designations of the worst forms of child labour are made than when using the criteria of working children and the local community. Children valued occupations with a high level of income, skill development and future career prospects as well as a high status in the community. In North West Bangladesh, these included agricultural work on one's own land, being a shop assistant, skilled occupations involving production and repair, and tailoring. The children in these occupations acknowledged the hazards, but this was not deemed as such an important criterion when incorporating factors such as skill development and career prospects. Work that was considered to be the lowest ranking by the children included domestic service, day labouring, cow dung collection, working in a

restaurant and being a cobbler. These occupations had a low status in the community, entailing risks of sexual abuse and violations of the purdah norms. Similarly, employer's perspectives were found to be substantially different from those of the children. These examples demonstrate that children's perspectives need to be taken into account when assessing the effects of work and the worst forms of child labour. The psychological and social effects, such as the perceived low status of the occupation, also warrant consideration (King, M.A and Knox, R.L).

6. Findings

6.1. Works in the study areas

The free lists provided by TUP and Non-TUP boys and girls of both rural and peri-urban areas amassed a total of 166 varieties of works. The works were mostly assembled under the categories of agriculture, husbandry, household chores, farming, handicrafts, industry, construction work, mechanical/machine/technical work, shopkeeping, driving, government and private sector service, business, day labour, and bondage labour. The works list demonstrated that both in rural and peri-urban areas the work pattern is almost similar with no foremost difference and is mostly based on agricultural work. However, gambling, CD shopkeeping, mobile phone shopkeeping, these were the examples of works of peri-urban area that were not experienced in the rural area.

The most frequently mentioned works (mentioned by all the groups including TUP and non-TUP and girls and boys of both rural and peri-urban areas) were bamboo products making/selling, carpentry, ploughing, tailoring, rickshaw van driving and working at nursery (plantation/ nurturing/flower-plant selling). This demonstration presents the idea that people of these regions are mostly involved in these sorts of works. Some apparently distinctive types of works were mentioned from both the localities, such as bone collecting from peri-urban area and hair trading from rural area. According to the non-TUP girls of peri-urban area, the bone collecting is a particular sort of work that involves boys of that particular locality and is carried out for selling. Another distinctive sort of work - hair trading mentioned by the TUP boys of rural area, involves both the men and women who buy trimmed or fallen hair (at 800 taka per kg.) from households and again sell to those who prepare wigs (see appendix-1).

6.2. Adult vs. Child Work

According to the children of TUP and Non-TUP boys and girls of both rural and peri-urban areas following are the lists of works performed by different categories of work-force (also see appendix -2).

All categories of work force including Men, Women, Boys and Girls are involved in the following works:

1. Working at nursery (plantation/ nurturing/ flower plant selling)
2. Tailoring
3. Bamboo Products making and selling
4. Weeding
5. Hawking Cosmetics
6. Paddy seedling transplantation
7. Paddy harvesting
8. Chicken raising
9. Fishing
10. Grocery shop keeping/ trading
11. Paddy threshing/ husking
12. Vegetable growing
13. Cattle rearing
14. Vegetable trading
15. Potato cultivation
16. Working at other's house
17. Wheat harvesting
18. Pottery
19. Betel leaf-nut shop keeping / selling
20. Broom making/ selling/ hawking
21. Puffed rice selling/ hawking
22. Fire wood collecting and / selling
23. Grass collecting
24. Potato plucking
25. Milk selling
26. Sugarcane plantation
27. Hessian making and selling
28. Paddy parboiling
29. Jute washing
30. Flour grinding/ selling
31. Paddy drying
32. Babysitting
33. Ghani oil preparing and selling
34. Peanut plucking
35. Puffed rice ball making and selling
36. Tutoring

In the above mentioned list, works enlisted from 1 to 14 were responded with high frequency as the participation of all categories of work forces including men, women, boys and girls. Work list from 15 to 25 were responded with medium frequency and the list from 26 to 38 were responded as low.

Men, Women and Boys are involved:

1. Earth work
2. Eggs trading/ selling
3. Mason's work
4. Chicken trading/ whole selling
5. Rice trading/ whole selling
6. Cloth whole selling
11. Milking
12. Crockery hawking
13. Betel nut tree gardening
14. Brick breaking
15. Drain repairing
16. Opera party/ playing

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 7. Cloth hawking | 17. Tea stall running |
| 8. Road construction/ carpeting work | 18. Tobacco cultivation |
| 9. Floor casting | 19. Wheat threshing |
| 10. Cake (<i>pitha</i>) selling | |

Works from 1 to 4 reported as work of men, women and boys, were responded with high frequency, 5 to 7 with medium frequency and 8 to 19 with low frequency. Among these works, girls' non-involvement shows that girls are not always necessarily involved in works carried out by women. It could be assumed that, as most of the works of the list are outside work involving excessive inter-action with the general public or directly related with dexterous economic activities, girls are not socially as well as culturally considered to come to open/apposite to carry on these works and are expected better be confined in household chores while boys be actively involved in outside works.

Men, Women and Girls are involved:

1. Puffed rice preparing

The work responded as involving men, women and girls was reported with medium frequency. Boys are left out for unspecified reasons.

Women, Boys and Girls are involved:

1. Sewing/embroidering

The work reported as involving women, boys and girls is responded with low frequency. The men's non-involvement reveal that men do not find household works with no (apparent) economic assessment/transaction worth participating and those are assigned only for the women folks.

Men and Women are involved:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 1. BRAC Employment | 5. Begging |
| 2. Practicing as doctor/ <i>kabiraj</i> | 6. Garments work |
| 3. Teaching at school | 7. Match making |
| 4. Latrine cleaning | 8. Hair trading |

In above work list, 1 is reported with high frequency, 2 and 3 with medium, and 4 to 8 with low frequency. Out of 8 categories of work 4 (BRAC employment, practicing as doctor/ *kabiraj*, teaching at school, and garments work) are legally and 2

(begging and match making) are socially established as adult work, and thus exclude children's involvement.

Men and Boys are involved:

1. Carpentry
2. Tilling
3. Rickshaw Van/ Rickshaw driving
4. Hair cutting
5. Blacksmith's work
6. Cycle/ motor cycle/ rickshaw van repairing
7. Fruits trading/ selling
8. Shallow machine operating
9. Tube-well boring
10. Cattle Business or brokarage
11. Fish selling
12. Wood felling and chopping
13. House building mistry
14. Watch selling/ repairing
15. Waiters' work
16. Bamboo trading/ whole selling
17. Butcher's work
18. Driving tractor
19. Ice-cream hawking
20. Pesticide spraying
21. Shoe shop keeping/ selling
22. Green grocery
23. Tinsmith's work
24. Potato whole selling
25. Paddy trading/ whole selling
26. Broken goods buying and selling
27. Electric work
28. Goldsmith's work
29. Painter's work
30. Peanut selling
31. Rod-binder's work
32. Tin (C. I. sheet) trading
33. Wheat cultivation
34. *Imamotil/ Moazzin's* work
35. Cobbling
36. Fish culture
42. Power tiller operating
43. Radio TV repairing
44. Re rolling mill's work
45. Roof thatching
46. Snacks preparing
47. Used plastics collecting/ selling
48. Wood sawing
49. Shallow machine repairing
50. Timber trading
51. Balloon selling
52. Betel nut selling
53. Book stall keeping
54. Brick-kiln's work
55. Bullock cart driving
56. CD shop keeping
57. Date palm tree dressing
58. Date selling
59. Fertilizer spreading/ broadcasting
60. Gambling
61. Gypsy's work
62. Hay stacking
63. Idol making
64. Jute cultivation
65. Latrine selling
66. Lather business
67. Market sweeping
68. Mobile phone shop
69. Net making
70. Onion selling
71. Paddy cultivation
72. Paddy threshing machine operating
73. Paper hawking
74. *Piri* making
75. Plough repairing
76. Porter's work
77. Push cart driving
78. Rice mill's work

- 37. Harrowing field
- 38. Irrigation
- 39. Jute harvesting
- 40. Labouring out side the village

- 79. Trading in pepper
- 80. Turmeric trading
- 81. Umbrella repairing
- 82. Well digging

Out of 81 categories of work, men and boys' involvement reported with high frequency were from 1 to 10, medium frequency from 11 to 25 and 26 to 81 were reported with low frequency. A closer look at the work patterns reveals that most of these are outside works or market based works that are 'economic' oriented works which is socially established as male's work and thus females' involvement is restricted. Besides, some works need technical skill where females' involvement is socially unpracticed and thus limited.

Women and Girls are involved:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Clothes washing | 4. Dish washing |
| 2. Cooking | 5. Coating floor with mud |
| 3. Sweeping | 6. Chicken droppings cleaning |

In above work list 1 to 4 is reported with high frequency as women and girls' work, and 5 and 6 are reported with low frequency. The work patterns reflect the social and cultural phenomenon of female's work which is synonymous with the household chores and where males' involvement is nil.

Boys and Girls are involved:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Studying in school | 2. Attending library/ club |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|

The works reported as involving boys and girls enrolment are responded with low frequency. The work patterns reveal that these are the only works that can disuade child labour.

Only Men are involved:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Serving as BDR/ policeman/ army personnel | 5. Marriage registering |
| 2. Factory work | 6. Quilt making and selling |
| 3. Jute whole selling | 7. Straw selling |
| 4. Land brokering | 8. Ward member's/ chairman's work |

All works (1 to 8) reported as men's work were responded with low frequency. Works like serving as BDR/ policeman/ army personnel, marriage registering, or

ward member's/ chairman's work reported as involving only men give the sense that where there is a question of social high status or power, that is reserved for male folk, though boys are not counted in that.

Only Boys are involved:

1. Bone collecting

The above mentioned work reported as only boys' work was responded with low frequency.

It is revealed from 'Adult vs. Child Work' classification (see appendix -2) that there is hardly any work in both the rural and peri-urban areas that does not involve child labor. In this respect no significant difference was observed between TUP or non-TUP. As if as a natural phenomenon the children are involved in even very risky jobs, such as those of electricians, brick kilns and steel re-rolling mills. From the above classification it is clearly seen that girls are doing the jobs that are traditional and social structure wise done by the adult womenfolk. Similarly, boys are employed in jobs that are socially and traditionally reserved for the adult men folk. In all these cases no age bar has been set or exist in favor of the children. However, children are not seen involved in jobs that canonically or legally require adult age or particular educational qualification (such as *imamati*, match making, begging, chairman/ward member's work, teaching, marriage registering, etc.) even though such children of minor age are not spared from jobs that require excessive/ extreme labor, energy and dexterity.

6.3. Harmful vs. Harmless Works

The TUP and non-TUP boys and girls of Bujaripara and Dangapara expressed their conceptions, perceptions and ideas of harmful professions in such terms as 'too much laborious', 'heavily laborious', 'excessively laborious' duties. According to their perception and explanation the excessively harmful professions are those in which there is:

- **Fear / risk of death:** such as, spraying insecticide in the crop fields where there is risk of death from inhalation of poisonous gas; mason's work where there is risk of death due to fall from roof; operating rice husking machines where slight unmindfulness might bring death by getting entangled with the machine and consequent severing of body; services in police and BDR where there is risk of death from 'Indian firings'; work in the brick kiln where there is risk of death from burning in fire; employments involving electric current where the risk of death is form electric shock.

- **Employments where there is risk of accident, injury or impairment:** such as, harvesting/digging out potatoes in which the nails may get upturned; making bamboo products in which the fingers get bruised and lacerated and bamboo needles get pricked underneath the nails causing wounds; blacksmithy in which the hands and fingers may get mashed while hammering the irons; construction of metalled roads, employment in brick kilns and pottery where the limbs may get burned; carrying of C.I. sheets where hands may get lacerated; tailoring where hands very often get pierced by needles; reaping harvests/crops where accidentally the hands often get cut; driving tractors and tillers, pedaling rickshaws and rickshaw-vans where accidents are rampant and sometimes fatal; the work of mason-helper where there is risk of fracture of the skull from falling bricks due to missing the catch of bricks thrown up from below; husking rice and driving shallow pump machines where there is risk of getting electric shock; making hay stacks where there is risk of having a fall while climbing up with bundles of hay.

- **Causes Health related problem / discomfort and illness:** such as, wheat threshing and rice husking in which granules from wheat and paddy enter into the body through inhalation causing respiratory problems; pottery, blacksmithy, road making, working in brick kilns, making puffed rice, parboiling of paddy, work in steel re-rolling mills- all these produce giddiness due to heat; goldsmithy as it causes defects in the eyes from staring for prolonged periods; pedaling rickshaws and rickshaw vans, metalling roads, harvest reaping, making puffed rice, working in brick kilns, work in steel re-rolling mills, felling trees, earth work, tube-well sinking, ploughing fields with bullocks - in all these professions the body sweats profusely, the hands get blistered and the body gets scorched in heat; operating tractors and power tillers wherein the bowels get topsy-turvy; pedaling rickshaw and rickshaw-van, head carrying bundles of harvest from fields, sowing crops, reaping harvests, digging out potatoes, weeding the crop fields, hawking utensils on foot, operating shallow machines, bamboo works, earth work, pedal husking of rice, carpentry, blacksmithy - in all these the hands and feet, the shoulder, the waist, the back and the whole body get aches and pains, get stiffened and scarred; threshing wheat and husking rice in which dust particles of wheat and paddy are inhaled causing coughs; fisherman's job in which standing long periods in water cause pneumonia; earth work requiring excessive labour and washing extracted jute from macerated plants by standing long time in chilly water cause fever; pedaling rickshaw-van wherein from morning to nightfall one has to work outdoors in sun and rain during summer and winter alike causing intermittent headache and fever.

- **Requires working with hunger, physical and mental abuses:** such as, domestic servant in other's house where unnecessary delay is rendered in taking meals by imposing upon work loads time and time again/in installments; serving as waiter in hotels and restaurants where one is often rebuked for no reason and is even beaten up.
- **Requires long haulage of excessive / heavy loads:** such as, pedaling rickshaw-van where nearly ten maunds (400 kg) of load need be drawn; head carrying reaped jute, paddy, wheat, picked potato and bundles of harvests from the field; head carrying lager chunks of earth for pottery; building construction work where heavy load has to be carried; steel re-rolling mills where heavy rolled steel bars need be pulled; peddling utensils.
- **Excessive effort / energy need be given:** such as, pedaling rickshaw-vans, work in steel re-rolling mills, operating shallow tube-wells and power tillers, blacksmithy, crop (wheat, paddy) threshing and milling (chaffing and husking); pedaling rickshaw-vans, metalling roads, pottery, head carrying of harvest from fields, earth work, working in brick kilns, working in steel re-rolling mills, tube-well sinking.
- **Working period being extremely long / relentless works:** such as, sugar cane cultivation in which labour input is needed for 14 months, employment in garment industries, job of realizing BRAC installments; working as house servant in other's house; employment in hotels and restaurants; Cook's jobs in tea stalls where work period is from 5 a.m. to 12 midnight; serving in other's house; employment as waiter in hotels and restaurants where sufficient time is not given for sleeping.
- **Involves risk of financial loss:** such as, trading in eggs where loss may be incurred from breakage or fall in price; watch repairing where financial loss may occur due to breakage of parts of watches; carpentry where spoilage of work piece due to unmindfulness may bring wide spread loss; goldsmithy where any loss of gold leads to recovery from deduction of wages; tailoring where compensation has to be given for mistakes in cutting the cloth.
- **Poor wages:** such as, tailoring, giving labour in other's house, bamboo works and repair works of bicycles, rickshaws and vans.
- **Obnoxious employments:** such as, cleaning latrines, dismantling leaf tobacco piles.

- **Jobs needing a chain of works for accomplishment:** such as, trading in rice where paddy needs parboiling, drying, husking, winnowing and then it can be sold; working in nurseries where firstly the packets are filled with earth, tend saplings are planted, watered, manured, weeds are uprooted, need regular tending, needs watch against cattle, after all this the plants and flowers find market; construction of metalled roads needing brick laying, preparation of brick bats, laying of brick bats, melting bitumen, mixing bitumen and shingles, spreading them, putting bitumen carpeting and then the road gets ready; work of hut making in which bamboo is cut and caned, the canes are weaved and mats are prepared, the hut is erected with mats, posts are properly driven into the ground and the roof is thatched; the work of a potter wherein the earth need be hauled in from afar, the earth is kneaded, the article is to be made, the prepared article is dried and then burnt in fire and lastly painted.

In the same manner the respondents expressed their perceptions/explications of 'harmless jobs' in such terms as 'less heavy duties', 'less strenuous works', 'easy jobs' etc. According to their perceptions/explications the 'harmless jobs' are those in which:

- **Excessive labor or energy is not required:** such as, grazing cattle; working in nurseries; gathering fire wood; selling vegetables, betel-leaves and fruits; job of a peddler; selling milk and eggs; rearing chickens and cattle; employment as sales person in shops (such as groceries shop); jobs of cobbler, barber, wet sweeper, beggar; gambling; babysitting; remaining engaged in schooling; painting, making bags and ropes from jute; tinsmithy; craft of handyman (repairing umbrellas, lanterns, pails etc); trading in bamboo; preparing and selling cakes; ice cream vending; trading in hair; dealing in polythenes; needle craft; selling fishes; butchery; cultivating vegetables; Imam's job; seed broadcasting-sowing; dealing in mobile phones and CD's.
- **There is liberty of finishing work at will:** such as, chores of own household (e.g. mud coating in floor, sweeping, putting the house in order, washing clothes); making quilts and jute mats; jobs of school teachers, ward members and chairmen etc.
- **There is scope of performing duties in seated position:** such as, making ropes and bags from jute; tailoring; making brooms; salesmanship in shops; needle craft; employment in mobile phone and CD shops etc.

- **Duties can be performed under the shade;** such as, hair cutting at barber's, working as cobbler; making brooms; working as salesman in a shop, tailoring; painting craft; making bags and ropes; tinsmith; needle craft; working in mobile phone and CD shops etc.
- **Takes little time and gets finished quickly;** such as, Imam's job; job of school teachers; household activities etc.
- **No energy or toiling is needed;** such as, grazing cattle; real estate brokerage and selling; the duties of ward members and chairmen; profession of doctors and *kabirajs*; domestic chores; match-maker's job; profession of school teacher; job of a priest etc.

Most of the concepts and explications both the TUP and non-TUP boys and the girls of Dangapara and Bujaripara; i.e., of both rural and peri-urban locations regarding harmful and harmless jobs are alike or similar. However, their ideas in respect of a few jobs are observed to be of opposite or dissimilar manners. For example,

The girl respondent (both TUP and non-TUP) described as easy, less strenuous, i.e., harmless the works that have little or no involvement of girls. Some examples are: ploughing with bullocks which, according to them, is accomplished by merely having the hand on the plough as it is the bullocks that give the draught energy; catching fishes with net, as, according to them, when the net is threw the fishes get into the net, while no energy or labour is required to pull it to ashore; reaping the harvest, which according to them, does not need any energy at all. However, almost all the boy respondents opined these activities as difficult or harmful works.

In similar way, many of the boy respondents classified as very easy or not hard, i.e., harmless, the works that have little or no involvement of boys even though the girl respondents opined those activities as difficult/ strenuous. The examples are: making puffed rice that is accomplished in household while idling in a seated position. But the girl respondents expressed that in this job dizziness arises from heat of fire, blisters occur, bangles burst out and backsides of the body become stiff.

Again, through most of the respondents associated with some activities described the particular work as easy, less strenuous or harmless, yet some of them held the same job as difficult, tiresome or harmful. For example, a small section of those employed in cooking opined the work as difficult because the heat from fire gives dizziness; one gets blisters while cooking and smokes causes eye irritation. To another small group, schooling is a difficult thing because it requires brain and one has to tolerate beatings of teachers.

Besides, from the point of view of the experience of a locality, the locality-wise respondents hold opposite views regarding certain works/ professions. For example, the respondents of Bujaripara held the view that begging was a harmless job, while those of Bangapara considered it as a very risky or harmful profession. This is because in Dangapara area it is generally the old people that go for begging and this is why the respondents of the locality consider it harmful as feeble vision of these beggars often cause fall from slipping or stumbling resulting in fracture of limbs (see appendix -3).

According to the children following works have been classified into various levels of harmful and harmless categories:

The following are the most harmful works as per rating and ranking done by the boys and girls:

1. Carpentry
2. Rickshaw van driving
3. Earth work
4. Masons' work
5. *Rickshwa* driving
6. Blacksmith's work
7. Wood felling and chopping
8. Wheat harvesting
9. Working at other's house
10. Butcher's work
11. Driving tractor
12. Paddy parboiling
13. Paddy trading/ whole selling
14. Pesticide spraying
15. Pottery
16. Electric work
17. Floor casting
18. Goldsmith's work
19. Potato plucking
20. Road constructing/carpeting work
21. Rod-binder's work
22. Serving as BDR/ policeman/ army person
23. Sugarcane plantation /cultivation
24. Wheat cultivation
25. Crockery hawking
26. Jute harvesting
27. Re- rolling mill's work
28. Roof thatching
29. Brick-kiln's work
30. Chicken droppings cleaning
31. *Ghani* oil preparing and selling
32. Jute cultivation
33. Jute whole selling
34. Tea stall running

From the above most harmful or hazardous works list, it was seen that only two types of work - armed (BDR/policeman/army) personnel's service and jute whole selling - did not involve child labour, that is, out of 34 categories of most harmful and hazardous works 32 were accomplished by involving children's participation. Besides, out of the above 34 types of most harmful/hazardous works list, it was revealed that (according to the respondents) 20 types involved only the male folk (men & boys) and among the rest, only one type of work (chicken droppings cleaning) did not involve men's participation and was accomplished by women folk only. Further investigation revealed that this particular work 'chicken droppings

cleaning' was mentioned as 'the most harmful or hazardous work' by the girl respondents (according as their perception/conception) who are particularly involved in the work. Therefore, it might not be a harmful or hazardous work from the boys' point of view which as well might represent men folk's (who partially/apparently represent the community) view point who also are not involved in that particular work.

The following are the medium harmful works as per rating and ranking done by the boys and girls:

1. Bamboo products making /selling
2. Ploughing
3. Tailoring
4. Fishing
5. Paddy harvesting
6. Weeding
7. Cycle/motor cycle/rickshaw van repairing
8. Paddy seedlings transplanting
9. Paddy threshing /husking
10. Shallow machine operating
11. Tube-well boring
12. House building mistry
13. Potato cultivation
14. Waiters' work
15. Watch selling/repairing
16. Cloth hawking
17. Potato whole selling
18. Pottery
19. Puffed rice preparing
20. Puffed rice selling /hawking
21. Broken goods buying and selling
22. Begging
23. Cake (*pitha*) selling
24. Fish culture
25. Flour grinding /selling
26. Garment's work
27. Harrowing field
28. Irrigation
29. Jute washing
30. Labor outside the village
31. Milking
32. Paddy drying
33. Power tiller operating /repairing
34. Radio-TV repairing
35. Snacks preparing
36. Timber trading
37. Wood sawing
38. Bullock cart driving
39. Date palm tree dressing
40. Hay stacking
41. Net making
42. Onion selling
43. Paddy threshing machine operating
44. Paper hawking
45. Puffed rice ball making and selling
46. Rice mill's work
47. Straw selling
48. Tobacco cultivating

From the above harmful or hazardous works list, it was revealed that only one type of work - 'garments work'- did not involve child labour, and out of 48 categories of works, 47 harmful and hazardous works had the involvement of children's participation.

The following are the less harmful works as per rating and ranking done by the boys and girls:

1. Working at nursery (plantation/ nurturing/flower-plant selling)
2. Chicken rearing
3. Clothes washing
4. Cooking
5. Egg trading/ selling
6. Grocery shop keeping /trading
7. Hawking (cosmetics)
8. Sweeping
9. BRAC employment
10. Cattle business/brokerage
11. Chicken trading/ whole selling
12. Cloth whole selling/ trading/ selling
13. Dish washing
14. Fruits trading /selling
15. Hair cutting
16. Vegetable growing
17. Vegetable trading /selling
18. Bamboo trading /whole selling
19. Fish selling
20. Practicing as doctor/ *kabiraj*
21. Rice trading /whole selling
22. Seeds broadcasting/ sowing
23. Betel leaf-nut shop keeping/selling
24. Broom making/selling/ hawking
25. Fire wood collecting/selling
26. Grass collecting
27. Ice-cream hawking
28. Jute products making and selling
29. Shoe shop keeping/ selling
30. Studying in school
31. Teaching at school
32. Tinsmith's work
34. Green grocery
35. Hessian making and selling
36. *Imamati/ Moazzin's* work
37. Latrine cleaning
38. Milk selling
39. Painter's work
40. Peanut selling
41. Tin (C.I. sheet) trading
42. Babysitting
43. Begging
44. Cake (*pitha*) selling
45. Coating floor with mud
46. Cobbling
47. Match making
48. Sewing / embroidering
49. Shallow machine repairing
50. Used plastics Collecting/selling
51. Attending library/club
52. CD shop keeping
53. Chicken droppings cleaning
54. Date palm tree dressing
55. Date selling
56. Drain repairing
57. Factory work
58. Fertilizer spreading
59. Gambling
60. *Ghani* oil preparing and selling
61. Gypsy's work
62. Hair trading
63. Real estate brokerage
64. Market sweeping
65. Marriage registering
66. Mobile phone shop keeping
67. Pepper trading
68. Plough repairing
69. Priest's work
70. Turmeric trading
71. Umbrella repairing
72. Ward member's /chainman's work
73. Well digging

From the above works list it can be seen that all the works (according to the respondents) involving only the women folk (girls and women) are considered/demonstrated as less harmful or less hazardous.

The above classification of various works into harmful and harmless categories has been depicted as per assertions of the respondents (also see appendix -3).

7. Conclusion

The study focused on the extreme poor household to explore the child labour condition. This is the first study of its kind taken up by BRAC. Though there are studies focused on child labour, yet those were not particularly targeted to the extreme poor households. In this respect this may be considered as a novel attempt.

Since it was a children's participatory research, group consultation was found much effective than the individual contact. Children were found more spontaneous and outspoken in group discussion while one-to-one consultation required long time to even stimulate children to talk. Besides, individual consultation was found much time consuming and therefore not much pragmatic.

The study shows that there is no significant difference in children's work pattern between rural and peri-urban areas as well as TUP and non-TUP children; and almost all of the works in the areas involve child labour, that is, there is hardly any work that does not involve child labor. Moreover, traditionally and social structure wise, without any sort of age restriction, girls do the works that are done by the adult womenfolk and similarly boys are employed in jobs that are reserved for the adult men folk. 166 categories of works were enlisted as the combined total works of rural and peri-urban areas, among which only 16 were separated out as adult works. Further investigation revealed that these were legally or socially established as adult works, and thus excluded children's involvement. It could be noted that whatever be the true nature, the works that did not have men folk's involvement and involved only the women folk were considered as less harmful or less hazardous. In addition, it is interesting to note that all the works assigned exclusively for women were not associated with any kind of power structure or authority and that all works reported as involving only men give the sense that social high status or power was reserved for adult males only. Moreover, in identifying the easy and less strenuous or harmless works the respondents got divided into two distinct groups i.e. boys and girls and one group described the exclusive works of the other to fall in this category. The respondents have identified only two works, namely, domestic hands in other's house and waiter's job in hotels and restaurants that are

associated with physical and mental abuse and torture, even though there are many works that need hard labour and great strain. Their this observation is not far from being realistic as the headlines in the newspapers so often suggest. It may be mentioned that these two works are most common in the rural, semi-urban and urban areas of Bangladesh. Similar observation was made by Delap in his study too. To quote, 'Child domestic workers are vulnerable to verbal, physical and sexual abuse by their employers and other household members (this is particularly the case for girls).'

It was exposed from the study that the children in the study area were involved in various hazardous/harmful works and they were treated in work force the same way as adults. In this report it was found that out of 166 types of works, 82 types were unanimously harmful/hazardous (among which 34 types were extremely hazardous or harmful) and almost all the works had the involvement of children for accomplishment (only 3 types did not involve child labour). However, among the remaining, 73, were described as less harmful/hazardous works which did not ensure the works' pattern/nature as free from being harmful or hazardous and only 11 types were identified as harmless. For comparison it may be seen that Rahman, W. in 'Rapid Assessment of Child Labour Situation in Bangladesh' (1996), has reported over three hundred types of economic activities undertaken by children, forty-seven of which were deemed to be highly hazardous. Razzak, S. M. in 'State of Child Labour in Bangladesh' (1st Draft) (2001), lists 425 occupations undertaken by children, 67 of which he highlights as hazardous.

This study will pave the way to highlight the shortcomings in understanding the phenomenon of child labor and to accomplish a comprehensive knowledge and understanding regarding working children of TUP households. This study will also enable future studies to be undertaken on working children capitalizing on the understanding of child labour phenomenon of the extreme poor households. It could be concluded that almost all the works found in both the rural and peri-urban areas involved child-labor and further study could be made to shed light on possible way outs to improve the quality of lives of these children.

Annexes -1:

The respondents (TUP and Non-TUP boys and girls of both rural and peri-urban areas) identified the following works as performed by the different categories of people of their respective localities (The table below shows in order the most to the least frequently mentioned works):

Sl.	Types of works	Rural site - Dangapara (Syadpur)				Peri-urban site - Bujaripara (Domar)				Total Frequency
		TUP Children		Non-TUP Children				TUP Children		
		Boys	Girls	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	
1	Bamboo products making /selling	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
2	Carpentry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
3	Ploughing	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
4	Tailoring	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
5	Rickshaw van driving	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
6	Working at nursery (plantation/nurturing/flower-plant selling)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
7	Chicken rearing	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
8	Clothes washing	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	7
9	Cooking	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
10	Earth work	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
11	Egg trading/selling	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	7
12	Fishing	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
13	Grocery shop keeping /trading	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	7
14	Hawking (cosmetics)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		7
15	Masons' work	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	7
16	Paddy harvesting	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	7
17	Paddy seedlings transplanting	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
18	Rickshwa driving	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	7
19	Sweeping	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	7
20	Weeding	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	7
21	Blacksmith's work		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	6
22	BRAC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		6

	employment									
23	Cattle business/brokerage	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	6
24	Cattle rearing	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	6
25	Chicken trading/whole selling	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	6
26	Cloth whole selling/ trading/ selling		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	6
27	Cycle/motor cycle/rickshaw van repairing	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	6
28	Dish washing	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	6
29	Fruits trading /selling			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	6
30	Hair cutting	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	6
31	Paddy threshing /husking	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	6
32	Shallow machine operating		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	6
33	Tube-well boring	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	6
34	Vegetable growing		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	6
35	Vegetable trading /selling	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		6
36	Bamboo trading /whole selling	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	5
37	Fish selling		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	5
38	House building mistry		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		5
39	Potato cultivation	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	5
40	Pottery	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	5
41	Practicing as doctor/ kabiraj	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	5
42	Puffed rice preparing	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	5
43	Rice trading /whole selling			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	5
44	Seeds broadcasting/ sowing			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	5
45	Waiters' work	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	5
46	Watch selling/repairing			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	5

47	Wheat harvesting		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	5
48	Working at other's house			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	5
49	Betel leaf-nut shop keeping/selling			✓	✓			✓	✓	4
50	Broom making/selling/hawking			✓	✓	✓		✓		4
51	Butcher's work	✓			✓			✓	✓	4
52	Cloth hawking		✓	✓			✓		✓	4
53	Driving tractor		✓		✓	✓			✓	4
54	Fire wood collecting/selling			✓			✓	✓	✓	4
55	Grass collecting		✓		✓			✓	✓	4
56	Green grocery	✓	✓			✓			✓	4
57	Ice-cream hawking	✓				✓	✓	✓		4
58	Jute products making and selling	✓		✓		✓		✓		4
59	Paddy parboiling			✓	✓		✓	✓		4
60	Paddy trading/whole selling	✓		✓		✓		✓		4
61	Pesticide spraying	✓			✓	✓			✓	4
62	Potato whole selling	✓		✓			✓		✓	4
63	Puffed rice selling/hawking	✓		✓			✓	✓		4
64	Shoe shop keeping/ selling	✓	✓					✓	✓	4
65	Studying in school		✓	✓	✓		✓			4
66	Teaching at school	✓		✓	✓	✓				4
67	Tinsmith's work	✓				✓		✓	✓	4
68	Wood felling and chopping	✓	✓		✓			✓		4
69	Broken goods buying and selling	✓	✓		✓					3
70	Electric work				✓			✓	✓	3
71	Floor casting						✓	✓	✓	3
72	Goldsmith's work					✓		✓	✓	3

73	Hessian making and selling			✓				✓	✓	3
74	Imamati/ Moazzin's work	✓	✓		✓					3
75	Latrine cleaning	✓		✓		✓				3
76	Milk selling	✓		✓	✓					3
77	Painter's work	✓			✓				✓	3
78	Peanut selling		✓					✓	✓	3
79	Potato plucking		✓			✓	✓			3
80	Road constructing/ carpeting work		✓	✓					✓	3
81	Rod-binder's work				✓			✓	✓	3
82	Serving as BDR/ policeman/ army personnel		✓		✓	✓				3
83	Sugarcane plantation	✓		✓		✓				3
84	Tin (C.I. sheet) trading						✓	✓	✓	3
85	Wheat cultivation	✓	✓						✓	3
86	Babysitting		✓	✓						2
87	Begging			✓		✓				2
88	Cake (pitha) selling	✓	✓							2
89	Coating floor with mud				✓			✓		2
90	Cobbling					✓			✓	2
91	Crockery hawking	✓			✓					2
92	Fish culture		✓						✓	2
93	Flour grinding /selling					✓			✓	2
94	Garment's work			✓		✓				2
95	Harrowing field						✓		✓	2
96	Irrigation				✓				✓	2
97	Jute harvesting	✓	✓							2
98	Jute washing	✓				✓				2
99	Labor outside the village			✓		✓				2
100	Match making				✓	✓				2
101	Milking				✓				✓	2
102	Paddy drying			✓			✓			2
103	Power tiller	✓			✓					2

	operating							✓	✓	2
104	Radio-TV repairing							✓	✓	2
105	Re-rolling mill's work	✓			✓					2
106	Roof thatching	✓			✓					2
107	Sewing / embroidering				✓			✓		2
108	Shallow machine repairing						✓	✓		2
109	Snacks preparing				✓			✓		2
110	Timber trading				✓				✓	2
111	Used plastics Collecting/selling	✓							✓	2
112	Wood sawing						✓		✓	2
113	Attending library/club		✓							1
114	Balloon selling								✓	1
115	Betel nut selling			✓						1
116	Betel-nut tree gardening								✓	1
117	Bone collecting								✓	1
118	Book stall keeping								✓	1
119	Brick breaking								✓	1
120	Brick-kiln's work	✓								1
121	Bullock cart driving							✓		1
122	CD shop keeping				✓					1
123	Chicken shit cleaning		✓							1
124	Date palm tree dressing	✓								1
125	Date selling	✓								1
126	Drain repairing								✓	1
127	Factory work				✓					1
128	Fertilizer spreading								✓	1
129	Gambling				✓					1
130	Ghani oil preparing and selling						✓			1
131	Gypsy's work								✓	1
132	Hair trading	✓								1
133	Hay stacking	✓								1

134	Idol making							✓	1
135	Jute cultivation					✓			1
136	Jute whole selling							✓	1
137	Land brokering			✓					1
138	Latrine selling			✓					1
139	Leather business							✓	1
140	Market sweeping					✓			1
141	Marriage registering					✓			1
142	Mobile phone shop keeping				✓				1
143	Net making					✓			1
144	Onion selling			✓					1
145	Opera party/playing							✓	1
146	Paddy cultivation							✓	1
147	Paddy threshing machine operating					✓			1
148	Paper hawking						✓		1
149	Peanut plucking						✓		1
150	Pepper trading							✓	1
151	Piri making							✓	1
152	Plough repairing	✓							1
153	Porter's work							✓	1
154	Puffed rice ball making and selling						✓		1
155	Push cart driving							✓	1
156	Quilt making and selling			✓					1
157	Rice mill's work			✓					1
158	Straw selling						✓		1
159	Tea stall running		✓						1
160	Tobacco cultivating					✓			1
161	Turmeric trading							✓	1
162	Tutoring							✓	1
163	Umbrella repairing					✓			1
164	Ward member's /chainman's work					✓			1
165	Well digging					✓			1
166	Wheat threshing							✓	1

Annexes -2:

Following is the list of works performed by different categories of work-force as reported by the TUP and Non-TUP boys and girls of both rural and peri-urban areas:

*M - Men

*W - Women

*B - Boys

*G - Girls

Sl.	Types of works	Rural site - Dangapara (Syadpur)				Peri-urban site - Bujaripara (Domar)			
		TUP Children		Non-TUP Children		TUP Children		Non-TUP Children	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	Bamboo products making /selling	M/W /B	M/B	M/W /B	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/B	M/W /B/G
2	Carpentry	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B
3	Ploughing	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B
4	Tailoring	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G
5	Rickshaw van driving	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B
6	Working at nursery (plantation/nurturing/flower-plant selling)	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G
7	Chicken rearing	W/G	W/G	M/W /B/G		W/G	M/W /B/G	W/G	M/W /B/G
8	Clothes washing	W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G	
9	Cooking	W/G	W/G	W/G		W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G
10	Earth work	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W /B		M/W /B	M/B	M/B	M/W /B
11	Egg trading/selling	M/B		M/B	M/W /B	M/B	M/W /B	M/B	M/W
12	Fishing	M/B	M/B	M/W /B/G		M/B	M/B	M/W /B	M/B
13	Grocery shop keeping /trading	M/B	M/W /B/G	M/W /B	M/B		M/B	M/B	B/G
14	Hawking (cosmetics)	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/B	M/W /B/G		M/W /B
15	Masons' work	M/B	M/B	M/W /B	M/B	M	M/B	M/B	
16	Paddy harvesting	M/B	M/B		M/W /B	M/B	M/W /B/G	M/W /B	M/W /B/G
17	Paddy seedlings	M/W	M/B	M/W		M/B	M/W	M/W	M/B

	transplanting	/B/G		/B/G			/B	/B	
18	Rickshwa driving	M/B	M/B		M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B
19	Sweeping	W/G	W/G	W/G		W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G
20	Weeding	M/W /B/G	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G		M/W /B	
21	Blacksmith's work		M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B		M/B	M/B
22	BRAC employment	M/ W	M/ W	M/W	M/W		M/W		M/W
23	Cattle business/brokerage	M/B			M	M	M	M/B	M/B
24	Cattle rearing	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G			M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/B/ G
25	Chicken trading/ whole selling	M/W /B			M/W /B	M/B	M/W /B	M/B	M/W
26	Cloth whole selling/ trading/ selling		M/W /B	M/W /B		M	M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W
27	Cycle/motor cycle/ rickshaw van repairing	M/B		M/B		M	M/B	M/B	M/B
28	Dish washing	W/G	W/G	W/G	W/G		W/G	W/G	
29	Fruits trading /selling			M/B	M/B	M	M/B	M/B	M/B
30	Hair cutting	M/B	M/B	M/B			M/B	M/B	M/B
31	Paddy threshing /husking	M/W /B	M/W /B			M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B	M/W /B/G
32	Shallow machine operating		M/B		M/B	M	M/B	M/B	M/B
33	Tube-well boring	M/B		M/B	M	M	M/B	M/B	
34	Vegetable growing		M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G
35	Vegetable trading /selling	M/B		M/B	M/B	M/W /B/G	M/W /B		M/B
36	Bamboo trading /whole selling	M/B				M	M/B	M/B	M
37	Fish selling		M/B			M/B	M/B	M/B	M/B
38	House building mistry		M/B		M/B	M	M/B		M/B
39	Potato cultivation	M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G	
40	Pottery	M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G	M/B		M/W /B/G	M/B	
41	Practicing as doctor/ kabiraj	M/W		M/W	M/W		M/W	M	

42	Puffed rice preparing	W/G				M/W	W	W/G	W/G
43	Rice trading /whole selling				M	M	M/W /B	M/B	M/B
44	Seeds broadcasting/ sowing			M/W /B/G	M/B		M/B	M/B	M/W /B/G
45	Waiters' work	M/B		M/B		B	M/B	M/B	
46	Watch selling/repairing			M/B		M	M/B	M/B	M/B
47	Wheat harvesting		M/W /B	M/W /B	M/W /B		M/W /B/G	B/M/ W	
48	Working at other's house			M/W /B/G	M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G	W/B/ G	M/W /B/G
49	Betel leaf-nut shop keeping/selling			M/W /B/G			M/B	M/B	M/W /B/G
50	Broom making/selling/ hawking			M/W /B/G	M/W /B		M/B		M
51	Butcher's work	M/B		M/B			M/B	M/B	
52	Cloth hawking		M/W /B			M/W		M/W /B	M/W
53	Driving tractor		M/B	M/B	M/B			M/B	
54	Fire wood collecting/selling					M/W /B/G	M/B	W/B/ G	M/W /B/G
55	Grass collecting		M/W /B	M/W /B/G			M/W /B/G	B/G	
56	Green grocery	M/B	M/B		M/B			M/B	
57	Ice-cream hawking	M/B			M/B	M/B	M/B		
58	Jute products making and selling	M/W /B			M/W /B		M/W /B/G		M/W /G
59	Paddy parboiling			M/W /B/G		M/W /B/G	W/G		W/G
60	Paddy trading/ whole selling	M			M/B		M		M
61	Pesticide spraying	M/B		M/B	M/B			M/B	
62	Potato whole selling	M/B				M		M/B	M/B
63	Puffed rice selling /hawking	M/B				M	M/W /B		M/W /B/G
64	Shoe shop keeping/ selling	M/B	M/B				M/B	M/B	
65	Studying in		B/G	B/G		B/G			B/G

	school								
66	Teaching at school	M/W		M/W	M/W				M/W
67	Tinsmith's work	M/B			M/B		M/B	M/B	
68	Wood felling and chopping	M/B	M/B	M/B			M/B		
69	Broken goods buying and selling	M/B	M/B	M/B					
70	Electric work			M/B			M/B	M/B	
71	Floor casting					M/W/B	M	M/W/B	
72	Goldsmith's work				M/B		M/B	M/B	
73	Hessian making and selling						M/W/B/G	M/W/B	M/B
74	Imamati/Moazzin's work	M	M	M/B					
75	Latrine cleaning	M/W			M				M/W
76	Milk selling	M/W/B		M/W/B					M/W/B/G
77	Painter's work	M/B		M/B				M/B	
78	Peanut selling		M/B				M/B	M/B	
79	Potato plucking		M/W/B/G		M/W/B/G	M/W/B/G			
80	Road constructing/carpentering work		M/W/B					M/W/B	M/W/B
81	Rod-binder's work			M/B			M/B	M/B	
82	Serving as BDR/policeman/ army personnel		M	M	M				
83	Sugarcane plantation	M/B			M/W/B/G				M/W/B/G
84	Tin (C.I. sheet) trading					M/B	M/B	M/B	
85	Wheat cultivation	M/B	M/B					M/B	
86	Babysitting		W						M/W/B/G
87	Begging				M/W				M/W
88	Cake (pitha) selling	M/W/B	M/W						
89	Coating floor with mud			W/G			W/G		

90	Cobbling				M/B			M/B	
91	Crockery hawking	M/B		M/W /B					
92	Fish culture		M/B					M/B	
93	Flour grinding /selling				M/W /B			M/W /B/G	
94	Garment's work				M/W				M/W
95	Harrowing field					M/B		M/B	
96	Irrigation			M/B				M/B	
97	Jute harvesting	M/B	M/B						
98	Jute washing	M/W /B/G			M/W /B/G				
99	Labor outside the village				M/B				M/B
100	Match making			M/W	M				
101	Milking			M/W /B				M/W	
102	Paddy drying					M/W /B/G			W/G
103	Power tiller operating	M/B		M/B					
104	Radio-TV repairing						M/B	M/B	
105	Re rolling mill's work	M/B		M/B					
106	Roof thatching	M/B		M/B					
107	Sewing / embroidering			W/B/G			W/G		
108	Shallow machine repairing					M	M/B		
109	Snacks preparing			M/B			M/B		
110	Timber trading			M				M/B	
111	Used plastics Collecting/selling	M/B						M/B	
112	Wood sawing					M/B		M/B	
113	Attending library/club		B/G						
114	Balloon selling							M/B	
115	Betel nut selling								M/B
116	Betel-nut tree gardening							M/W /B	
117	Bone collecting							B	
118	Book stall keeping							M/B	

119	Brick breaking							M/W /B	
120	Brick-kiln's work	M/B							
121	Bullock cart driving						M/B		
122	CD shop keeping			M/B					
123	Chicken shit cleaning		W/G						
124	Date palm tree dressing	M/B							
125	Date selling	M/B							
126	Drain repairing							M/W /B	
127	Factory work			M					
128	Fertilizer spreading							M/B	
129	Gambling			M/B					
130	Ghani oil preparing and selling					M/W /B/G			
131	Gypsy's work							M/B	
132	Hair trading	M/W							
133	Hay stacking	M/B							
134	Idol making							M/B	
135	Jute cultivation				M/B				
136	Jute whole selling						M		
137	Land brokering								M
138	Latrine selling								M/B
139	Leather business							M/B	
140	Market sweeping				M/B				
141	Marriage registering				M				
142	Mobile phone shop keeping			M/B					
143	Net making				M/B				
144	Onion selling								M/B
145	Opera party /playing							M/W /B	
146	Paddy cultivation							M/B	
147	Paddy threshing machine operating				M/B				
148	Paper hawking					M/B			
149	Peanut plucking					M/W /B/G			

150	Piri making							M/B	
151	Plough repairing	M/B							
152	Porter's work						M/B		
153	Puffed rice ball making and selling					M/W /B/G			
154	Push cart driving						M/B		
155	Quilt making and selling								M
156	Rice mill's work								M/B
157	Straw selling					M			
158	Tea stall running		M/W /B						
159	Tobacco cultivating				M/W /B				
160	Trading in pepper						M/B		
161	Turmeric trading						M/B		
162	Tutoring							M/W /B/G	
163	Umbrella repairing				M/B				
164	Ward member's /chainman's work				M				
165	Well digging				M/B				
166	Wheat threshing							M/W /B	

Annexes -3:

Following is the list of works reported as various levels of harmful and harmless categories by the TUP and Non-TUP boys and girls of both rural and peri-urban areas:

* 1 - The Most Harmful work

* 3 - Less Harmful work

* 2 - Median Harmful work

* 4 - Harmless work

Sl.	Types of works	Rural site - Dangapara (Syadpur)				Peri-urban site - Bujaripara (Domar)			
		TUP Children		Non-TUP Children		TUP Children		Non-TUP Children	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	Bamboo products making /selling	2		2	1	2	1		2
2	Carpentry	2	1	1	3	1	1		1
3	Ploughing	2	1	2	1	2	1		4
4	Tailoring	3	1	2	3	1	2		2
5	Rickshaw van driving	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
6	Working at nursery (plantation/nurturing/flower-plant selling)	3	4		4	2	2		2
7	Chicken rearing	3	1	4		3	4		4
8	Clothes washing	3	1	2	3	2	4		4
9	Cooking	3	2	2	3	2	4		2
10	Earth work	1	1	1		1	1		1
11	Egg trading/selling	3		2		3	4		4
12	Fishing	2	2		2	1	1		4
13	Grocery shop keeping /trading		4	4			4		4
14	Hawking (cosmetics)	3	2	2	2	2	4		2
15	Masons' work	1	2	1	1	1			
16	Paddy harvesting	2	1		2	1	2		4
17	Paddy seedlings transplanting		2	2		2	1		4
18	Rickshwa driving	2	1		1	1	1		1
19	Sweeping	3	4		3	3	4		4
20	Weeding	2	2	2		2	2		
21	Blacksmith's work		1	1	1	1			1
22	BRAC employment	2	2		2		4		

23	Cattle business/brokerage	3			4	2	4		4
24	Cattle rearing	2	2	2		2	1		4
25	Chicken trading/ whole selling	3			4	3	4		4
26	Cloth whole selling/ trading/ selling					2	4		
27	Cycle/motor cycle/rickshaw van repairing	2		2		1	2		2
28	Dish washing	3	4	4	3	2	4		4
29	Fruits trading /selling			2		2	4		4
30	Hair cutting	3	4	2			4		4
31	Paddy threshing /husking	2	1			2	2		2
32	Shallow machine operating		1		1	2	2		2
33	Tube-well boring	2		2	2	2	2		
34	Vegetable growing		4		2	3	4		4
35	Vegetable trading /selling	3		2		2	4		4
36	Bamboo trading /whole selling	3				2	4		
37	Fish selling					1	4		4
38	House building mistry		2		2	2	1		2
39	Potato cultivation	2			2				
40	Pottery	1		1	2		1		
41	Practicing as doctor/ kabiraj	3		4	4		4		
42	Puffed rice preparing	3				2	1		2
43	Rice trading /whole selling					2	4		2
44	Seeds broadcasting/ sowing			4			4		4
45	Waiters' work	1		2		2	2		
46	Watch selling/repairing			2		2	2		2
47	Wheat harvesting		1	1	2		1		
48	Working at other's house			1	1		1		2

49	Betel leaf-nut shop keeping/selling			4			4		4
50	Broom making/selling/hawking			4	4		4		4
51	Butcher's work	2		1			2		
52	Cloth hawking		2			2			
53	Driving tractor	1	2	1					
54	Fire wood collecting/selling					2			4
55	Grass collecting						4		
56	Green grocery	3	1		3				
57	Ice-cream hawking	3				2	4		
58	Jute products making and selling	3			4				
59	Paddy parboiling					2	1		
60	Paddy trading/whole selling	1		1	1		4		1
61	Pesticide spraying	1		1	1				
62	Potato whole selling	3				1			1
63	Puffed rice selling/hawking	3				1	1		2
64	Shoe shop keeping/selling		4				4		
65	Studying in school	2	4	2		3			4
66	Teaching at school	3		4	4				
67	Tinsmith's work	3			3		2		
68	Wood felling and chopping	2	1	1			2		
69	Broken goods buying and selling	2	2	2					
70	Electric work			1			1		
71	Floor casting					1	1		
72	Goldsmith's work				1		1		
73	Hessian making and selling						2		4
74	Imamati/Moazzin's work	3	4	4					
75	Latrine cleaning	2			1				4
76	Milk selling	3		2					4
77	Painter's work	3		4					
78	Peanut selling		2				4		
79	Potato plucking		2			1			
80	Road		1						1

	constructing/carpeting work								
81	Rod-binder's work			1			1		
82	Serving as BDR/policeman/ army personnel			2	1				
83	Sugarcane plantation /cultivation	2			1				
84	Tin (C.I. sheet) trading					1	4		
85	Wheat cultivation	1							
86	Babysitting								4
87	Begging								4
88	Cake (pitha) selling	3	1						
89	Coating floor with mud			4			4		
90	Cobbling				4				2
91	Crockery hawking	1		2					
92	Fish culture		2						
93	Flour grinding /selling				2				
94	Garment's work				2				2
95	Harrowing field					2			
96	Irrigation			2					
97	Jute harvesting	1	1						
98	Jute washing	2							
99	Labor outside the village				2				2
100	Match making			2	4				
101	Milking		2						
102	Paddy drying					2			
103	Power tiller operating /repairing	2							
104	Radio-TV repairing						2		
105	Re-rolling mill's work	2		1					2
106	Roof thatching	2		1					
107	Sewing / embroidering			4			4		
108	Shallow machine repairing					1	4		

109	Snacks preparing			2		1	2		
110	Timber trading			2					
111	Used plastics Collecting/selling	3							
112	Wood sawing					2			
113	Attending library/club		4						
114	Balloon selling								
115	Betel nut selling								
116	Betel-nut tree gardening								
117	Bone collecting								
118	Book stall keeping								
119	Brick breaking								
120	Brick-kiln's work	1							
121	Bullock cart driving					2			
122	CD shop keeping			4					
123	Chicken droppings cleaning		1						
124	Date palm tree dressing	2							
125	Date selling	3							
126	Drain repairing								
127	Factory work								
128	Fertilizer spreading								
129	Gambling			4					
130	Ghani oil preparing and selling					1			
131	Gypsy's work								
132	Hair trading	3							
133	Hay stacking	2							
134	Idol making								
135	Jute cultivation					1			
136	Jute whole selling						4		
137	Real estate brokerage								4
138	Latrine selling								
139	Leather business								
140	Market sweeping					4			
141	Marriage registering					4			
142	Mobile phone shop			4					

	keeping								
143	Net making				2				
144	Onion selling								2
145	Opera party/playing								
146	Paddy cultivation								
147	Paddy threshing machine operating				2				
148	Paper hawking					2			
149	Peanut plucking								
150	Pepper trading						4		
151	Piri making								
152	Plough repairing	3							
153	Porter's work						1		
154	Puffed rice ball making and selling					2			
155	Push cart driving								
156	Quilt making and selling								
157	Rice mill's work						2		
158	Straw selling					2			
159	Tea stall running		1						
160	Tobacco cultivating				2				
161	Turmeric trading						4		
162	Tutoring								
163	Umbrella repairing				3				
164	Ward member's /chainman's work				4				
165	Well digging				3				
166	Wheat threshing								

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