

CHILD LABOUR ON SUGAR CANE PLANTATIONS IN BOLIVIA

A WORST FORM OF CHILD LABOUR



LAURA BAAS

January 2009

A study from the IREWOC Project
“Rural Child Labour in Andean Countries”



Project Supervisor: Professor Kristoffel Lieten

Project Coordinator: Marten van den Berge

Text Editor: Sonja Zweegers

Photos: Laura Baas

ISBN: 978-90-79078-20-2

This project was made possible by

Plan Netherlands and The Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment



Copyright: IREWOC 2009

IREWOC, Cruquiusweg 68-70, 1019 AH Amsterdam, The Netherlands

info@irewoc.nl; www.irewoc.nl

IREWOC, the Amsterdam-based Foundation for International Research on Working Children intends to generate more theoretically informed research on various aspects of child labour and child rights, as well as to raise awareness and to motivate action around this complex issue (www.irewoc.nl; info@irewoc.nl). IREWOC is associated with the University of Amsterdam, with the International Institute of Social History and it has a strategic alliance with Plan Netherlands.

Table of Contents

Glossary	ii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Context	3
2.1 Bolivia’s sugar cane harvest.....	3
2.2 The economics of the sugar cane sector	5
2.3 Description of the harvester camps.....	7
Chapter 3: Child Labour in Bolivia’s Sugar Cane Sector	14
3.1 Children working in the harvest	14
3.2 Conclusion - Worst form of child labour.....	25
Chapter 4: Interventions to Eradicate Child Labour from the Sugar Cane Sector	27
4.1 Santa Cruz	27
4.2 BERMEJO	31
4.3 Conclusion - effectiveness of interventions.....	35
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	37
5.1 Child labour in the sugar cane harvest: a worst form	37
5.2 Interventions	38
5.3 Recommendations for future interventions.....	40
Bibliography	42

Glossary

MoL	Ministry of Labour
CCA	Code for Children and Adolescents
ILO	International Labour Organisation
CEPTI	Commission for Progressive Eradication of Child Labour
PETIZ	Project for the Eradication of Child Labour in the Sugar Cane Harvest
USDOL	United States Department of Labour
CCIMCAT	Centre for Capacitating and Investigation of Rural Women in Tarija
OASI	Organisation of Social Assistance of the Church
LABOR	Centre for Support to Labour Development
INE	National Institute for Statistics
IAB	Indústria Agrícola Bermejo (sugar cane processing plant in Bermejo, Tarija)
PAN	Governmental child care centre
CEMA	Educational Institute for Adults

Chapter 1

Introduction

This research questioned to what extent child labour in the sugar cane sector in Bolivia can be categorised as a *worst form* of child labour, and explored various existing interventions that have taken place to eradicate children's work from the sector. Fieldwork was carried out in the sugar cane regions of Santa Cruz and Bermejo during October and November 2008. The research makes a comparison between the situation encountered by ILO in 2002 and the current situation, and so therefore IREWOC fieldwork was carried out in the same locations of the 2002 ILO research. The situation described by ILO is summarised in Box 1. The sugar cane regions of Las Gamas and Chira/Nueva Esperanza in the department of Santa Cruz were visited in October, while the regions of Arrozales, Porcelana and Campo Grande in the department of Bermejo were visited in November. The specific locations are described in paragraph 2.3.

The most important aspect of the investigation consisted of interviews that were held with children and their parents in the research areas. To gain real insight in the way people live and work in the sugar cane harvest, the researcher lived with the harvester families in the migrant camps in both Santa Cruz and Bermejo. By spending full days with the families, living the way they live, accompanying them to the fields and helping them to harvest sugar cane, the researcher tried to gain their trust. This way an attempt was made to understand their daily problems and long-term concerns. Usually, interviews were of an open character; talking to children while they walked to the fields or back from school, conversing with adult harvesters while they took a rest during work or chatting with women while washing clothes. Also, drawings were made with children to understand their way of looking at their surroundings, as children sometimes find it easier to express themselves creatively rather than in words. As most interviews were unstructured and informal it was often the case that more than one child or adult harvester took part in the conversation. Besides interviewing the harvester families, conversations were held with plantation owners, representatives of the Federation of Harvesters, employees of the Ministry of Labour and NGO workers involved with interventions.

The following two central questions were formulated:

To what extent can children's activities in the sugar cane harvest be categorised as a *worst form* of child labour?

To what extent have interventions aiming at the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest been effective?

This report describes the current situation of children and adolescents in the sugar cane harvests in Bermejo and Santa Cruz, six years after the 'rapid evaluation' held by ILO. Chapter 2 deals with the context of child labour in the sugar cane sector in Bolivia and comments on the living circumstances in the harvester camps. Chapter 3 describes the activities of youths in the sector and analyses the reasons for their work and the risks they encounter. Chapter 4 discusses a number of relevant interventions and their effectiveness. The fifth and final chapter summarises the child labour situation and the interventions and formulates recommendations for further action.

Box I: Child labour situation at time of ILO research (2002)

Short summary of the findings from the 2002 ILO study [ILO 2002]:

During the ILO research of 2002, the number of hectares of sugar cane produced in the region of Santa Cruz was increasing, but the number of contracted harvesters had decreased by 1307 compared to the year before. The main reason was a growing mechanisation of the sector. In total, there were 31,695 people participating in the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz, of whom 22% were children and adolescents. The sugar cane harvest in Bermejo mobilized 5500 people of whom 25% were children and adolescents.

During the ILO investigation, the nine sugar cane producing provinces in the department of Santa Cruz had 1340 primary schools and 184 secondary schools. Health care services in the Santa Cruz sugar cane region were concentrated on primary health care services (mostly medical posts, and very few health centres and hospitals). Concerning the educational situation in Bermejo, according to ILO there was a dramatic scarcity of secondary education centres and only 9 primary schools. In the sugar cane region of Bermejo there were only three health centres located in the central sugar cane zone close to Bermejo, leaving the more remote zones unattended. Hospitals were only to be found in the town of Bermejo.

According to ILO, about 70% of the boys and girls participating in the sugar cane harvest in Bermejo worked as *cuartas* while the rest of the girls combined their household chores with working as a *cuarta* and the rest of the boys mostly peeled the leaves off the sugar cane. In the Santa Cruz sugar cane region, 77.8% of the boys cut sugar cane, 11.1% combined this work with household chores, 11.1% did weeding, while 37.5% of the girls did household chores combined with cutting sugar cane, 20.8% of the girls cut sugar cane, 4.2% did weeding and 8.3% were fulltime students. In Tarija, there was a concentration of youths of 13 to 16 years old working in the harvest, while in Santa Cruz the majority was between 16 and 18 years old.

During the ILO research, the youths working in the harvest in Bermejo claimed to earn a fixed monthly income of maximum 600 Bolivianos (60 Euro) with a majority claiming to earn 200 Bolivianos (20 Euro) per month. 20% of the young harvesters stated to earn according to the 'willingness' of the person they worked for, usually their father. In Santa Cruz, the youths earned according to the number of tonnes of sugar cane harvested by them and the contracted harvester they worked for. The youths were paid between 14 and 17 Bolivianos (1.40-1.70 Euro) per tonne, leaving it unclear how much this added up to per month.

The ILO report mentioned some recommendations in order to improve the situation of children in the sugar cane region and eradicate child labour from the sector. The recommendations focussed on different themes such as the promotion of child rights, improvement of contract regulation, implementation of new educational centres and improvement of the overall health situation.

Chapter 2

Context

2.1 Bolivia's sugar cane harvest¹

2.1.1 Child labour in the sugar cane sector - numbers

Compared to the ILO research of 2002, child labour in the harvest has diminished significantly over the last years as a result of an overall decrease in the number of harvesters, caused by mechanisation and other income opportunities in Bolivia such as work in mines and construction. To some extent, interventions to eradicate child labour have also contributed to this diminishment; some interventions will be described in chapter 4.

In 2002, ILO reported that the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz mobilises 30,000 harvesters a year, of which 7,000 are children and adolescents [Dávalos 2002b:15]. The same report states that the harvest in the southern department of Tarija attracts 5,500 harvesters yearly, of which 2,860 are children and adolescents. In total this would mean that almost 10,000 underage workers participate in the harvest in Bolivia, each year. An INE² and UNICEF publication [2004:47], however, points out that 2,540 children work in the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz. Another publication written by the NGO OASI³ mentions that in 2004, 2,619 youths under 18 participated in the harvest in Tarija [ILO et al. 2006:22]. Yet again another research conducted by OASI among children participating in the sugar cane harvest in Tarija, mentions a lower total number of 2,349 children and adolescents in the year 2004. The estimations by different sources do have a certain degree of consistency. In both Tarija and Santa Cruz, between 2000-3000 children and adolescents are estimated to be participating in the sugar cane harvest, with estimates for Santa Cruz lying towards the higher end.

2.1.2 Child labour legislation

International

The ILO categorises certain types of child labour as the *worst forms* of child labour; these in turn are divided into the *unconditional worst forms* and *hazardous forms* of child labour. The unconditional *worst forms* of child labour, documented in ILO Convention 182 articles 3(a)-(c)⁴, include activities for which children are recruited, slavery or practices similar to slavery (e.g. forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict), the sex industry, and the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities [ILO 1999a]. Article 3(d) of C182 refers to the *hazardous worst forms*, activities that are damaging either because of their nature, or because of the conditions in which they are performed; these are further defined in ILO Recommendation 190 [ILO 1999b]⁵. Convention 182 was signed by Bolivia on June 6th 2003⁶. The sugar cane sector

¹ This paragraph is an adaptation of Chapter 2 from: Baas, L (2008) Child Labour in the Sugar Cane Harvest in Bolivia. The IREWOC Research Project on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Latin America. Amsterdam: IREWOC. [Baas 2008].

² INE is the El Instituto Nacional de Estadística in Bolivia; i.e. The National Institute for Statistics

³ Office for Social Assistance of the Church

⁴ ILO Convention 182, available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C182>

⁵ ILO Recommendation 190, available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?R190>

activities have been identified as damaging to the well being of children because of their nature [Van den Berge 2007a:appendix E]. Aspects of the sugar cane sector, like working with dangerous equipment, or the manual transport of heavy loads, are among the reasons why people under 18 are not allowed to participate in this sector according to ILO Convention 182 and Recommendation 190.

National

The Code for Children and Adolescents⁷ (CCA) for Bolivia sets the minimum working age at 14 years (Law 2026, Art. 126, 2004)⁸, but is not relevant for the harvest as no children below the age of 18 are allowed to participate in this sector. 34 Articles of the CCA describe the rights and duties of working children in Bolivia. Children cannot be employed in any type of work which damages their mental and/or physical health and they should be protected by Child Defence and the regional offices of the Ministry of Labour (MoL). Article 134 even specifically mentions the sugar cane harvest as work that is prohibited for persons younger than 18. Different articles refer indirectly to children's right to education and emphasise that children's work should not interfere with this right (see articles 137 and 126). However, there is no article that directly prohibits children's work to interfere with education. The prohibition of adolescents' work in the sugar cane harvest according to Bolivian national law is based on ILO Convention 182 concerning the worst forms of child labour.

Further, an important comment on child labour regulations in Bolivia can be made referring to the proposed new political constitution, drafted during 2007 and to be approved or rejected in 2009. The second part of article 61 of the proposed new constitution concerns the issue of child labour, more specifically prohibiting all forms of exploitation of children and adolescents, yet accepting child labour in its supposed formative function:

Article 61

II. Forced labour and child exploitation are prohibited. Activities realized by children and adolescents in the family and social realm will be oriented towards their integral formation as citizens and will have a formative function. Their protective rights, guaranties, and institutional mechanisms will be the subject of specific regulation. (Constitutional Assembly of Bolivia, 2007)

Article 61 is the result of discussions between various actors, especially under the influence of child and adolescent workers' unions and organisations approving of a certain degree of 'dignified' work for youths: the so-called *regulacionistas* [see for example: Van den Berge 2007b:17-21].

Ministry of Labour and the eradication of child labour (CEPTI and PETIZ)

The MoL has a special department that dedicates its efforts to the eradication of child labour, called the Commission for Progressive Eradication of Child Labour⁹ (CEPTI). CEPTI is working through a 10-year plan that runs from 2000-2010 and focuses on three groups:

- children under 14 years of age
- children of 14 years and older
- children who work in the worst forms of child labour

⁶ List of member states that have ratified the Convention, available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi/lex/ratifce.pl?C182>

⁷ Código de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes

⁸ Legislación juvenil en Bolivia, available from www.cinterfor.org.uy/public/spanish/region/ampro/-cinterfor/temas/youth/legisl/bol/iii/index.htm

⁹ Comisión de Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil

CEPTI coordinates its projects with ILO and USDOL¹⁰, who finance large parts of the activities, especially those directed at the eradication of the *worst forms*. As children's work in the sugar cane harvest is considered a *worst form*, this sector is always a focus area of CEPTI's actions. CEPTI has supported the Project for the Eradication of Child Labour in the Sugar Cane Harvest (PETIZ), which has been active since 2003 [Ministerio de Trabajo Bolivia 2005:32]. The implementing organisations of this programme in Santa Cruz and Bermejo have been UNICEF, OASI¹¹, LABOR¹² and CCIMCAT¹³.

2.2 The economics of the sugar cane sector

Sugar cane is an important agricultural crop for the Bolivian economy; of the 6% of Bolivian land used for agriculture, the largest number of hectares is used for growing sugar cane. According to INE, in 2006 the sugar cane sector had grown 7% with respect to the year before and counted for 115,000 hectares. This is 25,000 hectares more than stated in the ILO and UNICEF report of 2004 that mentions 78,000 hectares in Santa Cruz and 12.000 in Tarija [INE 2006]¹⁴. According to an INE report 12,402,250 tonnes of sugar cane was cultivated throughout the country in 2006, which was 21% more than the year before¹⁵. The raw sugar cane is processed into sugar and alcohol in large processing plants. According to ILO and UNICEF, in 2004 there were four processing plants in Santa Cruz (Guabirá, La Bélgica, San Aurelio and Unagro), which produced 7 million *quintales*¹⁶ of sugar in total, accounting for 110 million US dollars. The one plant in Bermejo, called Industria Agrícola Bermejo (IAB), produced 900.000 *quintales* of sugar with a total value of 15 million US dollars [ILO & Unicef 2004:8-9]. For the year 2007, this plant in Bermejo planned to upgrade its production to 1.4 million *quintales* of sugar, while the now five plants (the new one is called Cuatro A's) in Santa Cruz together were planning to produce 10 million *quintales* of sugar. The alcohol producing plant Santa Cecilia projected the production of 2.5-3 million litres of alcohol. Clearly, the Bolivian sugar cane production has been increasing during the last few years. During the period 1992-1998, 76% of the Bolivian sugar production was sold on the internal market, 4% to the US and 20% to markets of neighbouring countries [Universidad Autónoma "Juan Misael Saracho" 2005:16-17].

2.2.1 Recent developments in the sugar cane sector

Since colonial times, the Bolivian economy has been based on the exploitation of minerals, especially in the departments Potosí and Oruro. With the passing of time, the economy diversified and the agro-industry surged, shifting the economic centre of the country to the east. Since the 1970s the industries of cotton and sugar cane have been on the rise [LABOR & AOS 2001:3], resulting in a migration from the Altiplano region and the valleys to Santa Cruz and later to Tarija. For many years, the rights of the sugar cane harvesters, many of whom are temporary migrants, were not recognised in the national labour laws. The harvesters had to struggle until 1984 to have their rights included, which was finally done with the Supreme Decree 20255¹⁷. This Decree regulates the labour relations of the harvesters with the sugar cane companies, the security aspects and hygiene at work, medical assistance, professional risks and social security. However, like many other legal

¹⁰ United States Department of Labour

¹¹ Organization of Social Assistance of the Church

¹² Centre for Support to Labour Development

¹³ Centre for Capacitating and Investigation of Rural Women in Tarija

¹⁴ Source: <http://www.ine.gov.bo/pdf/EstEcon/ECTECOCORR.pdf>; Retrieved June 2008

¹⁵ Source: www.ine.gov.bo; Retrieved August 7 2008

¹⁶ A quintal is about 45 kilograms.

¹⁷ See document Trabajadores zafreros <http://www.labor.org.bo/htm/CARTILLAS/2000%20CARTILLA-%20ZAFREROS%20SANTA%20CRUZ.pdf>, Retrieved August 7 2008

agreements, this Decree is not effectively implemented and labour circumstances in the sugar cane sector continue to be very poor [LABOR & AOS 2001:18-19]. Much of the heavy harvesting work is still done by hand with little means of protection from the heat or physical injuries. Lately, in Santa Cruz, part of the harvesting and loading work has been mechanised, but in Bermejo this isn't the case. In both regions, the further processing of sugar cane has been mechanised and is now performed in specialised plants.

Bermejo

The sugar cane sector is the principal source of income for labourers in the Bermejo region. In 2005, the gross value of the sector's production was 22.000.000 US dollars [Universidad Autónoma "Juan Misael Saracho" 2005:11-12]. The sugar cane industry encompasses a multitude of activities in its production chain, including the preparation of land, sowing, transport of the raw material, milling, refining sugar and syrup, commercialising and inspection of the principal product (sugar), and so forth; it provides work for hundreds of Bolivians [idem:12]. The sugar cane sector in Bermejo is smaller than in Santa Cruz, in terms of volume, and consists of smaller plantations and more direct and personalised relations between harvesters and plantation owners [Bedoya Garland & Bedoya Silva-Santisteban 2005:17]. The Bermejan sugar cane sector has developed as a consequence of the state's interest to protect the national borders and the oil industry of Bermejo. To attract people to live in the region, a Supreme Decree in 1941 dictated the free granting of land in rural and urban areas of the region. As during 1968 to 1983, the sugar cane sector grew dramatically (from 68.421 quintales to over 1.500.000 quintales) large amounts of sugar cane could not be harvested. Because of this, the number of temporary labour migrants grew consistently and many of them settled in the communities. As a result of the national economic crisis, in 1985 the state dictated a structural adjustment programme that privatised mining (Supreme Decree 21060) and generated a massive migration from the departments of Potosí and Chuquisaca towards the region, which started the formation of the most remote settlements of the sugar cane area of Bermejo [Bellota Murillo et al.:6-7:unpublished].

Santa Cruz

The economy of Santa Cruz centres on agriculture, farming and the oil- and gas industry. Important agricultural export products include palm oil, soy, sugar, cotton and tropical wood [Oostra & Malaver 2003:47]. The sugar cane industry of Santa Cruz is bigger than that of Bermejo and production is large-scale. In Santa Cruz you find small (0-20 ha), medium (20-50 ha) and large plantations (>50 ha). The small and medium-sized plantations account for 35% of the total number of hectares and the large plantations for 65% [Dávalos 2002a:20]. In Santa Cruz, there are also many large plantation owners with several hundreds or even thousands of hectares of sugar cane, while in Bermejo many plantation owners grow on even less than 10 hectares. The population of Santa Cruz does not fulfil the demand for sugar cane harvesters, despite the population growth of the last 30 years [Bedoya Garland & Bedoya Silva-Santisteban 2005:17]. Therefore the sugar cane harvest causes a migration of harvesters with different ethnic backgrounds such as Guaraní, Isoseños and Ava Chiriguano from the department of Santa Cruz, as well as people from the Altiplano with a Quechua background.

Migration towards the sugar cane harvest

About 60%¹⁸ of the sugar cane harvesters are temporary migrants. The places of origin all fall within the category of poor zone, with a lack of infrastructure, health and education services and labour opportunities. People who migrate to the sugar cane harvest in Bermejo come from the north of Tarija (66.24%), Chuquisaca (16.41%) and Potosí (17.35%) [Dávalos 2002a:25]. In these regions people cultivate their land during the rainy period of the year; they have small parcels of land that rarely exceed 3 hectares. The autumn and winter periods are harsh because of the cold and in most of these regions water is scarce. They are therefore obliged to migrate during a part of the year in search of ways to meet their basic needs [Romero Guevara 2004:6-7]. Because people can only make a few hundred Bolivianos per month in agriculture, or be just self sustaining, they migrate temporarily to the sugar cane harvest where they can earn better salaries per month. Harvesters working in the sugar cane region of Santa Cruz earn between 20 and 25 Bolivianos (2-2.50 Euro) per tonne cut sugar cane, while in Bermejo the harvesters earn around 50 Bolivianos (5 Euro) per tonne. The difference in payment is due to workers' actions to increase salaries since there is more manual work involved in Bermejo (see paragraph 4.2.3). People in both Santa Cruz and Bermejo are paid every two weeks; usually they get an advance on their salary and are paid the rest of their salary only when the whole harvest is finished in November. Usually, the harvesters don't have written labour contracts or health insurance.

Government influence in the sector

There is little influence from the State in the sugar cane sectors of Bermejo and Santa Cruz. Most of the plants function as private companies and work together with their suppliers. For example, the Guabirá plant in Santa Cruz loans money to its affiliates to finance the purchase of machine harvesters. Employees of the MoL in Santa Cruz and Bermejo carry out inspections in the harvester camps and control whether minors are working in the sugar cane harvest, through the CEPTI programme (see paragraph 2.1.2). The MoL strives to prevent child labour and to improve living conditions. It also wishes to motivate children to enrol in and attend school. In the Santa Cruz region as well as in Bermejo, the MoL lacks personnel and transport facilities to carry out its work properly. Because both the employees in Bermejo and in Santa Cruz don't have access to transport, taxis need to be hired to visit the sugar cane region in order to do inspections and talk to the harvesters. Different harvesters as well as the contractors are asked whether there are minors participating in the harvest and if so how many, what kind of work they do and whether they attend school. When the working or living situation in a certain harvester camp is lacking the necessary conditions, the employee of the MoL leaves a warning letter for the plantation owner, urging him or her to improve the situation. If not complied with, the plantation owner will have to pay a fine.

2.3 Description of the harvester camps

During the IREWOC research, the same sugar cane zones were visited which had also been investigated during the ILO research in 2002 (see Box I), with the exception of El Tajibo in Santa Cruz and El Salado in Bermejo. The places visited in the Santa Cruz sugar cane harvest - Las Gamas and Chira/Nueva Esperanza - are located in the Warnes province. Those visited in Bermejo - Arrozales, Porcelana and Campo Grande - are located in the central sugar cane region. The El Tajibo zone in Santa Cruz was not included in the IREWOC research because the sugar cane had already been harvested when the IREWOC research was conducted (October-November 2008). The El Salado zone was not included in the IREWOC research because the former sugar cane producers in

¹⁸ The other 40% consist of permanent residents of the sugar cane region or cities close by such as Bermejo, Santa Cruz and Montero.

the region had shifted to producing other crops, such as potatoes and tomatoes. They stopped producing sugar cane about five years ago because of failing production and better opportunities for growing other crops. The following paragraphs describe the living conditions in the harvester camps visited during the IREWOC field research while giving a brief comparison to the situation encountered by ILO in 2002.

2.3.1 Las Gamas region - Santa Cruz

The camp visited by ILO in 2002 consisted of three big sheds with brick walls, aluminium roofs and mud floors. Inside, plastic sheets divided the 'dormitories'; the beds were made of wooden planks and some were on the floor. Some 'kitchens' stood inside the 'dormitories'; some were outside. The harvesters had to fetch water from the well and there were some latrines (earth-closets). The 12 interviewed women (7 adult mothers and 5 between 10 and 17 years old) thought there were about 100 adult male harvesters in the camp, about 30-40 mothers, 15-20 adolescent girls who had accompanied their parents or other relatives, and about 15 children under 7 years old. The women got up at 4am or 5am, cooked their food, washed clothes, took care of the children, and fetched wood, etc. They had to take food to the harvesters in the fields. The girls told the interviewers that they got tired and didn't like the heat [ILO 2002:34]. The report doesn't mention how many boys and girls worked as harvesters or *cuartas*.

Photo 1: Tent in which harvesters live in the Chorobi camp



Camp Chorobi - Las Gamas region - Santa Cruz

The camp in the Las Gamas region visited during the IREWOC research houses about 20 adult male harvesters, half of whom have come with their wives and children and others who have come without their families. Most of the harvesters and their families come from the rural areas of the Chuquisaca department. There are about 20 children aged 0-18, most of whom are under 6 years old. Five of them are of school-going age, but don't attend school; three male adolescents are

working as *cuartas* (helpers). The families live in self-constructed tents made of plastic and wood (see photo 1), which are very limited in space; some people share a tent with two or three families. The beds on which people sleep are also self-constructed from planks. The camp has electricity and drinking water that is retrieved from 40 metres underground. Because there is electricity, many people have brought a radio, a television and sometimes even a DVD-player and use these in their tents. There are showers in the camp, but there are no toilets. The children of school-going age in the camp don't attend the school in the community closest to the camp (at some 3 kilometres), because it is too far, according to the children and their mothers. The children would need someone to bring them to school.

2.3.2 Chira/Nueva Esperanza region - Santa Cruz

The camp visited by ILO in 2002 consisted of two sheds with brick walls and roofs of aluminium and tiles. There were huge holes in the roof. The people slept alongside each other on the brick floor or in beds made from planks. Water was retrieved from the well and from a water tank. A group interview was held with 8 adult harvesters and 3 adolescents of 13 and 14 years old. The adolescents were not studying, but admitted that they would like to study if there were financial help like scholarships [ILO 2002:35]. The report doesn't give information on the number of adolescents from this camp who worked in the harvest or their specific activities.

Photo 2: Fourteen-year-old mother washing dishes in front of her tent



Camp Okinawa 1 - Chira/Nueva Esperanza region - Santa Cruz

The camp visited during the IREWOC research houses 13 harvesters, 4 women and 5 children of under six years old; there are no children of primary school-going age. Besides the thirteen contracted harvesters there are four helpers or *cuartas* of under 18 years old. The harvesters and helpers who have come to the harvest without their wives pay one of the other wives to cook their meals. One of these cooks, or *pensionistas*, is a fourteen-year-old girl. The harvesters come from

different parts of Bolivia; most are from the departments of Chuquisaca, Potosí, Cochabamba and a few come from a community at some ten kilometres from the migrant camp. The living situation in the camp is precarious. There is no electricity and no water; to fetch water people have to walk to the neighbours' farm at 300 meters distance. There are no toilets or bathing facilities. As in the Chorobi camp, people live in self-constructed tents and sleep on self-constructed beds. Cooking takes place on wood fires in the open air as there is no roof-covered place where people can cook (see photo 2). According to the migrants, the contractor takes them to the hospital or the health centre in cases of sickness or accidents. The general impression showed by the harvesters and their families is that they are tired of working in the harvest and living under the poor conditions of the camp; many of them complain about the heat, the mosquitoes and the hard work.

2.3.4 Arrozales region - Bermejo

In 2002, ILO held a group interview with 11 mothers in the camp visited in the Arrozales region of Bermejo. The mothers mentioned that contracted children and adolescents were paid 200-300 Bolivianos (20-30 Euro) and that girls and boys were paid equally. The plantations were as far as 5 kilometres away from the camp; therefore the harvesters had to eat at the plantations. The children who had come to the harvest were not in school anymore. The ones who did go to school left their work if that was possible. The women stated that people work in the harvest because they need money, but that it is bad when children have to leave school. According to the women the problem was that there was no money to keep the children in school. The women liked the fact that they earned well in the harvest. The girls in the Arrozales camp helped to cook, take care of the children and do household chores. On the plantations they peeled the leaves off the sugar cane. Boys also peeled the sugar cane, stacked it into piles and helped loading [ILO 2002:29-30]. This commentary doesn't mention the living conditions in the camp.

Camp Primero de Mayo - Arrozales region - Bermejo

The migrant camp Primero de Mayo is a camp owned by the sugar cane processing plant in Bermejo, IAB, and offers better living conditions than the other camps owned by private sugar cane producers. This well-constructed camp houses about 100 harvester families and offers various facilities: there is electricity and potable water, and there are 30 toilets and showers, and places to wash clothes. The houses are constructed in rows and made of bricks with corrugated iron roofs (see photo 3). Cooking facilities, however, are scarce; there are some ovens to bake bread, but people tend to construct their own 'kitchens', which are poorly covered by some iron plates. The harvesters and their families have access to health care as a nurse is present in the camp from Monday to Saturday afternoon, 24 hours a day. The harvesters also have health insurance provided by the company. The children in the camp attend classes at the school adjacent to the camp, which provides classes from kindergarten to 8th grade. Next to the school is a governmental child care centre (PAN), which offers day care for children aged 0-5 years old. The harvesters are paid monthly and like in other camps they are initially paid only part of their salary each month; at the end of the harvest they get the rest of their money. According to one of the engineers working for the IAB company¹⁹, who is responsible for the contact with the harvesters, this way the workers will stay until the end of the harvest; if they are paid their whole salary each month they would be more likely to return to their hometowns earlier. The harvester families in this camp come from various departments of Bolivia; mostly from Chuquisaca, Potosí and Santa Cruz. In contrast to harvesters working for most other sugar cane producers, the workers for the IAB company do have a written labour contract and health insurance.

¹⁹ Interview held November 1 2008

Photo 3: Houses in the Primero de Mayo camp



2.3.5 Porcelana Bajo region - Bermejo

During the 2002 research ILO held a group discussion in the Porcelana region with 12 boys younger than 14. Only a few were going to school and they helped in the harvest after school. Many didn't go to school because they had to work and their parents didn't pay for school. They mentioned not wanting to go back to school because they were earning money for their family. During their work they mostly had to peel the leaves off the sugar cane. They had to get up at 4am and work from 6am until noon; in the afternoon they also worked. They mentioned having a salary of 150-250 Bolivianos (15-25 Euro). Most of the boys had come with their family and had participated in the harvest before. The group perceived peeling, helping in the household chores and cooking as their role [ILO 2002:33]. The commentary doesn't mention the living conditions in the camp.

Porcelana Bajo camp - Porcelana region - Bermejo

The Porcelana camp visited by IREWOC houses 10 harvesters, who are all accompanied by their wives and some of their children. In total there are about 15 children under 18 years old, of whom half are in school and half are working as *cuartas* in the harvest, either paid or unpaid. The individual dormitories of the families are constructed in rows and are made from bricks with corrugated iron roofs. Cooking facilities are non-existent; like in the IAB company's camp people have built their own wood fire 'kitchens' with bricks, plastic and iron sheets. Electricity is installed in all dormitories and some of the families have a radio, TV or DVD-player in their room. The camp is supplied with only one water tap (see photo 4), which people have to use for bathing, cooking and washing clothes. There is no bathing facility so people wash themselves in the open air, remaining partly dressed to conceal their bodies. Toilets are not present; a new toilet was mid-construction.

Photo 4: Kitchen, oven and water tap in the Porcelana camp



Most children of school-going age attend classes at the school in Porcelana, one kilometre away; one twelve-year-old boy quit going to school when he didn't pass 6th grade. The school offers classes from kindergarten to 6th grade and there is a governmental child care centre (PAN) opposite the school. Also, in the Porcelana harvester camp itself there is a PAN centre. A social worker runs the centre and a cook prepares breakfast and lunch for the children. During the field research period only 3 or 4 children were attending the PAN centre in the camp, but about 10 were eating breakfast and lunch there. According to the cook there had, in the months before, been some 15 children aged 0-5 attending the centre, and also 15 school-going children who would come to eat.

2.3.6 Campo Grande region - Bermejo

13 boys participated in the ILO group discussion in 2002 in the Campo Grande camp. The ones who worked as *cuartas* earned between 250-500 Bolivianos (25 -50 Euro), but they weren't certain about their earnings as the payment per tonne had not yet been agreed upon. They mentioned to the interviewers that many of the young boys already did the same work as the contracted harvesters, but that they couldn't officially be contracted because of their age. The plantations were 5 kilometres from the camps and they went there by foot or by truck. They found earning money the most positive factor of the sugar cane harvest [ILO 2002:31-32]. The report doesn't comment on the living conditions in this camp.

Campo Grande camp - Campo Grande - Bermejo

Fifteen harvesters and their wives are living in the Campo Grande camp visited by IREWOC. Most families have taken (some of) their children with them. Six children attend classes in the school next to the camp; about ten children under six years old stay in the camp (and don't attend a child centre) and twelve under-aged *cuartas* work on the fields. The dormitories are well constructed and made of brick with corrugated iron roofs and have electricity. Some families have a TV, radio or a DVD player. There is only one water tap. People wash themselves in a small bathing facility; they carry in a bucket of water and use a cloth to hang in front of the door opening (see photo 5). The

health centre and the primary school, which provides classes until 8th grade, are located right next to the camp.

Photo 5: Bathing facility in the Campo Grande camp



Chapter 3

Child Labour in Bolivia's Sugar Cane Sector

This chapter describes the situation of child labour in the Santa Cruz and Bermejo sugar cane regions in Bolivia, six years after the rapid evaluation conducted by ILO [Dávalos 2002a]. IREWOC research was conducted in the same areas as the ILO's rapid evaluation; it will appear that, despite a diminishment in the number of children working in the sugar cane harvest, their activities continue to be one of the *worst forms* of child labour because of the harmfulness of the labour activities as well as because of the living conditions and the implications of the work for health and education.

3.1 Children working in the harvest

3.1.1 Children's activities in the harvest

The sugar cane harvest roughly takes place during the months of May to November in both Bermejo and Santa Cruz. There are different groups of children and youths occupied in the sugar cane harvest; some doing paid or unpaid labour activities while others spend their days without participating in actual labour activities. During the ILO research in 2002, the youngest participants in the harvest in both Bermejo and Santa Cruz were nine years old [Dávalos 2002a:iii]. The IREWOC research found boys and girls of eight years old participating part-time in Bermejo, while in Santa Cruz the ages were a little higher; the youngest boys were thirteen years old, but they worked fulltime. The ILO research estimated that in Santa Cruz nearly 50% was in the 9-13 age category, while in Bermejo some 60% would belong to this group [Dávalos 2002a:iii]. Although the IREWOC research had no statistic aspect, it can be estimated that those percentages have gone down significantly, at least when looking at fulltime workers. Of the fulltime harvesters in Santa Cruz about 10-20% are minors. In Bermejo the percentage is slightly higher; at least a quarter of the harvesters are minors, because there are more helpers who are usually under 18. The ILO report mentioned the participation of twice as many boys as girls; this remains unchanged.

In some cases, adolescent boys younger than 18 work as **contracted harvesters**. The work they do is the same as that of adult harvesters and consists of burning, cutting, de-topping, piling and loading the sugar cane. Loading is done mechanically in Santa Cruz, and manually in Bermejo. If contractors ignore the ages of the harvesters during the hiring process then minors are likely to be employed on a fulltime basis. An engineer of the IAB Company, known for its use of standardised processes, even commented "we do ask the harvesters to present their identity card or birth certificate, but we don't adhere to an age norm". Other, private sugar cane producers don't even ask for identification; they simply hire boys who seem apt for the harvesting work. These adolescents, working fulltime as contracted harvesters, earn a salary of between 1.000 and 4.000 Bolivianos (100-400 Euro) a month. Fifteen-year-old Francisco and his sixteen-year-old friend Zenon live in the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz; they were contracted to work fulltime during the whole harvest period and earn between 2.400 Bolivianos (240 Euro) and 3.600 Bolivianos (360 Euro) a month. Like Francisco mentioned:

We are paid 21 Bolivianos per tonne, before it was 20 Bolivianos, but since the harvest is almost finishing and there are harvesters leaving already, the contractor is paying 21

Bolivianos now. We cut between 5 and 8 tonnes per day so that would be between 100 and 150 Bolivianos per day.

Girls are never hired as fulltime contracted harvesters because the work is considered too heavy for women. Women in the sugar cane harvest are expected to run the household, which wouldn't be possible if working as a fulltime harvester.

Children and adolescents aged 12-17, girls as well as boys, work as **helpers (*cuartas*)** of the contracted harvesters; they do so on a daily basis, in Santa Cruz as well as in Bermejo. The harvester for whom the adolescent works is usually a family member or a person known from the hometown. Twelve-year-old Daysi, for example, who lives in the Porcelana camp in Bermejo, works as a *cuarta* with her sister:

I came here with my sister and I help her and her husband in the harvest; my sister helps my husband and I help my sister. At the end of the harvest she will pay me, she hasn't paid me anything yet. I don't know how much it will be, I have no idea.

Usually children and youths working as *cuartas* earn a salary between 300 and 800 Bolivianos (30-80 Euro) per month, but like Daysi, some of them don't know how much they will eventually be given. Especially the ones who work with their family members tend to be unaware of their earnings and might not even earn anything at all. Helping out family members is perceived as family work for which minors don't need to be rewarded individually. Their family members will provide them with food and clothes, but won't actually pay them a salary. Doña Delia who also lives in the Porcelana camp in Bermejo, for example, told me that her 14-year-old son Daniel works as a *cuarta* with his father and doesn't receive a salary: "if he needs anything like clothes or something, he gets it from us, but we don't pay him. We just don't have enough money". Depending on whom the *cuarta* works with, he or she either earns a salary or not.

Younger boys and girls, between 7 and 12 years old, who are still in school, help their parents in the sugar cane harvest after school, in the weekends and/or during holidays. These children participate in the different harvesting activities according to their age and sex. School-going children of 11 and 12 years old participate in the same activities as older permanent helpers like cutting, de-topping and stacking sugar cane, after classes or on non-school days. In Bermejo, some of these children (only boys) also participate in the extremely heavy task of manually loading sugar cane onto the flatbed trucks (read Box II). Eleven-year-old Armando, for example, had recently finished 6th grade in the Campo Grande school in Bermejo and then started to help his father as a *cuarta* on a daily basis. This meant that he helped cutting sugar cane in the morning (see photo 6) and sometimes participated in loading sugar cane in the afternoon or evening, together with other young boys, such as 13-year-old Modesto (see photo 7). Armando mentioned, "my parents don't give me money for the work but they buy me clothes and everything". Armando's father emphasised his desire for his son to continue studying next year; he wouldn't like his son to drop out of school because of the work. Photo 8 shows a thirteen-year-old *cuarta* in Santa Cruz cutting sugar cane and photo 9 shows him and the other youths taking a rest on the plantation after lunch. Photo 10 shows a young boy who helps his mother on the plantations on his non-school days.

Besides these labour activities, the *cuartas* or those children who help their parents after school do various activities in the harvester camp. Before and after work they hang around in the camp, playing with the other children or resting. Young girls and boys also help their mothers in different household chores such as washing clothes, fetching water and wood, and cooking. Girls generally have more domestic responsibilities, and when children become older the gender division becomes clearer. Adolescent girls who work as *cuartas* are usually responsible for cooking and washing clothes of others, while their male peers are not. Adolescent boys only do cooking for themselves and wash their own clothes when there is no female around to do this. Girls and women often work as *pensionistas* (cooks), sometimes in addition to their harvesting work as *cuartas*.

The youngest working boys and girls, between 7 and 10 years old, in Santa Cruz as well as in Bermejo, help cutting, de-topping and piling sugar cane on non-school days, but don't participate in loading sugar cane because they are too young and not strong enough yet. They usually work alongside their mothers and work from early in the morning until noon on Saturdays and during holidays. They don't get paid as their work is perceived as part of the family's occupations in which they naturally take part. Girls and boys are considered equally capable of helping their parents this way (see photo 11).

Parents take their children younger than 7 to the fields when there is no other place to leave them, for example on Saturdays and during holidays (see photo 12). These children don't work in the harvest but hang around on the plantations playing and resting. Because of the extreme heat and burning sun, their parents will often provide shade in the form of a makeshift tent.

Box II: Children loading sugar cane

From my research diary, Campo Grande, Bermejo, 04-11-2008

Tonight I accompanied the harvesters to the field where they were loading sugar cane onto the truck. We left the Campo Grande camp at 17:00 and drove for about 45 minutes to the plantation. The harvesters stood in the empty truck but the driver let me sit up front in the passengers' seat. When we got to the field it was already almost dark but at least it was a bit less hot. The driver took a mobile lamp from the truck which he placed on top of it so the harvesters could see where to drop the sugar cane. There were fifteen harvesters loading sugar cane of which five boys under 18. The youngest ones, Modesto of thirteen and Armando of eleven carried half the amount of sugar cane that the adults were carrying: a whole pile weighs about 50 kilos, which would be too heavy for the young boys. Modesto climbed up the wooden stairs slowly and in a very unstable way, which looked like he was going to fall down. It is very heavy work and children like Armando don't even get paid for this.

Photo 6: 11-year-old boy cutting sugar cane in the morning. Campo Grande region - Bermejo



Photo 7: 13-year-old boy loading sugar cane during the night. Campo Grande region - Bermejo



Photo 8 13-year-old *cuarta* cutting sugar cane. Okinawa 1 camp, Santa Cruz



Photo 9: Group of adolescent harvesters resting in the shadow after lunch, Okinawa 1 camp, Santa Cruz



Photo 10: Eight-year-old boy helping his mother to cut sugar cane on Saturday morning, Arrozales camp, Bermejo



Photo 11: Eight-year-old girl helping her mother to cut sugar cane on a Saturday morning, Arrozales, Bermejo.



Photo 12: Children playing on the sugar cane plantation while their parents are working, Campo Grande, Bermejo



3.1.2 Reasons for children to work

The reasons to work vary according to the different groups of working children. Adolescent boys working as contracted harvesters as well as youths working as *cuartas*, mainly work for economic reasons. They come from poor regions with few job opportunities and the sugar cane harvest provides a more or less stable income for 4 to 6 months a year. Like 15-year-old Héctor from the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo said:

I came here with a neighbour from my community and I work as his *cuarta*. I earn 600 Bolivianos [60 Euro] per month but usually I only get paid what I need; at the end of the harvest I will get the rest of my money. I am the youngest of 8 brothers and sisters; they are not here. They don't maintain me so I have to work to earn money.

When boys grow up and, like Héctor, are about 14-15 years old, they are considered old enough to earn their own money and contribute to the family income. At this age, most youths don't attend school anymore, as they often perceive primary school (until 8th grade) to be enough basic education and start to feel the need to work and earn an income. Girls as well as boys from this age group start working fulltime in the sugar cane harvest as helpers; girls also work as cooks. Sandra, a fourteen-year-old girl in the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz who had given birth to a baby 2 months earlier, used to work as her husbands' helper, cutting sugar cane, until about a month before the baby was born. She also cooked for seven other harvesters who stayed in the camp without their wives. Ever since Sandra stopped cutting sugar cane, because of her pregnancy, she has only been working as a cook:

There are seven men I have to cook breakfast, lunch and dinner for. They give me 18 Bolivianos [1.80 Euro] per day for the groceries, which is barely enough as everything has become more expensive this year, so in the end I don't earn anything. But where else should they eat?

Thus, as a cook she doesn't earn much, but as she doesn't have much else to do and the boys and men need to eat somewhere she assumes it as her job.

For children who go to school in the sugar cane regions and help their parents on non-school days, the economic benefit of their contribution is not the main reason for their presence. They accompany their parents because they have no place else to stay during the harvest and only work on non-school days to help increase their parents' income, because there are no other activities for them on offer. Often parents leave some of their children at home with family members so they can continue going to school. Like doña Carla from the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz explained:

My oldest three children are at home. A few days ago I went to [my hometown] Gutierrez to go get my youngest daughter, she is four years old and attends a child day care but that finished last week. Now she stays with me here in the camp while the other three are still in school in Gutierrez. [...] They are staying with my brother.

When people don't have someone they can leave their children with, they have to take them with them to the harvest. The different reasons for youths to be present in the sugar cane harvest, either working or not, explain the need for different strategies for the eradication of child labour from the sector, as we will see in chapter 4.

3.1.3 Risks of child labour in the sugar cane harvest

The working and living conditions in the sugar cane regions of Santa Cruz and Bermejo are precarious and bring about health risks for the youths who participate in it. Especially the adolescent boys who work fulltime in the harvest, either as contracted harvesters or *cuartas*, are at risk for various health problems. According to 20-year-old Valentina, one of the harvester's wives in

the Chorobi camp in Santa Cruz, many accidents and illnesses occur because of the working and living conditions. She thinks women have fewer health problems:

We don't really have health problems but the men do; they cut themselves with the machete, they faint because of the heat or fall off the truck when they are loading sugar cane. Only yesterday, one of the boys had his eye scratched by a leaf of the sugar cane. That really hurts ...it happened to me once too.

Because cutting, de-topping, stacking and loading sugar cane are heavy tasks, extreme tiredness is the most prevalent consequence of the work. Especially in the last months of the harvest, the workers complain about their bodies becoming weaker and they themselves feeling more tired and wanting to return to their homes. Like fifteen-year-old Francisco from the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz complained: "I am really tired of the work and I have become much thinner since I came to the harvest; the heavy work really makes one lose weight".

The extremely high temperatures of 35-40 degrees Celsius cause the harvesters to sweat excessively and lose too much salt, resulting in severe cramps. Harvesters seem to prefer not to drink much (cold) water because they believe this to cause the cramps. According to health workers in the region, people should be drinking clear soup or water with salt and sugar to counteract the effects of the sweating. Apart from tiredness and cramps, the young harvesters experience different types of pain in their bodies because of the work. Although they wear shirts with long sleeves and hoods, they still sometimes scratch their skin or eyes while cutting or loading sugar cane.

Manual loading in Bermejo makes one's shoulder hurt because of the heavy pile of sugar cane one has to carry on one side. The *cuartas* who help loading commented that in the beginning they would feel pain in their shoulders, inside the joint as well as a raw feeling on their skin, but that after a few weeks they would get used to it and wouldn't feel it so much anymore. Some people also commented on a pain in the waist and back from all the heavy lifting and carrying. One of the women in the Porcelana camp in Bermejo mentioned that 'her' *cuarta* didn't want to continue working because of pain in his waist: "he tells me that he is tired of the pain in his waist, loading causes this pain; maybe he should rest". Manual loading is also very risky because one has to climb a very unstable wooden ladder without anything to hold on to. According to the harvesters, it happens every once in a while that someone falls off the ladder and hurts himself.

Mechanical loading (see photo 13) is less heavy, but certainly not without its risks. The harvesters and *cuartas* standing on top of the wagon, arranging the sugar cane, have to take care that the loading machine doesn't injure them or that the sugar cane doesn't fall on top of them. Also, they have to be aware of the movements of the tractor so as not to fall off the wagon, especially when the pile of sugar cane gets higher.

The most common risk of injury, when working in the harvest, is cutting oneself with the machete. Almost all youths who have been working in the harvest for a while have cut themselves at least once. Usually they cut themselves in a foot or hand; their feet are especially vulnerable because most of the youths (and adults) wear open sandals, leaving their feet unprotected. Most children leave their cuts to heal by themselves. Thirteen-year-old Roger, from the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo, said: "I cut my toe about two weeks ago. It hurt and blood came out but I didn't go to the health centre, I just left it to heal by itself. Now it is ok". Another thirteen-year-old boy in the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz, named Manuel, came home from the fields one day with a bleeding finger. He explained that he had cut himself, but that the bleeding was already slowing down: "I am just a bit worried that tomorrow I won't be able to grab the machete well enough to work hard". He let his cut heal that day and went to work again the day after. These small cuts that have to heal for a day or a week occur very regularly. Sometimes, more serious injuries occur. One nineteen-year-old girl in the Porcelana camp in Bermejo called Nina, for example, had cut off half her thumb a few weeks before. She mentioned:

I was working with my *cuarta* when just like that I cut my thumb! I had even sliced the bone! My *cuarta* helped me a bit although he was very shocked too, it was bleeding a lot. We put a cloth around my thumb and went to the hospital, but they couldn't put the sliced part back on so they had to take the rest off too. Now I have to go to the hospital every two days to get clean bandages.

Photo 13: Thirteen-year-old boy and his father loading sugar cane mechanically, Okinawa 1 camp, Santa Cruz



Nina was very annoyed about what had happened to her because she couldn't continue to help her husband in the harvest or do anything in the household. Her income was lost until her thumb healed again.

During the ILO research in 2002, there was still a great risk of being bitten by snakes while working on the plantations; currently both in Bermejo and Santa Cruz, this risk has diminished significantly because the harvesters set light to the sugar cane crop before harvesting. They burn the plants to remove all excess leaves before harvesting, but inadvertently also scare off, or kill, all potentially dangerous animals in the fields. None of the children interviewed in Santa Cruz or Bermejo confirmed ever having been bitten by a snake. Some had seen snakes on the plantations or close to the camp though.

3.1.4 Educational situation of the children

In addition to the health and safety dangers of working in the sugar cane harvest, children and adolescents become accustomed to earning money through work and run the risk of becoming school dropouts. The current educational situation has, however, improved significantly compared to the one described by ILO in 2002. According to ILO, only 8.3% of the girls and none of the boys participating in the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz were in school. In Bermejo, neither boys nor girls from the migrant camps were attending classes [Dávalos 2002b:34-35]. Currently, most children under 12 years old are attending primary school. Still, attendance depends very much on

whether there is a school close to the camp. In the central sugar cane zone in Bermejo almost all children under 12 are in school; in the more remote zones of Santa Cruz, where schools are far away, young children continue to be out of school. Adolescents in the sugar cane harvest, who should be attending secondary school after having finished 8th grade, also continue to be out of school.

Like the work situation, the educational situation of the children in the sugar cane harvests of Santa Cruz and Bermejo varies per age group. One general remark is that work in the sugar cane harvest is migratory work, implying that children who accompany their parents to the harvest have to change schools frequently. They must always have their transcripts with them to prove that they are enrolled at school in their home towns. Only with these papers can they attend classes at the camp schools. Some families move from camp to camp during the harvest, and so their children move from school to school. The teachers in the sugar cane regions have difficulties with the fluctuating numbers of students. One teacher of the school opposite the Primero de Mayo camp in Arrozales, Bermejo mentioned:

We are three teachers during the entire year but the number of children attending classes varies all the time. Before the harvest there are 27 pupils from the community [of Arrozales] but when the harvest starts there are 80 to 90 children.

Teachers thus have to cope with varying numbers of pupils; this number varies almost per week as the harvesting families come and go at different moments and children from different camps attend the same schools.

The youngest children (0-6) usually spend their time close to their mothers although some of them attend the governmental child care centres (PAN) if there is one close to the camp. For doña Delia, for example, staying in the camp in Porcelana, Bermejo is convenient because there is a PAN centre with a social worker and a cook. Doña Delia therefore has the possibility to leave her two youngest children with the people who run the PAN centre while she dedicates herself to her other tasks like cleaning the house, baking bread and washing clothes. On the other hand, in the Chorobi camp near Las Gamas in Santa Cruz, for example, there is no PAN centre in the near vicinity because of which mothers have their youngest with them at all times.

Most children of 6 years and older in the camps, go to school if there is one available close by. In Arrozales, Porcelana and Campo Grande in Bermejo there are schools close to the camps and almost all primary-school-aged children attend classes. The fact that they help their parents after school and in the weekends, however, leaves them little time to do their homework; they either help their mothers with household chores in the camp or assist parents in the fields. In the Okinawa 1 and Chorobi camps in Santa Cruz, on the other hand, the children are not in school because the parents consider the schools to be too far away. Like doña Maria José in the Chorobi camp, mother of four children of whom two should be in school, stated:

My children could go to school in the community a bit further away but it is too far away and I don't know how to get there, I don't know this place. Maybe next year I won't go to the harvest and just stay at home with my children so they can go to school; they are failing classes now. They are in 2nd and 4th grade [of primary school]. Last year I did stay home with them.

Like doña Maria José, doña Elena from the same camp, also mentioned the situation of not being able to bring her two children to school in the community at some three kilometres away. She suggested that there should be someone to take the children to school everyday. As the Okinawa 1 camp doesn't have a school close to the camp, the mothers haven't taken their school-going children with them. The four women who accompanied their husbands to this camp decided to leave their children at home so that they were able to continue their classes.

The older children and adolescents who participate in the sugar cane harvest working as contracted harvesters and *cuartas* are not in school anymore. They work fulltime and have usually finished only primary school until 5th or 8th grade. Only some of them have started secondary school but dropped out before finishing and even less of them are planning to go back to high school to graduate and maybe then continue to study at university. Most adolescents don't perceive further study as a real opportunity because they cannot afford the enrolment fees or book costs. Like 15-year-old Héctor from the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo:

I finished 8th grade last year and then I quit going to school. I would still like to continue studying in high school but there is no money in my family for me to study. Maybe I'll have to pay for it myself.

Zenon, on the other hand, a sixteen-year-old boy working as a contracted harvester and staying in the Okinawa 1 camp in Santa Cruz, dislikes working in the sugar cane harvest so much that his conviction of continuing to study has grown stronger during the months that he has been working. He has only finished primary school until 6th grade and commented:

I would like to at least finish high school and if possible go to university as well. I really don't like to work here; the harvest is very heavy and tiring. I don't know what I would want to study yet, whatever would be possible I guess, maybe to be a teacher or a lawyer.

Zenon's fifteen-year-old friend Francisco shares his opinion about the work and about continuing to study. He would also like to be a professional and not work in the harvest anymore. He thinks that studying in an educational institute for adults, a so-called CEMA,²⁰ would be the best option and allow him to complete two years of high school in one year.

However, as stated above, most youths don't consider further study as a viable option, and most don't desire further study either; they like the fact that they have started to earn money or simply don't feel like studying anymore. Thirteen-year-old Armando from the Campo Grande camp stated: "I finished 3rd grade last week; holidays have started now. I don't want to study more because I don't like it, but maybe I will go in my hometown". Sixteen-year-old Uriel, in the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo, is a good example of many boys who don't desire going back to school because they have become used to working and earning money for themselves or their families. Uriel explained:

I studied until fourth grade: I left when I was eleven. I am not going to study anymore because the [higher levels] are far away and I don't want to go anymore. I just want to work. In my hometown I also work: I grow vegetables and take care of the sheep, the goats, the pigs and the cows. [...] In the harvest here, I work with my father. He doesn't really pay me but just gives me clothes and stuff.

Parents often take their children out of school so they can help on the fields growing vegetables and breeding cattle, and accompany them to the sugar cane harvest. Like thirteen-year-old Modesto claimed: "my father took me from school when I was eleven so I could help him growing potatoes, peas and cereals, but also I didn't want to continue studying myself". Modesto accompanies his father on the fields in their hometown, as well as in the sugar cane harvest.

Some young harvesters are disappointed that their poor economical situation makes it impossible for them to study. Sixteen-year-old Fernando mentioned:

I studied until 8th grade but I haven't been able to study more because I have no help from my parents. So I decided to leave school: there aren't any scholarships either. I would have

²⁰ Centro de Educación Media para Adultos

liked to study more, to go to high school, but then I would have to go to Iscayachi, which is also a bit far away.

Girls experience the same difficulties with continued schooling. Fourteen-year-old Sandra from the Chorobi camp in Okinawa mentioned that she had studied only until 3rd grade of primary school and would like to study more so she can become a lawyer. Sandra's circumstances, however, do not make becoming a lawyer very realistic; she accompanied her husband to the harvest, cooks for seven harvesters, has a two month old baby and only a few years of primary education. Girls often accompany their relatives or husbands to work as *cuartas* and gradually obtain more responsibilities when becoming *pensionistas*: cooking for the harvesters. Going back to school becomes increasingly improbable. Fifteen-year-old Luisiana, however, from the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo, was very decided about her wish to continue studying the following year: "I have worked a few years as a *cuarta* but next year I really want to finish 8th grade and then continue studying in high school". She reckoned that if she wouldn't go through with it the following year, it would be too late.

3.2 Conclusion - Worst form of child labour

Taking into account the conditions in which children and adolescents in the sugar cane regions in Santa Cruz and Bermejo are living and working, their activities can indeed be categorised as *worst forms* of child labour. Although numbers seem to have gone down, the situation in which the work takes place has changed only marginally compared to the situation described by ILO in 2002; there are still many children engaged in harmful activities in the sector and facing difficulties in combining their work with school. ILO Convention 182 explicitly prohibits any labour activity for minors that are likely to harm their health, safety or morals [ILO 1999a]. Although not specifically mentioned in ILO Convention 182, children's work in the sugar cane harvest also negatively influences children's school attendance.

Health and safety

The different age groups of the children in the sugar cane sector experience various health implications. Adolescents work fulltime as contracted harvesters or helpers and therefore experience physical inconveniences like pain in their shoulders, back and waist and many complain about the work being heavy and making them extremely tired. As adolescent boys also help loading sugar cane they have more physical problems than the girls. In Bermejo the sugar cane is loaded manually, which makes the work more risky and heavier than in Santa Cruz, where this is done mechanically. Loading sugar cane manually, besides causing aches in back, waist and shoulders, carries the risk of falling off the stairs and injuring oneself badly. However, loading sugar cane mechanically is not without its risks either; one has to stay clear of the machines and not fall off the wagon.

The younger children (6-12) mention the work to be heavy and tiring, but experience this in a less severe manner because they work fewer hours. But they have to deal with many of the same dangers as their older peers; girls as well as boys, in Bermejo as well as in Santa Cruz, are always at risk of cutting themselves with a machete. Many children and adolescents mentioned to have cut themselves at least once and sometimes severely, like one nineteen-year-old girl who had cut off half her thumb. Dehydration is also a danger for all youths participating in the sugar cane harvest because of the high temperatures in which they work.

The youngest children, who are not in school yet, spend their time with their mothers in the migrant camps and are therefore not at risk of work related injuries. They do, however, experience the poor living conditions in the camps, just like the older children and adolescents. Living conditions have improved a bit in the central zone of Bermejo; most camps are permanent, but mobile camps can still be found in the more remote sugar cane zones of Bermejo (See for more

information about this remote zone [Baas 2008]). In the Santa Cruz sugar cane region the living conditions have not changed much since 2002; most harvester camps are still mobile, but even the permanent ones lack basic living conditions. The lack of bathing facilities, drinking water, electricity and a safe and dry place to sleep in the mobile camps make people vulnerable for a variety of diseases. Permanent camps are slightly better organised and usually do have electricity and potable water (although often only one tap for many families), but also lack bathing facilities and privacy. In the central sugar cane zone of Bermejo, health centres are relatively close to the camps (10 kilometres at the most), but in the large Santa Cruz sugar cane region health centres can be very far away.

Education

Besides engaging in heavy and dangerous work, the youths who participate in the sugar cane harvest experience difficulties in combining their work with education. Compared to the situation encountered by ILO in 2002, however, currently there are considerably more children attending primary school. The adolescents working fulltime don't attend school anymore and most of them have only attended primary school, many without completing it. Often the adolescents, boys as well as girls, are disappointed that their economic situation does not allow further studying. Some adolescents, however, seem to accept the idea of not attending more than just a few years of primary school; they don't desire to study more but want to work and earn money. These adolescents usually already work with their family members in their hometowns and accompany them to the sugar cane harvest to work as a *cuarta* for their father or brother.

Younger children, between six and twelve years old, attend school in the sugar cane region, but usually only if there is one close to the camp, which is not always the case. When they move to the camps from their home towns they also have to change schools; if their parents take them from camp to camp then they will attend multiple schools during the harvest season. Despite the difficulties most children do manage to maintain their primary school attendance. Their parents consider school more important than work at this age, and so these young children only help their parents after school hours. This does, however, mean that they have little time to do their homework, or to play and rest. The youngest children (0-6) sometimes attend the governmental child centres (PAN) if there is one close to the camp, like in the Porcelana and Primero de Mayo camps in Bermejo. Otherwise the children just stay with their mothers in the camps and are sometimes taken to the fields.

Taking the health, safety and educational implications of the work in the sugar cane harvest into account, it is undeniably one of the *worst forms* of child labour. Youngsters run all types of health risks and are actually injured from time to time. In addition, their right to education is violated because the school-going children who participate in the harvest experience an interruption of their school year while the older ones who work fulltime have no time to attend school. They drop out of school, start working and decrease their possibilities of learning a profession. Leaving the harvest and this type of work becomes more and more difficult over time as other alternatives become increasingly less likely.

Chapter 4

Interventions to Eradicate Child Labour from the Sugar Cane Sector

There are several governmental and non-governmental organisations working in the struggle against child labour in the sugar cane harvest, including Hombres Nuevos, the Prefecture, UNICEF and Child Defence, but due to time limitations, not all of them could be taken into account during the IREWOC research. This chapter describes the interventions of LABOR, OASI, CCIMCAT and the Ministry of Labour that work towards the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz and in Bermejo using varying strategies. The contents and results of all interventions will be treated separately, resulting in a conclusion on the effectiveness of the strategies.

4.1 Santa Cruz

4.1.1 LABOR cooperating with Federation of Sugarcane Harvesters

The project carried out by LABOR during August 2006 to July 2008 was called “Awareness raising and promotion for the progressive eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest in the Obispo Santistevan²¹ province”²² (department of Santa Cruz) and aimed to contribute to the eradication of child labour from the harvest. The project aimed to raise awareness about the issue of child labour in the harvest among harvesters and their families, the Federation of Harvesters, sugar cane producers, civil society and authorities. An important aspect of the project was the tripartite dialogue between sugar cane harvesters, sugar cane producers and authorities on the improvement of labour conditions for adult harvesters in order to create an adequate environment to decrease the number of children participating in the harvest. Other activities of the project included the organisation of workshops in the harvester camps, strengthening the Federation of Harvesters and awareness raising among sugar cane producers, authorities and the general public²³.

LABOR worked on informing the Federation of Harvesters on the topic of child labour through workshops about ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and the importance of basic education. The leaders of the Federation are well aware of the topic and seem to entirely agree with the idea of eliminating child labour from the sector. When visiting the harvester camps the Federation members talk about the issue with the harvesters and their families while also mentioning the problems of children participating in the harvest through the Federations’ daily radio program. Although the Federation of Harvesters tries to visit the camps from time to time, the harvesters and other actors don’t value the Federation very highly. According to doctor Galvimonte from the OASI health brigade, the leaders of the Federation are not trained well enough for their responsibilities. More importantly, many harvesters speak negatively about the Federation and show very little trust in their representing body. Doña Ana’s husband (Chorobi camp) expressed his mistrust in the Federation of Harvesters, after having been vice-president of the Federation for a few years. In his

²¹ In practice the project took place in both provinces of Santistevan and Warnes.

²² Sensibilización y promoción para la erradicación progresiva del trabajo infantil en la zafra de la provincia Santistevan.

²³ Source: Sistematización de Resultados del Proyecto: “Sensibilización para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil en la zafra de la caña de azúcar en la provincia Obispo Santistevan”, LABOR, unpublished.

opinion there was a lot of corruption within the Federation, the money wasn't spent well and the organisation didn't really represent the harvesters. He complained:

I was vice president for the Federation for two or three years but I left because it was such a mess: a lot of corruption and the money they get never really goes to the harvesters. And the Federation hardly ever visits the harvester camps, just a few of the many camps during the harvest. I left fighting with some of them...that's why I left.

Other harvesters staying in the same camp mentioned the same mistrust in the Federation: "they say that they will visit the camps but they never do so, it doesn't make sense".

On the other hand, the radio program broadcasted by the Federation of Harvesters in Montero, called *La voz del zafrero*²⁴, is quite popular among the harvesters. Many families listen regularly to the program which is a daily half-hour broadcast. The radio program used to be financed by FOS Belgium, but now by Ayuda Obrera Suissa. According to Felipe Titirico, one of the leaders, people usually comment positively on the issues dealt with in the program because of which the program seems an effective way to reach many people about issues like child labour. Twenty-year-old Valentina (Chorobi camp) commented that she likes to listen to it: "they talk about that we should have good camps, good earnings and that children shouldn't work in the sugar cane harvest". Also 13-year-old Manuel (Okinawa 1 camp) and his parents listen to the program on their radio. Manuel's mother, doña Nely, explained that she likes the program and that they learn some things from it:

During the program they talk about children who work in the harvest and that it is prohibited because it is dangerous for them. Then my son tells me "you see mum, I shouldn't be working: it is prohibited". But I think there is always a reason why kids are working.

Not all reactions, however, are positive. Don Felipe once had a discussion with a harvester's wife about the topic of child labour: "she told me that it is easy to say that children can't work in the harvest but that she had no option because she has no money to send them to school". The leaders of the Federation, however, do agree on having to discuss the issue with the harvester families.

LABOR held workshops in a total of 21 harvester camps about labour rights and child labour, with over 1.300 participants²⁵. According to the former director of LABOR, Carlos Camargo, there is much less child labour in the sugar cane harvest, because people are more aware of the damaging effect of children's work, partly because of the awareness raising workshop of LABOR: "there are about 50% fewer children in the harvest these days than a few years ago, people are more aware that children shouldn't work". However, during IREWOC research there were still many children and adolescents to be found in the sugar cane harvest. Furthermore, few people could be found in the camps who could comment on the workshops. Usually, they couldn't even recall whether an organisation had actually come to their camp, let alone comment on the contents of the workshops. Some people were able to vaguely recall visitors who had talked to them about rights or about the work of children. Those who remembered the workshops rarely recalled who the organisers had been. A 20-year-old harvester, from a camp where LABOR had organised a workshop a few months before, mentioned: "I participated in a workshop of UNICEF, which was about labour rights, health, prices for the sugar cane and education, but I don't remember anything else that was organised." Another woman from the same camp was unable to name the organiser of the workshop, but recalled "a few men who had come to the camp and who had stayed for a little while to talk and had then left - but I don't know what it was about because I didn't participate". The nature of the workshops, in which people just have to sit and listen, does not help people to remember the

²⁴ The voice of the harvester

²⁵ Source: Notes of evaluation workshop on the project "Awareness raising and promotion for the progressive eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest - LABOR

message; more interactive methods, such as those applied by the CCIMCAT project (paragraph 4.2.1), usually result in more participants being able to remember the discussion.

LABOR and the Federation of Harvesters have also visited the harvesters' places of origin, including the province of Isono (department of Santa Cruz); this allowed the organisations to coordinate activities in the region to raise awareness about the issue of child labour and urge parents to leave their children at home instead of taking them to the camps. The visits also served to inform the people about the salaries in the sugar cane harvest and the living and working conditions. According to Felipe Titirico of the Federation of Harvesters, he used to visit the province of Machareti as well (department of Chuquisaca), but doesn't do so anymore because the harvesters from this province have stopped working in the harvest. The initiation of agricultural projects in the region has decreased the need for people to participate in the sugar cane harvest. Other regions from which people migrate to the harvest, in the departments of Potosí, Cochabamba, Oruro and La Paz were also visited during the project.

The tripartite dialogue implemented by LABOR and in which the harvesters, sugar cane producers and authorities like the Ministry of Labour participated has led to some agreements. For example, a harvesters' labour contract was drafted that takes into account international agreements; a collective agreement was signed, which includes a fixed salary for the harvesters and the prohibition of child labour. Also, important relations were established through participation in the commission that elaborates the Bolivian Norm for Child Labour Free Production (LTI) in which institutions like the Bolivian Institute for External Commerce (IBCE), the Departmental Chamber of External Commerce (CADEX), the Bolivian Institute for Normalization and Quality (IBNORCA), the sugar cane processing plants Guabirá and UNAGRO, UNICEF, Foundation Hombres Nuevos and LABOR participate. These agreements between various actors provide the harvesters and their Federation with a strong base to refer to in future negotiations.

Results

The awareness raising activities on child labour by LABOR for the Federation of Harvesters seem to have had good results as the leaders are well informed about the topic. During their visits to the camps and through their radio program the Federation tells the harvesters that their children shouldn't be working in the harvest and that their education is more important. But despite the popularity of the Federation's radio program and although the harvester families receive the visits of the Federation very well, there might be a need for some internal strengthening of the Federation as many people have little trust in the organisation to be the representing body of the harvester community.

The subjects of the workshops in the harvester camps organised by LABOR were very relevant for the struggle against child labour in the sugar cane harvest. However, people interviewed in the camps about the workshops often didn't remember much about the content, their own participation and by whom it was organised. Measuring the impact of workshops like these is thus complicated because it is difficult to find people who participated in the workshops (if it was last year, most of them are now in another camp or haven't come to the harvest) and people tend to not remember many details of such happenings.

Various meetings initiated by LABOR with the different actors have led to agreements being signed between harvesters, sugar cane producers and authorities on topics like salaries and the prohibition of child labour. These agreements form relevant steps in the process of eradicating child labour, as harvesters, employers and government employees have agreed to take the problem seriously.

4.1.2 Organisation for Social Assistance of the Church²⁶ (OASI)

The Santa Cruz department of OASI carries out a health project in the sugar cane region; a medical brigade consisting of a doctor and two nurses tries to visit each of the migrant camps in the Warnes province every month during the harvest period. Warnes is one of the eleven sugar cane provinces in the Santa Cruz department. The OASI health brigade coordinates with the Departmental Health Service²⁷ (SEDES); they share medication and information about the health situation in the communities and in the harvester camps. The health brigade is currently being financed by Medicus Mundi Andalusia (May 2008 - November 2009).

OASI tries to visit the migrant camps various times during the harvest to give follow-up care to the patients. People are very satisfied with the medical assistance of the brigade; in different camps people mention the doctor and nurses, and seem to feel comfortable about discussing their medical issues with them. Doña Ana (Chorobi camp) seemed to feel very insecure and embarrassed about her pregnancy and didn't want to talk about it with anybody. She did speak about it with doctor Galvimonte of OASI when the health brigade visited the camp and he gave her advice about what she should and shouldn't do while being pregnant. After OASI had left she told me:

In the other camp, where we stayed for about four months, everything was worse than here; there was no electricity and no water: the contractor brought us water in tanks but we ran out of water all the time. The only good thing was that the health brigade did come to visit us there. I think they came about four times and they've come three times already since we've been here [in the new camp].

Many people showed their happiness about there being a health brigade. According to the nurse, they encounter people with machete wounds from time to time, but most common health problems are skin infections caused by the heat and humidity, and stomach and head aches caused by contaminated water and the heat. According to the doctor, children mostly suffer from parasites, diarrhoea and respiratory infections. The health brigade treats children for their immediate problems and also administers vaccinations.

OASI stays in contact with the Federation of Harvesters in Montero by, for example, helping to manage a pharmacy, which is run by the Federation in a space next to their building. The OASI team supplies the Federation with information about the medicine and coordinates the administrative and organisational issues. According to the health brigade, the Federation of Harvesters should strengthen its internal organisation so as to be better able to represent the harvesters.

Results

The OASI health brigade is functioning very well and reaches out to many harvester families in the Warnes province. With regards to eradicating child labour from the sugar cane harvest, however, the brigade does not make a specific contribution. The objective of the health brigade is to provide medical assistance to the whole harvester community, including children, adolescents and adults. Because the brigade cannot always coordinate in such a way that everyone is present in the camp at the moment of their visit, some people stay unattended. The women and children who stay in the camps, however, are attended and receive medical attention various times during their stay in the sugar cane regions.

²⁶ Organización de Asistencia Social de la Iglesia

²⁷ Servicio Departamental de Salud

4.2 BERMEJO

4.2.1 CCIMCAT - Bermejo

ILO financed the CCIMCAT pilot project in four Bermejo communities²⁸ during 2007. The project was called ‘strengthening of participative citizenship of rural women’²⁹ and aimed to eradicate child labour from the sugar cane harvest through strengthening women’s economic contributions. At the time of the IREWOC research it was still unknown if the ILO would prolong their support for the project. The main objective of the project was to eradicate child labour by stimulating the migrant women and other poor women from the sugar cane communities to generate their own income. This way they might feel less need to make their children work and become aware of the importance for children’s education instead of labour. CCIMCAT believes that strengthening women’s activities is the key to development of whole families or even communities. Usually, in the sugar cane harvest women work for and support their husbands; they help in the harvest, do household chores and take care of their children, but they have very little time and opportunities to develop activities of their own. During the CCIMCAT project the migrant women and the women permanently living in the sugar cane region were motivated to organise themselves, plan the production of marmalade and *chancaca*³⁰, rear chickens and ensure the sale of the products. Meetings were usually held in the schools to provide a neutral place to work. CCIMCAT coordinated the project with the Ministry of Labour, the Federation of Sugar Cane Producers, and the Ministry of Education, among others. According to the director of CCIMCAT, Pedro Mariscal³¹, the sugar cane producers were open to a discussion about the labour situation in the harvest and willing to make improvements.

The CCIMCAT director also mentioned the need for the groups that participated in the project to strengthen themselves: “they are not able to work independently yet”. Although the pilot project has ended, the CCIMCAT employees have continued to visit the communities and according to the CCIMCAT director, in some places the women who participated in the project continue to raise chickens, produce *chancaca* or marmalade and sell the products. In other places, the women have stopped working, for example in Porcelana; the equipment used to make marmalade has been stowed, and so the women can’t continue working.

An important challenge for the project is reaching organisational sustainability. Because most of the women are migrants it is difficult to form a stable group. “The most stable group can be formed with the women who live in the communities”, mentioned the coordinator of the project, Daysi Rivera. Like her colleague Pedro Mariscal, she also stated that: “to reach organisational stability, the project needs to run five years, or two periods of three years”. This way the groups could be stable, sustainable and well enough trained to manage follow-up by themselves. The project would have to reach this level before it would have a significant impact on child labour.

Besides the productive activities with the women, the project also worked with the children of the participating women, by organising workshops about children’s rights. In order not to bore the children the educators used games to explain the children about their rights to play, to basic health, to education, etc. Some children from the Porcelana camp, for example, recalled decorating sponges, which the CCIMCAT educators used to demonstrate proper hygiene behaviour. One 12-year-old boy mentioned:

²⁸ The four communities participating in the project were Porcelana, Campo Grande, Colonia Linares and Naranjitos, all communities located in the central sugar cane zone of Bermejo.

²⁹ Proyecto de fortalecimiento de participación ciudadana de mujeres rurales.

³⁰ *Chancaca* is a sweet sauce made of raw unrefined cane sugar.

³¹ Interview held November 7 2008.

They explained how we should wash ourselves and then we decorated the sponges. It was funny to make them but I don't have the sponge anymore. They also told us about child labour and that children shouldn't work in the sugar cane harvest and that children should go to school. I liked the workshops but I also didn't like it because there were almost only girls participating.

The women were rather positive about the CCIMCAT project and mentioned their wish to continue participating in it. Most positive were the reactions about raising chickens, as doña Ruth remarked: "I liked it very much when they gave us chickens to breed, but it was a pity when many of them died of pest. [CCIMCAT] did give the chickens some medicine, but still many died". According to the coordinator Daysi Rivera, the fact that the chickens died had also to do with the fact that the migrant women took the animals with them to their hometowns and many didn't survive the trip or died because of the change of climate.

In Porcelana a group of some 20 women participated in the project. They all got twelve baby chickens at the beginning of the project and a few more later on in the project. Together, the women learned how to produce marmalade from oranges and tried to sell it in the town of Bermejo. Selling marmalade, however, turned out to be difficult; according to Doña Mariana from the Porcelana camp, the women only earned about 18 Bolivianos (1.80 Euro) each because not all the marmalade could be sold. Despite the low earnings of the project, Doña Mariana would still like the project to continue in order to learn something more. Also doña Ruth mentioned that she would like the project to continue to keep learning, especially if it would be focussed on the production of *chancaca* "because it is a beautiful product," as she mentioned.

Results

The women are enthusiastic about the project and would like it to continue, but after just one year, no impact on the level of child labour can as yet be determined. The women and their children appreciate learning how to produce something new, and the little they earned from the produce made the work worthwhile. Like the coordinator of the project stated, the project would need more time in order to be sustainable and to have an impact on the eradication of child labour. Until now, after only having had the pilot period of the project, the women and the children are positive about the project and know that part of it is focussed on the issues of child labour, education and children's rights, but they value the production part of the project more because of its direct effect. A follow-up of the project could have a very positive outcome as the aim of strengthening women's productive opportunities will certainly be reached, and working on this theme creates a forum to talk about the other subjects concerning the eradication of child labour. Raising awareness on this issue might as well best be done this way: accompanied by an alternative, which would be income generating opportunities for women.

4.2.2 Ministry of Labour

Financed by UNICEF, the Ministry of Labour implemented extra lessons, called *aulas de apoyo*, for primary school pupils in various migrant camps, during the harvest of 2007. Four educators were paid a type of scholarship and reimbursement of travel costs to organise the classes. The educators organised classes for the pupils in different camps in the central zone of the sugar cane region of Bermejo. For example, in the harvester camp of the sugar cane processing plant in Arrozales there were classes three afternoons per week and each Saturday morning for three different levels of pupils. In this particular camp there were 25 students divided over the three levels. Some children in the Primero de Mayo camp, who had been in the same camp the year before as well, remembered the classes. They commented that for a few months one or two women had come to

the camp and that they had spent the day with them in one of the non-occupied camp buildings, doing subjects such as mathematics and drawing.

Results

This might have been the most direct way to eradicate child labour from the sugar cane sector as the extra lessons provide an alternative pastime for children. This works particularly well for children who are still in school and who would otherwise accompany their parents to the fields on non-school days because of a lack of a safe place to stay, rather than a need for their financial contribution. The *aulas de apoyo* offer a safe place to pass the time and study, while their parents are working. According to Norma Alfaro, the employee of the Ministry of Labour in Bermejo, for some children the project worked well and for others not because they preferred to help their parents in the fields. Norma Alfaro also commented that gathering the children at the *aulas* was difficult because most children were so accustomed to joining their parents in the fields. Especially the older ones would often prefer to work on Saturdays. “It was important to make sure that the children wouldn’t get bored in the lessons; therefore we tried to do many games, drawings and sports activities as well”. These strategies were important to make sure that most of the children would come to the *aulas de apoyo* instead of going to the fields.

4.2.3 OASI Bermejo³²

During the first months of the sugar cane harvest of this year (2008), OASI supported the Federation of Harvesters’ negotiations with the Federation of Sugar Cane Producers and the board of the sugar cane processing plant (IAB) about increasing the price per tonne of harvested sugar cane. Because negotiations didn’t result as expected, the harvesters went on strike for a while; they started blockades and held demonstrations. The OASI team supported the harvesters’ actions and helped the blockaders by quickly starting up an *holla comun*: a communal cooking system. After some six weeks of actions and negotiations an agreement was made between the harvesters and the producers to increase the price per tonne of harvested sugar cane to 50 Bolivianos (5 Euro), which is about 20 Bolivianos more than last year. The decision was based on a study carried out by a professor from the Bermejo University towards the amount of money needed per day by an average family for basic needs³³. From the moment that the agreement was reached the harvesters started working in the harvest as usual. Many harvesters and their wives, however, did complain about the late start of the harvest; not all of them had agreed with the strike. Although they took advantage of the better prices, they had received no pay during the strike.

Results

The support of OASI to the Federation of Harvesters in their struggle for a better salary is an example of forming just labour conditions for adults in order for them to be able to provide their families with the basic daily needs by earning a good salary. Indirectly this contributes to the eradication of child labour because better income for parents diminishes the need for their children to add to the family income. Also, it decreases the need for contracted labourers to bring helpers in order to increase their daily income. Creating these better labour conditions for contracted (adult) harvesters forms a situation in which there is less need for children and adolescents to participate in the exhausting work of the harvest. A strong decrease in the number of *cuartas* cannot be noted

³² For a description of an intervention by OASI aiming at the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvested, implemented in 2004-2005, see [Baas 2008].

³³ Because of high inflation rates in 2008 the amount of money needed per day by an average family for basic needs had gone up very much compared to the year before.

yet, but better wages are still an important factor in creating a workable sector in which there is no need for children to participate.

4.2.4 Projects in hometowns of harvesters

In different rural areas in Bolivia projects are carried out to improve agricultural production. Some harvesters told of projects in their places of origin in which some of them had participated. In the rural community in the department of Chuquisaca where don Verti of the Chorobi camp in Santa Cruz lives, for example, production was improved by installing an irrigation system. He explained how he had planted apple and peach trees and cactus fruit plants and that because of the irrigation system he would be able to start harvesting this year. He mentioned that if he would earn enough by selling the fruit he wouldn't come back to the sugar cane harvest and neither would his sons of 16 and 20 years old. "They are helping me now in the harvest but if we can sell enough cactus fruit, apples and peaches we won't go back to working in the harvest, next year. It's too heavy with all the mosquitoes and the heat". Don Verti's comments mark an important example of the fact that many harvesters would prefer to stay in their hometowns instead of travelling to the sugar cane region each year, if they would be able to make a living there. Unfortunately, don Verti didn't remember the name of the institution that had implemented the project. According to don Felipe Titirico of the Federation of Harvesters in Montero, there are productive projects in the region of Macharetí (department of Chuquisaca) as well, because of which people apparently don't migrate to the sugar cane harvest anymore.

4.2.5 Fewer youths in the harvest because of school?

During the field research, many children and youths were found working in the sugar cane harvest, either as paid or as unpaid helpers and sometimes even as contracted harvesters. Some people mentioned having noticed a diminishment in the number of youths participating in the harvest compared with a few years ago. Like doña Mercedes from the Campo Grande camp in Bermejo, mother of four children, mentioned:

My daughter didn't want to come to the harvest. She joined us once but she found the work horrible, "much too heavy and too hot" she said. So she decided that she wants to study; she is in 8th grade now and wants to go to high school. In general there are fewer children in the camp. Last year there were more, but like my daughter other children also want to study. They sometimes just want to go to school so they stay in their homes.

Apparently some awareness has risen among the children and their parents concerning the importance of schooling. Fifteen-year-old Luisiana (Campo Grande camp) also stated that there are fewer children on the plantations than before. According to her this also has to do with youths wanting to study: "also from my town, some children have stayed there because they want to finish school first". Luisiana herself also wants to finish 8th grade next year and then move on to high school; she couldn't finish primary school this year because she had to help her brother in the harvest.

The employee of the Ministry of Labour, Norma Alfaro, however, remarked that this awareness concerning the importance of school usually only counts for primary education, while children and parents don't value high school very much. She said:

Most children just attend classes during the first five or eight years of primary school. When they passed fifth or eighth grade they seem to be content and think they have learned enough. But it is not enough. They have to keep studying and move on to high school or even university or learn a profession. Otherwise they will just end up in the sugar cane harvest like their parents.

Although awareness about education thus seems to grow among children and parents and more children are staying in their hometowns to continue studying or attending classes in the harvest region, this awareness is mostly limited to primary education.

4.3 Conclusion - effectiveness of interventions

Different strategies have been implemented in the various sugar cane regions of Santa Cruz and Bermejo aiming to eradicate child labour from the sector. In general, all the separate interventions have their own specific impact on the problem of child labour, but eradication is a long way off. There is certainly not one type of intervention that would work best; a combination of complementary strategies is needed.

In the Warnes province in the Santa Cruz sugar cane region, for example, LABOR implemented a project that focussed on creating awareness about labour rights and improving labour conditions through a tripartite dialogue. Important agreements were reached between sugar cane producers, harvesters and authorities concerning the issues of child labour and fixed incomes for adult harvesters. Together with the Federation of Harvesters, LABOR reached out to the harvesters by visiting their camps and informing them on their rights and the prohibition of child labour. Because these workshops have a rather inactive character, with people just sitting there and listening, people tend to soon forget what these workshops were about. Still the strategy of raising awareness about labour rights is an important one in stimulating harvesters to struggle for their own rights and understand the importance of youths studying instead of working. It was stated repeatedly that projects should be followed-up; until now projects have taken place for a year or two at the most, which means that projects never reach the objective of eradicating child labour. Interventions should have a duration of at least three to six years to be able to measure their impact.

The pilot project implemented by CCIMCAT in Bermejo was a more active participatory type of intervention. Migrant women together with women from the sugar cane region actively participated in the production of *chancaca*, marmalade and raising chickens and they claimed to like the aspect of having learned something and hope for its continuation. The women and children also learned about hygiene and the prohibition of child labour in the sugar cane sector. It is hard to measure and see whether the eradication of child labour through strengthening women's income generating capacity actually works, also because the project has lasted for one year only. No families were found who had decided to leave their children at home because of the awareness created through the CCIMCAT project. Most of their children, however, do go to school or to a child care centre in the sugar cane region itself.

The reasons for youths to participate in the sugar cane harvest vary among the different age groups, and so interventions have to be tailored to suit the needs of each group. Because school-going children work during non-school days or periods, projects to eradicate child labour among school-going children in the sector should focus on finding other pastimes for children during these periods. An intervention like the *aulas de apoyo* of the Ministry of Labour is a good example of alternative activities for school-going children on non-school days. While strengthening the children's school performances they are kept out of the fields and away from harmful work. In order to make sure that all children participate in such activities they have to be attractive for the children; combining school activities with sports and games works well.

The most difficult group to reach directly remains the group of adolescents who work as *cuartas* or contracted harvesters. Because their motive to work in the harvest is economic, the alternative requires income generation as well. It would be very difficult to convince them to return to school instead, and it would require personal conviction. Some projects in the places of origin of the youths seem to have a diminishing effect on the yearly stream of adolescent migrants towards the sugar cane areas. Also, according to some testimonies, a growing awareness about the importance

of education causes more youths to stay at home instead of migrating to the harvest. Still, these are mostly primary school youths.

In the meanwhile, the OASI health brigade in Santa Cruz contributes to the improvement of the health situation of entire harvester families. The intervention does not specifically contribute to the eradication of child labour, but is very much appreciated by the harvester families living in the camps and contributes to the improvement of health conditions, which is a very important aspect of childhood. People are cared for well and regularly, but, because the health brigade consists of only three people, it is not possible to attend to the harvesters in all eleven sugar cane provinces; only the camps in the Warnes province are currently attended to.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

For the purpose of this study, two central questions were asked, and a comparison was made between the current situation and the situation described by ILO in 2002. The central questions were formulated as follows:

To what extent can children's activities in the sugar cane harvest be categorised as a *worst form* of child labour?

To what extent have interventions aiming at the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest been effective?

This concluding chapter describes the results of past interventions in the regions and outlines why, taking into account ILO Convention 182, the child labour situation in the sugar cane harvest can still be categorised as a *worst form* of child labour. On the basis of the findings, some recommendations for future interventions in the sector will be formulated.

Compared to the situation as described by ILO in 2002, the situation of child labour in the sugar cane harvest in Bermejo and Santa Cruz has undergone some change, particularly an increase of children in school and a decrease in the number of child labourers in the sector. Compared to ILO [2002] and according to some NGO staff, fewer children can be found on the plantations than some ten years ago, but nevertheless, many children and adolescents, girls as well as boys, are still found working on the plantations and living in the migrant camps.

5.1 Child labour in the sugar cane harvest: a worst form

The activities in which children participate have slightly changed because of technological changes. For the last couple of years, it has become common to burn the sugar cane before cutting it. One of the consequences is that fewer leaves have to be peeled off, work which used to be done by the *cuartas*. Currently, these helpers do the same work as the contracted harvesters: cutting the sugar cane and stacking it onto piles, preparing it for loading. Most of the manual loading work in Bermejo is done by the contracted harvesters, but sometimes the young *cuartas* participate as well. *Cuartas* also participate in mechanical loading in Santa Cruz.

Health and safety

The work, which the adolescents do as contracted harvesters or fulltime helpers in the sugar cane harvest, is extremely exhausting because of long working days and the heat in the sugar cane regions. Boys as well as girls experience physical inconveniences such as pain in the back and shoulders and cramps because of dehydration. The male children and adolescents who load sugar cane onto the trucks experience pains in their shoulders and waist; they also run the risk of falling off the ladder that leads up onto the truck. Especially in Bermejo, where the work is done manually, the loading of sugar cane is heavy and exhausting; in Santa Cruz machines are used for loading, but the risks of physical injury are still high. All adolescents and children who participate in cutting sugar cane are at risk of injuring themselves with their *machete*. Almost all girls and boys interviewed during the IREWOC research mentioned to, at least once, having cut themselves with their *machete*, mostly superficially, but at times seriously. During the ILO research in 2002, there was still a great risk for children (and adults) working on the plantations of being bitten by snakes

or poisonous spiders. Currently this risk has diminished to almost zero because the crop is burned before harvesting, thereby scaring away dangerous animals.

Children until the age of six stay with their mothers in the migrant camps and don't experience the dangers of working on the plantations. They, however, are exposed to the unhygienic circumstances in the camps where they live. In the central sugar cane region in Bermejo the living conditions have improved slightly compared to the situation described by ILO in 2002; most camps these days are permanent ones (constructions made of brick or wood with aluminium roofs) and are equipped with electricity and water. Sanitary facilities, however, continue to be lacking; toilets and bathing facilities are rare. The Primero de Mayo camp in Bermejo, which is owned by the IAB company (see paragraph 2.2.4), is the positive exception. People in this camp do have access to sanitary services like showers and toilets, although not completely clean, and receive medical attention from a nurse who stays in the camp for six days a week. The living conditions in the migrant camps in the research areas in Santa Cruz have generally stayed the same compared to results from ILO research in 2002. Most camps are still of the mobile type, lacking all basic facilities like toilets, showers, places to cook and sleep. People stay in self-constructed tents and sleep on self-constructed beds. Even in the permanent camps in the area, living conditions are often lacking sanitary and cooking facilities. Especially young children are vulnerable for diseases and parasites caused by poor hygiene. Health posts in the central sugar cane region of Bermejo are within a fair distance (about ten kilometres) from most of the migrant camps; in Santa Cruz health posts tend to be much further away.

Education

According to the ILO study, during the research period in 2002, only 8.3% of the girls participating in the sugar cane harvest of Santa Cruz were studying while the rest of the boys and girls present in the harvests of Santa Cruz and Bermejo were out of school. Currently, the situation is different. Although adolescents working as *cuartas* have, without exception, stopped going to school, younger children, more or less until the age of 12, are usually in school. Still, education is problematic in the sugar cane regions because schools are often far away from the harvester camps, which causes some children not to attend. Also, migration to the sugar cane regions interrupts a child's school year and negatively influences their school results. Children sometimes have to work during school hours and during the weekends, which leaves them little time for attending school and doing homework. The apparent lack of motivation from illiterate parents also contributes to children leaving school before finishing basic education, but these are exceptions. Indeed, there seems to be a growing awareness among children and their parents about the importance of education. Most young children participating in the sugar cane harvest can be found in primary school and testimonies of (young) harvesters point out that more adolescents are staying in their home communities to continue going to school instead of coming to the sugar cane harvest. Many adolescents who work fulltime in the harvest state that they would have liked to continue studying, but that lack of family financial resources forced them into labour activities and some even stated to dislike the work in the harvest so much that it actually made them want to go back to school again. Some other adolescents, however, don't feel the desire to study and are satisfied with only having (almost) completed primary school and being able to earn money now.

5.2 Interventions

Although there have been various interventions aimed at the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane fields, the harvesters rarely mention having been part of a project to improve living and working conditions and/or projects against child labour. Projects may have been in operation, but people may not have been actively involved and they thus do not seem to recollect. Yet, the

incidence of child labour seems to have decreased. To what extent the different projects actually have reduced the number of children participating in the sugar cane harvest is hard to measure, because patterns tend to change slowly and projects often lack continuity. A decrease also may have been caused by other intervening factors.

LABOR - Santa Cruz

The workshops organised by LABOR in the migrant camps dealt with important issues like child labour and labour rights of the adult harvesters. People, however, tended not to remember much of the contents of the workshops; this could be due to the inactive character of this method of passing information. The radio show broadcasted by the Federation of Harvesters, in cooperation with LABOR, is listened to by many harvesters and informs them of the issues related to the prohibition of child labour, labour rights and the importance of education. Furthermore, tripartite meetings organised by LABOR have brought about some important agreements between harvesters, producers and authorities on the issues of salaries and the prohibition of child labour in the sugar cane harvest.

OASI - Santa Cruz

The health brigade of OASI in Santa Cruz was valued very positively by the harvesters and their families. People felt well cared for by the nurses and the doctor and were happy to know that the health brigade would visit them regularly during the harvest period, especially since health posts tend to be far away. The OASI project doesn't directly contribute to a decrease in the number of children participating in the sugar cane harvest, but is directed towards the improvement of the health situation of the migrants living in the camps. An improved health condition of parents is possibly one of the aspects that helps to reduce the need for children to substitute sick parents.

CCIMCAT - Bermejo

When people have participated actively in projects, they tend to remember more about what the project was about and are able to form an opinion about its successful outcome. The CCIMCAT project in Bermejo, which focussed on strengthening women's income generating capacities and organisational abilities, for example, was remembered very well by the participating women and valued very positively by them. Because the pilot project only run for one year (2007), it would be difficult to link it to a decrease in the number of children working on the sugar cane plantations.

Ministry of Labour - Bermejo

Another example of a project in which people were actively participating are the extra classes or *aulas de apoyo*, organised by the Ministry of Labour (and financed by UNICEF) in Bermejo. These classes were also vividly remembered by the parents and children who had been actively involved. The project allows for children to be in class on non-school days, or during weekdays after school, instead on in the fields with their parents. These educational meetings, however, need to be combined with sports activities or games to make them more inviting for the children. Although this programme did keep most young children away from work on the plantations on non-school days, some older primary-school youths nevertheless continued to participate in cutting sugar cane in the weekends.

OASI - Bermejo

The NGO OASI was active during the demonstrations and the strike of the harvesters in Bermejo. The NGO supported the strike with the setting up of a communal cooking system during this period, which helped to prolong the strike. After six weeks of struggle and negotiation, an agreement was reached for a higher price paid out to the harvesters per tonne of sugar cane. Indirectly, better salaries for adults are supposed to lead to fewer children working on the plantations and this line of action, supporting the organisation of the adult workers in the field, is important to include in the list of strategies.

5.3 Recommendations for future interventions

In the eradication of child labour from the sugar cane harvest in Bolivia, only a few organisations work directly with the children. Most organisations work on creating better conditions for adults to work either in the sugar cane sector or to gain an income through other ways. Improving conditions for labour does contribute to solving the problem of child labour, but its impact is not easily measured, and still many children and youths were actually observed participating in the harvest. They are either working on the plantations, spending time with their mothers in the camps, going to school in the nearest community or working as cooks in the camps.

As long as children are around, there is a danger of them becoming involved in child labour activities or living in an unsuitable environment. In order to make sure that the risks of such involvement are reduced, it would be better if children were not physically present in this sector at all. The following recommendations may help:

1. There should be more personnel and financial resources available for the inspections in the migrant camps and on the plantations. In both Santa Cruz and Bermejo, there was only one person working for the governmental CEPTI programme. The inspectors have no car to their disposal, and so they have to coordinate visits with other organisations or have to hire a taxi. They are also expected to attend to over 1.000 different harvester camps.
2. The prohibition of child labour and the inspections of the Ministry of Labour in the camps should be accompanied by the active exploration and implementation of alternatives for youths. Such alternatives should consist primarily of schooling, either in the places of origin or in the sugar cane regions (such as the *aulas* organised by the Ministry of Labour and UNICEF in Bermejo, see paragraph 4.2.2). According to the testimonies of (young) harvesters in Bermejo, fewer youths can be found working on the plantations because children and adolescents stay with family members in their hometowns to continue studying. A stronger focus on education (including high school) in their hometowns could prevent youths from migrating to the harvest and would stimulate them to finish at least basic education.
3. Different projects, with different approaches and run by different organisations, should be aligned with each other and integrated in a multi-focused approach. They also should be of a longer duration. Many projects finish before they can start being successful. It is impossible to see results of projects like those of CCIMCAT in Bermejo and LABOR in Santa Cruz within just a few years. Because they require awareness raising and changes of life patterns of the harvesters, their results might only be seen after a number of years and useful lessons could be drawn after the initial development period.
4. It remains important to organise awareness raising activities for the harvesters in the camps about child labour, labour rights and the importance of education, as LABOR did in 2006-2008. Although people who had participated tended not to remember the contents of the workshops very well, it is important that they are informed about their rights and about the fact that children should complete basic education. In addition, awareness raising may fail

- if people are not provided alternatives, such as additional income for adults and good quality education. The after-school teaching classes are an inspiring example, especially if combined with play and sporting activities.
5. The group of adolescent fulltime harvesters is the most difficult group to keep out of harmful work in the sugar cane harvest. Organisations have barely focussed on these adolescents. Because they work in the harvest for economic reasons, interventions should offer economic alternatives or schooling alternatives that are free. Many adolescent harvesters mention that they would like to continue studying, but that there is no money and that their first concern is to earn money for themselves and their family.

Bibliography

Baas, L (2008) *Child Labour in the Sugar Cane Harvest in Bolivia. The IREWOC Research Project on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Latin America*. Amsterdam: IREWOC.

Bedoya Garland, E & A Bedoya Silva-Santisteban (2005) *Enganche y servidumbre por deudas en Bolivia*. La Paz: OIT Oficina subregional para los países andinos; Ministerio de Trabajo República de Bolivia.

Bellota Murillo et al. (- unpublished) 'Diagnóstico socioeconómico de las comunidades campesinas del sector este del triángulo de Bermejo 1995-2000.' Provincia Arce, Departamento Tarija, Bolivia: OASI

Dávalos, G (2002a) *Bolivia. Child Labour in Sugarcane: a rapid assessment*. Geneva: ILO/IPEC.

Dávalos, G (2002b) *Bolivia: Trabajo infantil en la caña de azúcar: una evaluación rápida*. Geneva: ILO. Investigando las peores formas de trabajo infantil.

ILO (1999a) 'Convention 182: Convention concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.' Available from <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C182>.

ILO (1999b) 'Recommendation 190.' Supplement to C182, The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999

ILO (2002) *Bolivia, Trabajo infantil en la zafra de la caña de azúcar: Una evaluación rápida*. Lima: ILO. Documentos de Trabajo.

ILO et al. (2006) *Cortando Caña, cortando sueños*. La Paz: ILO.

ILO & Unicef (2004) *Caña dulce, Vida amarga*. La Paz ILO. Peores formas de trabajo infantil y violencia de la niñez y adolescencia.

INE (2006) 'Actividad económica - Tercer trimestre 2006.' INE.

INE & Unicef (2004) *Trabajo infantil en Bolivia, características y condiciones*. La Paz.

LABOR & AOS (2001) *Trabajadores zafreiros*. La Paz: LABOR; AOS. Temas laborales #4

Ministerio de Trabajo Bolivia (2005) 'Plan Trienal Nacional de Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil 2006-2008.' Gobierno de La Republica de Bolivia; Ministerio de Trabajo.

Oostra & Malaver (2003) *Bolivia*. Den Haag: KIT Publishers.

Romero Guevara (2004) *Diagnóstico y recomendaciones sobre una modalidad de oferta educativa para los niños involucrados en la zafra*. Provincia Arce Departamento Tarija: OASI; UNICEF.

Universidad Autónoma "Juan Misael Saracho" (2005) *Aspectos técnicos de la agroindustria azucarera y bases legales para una justa remuneración al trabajador zafreiro de Bermejo*. Bermejo: Facultad Integrada de Bermejo.

Van den Berge, M (2007a - unpublished) 'Briefing on the fact finding mission to Guatemala, Bolivia and Peru for the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Latin America research project.' Amsterdam: IREWOC

Van den Berge, M (2007b) *Working Children's Organisations in Peru*. Amsterdam: IREWOC.