COMPREHENSIVE MIXED-METHOD RESEARCH ON CHILD LABOR IN THE DRIED FISH SECTOR IN COX'S BAZAR

JUNE 15, 2020

Prepared by Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust (SUIT) for submission to the Child Labor Improvements in Bangladesh (CLIMB) Project

Funding is provided by the United States Department of Labor under cooperative agreement number IL-31478-17-75-K. One hundred percentage of the total costs of the project or program is financed with federal funds, for a total of 2.25 million dollars. This material does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

ISBN 978-1-7360029-1-9

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ACRONYMS

ADFMA	Asadganj Dried Fish Merchants' Association
BBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Education, Information, and Statistics
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BCCP	Bangladesh Center for Communication Programs
BMRC	Bangladesh Medical Research Council
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CL	Child Labor
CLIMB	Child Labor Improvements in Bangladesh
CLU	Child Labour Unit
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CW	Child Worker
DFE	Dried Fish Establishment
DFS	Dried Fish Sector
DIFE	Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishments
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DOL	Department of Labor
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FCL	Forced Child Labor
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HCL	Hazardous Child Labor
ILO	International Labor Organization
KI	Key Informant
KII	Key Informant Interview
ME	Margin of Error
MoLE	Ministry of Labor and Employment
MT	Metric Ton
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NREC	National Research Ethics Committee
PPS	Probability Proportional to Size
P-val	Probability Value
SUIT	Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States
USD	United States Dollar

USDoL	United States Department of Labor
UK	United Kingdom
VC	Value Chain
VCA	Value Chain Analysis
VGF	Vulnerable Group Feeding
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labor
WHO	World Health Organization
Winrock	Winrock International
YPSA	Young Power in Social Action

GLOSSARY

Aratdar	An *aratdar* is an agent who stocks goods and sells them and earns commission in exchange. He/she owns a warehouse to operate the business.
Bahardar	Local dried fish trader
Eid	A religious festival celebrated by the Muslims around the world.
Ghat	A point where boats and trawlers are moored.
Gonda	*Gonda* is a locally used unit of land measurement. 1 *gonda* is equivalent to nearly 0.02 acres.
Kancha	A house is called *kancha* if it is made of bamboo, straws, rushes, and clay.
Machh	Bengali translation of the word “fish”
Madrasa	An educational institution where mainly the religion of Islam is taught.
Sadar	Bengali translation of the word “headquarters”
Semi-paka	A house is called *semi-paka* if it is made of materials used to build a *kancha* house as well as bricks.
Taka	Bangladesh currency, 1 USD = 85 *Taka*
Thiya	*Thiya* is a kind of work contract wherein the worker agrees to finish a given amount of work in exchange for an agreed amount of payment. Work hours are irrelevant in such contract.
Upazila	Sub-district, an administrative sub-unit of a district.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is an outcome of a joint collaboration between Winrock International (Winrock) and the Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust (SUIT), thanks to funding and support from U.S. Department of Labor (USDoL). With generous guidance and expert feedback from Kerry Richter (Winrock International Project Adviser), the report has been prepared by a SUIT research team comprising six faculty members and a group of trained enumerators from various disciplines of the University of Chittagong. The faculty members include Mohammad Abul Hossain (Lead Consultant and Convener), Md. Alauddin Majumder (Principal Researcher), Mohammad Tarequl Hasan Chowdhury (Principal Researcher), Mohammad Nur Nobi (Principal Researcher and Focal Person), Muhammod Shaheen Chowdhury (Principal Researcher – Legal Expert) and S.M. Monirul Hassan (Principal Researcher – Social Anthropology Expert). The research team has also been immensely benefited from comments and suggestions from Maisha Strozier (Winrock) and Kevin Hong (USDoL) as well as the coordination from Christine M. Carlson (USDoL). The research team extends its profound thanks to all of them.

The local Winrock personnel led by AHM Zaman Khan and facilitated by Khirul Islam have been instrumental to the phase-wise implementation of this research. We owe a great deal to them. The research team takes this opportunity to thank AK Enamul Haque (East West University), Niaz Ahmed Khan (Dhaka University) and Fariha Haseen (Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University) for their effort in capacity building for the research team as well as the workshop participants from the University of Chittagong, YPSA (Young Power in Social Action) and BCCP (Bangladesh Center for Communication Programs).

The research team is pleased to acknowledge the support from the local people including the government officials, school administrators, business associations and owners, and the respondents. Special thanks to Athaur Rahaman Kaisar, a business association leader and Md. Helal Uddin, and YPSA services center personnel and a local social worker, who acted as conduits between the research team and the respondents.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2019 Winrock International (Winrock) partnered with Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust (SUIT) to produce an independent research study on child labor (CL) and work conditions in the dried fish sector (DFS) in Cox's Bazar. The research team included six faculty members from the University of Chittagong and trained enumerators. The study focused on CL including forced and hazardous child labor in the dried fish sector and, more specifically, in the dried fish processing establishments (DFEs) in Cox's Bazar. International child labor laws, articulated by the International Labor Organization with support from other international agencies such as the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, define the types of work and the circumstances that constitute child labor—forced, hazardous, or otherwise. ILO Convention No. 182, Article 3(d) describes hazardous child labor as "work which, by its nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of the children." Forced child labor, according to the existing international and Bangladeshi child labor laws, refers to children's involuntary participation in work attributable to forced or deceptive recruitment, or a situation whereby children are not allowed to leave their employers on their own or the working and living conditions include the elements of force.

The objective of the study is to help the Child Labor Improvements in Bangladesh (CLIMB) program and its stakeholders to understand the nature, consequences, and scale of the child labor issue in the dried fish sector. Inter alia, the findings of the research are drawn from a scrutiny of the work conditions in which child labor operates, the recruitment policies, and the role of parents and families. It may be noted that previous research identified the sector as employing child workers who work under hazardous conditions, and that some of them work as forced labor. It is, therefore, imperative that civil society, advocacy groups, and policymakers become aware of the seriousness of the nature and extent of child labor in the dried fish sector and its legal and social implications. Reliable and up-to-date evidence of the scope and scale of the problem will enable civil society to work with the sector effectively and to influence community-based organizations and key government actors to prioritize and work to eradicate child labor.

The study used a mixed-method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, to examine these issues. Qualitative methods, including key informant interviews (KII), focus group discussions (FGD), and case studies were used to obtain information about the "how" and "why" of the situation for child labor, as well as to gain an understanding of the value chain for the dried fish sector. KIIs were also used to collect information about the number of dried fish establishments, the total number of workers, and the number of child workers at these establishments. These findings created a sampling frame that was used to conduct a quantitative survey of child workers by firm size, location, age, and gender. A content analysis was conducted to investigate written media's coverage of child labor issues; this media landscaping component of the study also included interviews with journalists to examine their preferences and needs for training on the issue.

The mapping component of the study estimates that there are 561 DFEs in two upazilas,[1] Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali. In Cox's Bazar Sadar, the dried fish processing business is

[1] An upazila (sub-district) is a sub-unit of a district with an independent administrative set-up comprised of government officials and elected or nominated local government representatives. The district of Cox's Bazar has eight upazilas including Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali.

operated in three separate geographical locations, namely Nazirartek, Chowfoldondi, and Khurushkul. Nazirartek is the biggest dried fish processing area, with Chowfoldondi and Khurushkul being significantly smaller. In Maheshkhali there are three locations in which dried fish processing activities are in place, but they now contain only a few dried fish establishments in comparison to Cox's Bazar Sadar. The study estimates 14,366 workers in the dried fish establishments, of which adult females comprise 63%. Most importantly, child workers outnumber adult male workers: it is estimated that adult males account for 17%, children account for 20%. Paralleling the adult workers, the child worker population in the dried fish establishments is 72% female. Most child workers are aged 14–17 (59%), but a substantial proportion is under age 14 (41%).

Of the various stages of the dried fish value chain, fish processing can be regarded as the most important one. This particular stage has multiple or varied tasks. Our qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests that child workers carry out almost all these tasks. Some of the common tasks that children perform are sorting the fish by type and size, tying the fish together, hanging the fish on the fences for drying, and other tasks. There are differing opinions about whether children participate in the other stages of the value chain. But personal inspections by the research team confirmed that children are indeed involved in the fish-trading phase, such as unloading raw fish from boats, loading fish onto carts, pulling carts, as well as working at the retail level.

From the quantitative survey, the profile of child workers that emerges shows that only approximately 8% come from the Rohingya ethnic group; given recent government efforts to move all Rohingya migrants into the refugee camps, it is likely that these children represent families who have lived in Bangladesh for at least one generation. However, an estimated 78% of the child workers come from internal migrant families who moved to Cox's Bazar from other *Upazilas*; many of these are seasonal migrants. Child workers in the dried fish establishments are for the most part out of school (75%); nearly one-fifth (18%) never attended school, and for those who did attend school, only 9% studied at the Grade VI level or above.

The picture that emerges from the qualitative and quantitative evidence is that the child workers in the dried fish establishments come from families who are struggling to survive financially. Family disruptions caused by parents' separation or the loss of a parent, usually the father, are a common cause for the children to join the dried fish establishments. Approximately 46% of the child workers' families are headed by their mother, with 44% by their father and about 10% by others. The quantitative evidence suggests that the child workers' families live in sub-standard, precarious shelter, rarely own land, and lack basic household possessions.

However, case studies of families whose children do not work in the dried fish establishments, but are of similarly low socioeconomic status, reveal a different orientation towards longer-term goals and children's continued education. These families professed that long-term happiness was more important than the short-term gains in quality of life that children's earnings could provide. Families whose children work in the dried fish establishments sometimes concurred that the children's earnings do not contribute much to household income, but all conveyed that the "hidden" costs associated with school attendance (such as transportation, study materials and extra tutoring) made it prohibitive for them. Also, no government primary school is present in the area where the dried fish establishments are located. Many of the children expressed the desire to attend or return to school or to receive vocational training.

Jobs in the dried fish establishments require very few skills. As such, children have relatively easy access into the labor force. Many work alongside a family member; interviews with dried fish establishment owners revealed that some mothers refused to work unless their children could work alongside them. The majority of child workers who were interviewed for this study experience hazardous working conditions such as carrying a heavy weight (86%); working with sharp tools (53%); standing in water or mud (44%); climbing on unstable racks (32%); and exposure to hazardous chemicals (31%). Very few received protective gear from their employer (25% gloves and <10% waterproof boots, caps, umbrellas, or masks). The average working time was 10.3 hours per day, or approximately 72 hours per week. All children working in dried fish establishments are exposed to direct sunlight. Approximately 53% of them work more than five hours a day under the direct sunlight and about 93% work more than two hours a day under the sunlight. Although working under direct sunlight is not considered hazardous by law, the incidence of chronic headache (81%), and extreme fatigue (54%) indicate that health discomforts can be attributed to exposures to sunlight.

Only 25% reported a sanitary toilet at the workplace and only 11% reported safe drinking water. Children frequently report suffering from illnesses and injuries including fever (89%), wounds/cuts (84%), back pains/muscle pains (82%), skin diseases (81%), chronic headache (81%) and others. The majority (69%) reported that these illnesses and injuries caused them to miss work. Many of the child workers surveyed reported physical and verbal abuse on the job; approximately 29% reported being beaten while 59% reported witnessing a beating. About one in three girls (34%) reported sexual harassment on the job while 51% of girls and 41% of boys witnessed sexual harassment of other workers.

When stakeholders were asked about their knowledge of the definition of children, parents of child workers were found to be the least knowledgeable, particularly about the benchmark age of child labor. A wide range of answers was given whereby the threshold age varies from less than 7 to less than 15 years. Some dried fish establishment owners also have misconceptions about the definition of children; most strikingly, according to some owners, a boy or a girl aged 8 or above is not a child. All other stakeholders were found to be fairly knowledgeable about the definition of children. A number of stakeholders, including some dried fish establishment owners, members of civil society organizations and community-based organizations, faith communities, and non-governmental organization (NGO) staff, were found to be unaware of child labor-related laws; only government officials and school administrators seemed to be perfectly aware. Some parents were found to be aware of the laws, and some were not. Interestingly, some parents admitted that they knew about the laws, but they were pretending otherwise. The researchers had the impression from their body language that they pretended out of the fear of potential legal punishment. In fact, their admission of pretending came after we assured them of no immediate legal punishment.

According to the CLIMB project's definition of child labor, which is based on the international conventions as well as Bangladesh legislation, all of the child workers surveyed are in hazardous child labor due to experiencing one or more of the following conditions: carrying a heavy weight (ergonomic hazards); working with sharp tools, climbing unstable racks, and failing to use protective gear (accidental hazards); exposure to pesticides (chemical hazards); harassments and abuses (psycho-social hazards); or working long hours (working condition hazard). The study considered a child to be in forced child labor if their parent obtained an advance from the employer or the child reported coercion such as not being able to quit due to fear of their

employer, not receiving payment for previous work, or not receiving wages or other benefits that they were promised when they were employed. Using this definition, 23% of the children surveyed are considered to be in forced labor: 28% of boys and 19% of girls.

The media landscape study found a total of 165 articles on child labor published in seven national, regional, and local newspapers in the past five years; 118 of these were general articles about child labor whereas 47 were about individual cases such as child workers' deaths due to abuse. Domestic work (30), transport (14), and other hazardous jobs (40) were most often covered. Journalists interviewed by the study expressed a need for training on child labor issues, including the dried fish sector, to increase their reporting skills and effectiveness in advocating for enforcement of child labor laws.

The study makes the following recommendations from the evidence presented:

- The dried fish sector should be added to the Hazardous Work List due to the hazardous conditions facing all children working in the sector, including long work hours, use of sharp tools, exposure to hazardous chemicals, exposure to abuse, and others.
- Children and others working in the dried fish establishments should be assisted to file grievances against their employers for issues such as physical punishment and sexual harassment. To identify and discourage abuse of child workers, the government should introduce ways for community monitoring and response to abuses that will complement inspection and enforcement at the district and *Upazila* levels.
- Dried fish establishment owners should be educated about child labor laws and fined and prosecuted for violations. Stricter enforcement will increase the cost of doing business for the dried fish establishment owners and will discourage child labor and child abuse practices.
- Government enforcement agencies should immediately address health and sanitary problems in the dried fish establishments, bringing facilities up to minimum standards.
- Accessibility to schools and alternative learning programs for both drop-outs and for migrant child workers (who are seasonal residents) is a vital concern for these communities as long as the current pattern of child labor persists. Many of the residents in these communities migrate there only to work in the dried fish establishments, with little commitment by the community or incentive for the dried fish establishments to provide them with basic services. There are no government primary schools in the dried fish establishment areas and makeshift primary schools cannot operate without student fees. Establishment of government schools and other child protection services is, therefore, a must.
- Incentives for parents to have their children remain in school rather than join the dried fish establishment workforce could include scholarships to cover extra costs.
- Vocational skills training for children who have left school would greatly increase their prospects for long-term income generation and is requested by the children themselves.
- A Counseling and Children Support Committee comprising responsible stakeholders, including elected representatives, would be helpful in sustaining adherence to child labor law as well as the compulsory primary education law.
- Introduce conditional low- and no-interest loans and self-employment start-up support for families who keep children out of child labor in the dried fish establishments and continuously enrolled in school. Bangladesh has already put in place a number of safety net

programs, and extension of these programs probably would not be feasible. Such interventions have been shown to be effective in providing families with alternative and supplemental income, which reduces the economic and social pressures on families, especially during off-season periods when work is not available to parents and other children.

- The dried fish establishment workforce is largely comprised of internal migrant workers. Therefore, government initiatives should also be directed to the people of the *Upazila*s where these migrant workers come from.
- Programs should increase in-depth knowledge and reporting skills among journalists about child labor in the dried fish sector and child labor in general.
- Local NGOs, educators, and government social services agencies providing services in Cox's Bazar district should learn more about the conditions that children face in the dried fish establishments and other sectors and be introduced to ways to support vulnerable families. This may be best achieved and sustained through integration into formal academic and professional training programs for social workers, teachers, etc.
- Conduct additional qualitative research to increase understanding of the gender dynamics identified by the research and better inform child protection interventions in the dried fish sector. This includes identifying the drivers and conditions faced by the significant number of girls working early morning shifts in dried fish establishments and boys who migrate to the dried fish processing communities to work.

Finally, the dried fish sector creates a significant profit in Bangladesh. Understanding the market dimensions that help drive the demand for and supply of child labor is critical to eliminating child labor in the sector. More research needs to be done on alternatives to child labor that will enable the dried fish establishments to operate ethically and profitably.

I. INTRODUCTION AND STUDY CONTEXT

In 2019, Winrock International (Winrock) partnered with Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust (SUIT) to produce an independent study on child labor (CL) and work conditions in the dried fish establishments (DFEs)[2] in Cox's Bazar. The objective of the study is to help the Combating Labor Improvements in Bangladesh (CLIMB) project and its stakeholders to understand the nature, consequences, and scale of the child labor issue in the DFEs. Earlier efforts to research this issue revealed outdated and incomplete information that does not cover the full extent of the labor abuse problems in the DFEs. Accurate and up-to-date evidence of the scope and scale of the problem will enable civil society to better recognize the gravity of the child labor issues, including the unacceptable work conditions in which children work and the costs inflicted on society by the deprivation of education, childhood, and potential enhanced future family incomes. A better equipped civil society can be expected to communicate more effectively with the business stakeholders and the families that determine the fate of these children, and to influence key government actors to prioritize and address it. Much of the data on CL in Bangladesh comes from the Government of Bangladesh (GoB), the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), Bangladesh Bureau of Education, Information, and Statistics (BBEIS), and the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MoLE), which has a Child Labour Unit (CLU). International organizations have also conducted studies, which are often narrowly focused on a sector, geographic area, or other aspects of the problem. The official numbers are likely to be underestimated given weak referral systems and broad acceptance of children working to support their families. Many violations continue unnoticed by the general public due to limited media coverage and avenues for citizens to engage on prevention. Despite these challenges, some organizations have become more aware of the problem and are engaged in documenting cases; however, they do not have the skills or resources to collect the right data, safeguard information and protect respondents, and then use the data to affect positive change.

A. AN OVERVIEW OF THE DRIED FISH SECTOR IN BANGLADESH

The fishing sector, consisting of inland capture, inland culture, and marine capture fisheries, plays a significant role in the economy of Bangladesh, with a critical contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), total employment, and foreign exchange earnings. A report published by the Department of Fisheries of the Government of Bangladesh (GoB, 2017) documents that the fishing sector as a whole contributes 3.6% to the GDP and employs 11% of the labor force of the country. The fishing sector has also become an important source of foreign exchange earnings for Bangladesh. For example, in 2016–17, Bangladesh exported fish and fish products worth $532 million, which was about 1.5% of the export earnings of Bangladesh (GoB, 2017).

The dried fish sector is an integral part of the overall fisheries sector of the country. It is produced by both inland and marine fisheries; however, marine fisheries are the main source of the dried fish production in the country. Comprehensive and official data on the amount of the

[2] A dried fish establishment (DFE), in this study, is a business entity that processes raw fish into dried fish by carrying out a sequence of tasks – from unloading raw fish from the boats at the fish landing points to converting raw fish into dried fish to selling them to wholesalers and retailers. The dried fish sector (DFS) encompasses catching fish, delivery of the same at designated landing points, and the wholesale and retail businesses, in addition to the unloading, drying, and selling work of the DFEs. This study focuses on the DFEs and particularly on their processing work, unless specified otherwise.

total dried fish produced in the country is not available. However, Shamsuddoha (2007) observes that 20% of the total marine fish caught every year are dried. Hussain (2015) quotes data provided by the Asadganj Dried Fish Merchants' Association (ADFMA), Chittagong, which is the largest dried fish wholesale market in the country, to reveal that domestic production of dried fish currently stands at 22,000 metric tons (MT).

Dried fish is produced mainly to meet local demand. It is estimated that the domestic demand is as high as 55,000 MT a year, which is much higher than the local production. The excess demand is met by importing from neighboring countries such as India, Myanmar, and Pakistan (Hussain, 2015). Despite having to import fish to meet demand, a small portion of the total dried fish output is exported. For example, in 2016–17, Bangladesh exported 2,297 MT worth $3.7 million (GoB, 2017), which was only 0.7% of the total export earnings from the fishing sector. The major export destinations for the dried fish are the Middle Eastern countries, the United States, and the United Kingdom, where most of the expatriate Bangladeshis live.

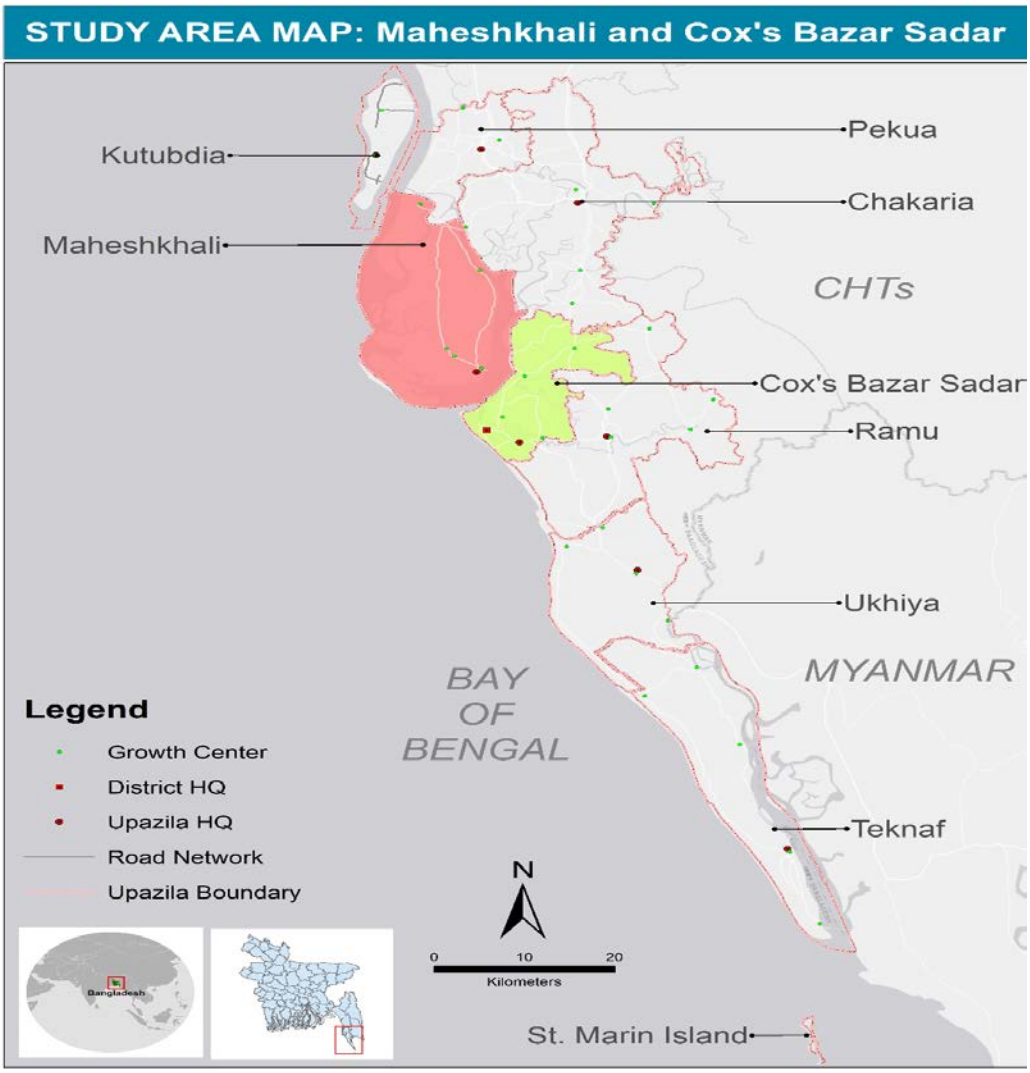
Dried fish occupies an important position in the dietary pattern of the people of Bangladesh. Belton *et al*. (2018) observe that among the fish and fish products consumed in Bangladesh, dried fish rank fourth on the list, and people from all income groups have access to dried fish *vis-à-vis* other fish products. More importantly, it has been observed that based on total fish consumption, the poor consume a higher share of dried fish than the other income groups (Belton, van Asseldonk & Thilsted, 2014; Paul *et al*., 2018), suggesting the particular importance of dried fish for poor people's nutrition.

Since dried fish production is mainly based on marine fisheries, the sector is concentrated in the coastal districts of Bangladesh. BBS (2011) conducted a pilot survey in the DFS of five coastal districts, namely Cox's Bazar, Chittagong, Bagherhat, Borguna, and Patuakhali. The study documents that 2,112 dried fish establishments of different sizes operate in these five coastal districts of Bangladesh, and nearly 71,000 people are engaged in these establishments. The study further observes that dried fish production based on freshwater fishing also takes place in many non-coastal districts of the country; however, these establishments are very informal and small in size.

B. STUDY CONTEXT

Cox's Bazar, situated between 20º43' and 21º56' North latitudes and between 91º50' and 92º23' east longitudes, is one of the 19 coastal districts in the southeastern part of Bangladesh. The district is bounded by the Chittagong district in the North and the Bandarban district, and Myanmar in the East. The Bay of Bengal engulfs the district both from the South and the West. The district is comprised of eight *Upazila*s (sub-districts) namely Cox's Bazar Sadar, Chakaria, Maheshkhali, Teknaf, Ukhia, Kutubdia, Pekua and Ramu. Several offshore islands such as Maheshkhali, Kutubdia, Sonadia, Matarbari, and St. Martin belong to this district. A map of the district highlighting the study areas is presented below.

Figure 1: Map of Cox's Bazar District



Cox's Bazar, mostly because of its long sandy beach, is one of the most popular tourist attractions of the country. Alongside tourism, major economic activities of this district are agriculture, marine fishing, shrimp culture, and salt production. Another important economic activity of Cox's Bazar is dried fish production, which is a seasonal activity that mainly takes place during the dry season and stretches over nine months from mid-August to mid-May, with the peak season occurring between mid-September to mid-March. BBS (2011) estimated that 872 DFEs—nearly 42% of the total DFEs (2,112) found in the five coastal districts mentioned earlier—were operating in Cox's Bazar, and an estimated 31,180 people were engaged in the sector. Further, the DFEs in Cox's Bazar district are heavily concentrated in Cox's Bazar Sadar *Upazila*. About 87% of the establishments are located in the Sadar, followed by 5.2% in Maheshkhali, 4.6% in Kutubdia, and 3.2% in Teknaf.

Cox's Bazar has been a destination for Rohingya refugees from Myanmar for many years, but the 2017–2018 period brought a huge influx of Rohingya people fleeing genocide in their home country. Based on a 2018 report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), approximately 919,000 people have migrated to the area since 1978, of which 641,000 have been

recorded during the violence in August and September 2017 (UNDP, 2018; cited from 2018a). According to the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR, 2020), since 2017, a total of 711,336 Rohingya people settled in the refugee camps at Ukhia and Teknaf. The UNDP (2018) also found that the influx of people had a profound impact on the economy of the host community—prices of daily essentials rose by 50%, wages of day laborers decreased, and over 2,500 households fell below the poverty line. Bangladeshi day laborers were particularly affected due to the willingness of Rohingya workers to accept less than half the local wage rate (Lewis, 2018). In 2019, the Government of Bangladesh took measures to assure that the refugees live in the camps, where they receive services from international aid organizations, rather than live and work in the local community.

II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A. CHILD LABOR IN BANGLADESH

The latest Child Labor Survey of 2013 conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 2015), with support from International Labor Organization (ILO), documents that Bangladesh's child population currently stands at 39.6 million, of which a total of 3.45 million (8.07% of the total child population) between the ages of 5 to 17 are working. The report, however, estimates that only about half (1.7 million) of these working children can be considered as child labor.[3] More than 75% of the child labor (1.28 million) is engaged in different forms of hazardous work. Notably, the percentage of girls in child labor as a percentage of all child workers increased from 36.8% in 2003 to 55.4% in 2013 (for boys, this was stable at 45%). Children engaged in hazardous child labor such as ship-breaking, production of bricks, and auto repairing constitute 7% of the child workers. U.S. Department of Labor (USDoL, 2018) extends the list to include forced child labor in the dried fish sector (DFS), production of bricks, forced begging, and use of children in illicit activities such as smuggling and selling drugs, commercial sexual exploitation, and forced domestic work.

B. CHILD LABOR IN THE DRIED FISH SECTOR

The DFS has attracted the attention of the international community because it involves child labor, and more importantly, forced child labor. However, studies that look at the nature, extent, and causes of child labor in the DFS in Bangladesh are scant. The most comprehensive study to date is a pilot study completed by BBS (2011) that looks at working children in the dried fish factories of five coastal districts of Bangladesh including Cox's Bazar. The study focuses on the existence of child labor and forced child labor, the working conditions, and the recruitment process. The research finds that children constitute 14.0% of the total workforce in the DFS. They work about 60 hours a week on average without a rest day and earn an average monthly wage of Tk. 1,607 (about USD $20.6). Further, children are sometimes required to work during the night shifts and often under compulsion despite having an illness or injury. The study identifies convenience or suitability for work and the incurring of loans or receipts of advance payments against the children's work by their parents as the two prime reasons for the recruitment of children in the sector. Employers sometimes use deceptive means to employ the children and, more often than not, force the children to stay at the workplace for the whole harvesting season without permitting them to contact or visit their parents. The study estimated

[3] "The definition of working children and child labor is based on the principles adopted in the 18th International Conference of Labor Statisticians and Bangladesh Labour Act 2006 and its Amendment 2013" (BBS, 2015).

that 23.9% of child workers were forced child labor with the highest incidence in the island areas.

Previously small-scale studies have examined children's involvement in the DFS. MACRO Inc. (2008) documents the prevalence of child labor in different activities, including the DFS in Bangladesh. Children aged between 10 and 18, including girls, constitute about 30% of the total labor employed in the dried fish processing factories. The study further notes that children are not forced to work in the dried fish factories and that poverty, a lack of alternative jobs, and to some extent, "debt bondage" have induced them to be engaged in this sector. Children are also found to be involved in coastal and deep-sea fishing. Hossain, Belton, and Thilsted (2013) also document the involvement of Rohingya children and women in the dried fish sector in Cox's Bazar. Similarly, Karim, Saadi, and Tamanna (2015) observe that children, both boys and girls, are involved in different types of hazardous activities in the fisheries sector.

Blanchet, Biswas, and Dabu (2006) and Jensen (2013) focus on child slavery in the dried fish industry in Bangladesh in Dublarchar, a remote island near the Sundarbans. Deceitful recruitment of children to work in the dried fish establishments situated in Dublarchar is widespread; they work as forced labor, in a harsh environment, and are often exploited. Jensen (2013) documents the existence of captive workers, including child workers as young as 8 to 9 years of age. The children stay on the island under coercion for a long period, unpaid and without having any contact with relatives. The workers receive little or poor-quality food, no medical treatment, and are subjected to physical and sexual assaults. Based on the informants' interview, Verité (2012) also confirms the existence of forced child labor in Dublarchar.

> *Children are recruited through the bahardar's[4] brokers and they are usually lured from poor families with promises of a good salary, good food, and good treatment. Families are paid 5,000 – 7,000 taka (59.30-83.04 USD) as advances against their children's salaries. Once the children arrive, they are subjected to harsh working conditions from dawn to dusk, usually provided with two meals a day, and allowed very little rest. Because of the remoteness of these islands and critical security concerns, once taken to these islands, the children cannot leave before the season is over. Many who try to flee are caught and subjected to even more severe treatment (Verité, 2012: p. 87).*

A newspaper article reports the presence of bonded child labor in the dried fish sector of Cox's Bazar (Dhaka Tribune, 2015). The report claims that children as young as 14 are engaged in the dried fish establishments of Cox's Bazar. These child workers, recruited for the whole season, are bound to work for long hours with wage rates one-fourth of that of adults. Similarly, a newspaper report by McGoogan and Rashid (2016) points to the satellite images that discovered five labor camps used to dried fish for pet food in the protected areas of the Sundarbans. Based on the image, the report is said to have evidence of forced child labor in those labor camps. USDoL (2018) asserts that the Rohingya children are being used as bonded labor in the dried fish sector of Cox's Bazar.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study used a mixed methodology combining qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative data was collected between October and December 2019 and the quantitative data

[4] Local dried fish trader.

was collected in January 2020. The data collection period coincides with the peak season of dried fish activities.

A. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

1. Rationale

The main objective of qualitative research is to obtain background information about child labor involvement and gain a greater understanding of the sector on an overall basis. Qualitative methods also allow an investigation of the "how" and "why" of the situation for child workers, and of the decision-making process that families use to have their child join the dried fish establishments (DFEs). The use of more than one method of data collection ensures triangulation of collected information, i.e., cross-checking of findings from different qualitative methods (see, Bryman 2012:392).The qualitative research used three different methods, namely: (a) key informant interviews (KIIs); (b) focus group discussions (FGDs); and (c) case studies. KIIs and FGDs are primarily used to gather contextual and explanatory information. The KIIs also helped to build rapport with major stakeholders whose opinions might be vital in the later stages of the research when quantitative information is made relatively easily accessible. These stakeholders include community leaders, business leaders and owners, and government representatives. The case studies were used to obtain life histories of child workers and their families and of families whose children are not working in the DFEs (see Annex 5: Case Studies). This approach gives an understanding of the decision-making process that families use to determine whether a child works or stays in school. Additionally, the case studies offer verifiable data from direct observations of the respondents, while KIIs and FGDs rely on the information provided by the participants.

The study conducted a total of eight FGDs, 28 KIIs, and 15 case studies. Besides collecting general background information about the child workers, their family characteristics, and work situation, qualitative research was conducted for mapping the DFEs for size distribution and distribution of child workers by location, age, and gender. The KIIs were also used to study the stages of the value chain in the DFS as well as to check the involvement of the child workers in the value chain.

A schematic view of the KIIs, FGDs, and case studies by type of respondent is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Schematic View of the KIIs, FGDs and Case Studies by Respondent Type

Respondent Type	Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)	Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	Case Studies
Parents/families of child workers in the DFEs and parents of children not working in the DFEs		3 FGDs on CL, FCL, WFCL (2 in Nazirartek and 1 in Maheshkhali)	8 case studies in all. 4 cases of families with children working in DFEs (2 from Nazirartek, Cox's Bazar, and 2 from Maheshkhali) and 4 cases of families with similar socioeconomic status but without children working in DFEs (2 from Nazirartek, Cox's Bazar and 2 from Maheshkhali).

Respondent Type	Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)	Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	Case Studies
Children working in the DFEs or elsewhere			7 case studies in all (4 boys and 3 girls who work in the DFEs).
Employers in DFEs and intermediaries used by employers (if applicable)	8 (CL, FCL, WFCL) (By location and type of enterprise – 6 Nazirartek; 1 Sonadia; 1 Chowfoldondi) and 3 (for mapping study at Nazirartek)	1 (CL, FCL and WFCL)	
Business associations in the DFEs	1 (for mapping study at Nazirartek)	1 (CL, FCL and WFCL) in Cox's Bazar Sadar	
Members of CSOs, CBOs, faith communities, and service agencies		1 (CL, FCL and WFCL) (members from all geographic areas will be included)	
Local administration agencies having involvement with child workers in DFEs; school administrators/ teachers with knowledge of the sector	3 (CL, FCL, WFCL)	1(CL, FCL and WFCL)	
Local government elected representatives at all levels	4 (CL, FCL, WFCL)	1(CL, FCL and WFCL)	
Leaders at different stages of the dried fish value chain	5 (value chain analysis)		
Journalists	4 (media landscape)		
Total	28	8	15

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment ; FGD = focus group discussion; CL = child labor; FCL= forced child labor; WFCL = Worst Forms of Child Labor; CSOs = civil society organizations; CBOs = community-based organizations

2. Sampling Methods for the Qualitative Research by Respondent Categories

Purposive sampling was undertaken based on the availability of the employers and/or the intermediaries who were representatives of the DFE firms by size. Top-level members from the business associations were selected where possible for the KIIs with ordinary members selected for the FGDs. Purposive or judgment sampling was also applied to choose the participants from the civil society organizations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), faith communities, and service agencies for the one FGD. The CSOs included media persons,

schoolteachers, advocates, and non-governmental organization (NGO) leaders and workers. The CBOs included cooperative societies such as the Rakhaine Young Association. Each FGD obtained representation from both Cox's Bazar and Sadar/Sonadia/Maheshkhali.

Convenience sampling was applied to choose the respondents from Local Administration with involvement in child labor (CL). The respondents were chosen from agencies such as the upazila (sub-district) administration (such as Family Planning Officer, Youth Development Officer, and Agricultural Extension Officer, etc.), law enforcement agencies (such as the village police), and the city corporation. Finally, elected representatives of the local governments included the members of the Union Parishad, and the Commissioners of the Paurashava.

Parents were chosen from the list of the sampled child workers for the quantitative survey (see Section B below) through purposive sampling such that firms are represented in terms of their size and respondent children are represented in terms of age-groups and sex. For the case studies, purposive sampling was applied to select families with similar socioeconomic characteristics so that the age groups and sex of the working and non-working children are represented.

B. MAPPING STUDY INCLUDING SIZE ESTIMATION

The objective of the mapping study was to develop a sampling frame for the quantitative survey of children working in the DFEs, as well as to provide a reference for the location and size of DFEs that may be used for program purposes. Dried fish processing is a seasonal activity that mainly takes place between mid-August to mid-May with the mid-September through mid-March being the period of the most intensive activities. For the present study, dried fish processing is meant to include unloading raw fish from the boats; loading them onto small carts; transporting them to the DFEs; sorting, tying, and spreading the fish on the beds; putting them on the ropes or bamboo bars; and drying, packing, and loading the final products on the trucks heading for wholesalers and retailers. The DFEs bear the characteristics of an "informal" sector as there are unregistered firms alongside the registered ones (BBS, 2011). As such, there is no complete list of the dried fish enterprises operating in the study areas. This necessitated the use of multiple approaches and means to arrive at an accurate estimate, as far as possible, of the number of establishments.

Following the proposed methodology, we carried out KIIs to map the dried fish establishments in Cox's Bazar district. The mapping study was intended to cover the following key aspects: (a) geographic and size distributions of DFEs; and (b) the distribution of CL by location, age, and gender.[5] Following the BBS study (2011), establishments were divided into three strata as follows:

- Small firms employing fewer than 10 people;
- Medium firms employing 10–49 people; and
- Large firms employing 50 or more people

Based on the study plan, we first conducted nine KIIs with participation from business association leaders, teachers, faith community leaders, and local government representatives.

[5] The business association has a list of owners, not DFEs. However, the list covers only those owners who subscribe to the association. Besides, more than one owner may correspond to a single DFE. Thus, the list is of little use for our purpose.

However, the information that was collected from the key informants (KIs) did not turn out to be useful. Most of the KIs had inadequate knowledge of the DFEs and provided pieces of information that are quite counterintuitive. Only the information provided by the two business leaders proved to be reliable.

Given this backdrop, we changed our information collection strategy. In the case of small dried fish processing areas,[6] namely Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Ghotibhanga, and Thakurtala, we interviewed each of the DFE owners personally. This strategy was used because reportedly those areas have small numbers of DFEs.

As Nazirartek is the biggest dried fish processing area in Cox's Bazar, we decided to conduct more KIIs in that location, but only with the business owners. In the revised attempt, we first divided the Nazirartek area into four sub-areas. Then we identified one prominent business owner from each sub-area as a KII respondent. Among the four identified KIs, one was a small-scale DFE owner, one a medium-scale DFE owner, and the remaining two were large-scale DFE owners. The whole process of identifying the four sub-areas and the four KIIs was accomplished in consultation with several community leaders and business leaders who have adequate knowledge about the geographic composition of Nazirartek as well as the dried fish industry as a whole. Each KII was facilitated by a member of the research team with the help of two enumerators.

After the completion of the KIIs, we revisited the areas to validate the information collected through the KIIs. In the validation process, we talked with four different DFE owners (one from each sub-area) from the four sub-areas. Information provided by these DFE owners was found to be very similar to the information collected through the KIIs.

It is important to note that for Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Ghotibhanga, and Thakurtala, the numerical figures are estimated by adding up the relevant numbers directly provided by all DFE owners. For Nazirartek, however, the numerical figures for each sub-area were found by multiplying the sub-area averages by the numbers of DFEs of different sizes operating in the sub-area. It is mentionable that the sub-area averages and the corresponding numbers of DFEs of different categories by size were provided by the KI of the respective sub-area. The figures representing area totals were arrived at by summing across the sub-areas.

As seen in Table 2 below, the mapping study estimates that currently, of a total of 561 firms in operation in the six selected locations of Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali, 128 are large, 296 are medium, and 137 are small as per the BBS (2011) categorization scheme (see Annex 3 Mapping Study for additional results).

Table 2: Estimated Distribution of DFEs Based on Size and Location

Size	Naziraratek	Chowfolondi	Khurushkul	Sonadia	Thakurtala	Ghotibhanga	Total by size
Large	127	-	1	-	-	-	128
Medium	263	8	5	12	5	3	296

[6] A processing area is a part of an *Upazila* dedicated to dried fish processing as it is conveniently located (near the sea). For example, Cox's Bazar *Upazila* has more than one processing areas as does Maheshkhali.

Small	130	7	-	-	-	-	137
Total by area	520	15	6	12	5	3	561
% by area	92.7	2.7	1.1	2.1	0.9	0.5	100.0

Source: Mapping Study

C. QUANTITATIVE SURVEY OF CHILD WORKERS

The objectives of the quantitative survey of the child workers in Cox's Bazar are: (1) to get direct estimates of the characteristics of the workforce; and (2) to obtain direct evidence of the child workers' working conditions, contractual arrangements, and whether the children are in forced labor and/or subjected to abuse at the workplace. Such information is not possible to obtain without talking to the children themselves. Care was taken to obtain a sample of child workers that is as representative of the child worker population as possible, as explained below.

1. Determination of the Sample Size for the Study

The sample size for the study was determined by using the following formula:

$$n = N * X/(X + N - 1)$$

Where, $X = Z_{\alpha/2}^2 * p * (1 - p)/ME^2$

Here, *N* is the population size, *p* is the sample proportion, *ME* is the margin of error, and $z_{\alpha/2}$ is the critical value of the normal distribution at α/2. As explained in detail in Section 4.3 and Table 6 below, the mapping study shows that an estimated total of 2,876 children are currently working in the five locations of Cox's Bazaar Sadar, and Maheshkhali. Accordingly, *N* is 2,876. Assuming$\alpha = 0.05$, $p = 0.5$, and $ME = 0.05$, the sample size stands at 339 (approximated as 340). This is the minimum sample size required.

2. Sampling Strategy

The survey sampled DFEs by purposively selecting location (area) and enterprise size as sampling units. Based on the sampling frame shown in Table 2 above, it can be seen that Nazirartek alone is the hub of the dried fish activities as it houses an estimated 93% of the DFEs. Nazirartek also accommodates 99% of the large firms (127 DFEs out of 128), 89% of the medium firms (263 out of 296), and 95% of the small firms (130 out of 137). As shown in Table 6 below, this location also employs an estimated 96% (2,748 out of 2,876) of the child workers. For this reason, Nazirartek is purposively selected as the main sampling area. Two other areas have also been surveyed to assure that other locations are represented, with the assumption that other areas may have unique characteristics (such as type of work done by child workers or working conditions) that are not found in Nazirartek. These two areas were selected by choosing a random starting point from the number of children working in the other locations. The sampling interval was calculated by dividing the total estimated number of children in the other areas (128 in all) divided by the number of areas to be sampled (2). Using this method, we selected Chowfoldondi and Sonadia as the other survey areas.

The sampling strategy also considered the proportions of children employed in large, medium, and small firms. The proportion of firms to be selected by size was determined by allocating the total sample to the average number of workers in enterprises for each size group. The firms were selected based on their being in operation during the survey; within the firm size categories,

convenience sampling was followed to select the firms. The number of firms sampled is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Firms Visited by Size and Location

Area	No. of Firms				% of Total Firms (based on mapping)			
	Large	Medium	Small	Total	Large	Medium	Small	Total
Nazirartek	51	83	37	171	40.2	31.6	28.5	32.9
Chowfoldondi	0	3	1	4	0	37.5	14.3	26.7
Sonadia (Maheshkhali)	0	5	0	5	0	41.7	0	41.7
Total	51	91	38	180	40.2	32.2	27.7	32.9

Source: Quantitative Survey

Within the selected firms, the sampling strategy was to interview every child worker present on the day of the fieldwork. Interviewing every child is logistically easier than selecting a sample within the selected firm, which may be confusing for respondents as they often do not understand why they are being interviewed while their co-worker is not (and vice versa); this approach also avoids inadvertent and/or careless errors that may occur for fieldworkers attempting to implement the sampling selection. Finally, selecting every child within an enterprise, while stratifying the enterprises by size and location, should result in a sample that reflects the composition of the population of child workers by gender, age, type of work and other characteristics. Because all employed child workers may not be present on a particular day, a larger number of firms than planned were visited to ensure that the required number of children by location and enterprise size was reached. The final composition of the sample is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Actual Sample Size by Area, DFE Size and Sex

Area	Number of Child Workers			Percentage of the Total Sample		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Nazirartek	236	196	432	51.2	42.5	93.7
Chowfoldondi	7	3	10	1.5	0.7	2.2
Sonadia	0	19	19	0.0	4.1	4.1
Total	243	218	461	52.7	47.3	100

Source: Quantitative Survey

It is seen that the percentage of girls vs. boys in the quantitative survey sample (53%/47%) is different from the percentage of girls in the DFE child workforce estimated in the mapping study (72%/28%). Given the knowledge ability of the key informants interviewed in the mapping study, and the variety of key informants interviewed, we believe that the 72%/28% distribution by sex to be an accurate estimate. The difference in the sex distribution found in the survey is because enumerators found more barriers to interviewing girls than interviewing boys for the following reasons. First, some girls were discouraged by the adult coworkers, usually their mothers, from agreeing to an interview (as will be discussed below, girls are more likely to work alongside a parent). Second, other girls avoided the interview on their own. This could be due to socio-cultural factors; girls were reluctant to be interviewed by male interviewers, and out of the 16 interviewers, there were only five were females. As a result, reaching out to the girl respondents was a bit difficult. It should be noted that the minimum sample size for girls (72% of

339, or 244) was nearly obtained (n=243). The estimated refusal rate for the survey was 16% for girls and 2% for boys. This may be considered as a limitation of this study.[7]

The questionnaire for the quantitative survey is given in Annex 6

D. VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS (VCA)

In understanding CL and forced child labor (FCL) as dried fish products travel from producers to consumers, a value chain analysis (VCA) of the dried fish market allows us to better understand the factors responsible for the prevalence of CL and FCL and to suggest potential remedial measures. As well as empirical evidence on the dried fish value chain, this study mainly relied on journal articles for the VCA (see, for example, Shamsuddoha, 2007; Ahmed, Islam, and Shamsuddoha 2007; Hossain and Al Masud, 2012). Existing literature suggests different variants of the value chain. A typical value chain looks as follows:

Fishermen → Processors→ *Aratdars*→ Wholesalers→ Retailers → Consumers[8]

To further investigate the value chain, this study collected primary data through five KIIs and one FGD with stakeholders of the dried fish market. KIs were selected purposively. We tried as much as possible to select an actor as KI who is a leader of the respective stage of the value chain. If leaders were unavailable, an ordinary actor was selected at our convenience. The selected five KIs include a fisher, an *aratdar*, a wholesaler, a retailer, and a consumer. The participants of the only FGD were leaders of different stages of the value chain. In the process of selecting our KIs and FGD participants, we consulted actors at different stages of value chain to learn about persons who are adequately knowledgeable and have a deep understanding of the value chain as well as child labor-related issues. For conducting the KIIs and the FGD, we prepared lists of topics to be discussed beforehand. The predetermined topics varied depending on the individual or the group to be interviewed.

Since the issues of CL and FCL are sensitive in nature, participant observation on a limited scale was used in addition to the KIIs and the FGD as a tool to collect information about CL and FCL. The participant observation also acted as the process of validation of the data found from the KIIs and the FGD. During the interaction with the value chain actors, we took notes of the respondents' statements and gestures, and, wherever possible, the whole session was audio recorded.

E. MEDIA LANDSCAPE STUDY

For any issues or events happening around the world, people rely on media as the primary source of information. But sometimes media bias may distort the information. Child labor, especially the domestic and industrial child labor, has received a great deal of attention from stakeholders, including the government. However, the general public remains unaware of child labor in the dried fish sector.

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[7] See Section 3.8 for additional limitations of the study.

[8] In the context of this study, fishermen refer to those who catch fish in the Bay of Bengal. Processors are those who dry fish. *Aratdars* are stockists who own warehouses and act as commission agents for stocking and selling dried fish. Wholesalers refer to big dealers who buy (from *aratdars*) and sell (generally to retailers) dried fish in large amounts. Retailers sell in small quantities for consumption. And consumers are individuals who buy dried fish for personal consumption.

The aim of the media landscape component of this study is to investigate the representation of child labor in the newspapers of Bangladesh for the last five years (2015–2019). The study chose three of the most circulated and influential Bangla and two English daily newspapers at the national level, one of the most popular local newspapers published at the regional level (Chittagong), and one local newspaper published from Cox's Bazar. The seven selected newspapers are the *Daily Prothom Alo* (a national Bangla daily), the *Daily Star* (a national English daily), *the Daily Kaler Kontho* (a national Bangla daily), the *Daily Jugantor* (a national Bangla daily), the *Daily Sun* (a national English daily), the *Daily Azadi* (Chittagong based Bangla regional daily) and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* (Cox's Bazar-based Bangla regional daily).

While reviewing the newspapers the articles were characterized as follows:

- News: Newly received or noteworthy information, especially about recent events. We refer to news as the news items published in the newspapers regarding child labor.
- Feature: A feature is defined as a newspaper or magazine article or a broadcast program devoted to the treatment of a particular topic, typically at length. Human interest is a vital element of a feature story. Features appeal to the emotion of readers.
- Editorial: A newspaper article expressing the editor's opinion on a topical issue.
- Column: A column is a recurring piece or article in a newspaper, magazine, or other publications where a writer expresses their own opinion in a few columns allotted to them by the management of the newspaper.
- Picture news: An item of the newspaper that is displayed mainly with a picture without any news or story.

F. DATA ANALYSIS

1. Qualitative Data Analysis

Field notes were expanded and thematically organized during and after the interviews. Immediately after each interview or FGD, the raw field notes were organized into a matrix for data analysis;[9] the format of the matrices is to display the type of respondent on the left side (rows) and the topics of interest along the top (columns). Principles for qualitative data analysis include the following:

- Examine the patterns/common themes that emerge around specific items in the data from all possible sources and check how these patterns (or the lack thereof) help to shed light on the broader study question(s);
- Check for any deviations from these patterns and determine the factors responsible for any such deviations;
- Search for any relevant and interesting stories that may have emerged from the data and check if and how they complement the broader study question;
- Check if additional data will be required to justify the emergent themes/patterns or if any of the study questions need to be revised in future assignments; and

[9] Examples of the qualitative analysis matrix are shown in Appendix at the end of Annex 4.

- Compare the findings of the research with findings from previous research, if any.

2. Quantitative Data Analysis

Statistical software packages Stata and Excel were used to process and present the quantitative data in frequency tables, charts, and diagrams as found appropriate. A bivariate analysis using Pearson's chi-square test was conducted to analyze significant differences by size of the firm, age, sex, and other attributes.

G. ETHICAL ISSUES

The project involves collecting primary information from children who are in a vulnerable position due to their work status and dependence on adults (Mahon and Glendinning, 1996; Morrow and Richards, 1996). A study by International Labor Organization (ILO, 2003) highlights the ethical issues that need to be addressed when researching the worst forms of child labor. Particular attention must be paid to make sure that children do not feel any stress or discomfort and that their privacy and confidentiality is maintained.

Ideally, this type of social research requires obtaining ethical clearance from an ethical review board or any similar organization. However, there exists no national research organization of the Government of Bangladesh that requires such a clearance for social science research. There is no formal ethical review board that approves this kind of research proposal or research protocols in Bangladesh. This is also confirmed by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2015), which provides a list of national ethics committees for the countries of the world. Only the Bangladesh Medical Research Council (BMRC) requires that medical science-related research needs to be approved by the National Research Ethics Committee (NREC).

Nonetheless, because of the very nature of the project, this research followed international ethical standards. The respondents, both adults and children, were informed about the objectives of the project and read a consent information statement. All aspects of the research were conducted in the local language of the respondents. All participants were able to withdraw their consent anytime, with no explanation required. If consent was withdrawn, data collected from them would be destroyed. No names or identifying information was collected from the respondents, except the minimal amount needed to locate them, and no names were recorded with interview tapes or transcripts. All of the names used in the report are pseudonyms. Interviews and FGDs took place in familiar surroundings and a friendly environment which minimized the risk of distress and/or discomfort of the participants.

H. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The merit of the findings of this study and the policy implications thereof is conditioned by the degree of accuracy of the collected dataset. The research team faced some difficulties that should be kept in mind while interpreting the results of the study. These are as follows:

- The mapping study should have been ideally based on written or published documents. But there were no complete and updated lists of the DFEs operating in the study areas. In the absence of complete listings of the DFEs and the number of workers, the study had to rely on information from the KIs such as DFE owners and leaders of the business associations. The information thus gathered is, at best, the outcome of the best guesses made by these individuals who are, of course, deemed most knowledgeable about DFEs.

- As mentioned above, girls were more reluctant to be interviewed than boys. This is partly because they are more likely to work alongside a parent, who discouraged them from being distracted from their work, and partly because the interviewer team did not have a sufficient number of female interviewers. Recruitment of female interviewers was found to be difficult due to the unavailability of female students with knowledge of the study areas as well as proficiency in the local dialect. It should be noted also that some difficulties in interviewing the child workers affected both boys and girls. While the field team always solicited the DFE owner's permission to conduct the survey, some owners became impatient at the end of the day if they felt that the survey was interfering with the children's work. Both boys and girls were sometimes reluctant to be interviewed due to fear of the owner's disapproval and/or because their work was getting affected.
- The quantitative survey missed out on one group of girl child workers who mainly work along with their mothers very early in the morning, from about 4 a.m. to 8 a.m. This group mostly works for the large firms and is mainly aged 14 and older. Due to logistical factors such as the unavailability of public transportation at these hours, it was not possible to interview these workers. These girls comprise about 4% of the total girls working in the dried fish establishments as per informal conversations with some experienced DFE owners. Some of these girls also work during the day and as such some of them have been included in the sample. It may also be noted that this group is included in the mapping as the KIs had this information in mind while reporting the number of child workers. Conversely, these girls work in an undesirable schedule that is very much akin to a night shift. Therefore, their chances of attending school are diminished owing to the tiredness caused by their work schedule. The inclusion of this cohort of girls, no matter how small it is, could have brought out additional insights to the findings of the present study.[10]

IV. PROFILE OF THE DRIED FISH ESTABLISHMENTS AND THE WORKFORCE

A. LOCATIONS OF THE DRIED FISH ESTABLISHMENTS IN COX'S BAZAR DISTRICT

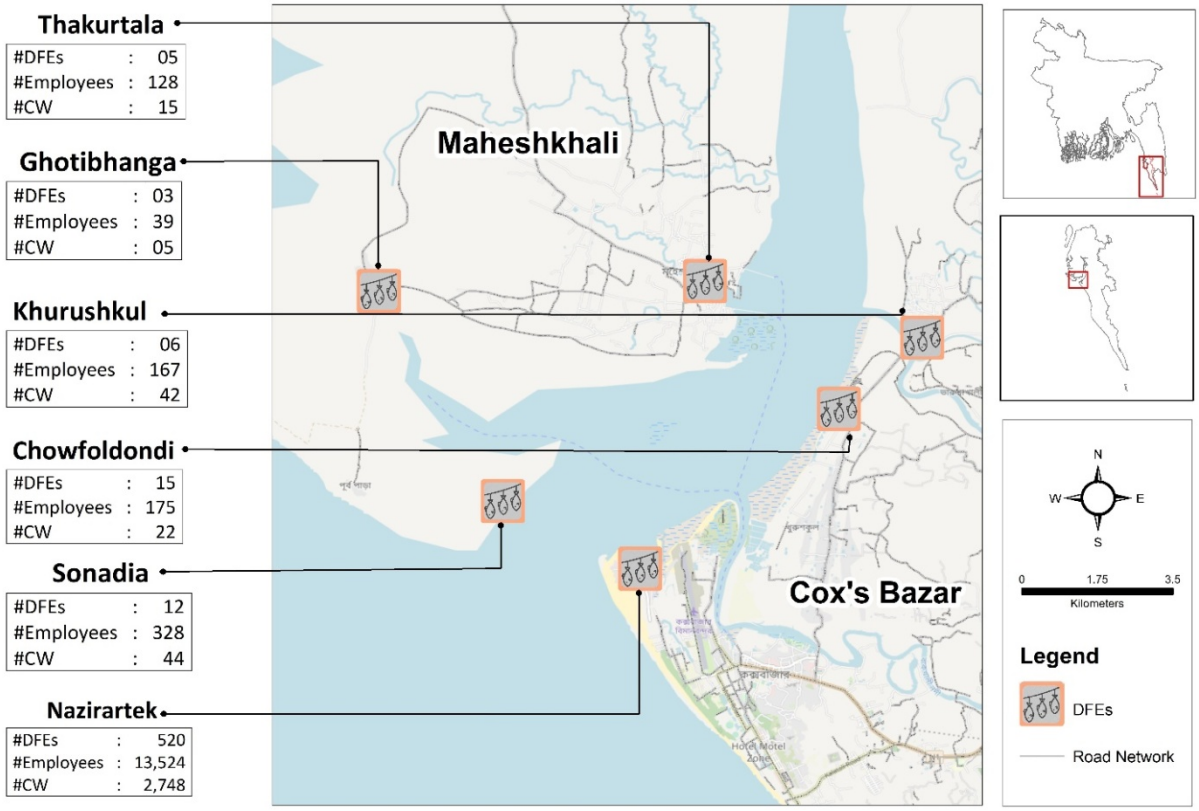
In Cox's Bazar District, dried fish establishments (DFEs) are heavily concentrated in Cox's Bazar Sadar followed by Maheshkhali. In Cox's Bazar Sadar *Upazila*, the dried fish processing business is operated in three separate geographical locations, namely Nazirartek, Chowfoldondi, and Khurushkul. Nazirartek is the biggest dried fish processing area; Chowfoldondi and Khurushkul are significantly small compared to Nazirartek in terms of dried fish processing activities.

In Maheshkhali *Upazila*, there are three locations in which dried fish processing activities are in place. These are Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga. Previously, Sonadia was a very prominent dried fish processing area but nowadays only 12 DFEs are in operation. The two other locations (Thakurtala and Ghotibhanga) contain only 5 and 3 DFEs, respectively.

[10] ILO (2012) and ILO (2018) observe that regarding sensitive issues like forced labor, interviewing workers at their workplace may create "gate-keeper problem," which may result in workers not willing to participate in the survey, and/or not giving honest answers because they may fear retaliations from their employers. This study, however, had to gather data from the work sites for various reasons. These include difficulty in tracing the respondents outside their working hours, the remoteness of the locations, lack of electricity, difficulty to reach respondents' places of living, etc.

A bird's eye view of the above-mentioned locations is presented in Figure 2. It is seen from the figure that the dried fish processing areas are mostly located in areas adjacent to different fish-landing points.

Figure 2: Locations of the Dried Fish Processing Activities in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali Upazilas



Note: DFE = dried fish establishment; CW = child workers

Location-wise as well as size-wise, distributions of DFEs in Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali were discussed above in the methodology section and shown in Table 2. The estimated total number of DFEs operating in the five areas of these two *Upazilas* is 561, of which 520 (93%) are located in Nazirartek itself. Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga are the homes of only 15, 6, 12, 5, and 3 DFEs, respectively.

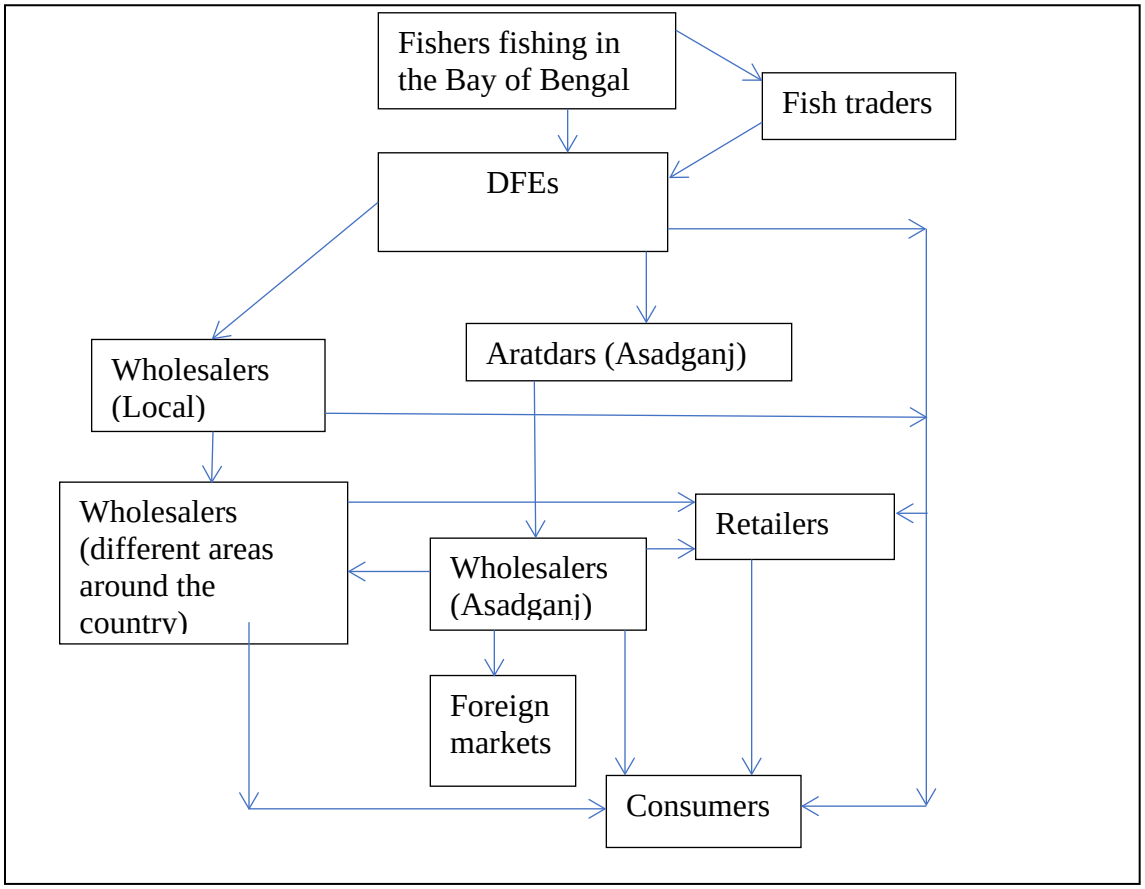
In terms of distribution by size, the DFEs are mostly medium- and small-scale operations. Chowfoldondi, Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga do not have any large DFEs. Large DFEs account for only 23% of all DFEs. Only one of them is located outside Nazirartek, at Khurushkul. Medium and small DFEs account for about 52% and 25% of all DFEs, respectively.

B. INVOLVEMENT OF CHILD WORKERS IN THE VALUE CHAIN

To comprehend the involvement of child workers in the value chain, it is necessary to first construct the relevant value chain. Accordingly, as mentioned earlier, we have conducted several key informant interviews (KIIs) and one focus group discussion (FGD). No unique value chain is identified from the information provided by key informants (KIs) and FGD participants. The responses regarding the dried fish value chain varied, mainly because some respondents were not knowledgeable about the matter. Careful examination of the varied value chains revealed by KIs and FGD participants leads us to construct a comprehensive value chain that covers all the

possible channels through which dried or raw fish processed in DFEs move from one node to another. The constructed value chain is presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3: A Comprehensive Value Chain of the Dried Fish Products



Source: Constructed from a value chain study

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment

As implied by this figure, the chain starts from the Bay of Bengal when live fish are caught. All DFE owners collect raw fish from fishers. To collect more raw fish, owners of some DFEs, however, buy from fish traders who in turn buy from fishers. The fish traders operate at different fish landing points including Nazirartek Machh Ghat (Nazirartek fish landing point) and Chittagong Fishery Ghat (Chittagong fish landing point).

After due processing, the DFE owners sell the dried fish products chiefly to *aratdars* (stockists) at Asadganj, Chittagong. They also sell to local wholesalers, retailers, and consumers. It is important to note that once the DFE owners bring the products to Asadganj, as per a tacit agreement, they cannot sell those to buyers other than the *aratdars*. As per the same kind of tacit agreement, the *aratdars* of Asadganj have to sell the products to the wholesalers of the same place. The wholesalers, such as those from Asadganjor of Cox's Bazar, sell the dried fish products to wholesalers coming from around the country, local retailers, and local consumers. Most retailers around the country buy dried fish products from nearby wholesalers. Further, most consumers buy from nearby retailers.

Two boys carrying fish

In response to our question about the presence of child workers at the different stages of the value chain, all of the key informants unanimously replied that child workers are present in DFEs, a vital node in the value chain. They had differing opinions about other stages. Each stage was mentioned by at least one respondent as a stage in which child workers exist.

The FGD participants indicated that workers of the age below 18 are not assigned work that requires intensive physical effort. According to their estimates, children account for 20% of the total workers and are mainly employed temporarily. The likelihood of children being employed is higher when larger amounts of fish arrives. Given the fact that a child worker is paid only one-fourth of the amount paid to an adult worker for the same amount of work (*Dhaka Tribune*, 2015), the profit margin due to the child worker is rather high. It is not, therefore, surprising that employers prefer to employ children.

To validate the information provided by the KIs and the FGD participants regarding the location and intensity of child labor in the value chain, we visited several places where operations of different value chain actors take place. The list of areas we visited includes Bahaddarhat bazar, Asadganj, Nazirartek Shutki Palli (dried fish market), and Nazirartek Machh Ghat (fish landing point). We did not find any child labor worker in "*Arats*" (go-downs) and wholesale shops. However, child workers were seen in retail shops in Bahaddarhat, DFEs in Nazirartek, and fish-trading activities in Nazirartek Machh Ghat. In the retail shops, child workers were found to perform work that does not require much physical effort, such as selling dried fish to customers.

A child, perhaps not older than 12 years, working in the DFS carrying a heavy fish cage in Nazirartek Machh Ghat.

On the other hand, child workers in Nazirartek Machh Ghat were found to perform work involving carrying a heavy load, such as unloading fish from boats, loading fish on to carts, pulling carts and the like. We realized that some children who were doing this heavy work appear to be often below fourteen years of age. In the DFEs, the extent of the presence of child workers was roughly consistent with the information provided by the respondents. It is important to note that some of the child workers found working in the Nazirartek Machh Ghat are employees of the DFE owners who buy raw fish directly from the boat owners.

C. COMPOSITION OF WORKERS IN THE DFES

Estimation of the number of people working in the DFEs on a regular or casual basis was conducted by applying the KIIs (for Nazirartek) as well as a personal-visit survey covering all the establishments in other areas. Table 5 provides estimates of the number of adult female, adult male, and child workers in the DFEs in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali. The labor distribution by gender is dominated by adult female workers. The total number of employees in the sector is reported to be about 14,366, of which adult females are 63% (8,986). Most importantly, child workers outnumber the adult male workers: It is self-reported by the DFS stakeholders that adult males account for 17% (2,504) and children account for 20% (2,876).

Table 5: Employment and Distribution of Labor (as Reported by Key Informants from DFEs)

Area	Type of DFE by Size	Total Number of Employees			
		Adult female	Adult male	Children	Total
Naziraratek	*Large*	4,870	1,030	1,469	7,369
	Medium	3,305	731	1,039	5,075
	Small	670	170	240	1,080

	Total	**8,845**	**1,931**	**2,748**	**1,3524**
Chowfoldondi	*Large*	-	-	-	-
	Medium	80	41	16	137
	Small	10	22	6	38
	Total	**90**	**63**	**22**	**175**
Khurushkul	*Large*	-	40	15	55
	Medium	31	54	27	112
	Small	-	-	-	-
	Total	**31**	**94**	**42**	**167**
Sonadia	*Large*	-	-	-	-
	Medium	-	284	44	328
	Small	-	-	-	-
	Total	-	**284**	**44**	**328**
Ghotibhanga	*Large*	-	-	-	-
	Medium	15	19	5	39
	Small	-	-	-	-
	Total	**15**	**19**	**5**	**39**
Thakurtala	*Large*	-	-	-	-
	Medium	5	113	15	133
	Small	-	-	-	-
	Total	**5**	**113**	**15**	**133**
Total by size	*Large*	4870	1070	1484	7424
	Medium	3436	1242	1146	5824
	Small	680	192	246	1118
Grand total		**8,986**	**2,504**	**2,876**	**14,366**

Source: Mapping study

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment

A detailed account of the distribution of child workers is provided in Table 6. As mentioned earlier, the total number of children working in the DFEs in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali is estimated to be 2,876. To estimate the numbers by gender and age, we asked the KIs about the numbers of female child workers and male child workers per DFE in each area. These averages were used to estimate the total numbers. Among these, 2,080 (72%) are estimated to be girls and 796 (28%) are boys. The gender composition is visually presented in Panel "a" of Figure 4. It seems that the pattern of gender composition in the pool of child workers is similar to the pattern found in the pool of adult labor (see Table 5).

Table 6: Distribution of the Child Workers in Dried Fish Establishments (DFEs) in Cox's Bazar and MaheshkhalI by Percent (Reported by Key Informants from DFEs)

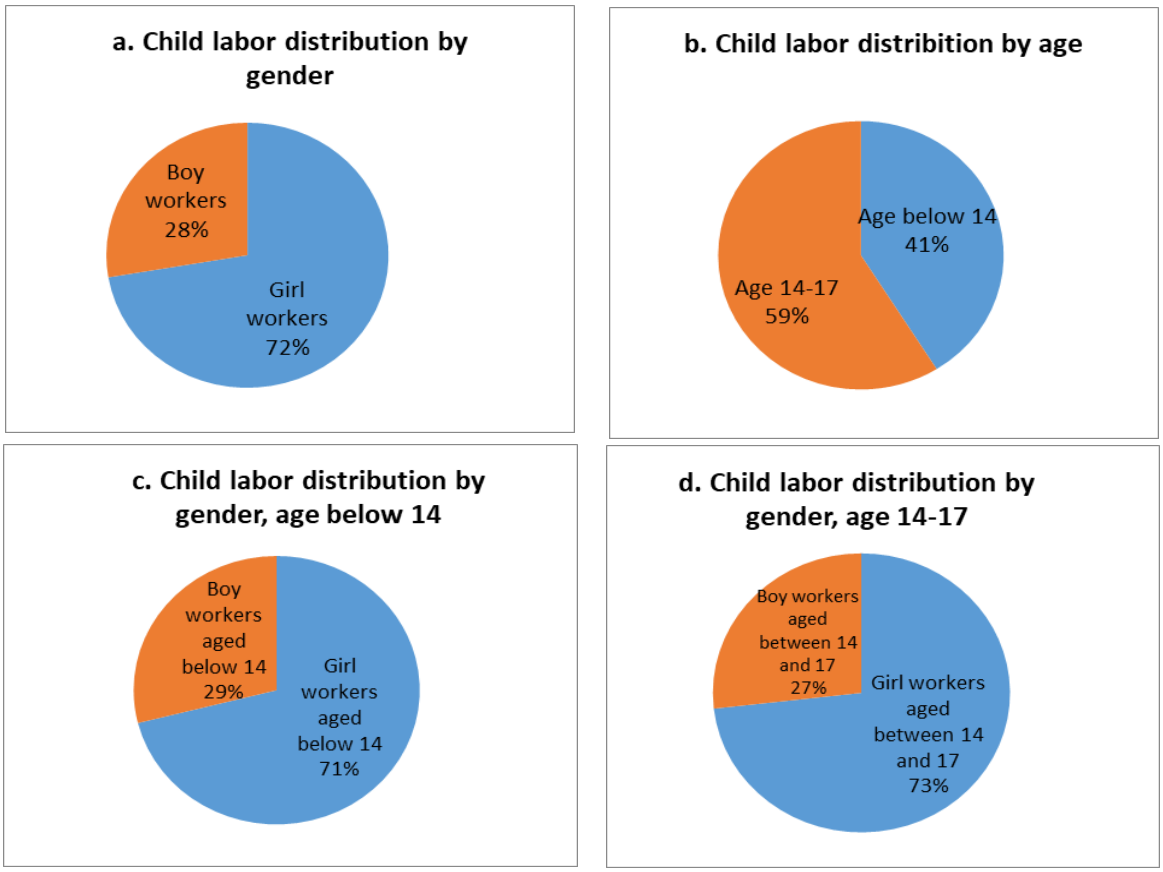
Area	Size Category	Age Distribution of Child Labor (All DFEs)						
		Age below 14		Age between 14–17		All children 5–17		
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Total
Nazirartek	*Large*	434	107	654	274	1,088	381	1,469
	Medium	260	200	486	93	746	293	1,039
	Small	140	0	90	10	230	10	240
	Total	***834***	***307***	***1,230***	***377***	***2,064***	***684***	***2,748***
Chowfoldondi	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	2	4	4	6	6	10	16
	Small	1	2	1	2	2	4	6
	Total	**3**	**6**	**5**	**8**	**8**	**14**	**22**
Khurushkul	*Large*		5		10		15	15
	Medium	1	10	5	11	6	21	27
	Small							
	Total	**1**	**15**	**5**	**21**	**6**	**36**	**42**
Sonadia	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium		11		33		44	44
	Small		-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	***0***	***11***	***0***	***33***	***0***	***44***	***44***
Ghotibhanga	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	2	3	-	-	2	3	5
	Small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	***2***	***3***	***0***	***0***	***2***	***3***	***5***
Thakurtala	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	-	-	-	15	-	15	15
	Small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**15**	**0**	**15**	**15**
Total by size	*Large*	434	112	654	284	1088	396	1484
	Medium	265	228	495	158	760	386	1146
	Small	141	2	91	12	232	14	246
Grand total		**840**	**342**	**1,240**	**454**	**2,080**	**796**	**2,876**

Source: Mapping study

Panel "b" of Figure 4 demonstrates the age composition of the pool of child workers. It suggests that about 41% of the working children are of the age below 14. The remaining 59% are between 14 and 17 years. Again, as Panels "c" and "d" of the figure show, in both age groups of the child workers, females dominate. Girls account for 71% of those who are below 14 and 73% of those who are between 14 and 17. The female dominance in the DFEs may be explained as follows:

Men and boys may prefer a permanent and better paying job outside the DFEs to a temporary and low-paid job in the DFEs even though they live in and around the DFEs. In contrast, females may not opt for jobs far away from the DFEs as they have to take care of the household activities and look after the younger kids while at the same time working in the DFEs. The girls also may be helping the mothers with household chores besides taking care of the younger siblings. Interestingly, while the pool of workers in the DFEs is found to be female dominated, no girl worker is working in DFEs in Sonadia Island. It may be because of the isolated location of this area.

Figure 4: Distribution of Child Workers Based on Gender and Age (as Reported by Key Informants from DFEs)



Source: Based on mapping study data

V. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON CHILDREN WORKING IN THE DFES

This section discusses the socioeconomic conditions, including the work and living conditions and the demographic characteristics, of the children working in the dried fish establishments (DFEs). It also focuses on the possible harmful effects on health and education resulting from their work. This section is mainly based on the information collected through the quantitative survey conducted on 461 children working in the DFEs. Relevant qualitative information collected through key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) is also used to complement the quantitative information.

A. SOCIOECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD WORKERS

1. Ethnicity

The quantitative survey revealed that most children who work in the DFEs in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali are Bengali (92%) with only 8% identifying themselves as Rohingya; there is no difference in ethnic composition by gender.[11] The FGD discussion with business association members revealed that in the past, many Rohingya people used to work in the DFEs; these workers migrated from Myanmar to Bangladesh during the 1990s. The number of Rohingya workers has dropped in recent times despite the recent influx of Rohingya in late 2017, as both recent and longer-term migrants have moved to the Rohingya refugee camps at Teknaf. The camps guarantee the availability of food and security by government of Bangladesh and international agencies. The Rohingya children now working in the DFEs are likely from families who have lived in Bangladesh for at least one generation.

2. Migrant Status

Most of the child workers belong to the families living in or around the areas in which dried fish establishments are located. Most of these families migrated to this area from other parts of Cox's Bazar district long ago; our informal conversation with the owners and adult workers also suggests the same. Key informants (KI) also said that many of these children are seasonal migrants who, along with their family, come from different parts of Cox's Bazar district to work in the DFEs during the peak season for dried fish processing. They do so because they know that jobs in the DFEs are available during the peak season. They leave the area when the peak season is over.

The quantitative survey corroborates this (Table 7). An estimated 78% of the child workers come from internal migrant families who moved to Cox's Bazar from other *Upazilas*. Among them, 25% of child workers migrated from Maheshkhali, 20% from Kutubdia, and 11% from Chakaria. A KII finding shows that child workers at Sonadia mostly come from South Chattogram, Maheshkhali, Banshkhali, Chakaria, Teknaf, and Morichcha. Seasonal workers come from the vicinities such as Teknaf, Ukhia, Morichcha para, Kutubdia and, occasionally, from other parts of southern Chattogram. The fact that the name of a place in Nazirartek is "Kutubdia Para" is testimony to the fact that these people migrated from Kutubdia.

[11] Some additional tables from the quantitative study are presented in Annex 1.

Table 7: Upazila of Origin of Child Workers in Cox's Bazar (N=383)

Location	Percentage
Cox's Bazar Sadar	22.5
Myanmar/Rohingya	7.8
Maheshkhali	25.1
Kutubdia	19.9
Chakaria	10.9
Teknaf	5.8
Ukhia	5.2
Pekua	3.9
Others	1.3
Total	**100.0**

Source: Quantitative survey

3. Age Structure

The survey shows that about 60% of the child workers interviewed are less than 14 years old, while the rest (40%) are in the age group of 14 to 17 (Table 8). There is no association between age groups and sex (p = 0.39). The mean age of all child workers interviewed is 12.6. The mean ages of girls and boys are 12.4 and 12.8, respectively. The survey found that children as young as 7 and as old as 17 are working in the DFEs.

Table 8: Distribution of Child Workers by Age Groups and Sex

Age group	Sex (%) (N=461)		
	Girls	**Boys**	**Total**
Less than 14 years	61.7	57.8	59.9
14 - 17 years	38.3	42.2	40.1
Total	100	100	100
P-val	0.39		
Mean age	12.4	12.8	12.6
Std. Dev	2.6	2.4	2.5
Maximum age	17	17	17
Minimum age	7	7	7

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between age groups and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

4. School Enrollment and Educational Attainment

Table 9 provides information about school enrollment and educational attainment of the children interviewed. The information is provided by sex and age groups (14 to 17 and 14 years or less). When reporting their educational status, 25% of child workers interviewed said they are currently enrolled in school, while 57% attended school in the past and 18% reported they never enrolled in a school or *madrasa* (Islamic religious schools). The current enrollment for the lower age group (less than 14 years) is higher than the upper age group (36% vs. 9%). In sharp

contrast, previous enrollment for the older age group is reported to have been much higher than the lower age group (71% vs. 48%). On the other hand, percentages of those who never enrolled in school or have no education all are similar across lower and higher age groups (16% vs. 20%). These differences in enrollment by age groups are statistically significant ($p = 0.00$). Similar patterns in school enrollment status and age groups can be observed for both girls and boys. However, the relationships between enrollment and age groups are found to be statistically significant only for girls ($p = 0.00$). To aid visualization, the school enrollment status by age and sex is also presented in Figure 5.

While there were small differences by gender in the proportion currently enrolled (28% girls vs. 22% boys) and never enrolled (21% girls vs. 15% boys), girls are less likely than boys to have previously enrolled. The higher enrollment for boys in the past indicates that the drop-out rate among boys is higher than that of girls. There is a statistically significant association between school enrollment and sex ($p = 0.04$).

As far as the level of education among the child workers interviewed, 94% of girls and 87% of boys ended their education at class V and below (see lower part of Table 9). It is noted that primary education (up to class V) is mandatory by Bangladeshi laws. About 9% reached class VI to class VIII, including 16% of the 14–17 age group; the percentage of boys (12%) reaching class VI to class VIII is more than double compared to girls (6%).

The enrollment of the child workers is divided into three types of institutions: formal schools, *madrasas,* and non-formal schools. Formal schools refer to education provided by the government or private entities. A *madrasa* is an Islamic religious education system provided mostly by private entities. Finally, non-formal schools refer to the non-governmental (NGO)-run seasonal or part-time schools. Table 10 reports that among the currently enrolled child workers, about 50% are enrolled in formal schools, 35% in *madrasas,* and 15% in non-formal schools; there is no gender difference by type of school ($p = 0.60$). However, the previously enrolled child workers had a higher percentage of girls enrolled in non-formal schools (30% vs. 24%), whereas more boys were enrolled in *madrasas* (15% vs. 6%). The differences in enrollment between boys and girls are statistically significant ($p = 0.05$).

Table 9: Education Status of Child Workers by Sex and Age

Education Status		Girls			Boys			Total Children		
		Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total
School Enrollment (N = 461)	Currently enrolled	44.0	2.2	28.0	27.0	15.2	22.0	36.2	8.6	25.2
	Previously enrolled	39.3	71.0	51.4	57.1	71.7	63.3	47.7	71.4	57.0
	Never enrolled/ no education	16.7	26.9	20.6	15.9	13.0	14.7	16.3	20.0	17.8
	Total	100.0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	P-val	0.00**			0.07			0.00**		
Level of Education for those ever attending (N = 372)	Class V or below	96.8	89.7	94.2	94.2	76.6	86.7	95.59	82.76	90.59
	Class VI to VIII	3.3	10.3	5.8	5.8	20.8	12.2	4.41	15.86	8.87
	Class IX and above	-	-	-	-	2.6	1.1	0.00	1.38	0.54
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	P-val	0.05*			0.00**			0.00**		

*Notes: p-values reported in the table are associated with the relationship between education status and age groups. The p-value related to the association between school enrollment and sex is 0.04, between level of education and sex, is 0.03. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significance at 1% and 5% respectively.*

Figure 5: Education Status of Child Workers by Sex and Age

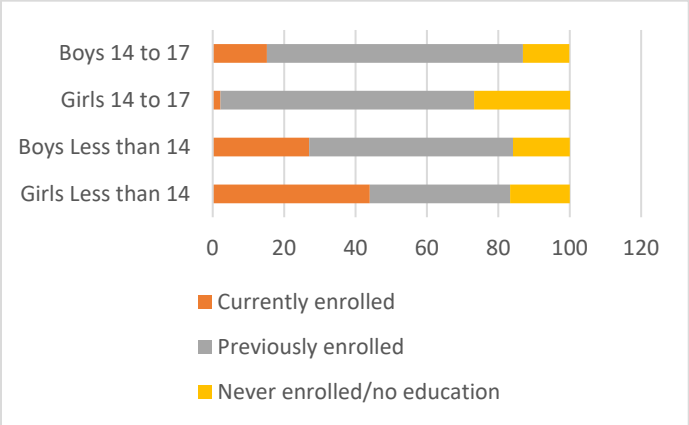


Table 10: Types of School Attended by Child Workers by Sex

Types of School Attended		Sex		
		Girls	**Boys**	**Total Sample**
Currently enrolled Child workers (N = 116)	Formal school	54.4	45.8	50.9
	Madrasa	30.9	39.6	34.5
	Non-formal school	14.7	14.6	14.6
	Total	100	100	100
	P-val	0.60		
Previously enrolled Child workers (N = 263)	Formal school	64.0	61.6	62.7
	Madrasa	5.6	14.5	10.3
	Non-formal school	30.4	23.9	27.0
	Total	100	100	100
	P-val	0.05*		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between types of school attended and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significant at 1%, and 5%, respectively.*

B. WORKING CONDITIONS FOR CHILDREN

This section focuses on the working conditions of children at the DFEs. Particular attention is given to the characteristics of their work, the type of work, and the remuneration given to the children.

1. Nature of Work Done by Children

Key informants such as DFE owners or members of DFE owners' association were not able to give any information on the duration of employment of child workers. The main reason for this is that, in most of cases, a child does not work in the same DFE every year, which points to the temporary, seasonal, and short-term nature of the work.

Table 11, however, reveals that nearly half of the child workers (46%) have been working in the DFEs for one-to-three years. About a quarter of the total sampled child workers (22%) have been

working in the DFEs for three years or more. There is no statistically significant association between employment duration and sex of the child workers (p = 0.49).

Table 11: Duration of Employment at Dried Fish Establishments by Sex

Employment Duration	Sex		
(N = 461)	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Total Sample**
1 year or less	30.5	33.9	32.1
More than 1 to 3 years	44.4	46.8	45.6
More than 3 to 5 years	18.1	13.3	15.8
More than 5 years	7.0	6.0	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
P-val	0.49		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between employment duration and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

Qualitative data points to mainly three broad types of contractual arrangements for child workers. One is permanent workers who are recruited for the entire season of nine months. Family members of child workers who work in the DFEs largely fall into this category. The second category is the temporary workers who work on a daily basis. In the latter case, children come to the establishments, look for work, and if work is available, they are recruited for the day. There is also a third, emergency or need-based category in which workers, children included, are called on by a DFE. This occurs in the event of a sudden rain or sudden huge supply of raw fish that need to be processed.

These findings are corroborated by quantitative data on child workers' working arrangements as presented in Table 12. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of the child workers interviewed reported that they work on a daily basis. This is followed by need-based work, under which category 13% of child workers work. It should be noted that the duration of need-based work can be as short as a few hours. Finally, about 11% of children surveyed report that they work on a seasonal contract basis, with very few working under weekly and monthly contracts. It can be noted from the table that the nature of the contract varies by gender. Thus, while 81% of the girls reported that they work on a daily basis, only 62% of boys reported so. About 17% of the girls work on need-based arrangements while only 8% of the boy's report that they do so. On the other hand, seasonal contracts are very rare for girls; mostly boys (22%) work on this contract. These observed differences in contractual arrangements across sex are also statistically significant (p = 0.00). A visual of contractual arrangements by sex is provided in Figure 6.

Table 12: Contractual Arrangements by Sex

Nature of Contract	Sex (%)		
(N = 461)	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Total Sample**
Daily Basis	81.1	62.4	72.2
Weekly contract	1.2	0.9	1.1
Monthly contract	0.4	6.4	3.3
Seasonal contract	0.4	22.0	10.6
Need- based	16.9	8.3	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
P-val	0.00**		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between contractual arrangements and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significance at 1% and 5% respectively.*

Figure 6: Contractual Arrangements by Sex

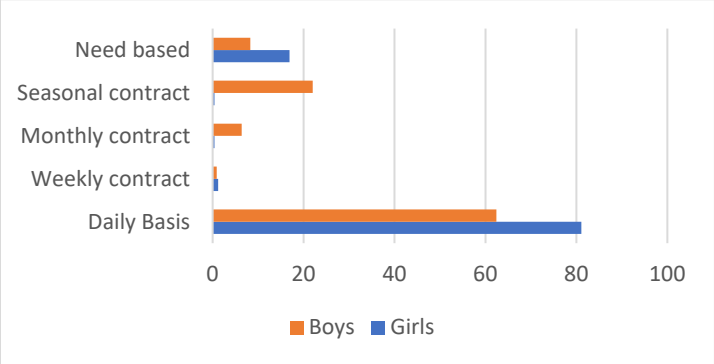


Table 13 documents the number of hours worked per week by child workers surveyed. It can be seen from the table that, on average, children work 72 hours per week. The minimum and maximum hours worked per week are 14 and 105 hours, respectively. These are pretty similar for boys and girls. The table further reveals that 90% of the children work more than 42 hours per week, and only 10% work 42 hours or less. It is worth mentioning here that according to the existing law of Bangladesh, only children of 14-to-17 age category are allowed a maximum of 42 hours of (non-hazardous) economic work per week. Thus, Table 13, which includes children of all ages points to the intensity of child labor in DFEs (this issue will be explored further in Section E).The table further reveals that there are differences in hours worked per week between girls and boys. For example, the proportion of the boys working for more than 84 hours a week is three times higher than the girls. In contrast, while 80% of the girls reported that they work for 56 to 84 hours a week, only 67% of the boys work in this range. The differences in working hours across sex are statistically significant (p = 0.01). Figure 7 provides a visual representation of the number of hours worked by sex.

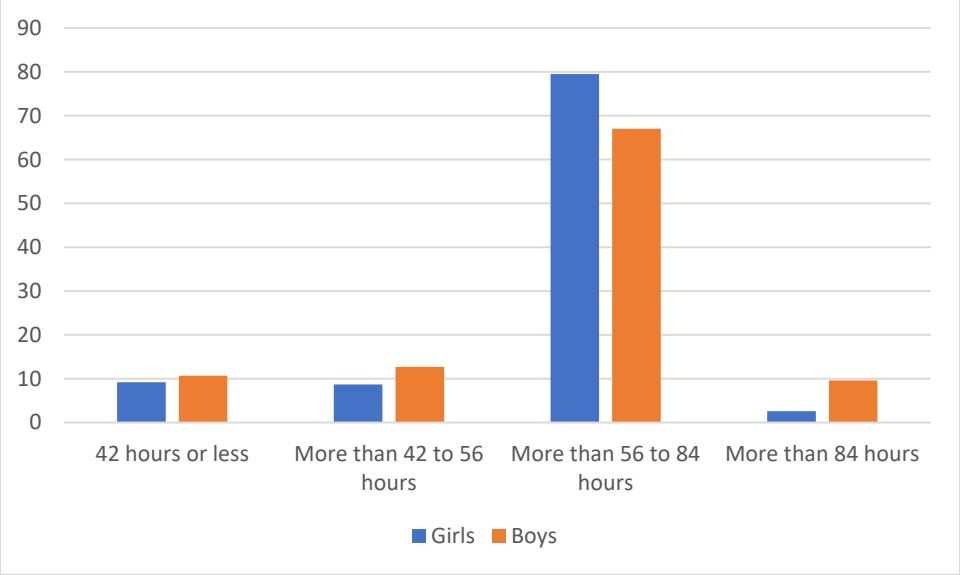
Table 13: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Sex

Hours worked per week	Sex (%)		
(N = 392)	Girls	Boys	Total Sample
42 hours or less	9.2	10.7	10.0
More than 42 to 56 hours	8.7	12.7	10.7
More than 56 to 84 hours	79.5	67.0	73.2
More than 84 hours	2.6	9.6	6.1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**
P-val	**0.01****		
Mean hours worked per week	71.8	72.1	72.0
Standard Deviation	14.9	16.8	15.9
Minimum hours per week	21	14	14
Maximum hours per week	*105*	*98*	*105*

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between hours worked and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denotes significance at 1%, and 5%, respectively.*

Figure 7: Number of Hours Worked Per Week by Sex



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

As shown in Table 14, the seasonal child workers work the longest hours (about 80 hours per week) followed by monthly contract child workers (about 76 hours/week) and daily basis workers (about 71 hours/week).

Table 14: Mean Hours Worked Per Week by Contract Status (N=461)

Nature of Contract	Mean hours worked/week
Daily Basis	70.8
Weekly contract	58.8
Monthly contract	75.6
Seasonal contract	79.7
All Contracts	**72.0**

Source: Quantitative survey

The children interviewed were asked what time of the day or night they perform their work. It appears that they work at different periods of the day and night, as can be seen from Table 15. The table reports that a large majority of the children (80%) work during the day (between 6 a.m. to 5 p.m.), 11% work early in the morning, and 7% at night (after 6 p.m.). A little more than 12% work both day and night. When these multiple responses are combined, we see that 61% of the child workers work during the day only, meaning that approximately 39% work at night at least occasionally. There are no sex differences in time of work (p values are greater than 0.05). However, boys are more likely to get a break during the day than girls (89% vs. 78%), and this difference is statistically significant (p = 0.00).

Table 15: Time of Work (Multiple Response) and Break Time

Time of Work and Break Time		Sex (N = 461)			
		Girls	**Boys**	**Total**	**P-val**
Time worked	Early in the morning (before 6 a.m.)	9.9	12.4	11.1	.39
	Between 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. (day)	80.7	79.8	80.3	.73
	After 6 p.m. (night)	6.2	7.8	6.9	.49
	Both day and night	9.7	14.7	12.2	.08
	Work during daytime only	62.8	59.4	61.2	.38
Break-time	Got break-time during work	77.8	89.0	83.1	.00**

Source: Quantitative Survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between time worked and break-time, and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% respectively.*

A young girl squints as she sorts fish under direct sunlight

2. Types of Work Done by Children

Children who work at DFEs reported that they do multiple types of work, as can be seen from Table 16. Nearly all children (about 92%) are involved in sorting raw fish and drying them out. More than 83% clean raw fish, 29% are involved in the packaging of the dried fish, and 26% load or unload fish to boats or vehicles. A small number of children (4%) report that they do other types of work, including fetching water, cooking for the adult workers, cleaning ice used to preserve raw fish, and driving out birds or stray dogs that destroy fish waiting to be dried out. As far as drying, sorting, cleaning, and packaging are concerned, there are no statistically significant differences between types of work and sex. However, tasks such as loading dried fish on to trucks and unloading raw fish from boats, vans, and trucks are mostly done by the boys. A little more than 61% of the children report that all the types of work they do are the same as the work done by the adult workers at their workplace.

Table 16: Types of Work Done by Child Workers (Multiple Response)

Types of Work	Respondents Responded Yes (N = 461)			
	Girls	**Boys**	**Total**	**P-val**
Raw fish drying	93.8	91.3	92.6	.30
Raw fish sorting	94.2	90.4	92.4	.16
Raw fish cleaning	82.3	84.4	83.3	.55
Packaging	25.1	32.6	28.6	.08
Unloading raw fish from vehicles	2.5	27.1	14.1	.00**
Loading dried fish to vehicles	2.1	22.5	11.7	.00**
Others	2.1	6.4	4.1	.02*
Do the same type of work as adults	63.0	59.6	61.4	.46

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between types of work and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, **and *denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

3. Remunerations and Other Benefits

Qualitative respondents opine that children receive a lower wage than adult men and women. The reason that one DFE key informant put forward is that children do relatively easy work such as sorting fish or keeping away birds or animals. One DFE owner put it this way:

> *If two kg of dried fish is lost (animals) it will cost me Tk. 1,000, so it is better to employ a child to drive away birds and animals. The child needs to be paid around 200 Tk. At the end of the day my net gain is 800 Taka.*

Table 17 shows the frequency of payments received by child workers as reported by them in the quantitative survey. Daily payment is the dominant mode, as 81% of the child workers report that they receive their salary daily. Other types of payment frequencies include every few days a unit payment (or *thiya*, for example, for sorting or cleaning a fixed load of raw fish) or asking for salary whenever the workers need it. It should be noted here that payment every few days may be applicable for daily workers who are not paid every day.

Table 17: Frequency of Payments of Wage and Salary for Child Workers

Frequency of Payments(N = 461)	Percentage
Daily	81.1
Weekly	2.8
Monthly	7.4
Season end	3.7
Others	6.0
Total	**100.0**

Source: Quantitative survey

The amount of wages paid under different payment arrangements is reported in Table 18. The average wage rate of daily workers is Tk.286 ($3.15), and child workers with a seasonal contract receive about Tk. 40,000 ($471) a season. If we assume that a child on a seasonal contract work for 9 months without a day off, the seasonal payment works out to an average of 147 Taka per day ($1.73).

Table 18: Amount of Wage and Salary in Cash for Child Workers (Taka)

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Daily Payment	373	286	98	50	600
Weekly Payment	13	2,105	950	1,200	5,000
Monthly Payment	30	4,860	2,311	2,000	10,000
Season end Payment	17	38,765	15,710	15,000	70,000

Source: Quantitative survey

Both qualitative and quantitative data documents that payment in kind is mostly in the form of some raw or dried fish and is negligible for short-term workers. However, workers under seasonal contracts get some dried fish (a few kg) at the end of the contract. This latter group receives small bonuses or new clothes during the *Eid festival* or at the end of the contract.

The child workers were asked whether they are provided such benefits as free food and medical treatment and training. Their responses are shown in Table 19. The table shows that 71% report that no free meal is provided, 81% did not get any training, and 87% did not receive free medical treatment. Thus, benefits other than salary are meager for children working in the DFEs.

Table 19: Types of Benefits Received by Child Workers

Facilities Provided		Percent
Free food (N = 450)	Three meals	16.7
	Partial Meal	12.0
	No Meal	71.3
	Total	100.0
Training (N = 461)	Yes	13.5
	No	86.7
	Total	100.0
Free Treatment (N = 461)	Full Treatment	5.6
	Partial treatment	7.4
	No	87.0
	Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

C. LIVING CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN AT THE WORKPLACE

Living arrangements of children at the workplace are presented in Table 20 and Figure 8. Table 20 shows that the majority (81%) of the child workers interviewed live with their families while 16% live at the workplace and only 3% have separate living arrangements. However, there is a significant statistical association between the sex of child workers and their living arrangements ($p = 0.00$) as most of the girls (96%) live with their families, while this is about 64% for the boys. Further, those who live in the workplace are mostly boys (32%) compared to only 1% of

girls. The finding is tied to the fact that more boys are seasonal workers: 92% of seasonal workers live at the workplace.

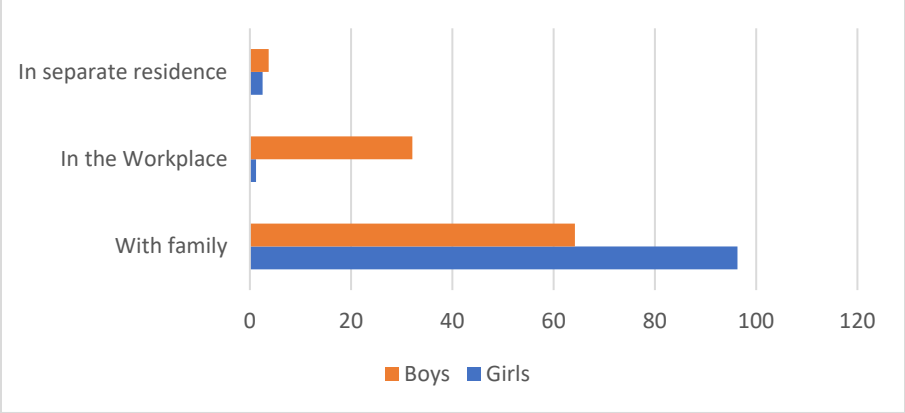
Table 20: Living Arrangements of Child Workers by Sex

Living Arrangements (N = 461)	Sex (%)		
	Girls	Boys	Total
With family	96.3	64.2	81.1
In the workplace	1.2	32.1	15.8
In separate residence	2.5	3.7	3.1
Total	100	100	100
P-val	0.00**		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between living arrangements and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

Figure 8: Living Arrangements of Child Workers by Sex



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

Table 21 reveals that 81% of those who live in the workplace live in the same room as adult workers at night. There is an association between the sleeping arrangement and sex of the workers (p=0.03): 83% of boys but only 33% of girls sleep in the same room as the adults.

Table 21: Sleeping Arrangements at Workplace Reported by Child Workers

Sleep in the Same Room as Adults	Sex		
(N =73)	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Total**
Yes	33.3	82.9	80.8
No	66.7	17.1	19.2
Total	100	100	100
P-val	0.03*		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between sleeping arrangements and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

The conditions for those who live in the workplace are poor. Table 22 reports that nine out of ten children report that they live in a structure made of straw and rushes (*kancha house*). Toilet facilities at the workplace are also poor (affecting children who work but do not also live at the facility) since only a quarter of the children use airing slab pit latrine (with or without water seal)[12] (Table 23). The remaining 75% use an open pit or open defection. Again, child workers were asked whether facilities like solar electricity, tube well for safe drinking water, or sanitary toilet are available at their workplace. More than 84% of child workers do not have any of these facilities at their workplace.

Table 22: Types of House at Workplace

Type of House (N = 73)	Percent
Kancha house (made of straw or rushes)	90.4
Semi paka (partly brick- built)	5.5
Other	4.1
Total	100

Source: Quantitative survey

Table 23: Types of Toilet Used at the Workplace

Toilet Facilities (N = 461)	Percent
Open defection	10.0
Open-pit	59.7
Ring slab without water seal	24.7
Ring slab with water sealed	1.1
Others	4.6
Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

[12] Airing slab pit latrine consists of a squatting hole in a concrete slab. A pour-flush pit latrine includes a water seal and uses water for flushing (Wikipedia, 2020b).

D. HARMFUL EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

1. Health Effects

In KIIs, representatives of the dried fish (DF) business association reported that work in the DFEs does not exert any significant harmful effects on children. However, KIIs with the employers and FGDs with parents and local government representatives revealed a different story. For example, employers admit that minor wounds or cuts, blisters on hands, and skin diseases such as scabies are commonplace among children working in the DFEs. Findings through FGDs with parents also confirm these, and further reveal that children have to work under the sun for the whole day and as a result, they sometimes faint. Also, children sometimes experience dizziness and acquire different kinds of diseases like diarrhea, fever, allergy, etc., which they think are the results of unhygienic and extreme weather conditions.

In the quantitative survey, children were given a list of work conditions and asked to express which one(s) they faced in their work (Table 24). All children, irrespective of sex and age, reported that they work in the direct sunlight. Nearly half (44%) reported that they have to stand in water or muddy ground while working. More than half (53%) report that they use sharp tools and about one-third (31%) of them have to climb unstable racks and are exposed to hazardous chemicals. The majority (86%) of the child workers have to carry a load as heavy as 5 kg, and 63% that they carry a heavier load such as 10 kg. These work conditions for all children are also presented in Figure 9 to aid visualization. These conditions as reported by children of all age categories and sex are presented in Table 24.

Further, as shown in Table 25, more than half of the children (53%) work in the direct sunlight for more than five hours a day. Another 41% of the respondents have to remain in the direct sun for 2 to 5 hours. Further, there is an association between age groups and duration of work under the sun ($p = 0.00$). Thus, while 65% of the older boys report working under the sun, only 45% of the younger boys reported doing so. However, younger boys fall in the 2-to-5-hours category more than the older boys. Child workers irrespective of age and sex work for a maximum of eight hours a day under direct sunlight. On average, younger child workers work for about five hours while older child workers work for about six hours. Both boys and girls of different age groups work under the sun for five to six hours on average.

Tables in Annex 1 show how long child workers work standing in water or mud and carry a 5 kg and 10 kg loads (Annex Tables 50 – 54). The majority (92%) of the workers carry 5 kg load for 2 hours or less in a typical day while 82% carry 10 kg weight load for two hours or less.

A girl, along with other workers, working without gloves

KII with DFE owners gives evidence that children use very little protective gear such as gloves, caps, or waterproof boots. Quantitative survey results presented in Table 26 also confirm this. Only a quarter of the children use gloves. Other types of gear are worn by a very small percentage of children (8% use caps and 6% use masks).

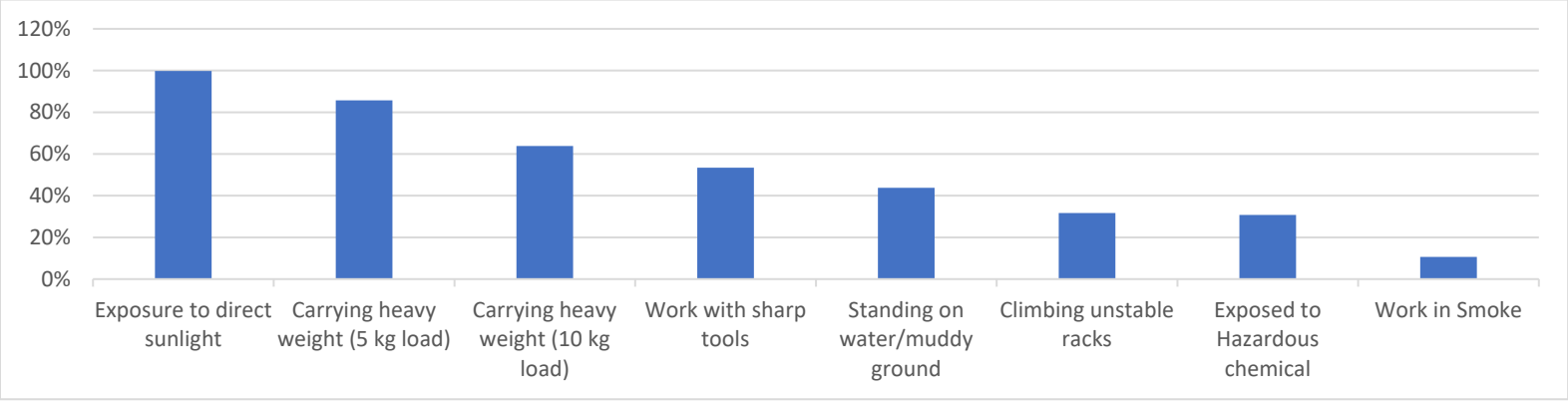
A boy using gloves while working

Table 24: Work Conditions Reported by Child Workers

Type of work	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 461)	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total
Exposure to direct sunlight	100	100	100	100	98.9	99.5	100	99.5	99.8
Carrying heavy weight (5 kg load)	80	86	82.3	85.7	94.6	89.5	82.6	90.3	85.7
Carrying heavy weight (10 kg load)	49.3	61.3	53.9	63.5	90.2	74.8	55.8	75.7	63.8
Work with sharp tools	54	54.8	54.3	46.8	59.8	52.3	50.7	57.3	53.4
Standing on water/muddy ground	48.7	38.7	44.9	37.3	50	42.7	43.5	44.3	43.8
Climbing unstable racks	20.7	10.8	16.9	40.5	58.7	48.2	29.7	34.6	31.7
Exposed to hazardous chemical	33.3	31.2	32.5	24.6	34.8	28.9	29.4	33	30.8
Work in smoke	8.7	11.8	9.9	11.1	12	11.5	9.8	11.9	10.6

Source: Quantitative survey

Figure 9: Work Conditions Reported by Child Workers



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

Table 25: Duration of Work under Direct Sunlight per Day

Duration of Work Under Sun Per Day	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N =459)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
2 hour or less	10.7	3.2	7.9	7.1	2.2	5.1	9.1	2.7	6.5
More than 2 to 5 hours	43.6	31.2	38.8	49.2	34.1	42.9	46.2	32.6	40.8
More than 5 hours	45.7	65.6	53.3	43.7	63.7	52.0	44.7	64.7	52.7
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
P-val	0.01**			0.01**			0.00**		
Mean (hours)	5.1	6.0	5.5	5.2	6.0	5.5	5.2	5.9	5.5
Standard Deviation	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.7
Minimum	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1	1	1	1
Maximum	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8	8	8	8

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between the duration of work and age groups. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

Table 26: Use of Protective Gears by Child Workers

Protective Gear	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 461)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
Gloves	16.0	21.5	18.1	26.2	41.3	32.6	20.7	31.4	25.0
Waterproof boots	-	-	-	3.2	3.3	3.2	1.5	1.6	1.5
Cap/umbrella	4.0	7.5	5.4	7.9	15.2	11.0	5.8	11.4	8.0
Mask	4.7	5.4	4.9	4.8	10.9	7.3	4.7	8.1	6.1

Source: Quantitative Survey

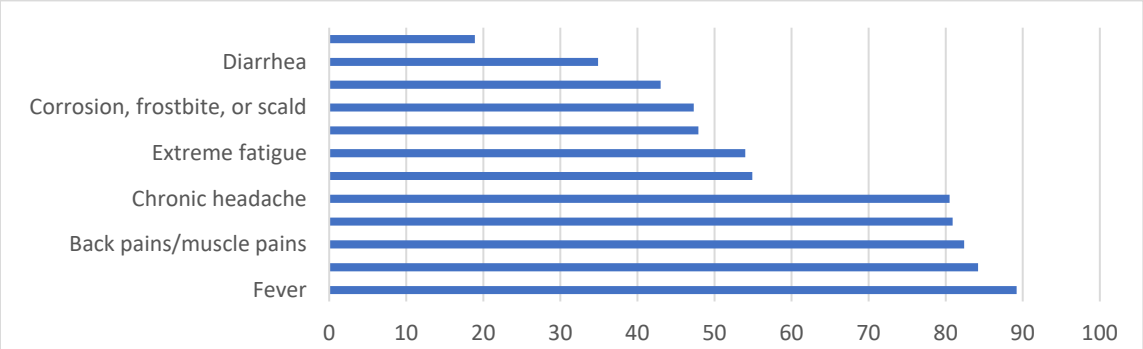
Child workers interviewed were read a list of diseases and illnesses and asked whether they suffered from these diseases in the last year. Their responses are presented in Table 27 and also shown in Figure 10. It can be seen that fever had the highest incidence among the child workers, with 9 out of 10 child workers having suffered from a fever. The second-largest incidence is wounds or cuts, which were experienced by 84% of the workers. Other major diseases reported are back or muscle pain (82%), skin diseases (81%), and chronic headache (80%). About half of the workers also reported that they suffered from abdominal pain, fatigue, respiratory problem, corrosion of skin, and eye infection. Diarrhea and fracture are reported by 35% and 19% of workers, respectively. It can be seen from the table that the reported prevalence of different diseases and incidents do not vary much across sex and age groups.

Table 27: Prevalence of Diseases/Illnesses among Child Workers Interviewed

Disease	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 461)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
Fever	94.0	88.2	91.8	86.5	85.9	86.2	90.6	87.0	89.2
Wounds/cuts	82.0	81.7	81.9	84.9	89.1	86.7	83.3	85.4	84.2
Back pains/muscle pains	80.7	89.3	84.0	73.8	90.2	80.7	77.5	89.7	82.4
Skin diseases	81.3	86.0	83.1	77.0	80.4	78.4	79.4	83.2	80.9
Chronic headache	86.7	82.8	85.2	74.6	76.1	75.2	81.2	79.5	80.5
Chronic abdominal pain	61.3	60.2	60.9	50.0	45.7	48.2	56.2	53.0	54.9
Extreme fatigue	54.7	61.3	57.2	50.8	50.0	50.5	52.9	55.7	54.0
Respiratory problems	53.3	55.9	54.3	43.7	37.0	40.8	48.9	46.5	47.9
Corrosion, frostbite, or scald	45.3	46.2	45.7	42.9	57.6	49.1	44.2	51.9	47.3
Eye infections	48.0	46.2	47.3	38.9	37.0	38.1	43.8	41.6	43.0
Diarrhea	40.7	34.4	38.3	31.0	31.5	31.2	36.2	33.0	34.9
Fracture	14.7	16.1	15.2	20.6	26.1	22.9	17.4	21.1	18.9

Source: Quantitative survey

Figure 10: Prevalence of Diseases/Illnesses among Child Workers



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

We also asked the child workers whether they think that the diseases they suffered from were the result of their work in DFEs. We found that child workers indeed relate those incidences to their work. For example, all the workers who had fractures in the last one year (100%) and nearly all workers who suffered from wounds or cuts, skin diseases, back pain, chronic headache, eye infection, and skin corrosion (92–97%) reported that they resulted directly from working in the DFE.

A young boy shows the blisters and cuts on his hands from sorting dried fish

The diseases or illnesses the workers suffered impacted their work, as can be seen from Table 28 below. About 70% report that they had to stop work for a few days because of the diseases or injuries they suffered. About a quarter of the children said they did not miss work because of their illnesses or injuries, with a minority (7%) saying they stopped work for a long time.

Table 28: Effects of Illness on Child Workers' Work

Missed Work	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 461)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
Not serious, didn't stop work	22.7	20.4	21.8	18.3	34.8	25.2	20.7	27.6	23.4
Stopped work for a few days	69.3	67.7	68.7	77.0	60.9	70.2	72.8	64.3	69.4
Stopped work for a long time	8.0	11.8	9.5	4.8	4.4	4.6	6.5	8.1	7.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P-val	0.59			0.02*			0.15		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between missed work and age groups. Ap-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively*

2. Abuse at the Workplace

This subsection discusses the types of abuse that the child workers reportedly face at the workplace. Qualitative information collected through KIIs and FGDs with different stakeholders suggested that only minor types of abuse such as verbal or "minor" physical abuses occur. One FGD held with NGO workers put forth the opinion that, to the best of their knowledge, there was no report of abuses in the DFEs. In another FGD, one female local government representative was of the view that there are incidences of abuse, including sexual abuse; however, she thought the parties involved settle the dispute, if any, among themselves. Another government official thought that sexual abuse in the DFEs rarely occurred. So, from qualitative data, we get mixed evidence about child abuse in the DFEs. Against this backdrop, we resort to quantitative data to shed more light on this issue.

Children surveyed were read a list of abusive behaviors and were asked to respond whether they faced those abuses or whether they saw those abuses inflicted on other child workers. They were also asked about the abusers. Table 29 reports on the different types of abuse child workers themselves experienced at the workplace (also see Figure 11). The most common abusive behavior was verbal abuse or shouting either by the employer or by the adult workers. About 84% and 76% of children had these experiences from employers and adult workers, respectively. A little more than half of the children reported that they were repeatedly insulted. Physical punishment was reported by 29% of the children and 20% of child workers reported that they were sexually harassed. Only 7% of child workers reported that they did not face any sort of abuse. Except for sexual harassment and shouting by adult workers, these reported incidences of abuse are similar for girls and boys (see Table 29 and Figure 12). The occurrence of sexual harassment was much higher among the girls than the boys. About 35% of girls reported that they were sexually harassed as compared to only 4% of the boys. The differences are statistically significant ($p = 0.00$). Further, a smaller percentage of girls (4%) reported “no abuse” than boys (9%) ($p = 0.02$).

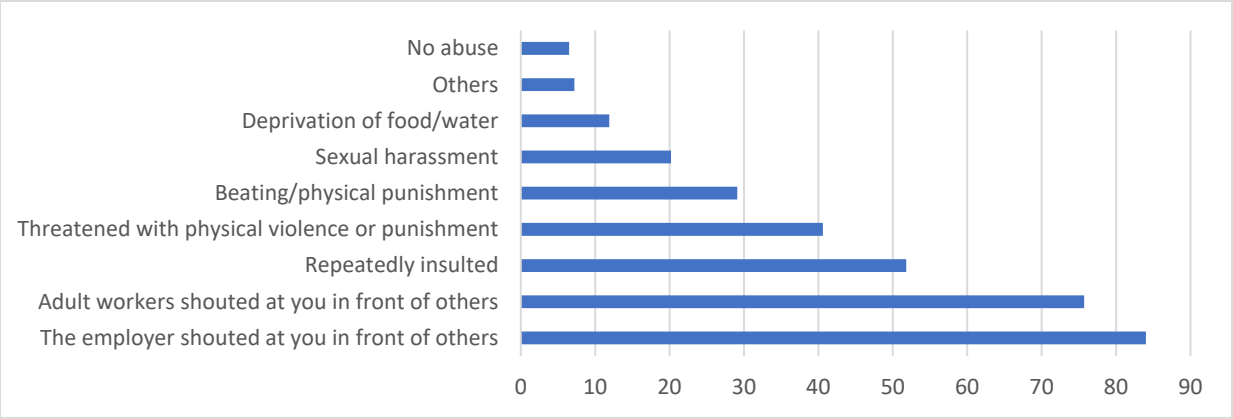
Table 29: Types of Abuse Faced by the Respondent Child Workers

Nature of Abuse	Girls			Boys			Total Children			P-val (girls vs. boys)
(N = 461)	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	
The employer shouted at you in front of others	88.7	82.8	86.4	85.7	75.0	81.2	87.3	78.9	84.0	0.13
Adult workers shouted at you in front of others	83.3	76.3	80.7	71.4	68.5	70.2	77.9	72.4	75.7	0.01**
Repeatedly insulted	60.0	48.4	55.6	50.8	43.5	47.7	55.8	46.0	51.8	0.09
Threatened with physical violence or punishment	46.0	30.1	39.9	42.9	39.1	41.3	44.6	34.6	40.6	0.77
Beating/physical punishment	36.7	15.1	28.4	30.2	29.4	29.8	33.7	22.2	29.1	0.74
Sexual harassment	32.0	38.7	34.6	4.8	3.3	4.1	19.6	21.1	20.2	0.00**
Deprivation of food/water	10.0	14.0	11.5	13.5	10.9	12.4	11.6	12.4	11.9	0.78
Others	7.3	8.6	7.8	5.6	7.6	6.4	6.5	8.1	7.2	0.56
No abuse	3.3	5.4	4.1	6.4	13.0	9.2	4.7	9.2	6.5	0.02*

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: P-values reported are associated with the relationship between each category of abuse across sex. Ap-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively*

Figure 11: Types of Abuse Faced by the total Respondent Child Workers Themselves



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

Figure 12: Types of Abuse Faced by the Respondent Child Workers Themselves by Sex

Source: Based on quantitative survey data

Interestingly, when the children reported abusive behavior inflicted on their co-workers, the incidence of abuse was much higher, as can be seen from Table 30. For example, 93% of children report that they saw the employer shout at their co-workers. Shouting by adult co-workers was reported by 87% of children. More strikingly, 51% of the girls and 41% of the boys reportedly saw their co-workers sexually harassed.

Table 30: Types of Abuse the Respondent Saw inflicted on Other Child Workers

Nature of abuse	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 461)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
The employer shouted at them in front of others	92.7	95.7	93.8	93.7	88.0	91.3	93.1	91.9	92.6
Adult workers shouted at them in front of others	89.3	89.3	89.3	84.9	85.9	85.3	87.3	87.6	87.4
Repeatedly insulted	68.7	59.1	65.0	65.1	59.8	62.8	67.0	59.5	64.0
Beating/physical punishment	63.3	52.7	59.3	61.9	54.4	58.7	62.7	53.5	59.0
Threatened with physical violence or punishment	50.7	46.2	49.0	56.4	48.9	53.2	53.3	47.6	51.0
Sexual harassment	48.0	55.9	51.0	31.8	29.4	30.7	40.6	42.7	41.4
Deprivation of food/water	18.0	18.3	18.1	19.1	16.3	17.9	18.5	17.3	18.0

Source: Quantitative survey

When asked who was responsible for the abuse, the children surveyed said the abusers were either employers or adult workers in most of the cases, and to a lesser extent, representatives of the employers such as the supervisors (Table 31). A small number of children mentioned other types of abusers such as child co-workers, local people, boatmen, and van/truck drivers.

Table 31: Types of Abuser as Reported by Child Workers

Nature of Abuse	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 438)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
The employer	85.7	85.2	85.5	89.3	78.1	84.7	87.3	81.8	85.2
Employer's representative	32.0	33.0	32.3	35.5	36.6	36.0	33.6	34.7	34.0
Adult workers	73.5	64.8	70.2	52.9	56.1	54.2	64.2	60.6	62.8
Others	4.8	10.2	6.8	1.0	1.2	1.0	3.0	5.9	4.1

Source: Quantitative survey

Children were also asked whether, in the event of abuse, they sought help from anyone. Only 14% of the children sought help. As far as seeking help is concerned, there is no difference between boys and girls.

3. Schooling Effects

In Section A.4 above, we reported the education status of the child workers surveyed and found that only one-quarter of them were enrolled in school at the time of the interview. The others

were either drop-outs or never went to school. In this section, we investigate to what extent their work at DFEs affect or affected their schooling.

Qualitative information obtained from KIIs, FGDs, and case studies indicated that work at DFEs has a serious negative effect on children's schooling. One of the DFE owners expressed it in this way:

> *Due to poverty, children have to work at the DFEs. There are very few children who continue both school and work at DFEs.*

Another one said,

> *Most kids do not go to school. The ones who go to school tend to come back after a certain period as they see kids of their age earning money and joining the DFEs*

Some students go to school while working at the same time; however, in practice, this means that when work is available, they have to skip school. From FGDs with civil society organizations (CSOs) (which included one headmaster of a non-government primary school), we learned that even if children are enrolled, they miss school quite often during the peak season of dried fish processing. Local government representatives observe that others leave school completely to work at DFEs during the peak season. Although they may get food and scholarships from the government to attend school, they tend to join DFEs for cash. Work at DFEs is also one of the main reasons for school drop-out for many children.

When asked why they quit school, the child workers who were interviewed reported mostly financial reasons (see Table 32 and Figure 13). Three-quarters of the children who are no longer in school (76%) reported they had to quit school because their parents could not afford it, and 57% held their families' financial need as the main cause for not attending school. Financial factors were also cited by children who never attended school (see Table 33). A quarter of the child workers who never attended school also reported that education was not valued as important by their families.

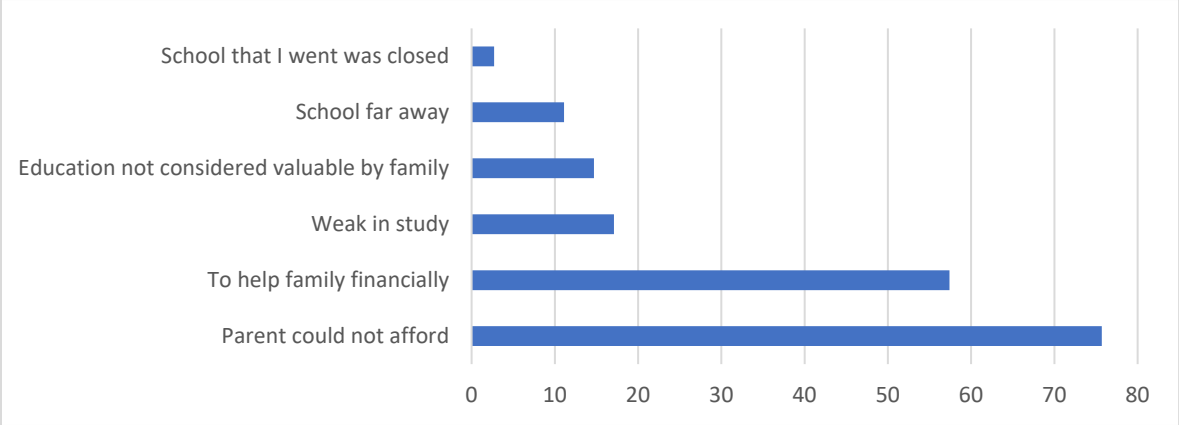
Table 32: Reasons for Quitting School for Children No Longer in School

Reasons	Girls			Boys			Total		
(N = 333)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
Parent could not afford	77.5	77.8	77.7	74.7	72.4	73.6	76.1	75.3	75.7
To help family financially	48.8	58.9	54.1	54	68.4	60.7	51.5	63.3	57.4
Weak in study	12.5	10	11.2	25.3	21.1	23.3	19.2	15.1	17.1
Education not considered valuable by family	21.3	12.2	16.5	14.9	10.5	12.9	18.0	11.5	14.7
School far away	11.3	10.0	10.6	16.1	6.6	11.7	13.8	8.4	11.1

Reasons	Girls			Boys			Total		
(N = 333)	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total
School that I went was closed	3.8	2.2	2.9	1.2	4.0	2.5	2.4	3-0	2.7

Source: Quantitative survey

Figure 13: Reasons for Quitting School for Child Workers No Longer in School



Source: Constructed based on quantitative survey data

Table 33: Reasons for Not Attending School for Children Who Never Attended School

Reasons	Girls			Boys			Total		
(N = 333)	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total
Parent could not afford	76	88	82	70	83.3	75	73.3	86.5	79.3
To help family financially	68	68	68	75	83.3	78.1	71.1	73	72
Education not considered valuable by family	24	20	22	30	33.3	31.3	26.7	24.3	25.6
No school nearby	24	0	12	25	33.3	28.1	24.4	10.8	18.3

Source: Quantitative survey

When children who are enrolled in school were asked whether their work at DFEs impacts their schooling, 60% answered in the affirmative (see Table 34). The impact was higher for girls than for boys, as 68% of girls reported that their education was impacted while 48% of boys reported so. These differences are statistically significant ($p = 0.03$).

Table 34: Effect of Work at DFEs on Schooling by Sex for Child Workers Currently in School

Missed school	Girls			Boys			Total Children		
(N = 114)	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total	Less than 14	14 to 17	Total
Yes	68.2	50.0	67.7	48.5	46.2	47.8	61.6	46.7	59.7
No	31.8	50.0	32.4	51.5	53.9	52.2	38.4	53.3	40.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P-val	0.59			0.89			0.27		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported in the table are associated with the relationship between whether missed school and age groups. The p-value related to missed school and sex is 0.03. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.*

E. CHILD WORKERS' STATUS ACCORDING TO THE CLIMB DEFINITION OF CHILD LABOR

This section presents the extent of child labor (CL), hazardous child labor (HCL), and forced child labor (FCL) among the child workers interviewed in the DFEs of Cox's Bazar. According to the CLIMB project's definition of child labor, which is based on the international conventions as well as Bangladesh legislation, the following will be considered as child labor:

> *"any economic activity by a child aged 5-13 or work for more than 42 hours per week (in any non-hazardous work) by a child aged 14-17 years or any hazardous work (HCL) or forced work (FCL)."*

Not taking into account the hazardous and forced nature of the work and considering only the age and the work-hours restrictions, we find that 98% of child workers interviewed may be considered as child labor: 97% are girls and 98% are boys.

If we take into consideration the hazards and other nature of work in the DFEs, all the child workers interviewed may be considered as child labor. The ILO definition of HCL is as follows:

> *"work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children."*

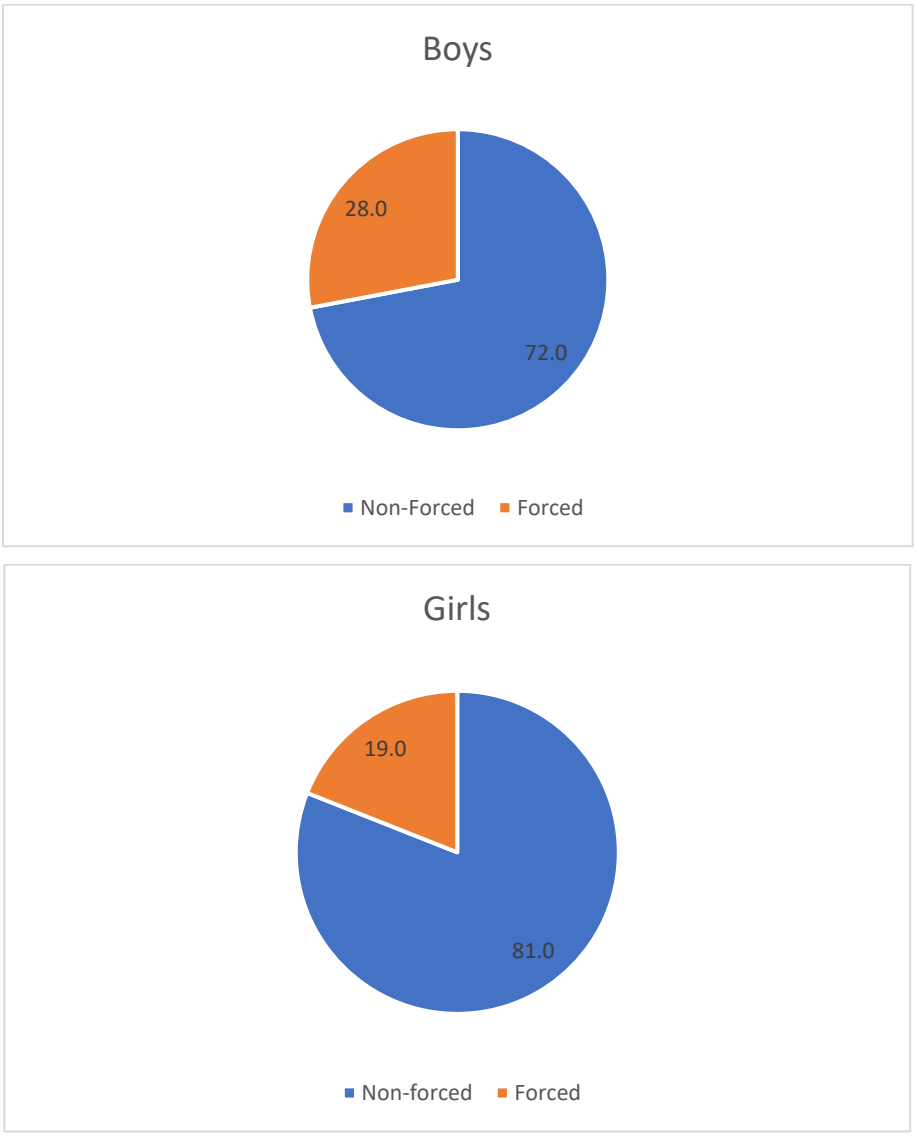
According to the information presented above, some of the hazards that the child workers who were interviewed face, and which may harm their "health, safety, and morals," are as follows: carrying a heavy weight (ergonomic hazards); work with sharp tools, climbing unstable racks, and non-use of protective gear (accidental hazards); exposure to pesticides (chemical hazards); harassments and abuses (psycho-social hazards); and working long hours (working condition hazard) (see ILO, 2003 for classifications of these hazards). All children interviewed report that they have experienced one or more of these hazards in their workplace. Consequently, all children interviewed may be considered to be in HCL and CL.

To estimate FCL, ILO guidelines (ILO, 2012) suggests using criteria such as forced and deceptive recruitment, the impossibility of leaving the employer, and working and living conditions. For this study, we have considered questions related to recruitment, the child's perception of whether he/she could quit the job and working and living conditions. Accordingly,

the study considered a child to be in FCL if the employer provided a child only food and accommodation in exchange for work; if a child's recruitment was part of an agreement made when parents borrowed money from the employer; if a child's recruitment was part of an agreement made when family members were recruited by the employer; if a child had to replace a family member who worked for this employer and is now unable to work; and in cases where the child's parents obtained an advance from the employer. Other criteria were related to a child worker's decision to work at DFEs. These include whether a child's recruitment resulted from parents being forced by a third party, an agent of the current employer, or a person from whom parents borrowed money. Finally, questions related to the impossibility of quitting the current employer, such as when the child reported working under a contract that did not permit them to quit their job. The children reported not being able to quit due to fear of their employer, not receiving payment for previous work, or not receiving wages or other benefits promised when they were hired. If any of these situations were reported by child workers, they were considered as FCL.

Using the above criteria, the present study finds that 23% of the child workers interviewed were FCL; 28% of the boys and 19% of the girls surveyed are considered to be in forced labor. The distribution of children by status is shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Percentage of Child Workers in FCL by Sex



Source: Based on quantitative survey data

A family works together to sort raw fish for drying without protective gear

VI. FAMILY STRATEGIES INVOLVING CHILD WORKERS AND THE DECISION TO WORK

In the previous sections, we have reviewed the characteristics of children working in dried fish establishments (DFEs), their working conditions, and the effects of their work on their health and education. This section examines family survival strategies that lead to the decision to have children work in DFEs. Besides the information contributed by the other qualitative and quantitative data, the case studies explicitly looked at family decision-making and included families whose children do not work in DFEs. The comparison between these two types of families, who are of similar socioeconomic status, helps give insight into the different values that families place on children's contribution to family income *vis-à-vis* their ability to get an education.

A. POVERTY AND INDEBTEDNESS

Poverty can be singled out as the most compelling reason behind the families' decision to send their children to work in DFEs. No matter where they come from, these migrants, including the child workers, have uniformly poor economic backgrounds with a common trait of having no or negligible amount of landed property. Qualitative and quantitative data point to several factors that are responsible for a family's decision to send the children to DFEs *vis-à-vis* school or other jobs. In the words of the members of the civil societies who attended a focus group discussion (FGD):

> *Child workers come from poor families who also lack education.*

Parents participating in an FGD shared similar sentiments:

Child workers come from families which are financially vulnerable. The financial vulnerability arises from one or more of the following factors: lack of earning adult, death of householder, indebtedness, and family breakdown.

Five out of the seven child workers who participated in the case studies explicitly stated that the family's financial crisis led to their decision to join work in DFEs. The other two participants have absent fathers; in one case this was due to a second marriage and in the other, the father was deceased. The four parents with children in DFEs who participated in the case studies also point to the family's financial insolvency. With the lone exception of a business owner, all the key informants (comprised of eight business owners, three school administrators, and four local government elected representatives) pointed to a family financial crisis as the reason the children join DFEs. One business owner explicitly stated,

I can pay less to a child worker relative to an adult worker.

The quantitative survey of the child workers also provides evidence that children join DFEs because of family finances. The survey finds that 63% of the families do not have any landed property (Table 35), and of those who own property, 67% own less than five gondas (about 0.10 acres). Poverty is also reflected in the families' possession of other assets. Only 1% of the children reported that their family owns a refrigerator while 39% owned a ceiling fan.

Table 35: Land Ownership of the Households

Land Ownership (N=461)	Percentage
No land	63.3
1 to 4.99 gonda	16.9
5 to 9.99 gonda	3.2
10 and more gonda	5.2
Don't know	11.3
Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

Notes: 1 acre=50.4 gonda

The child workers themselves also overwhelmingly (93%) point to the family's lack of income as the main reason for their taking up the work in DFEs (Table 36). Children's own need for money comes second (48%).

Table 36: Reasons for Taking up a DFE Job (multiple response) (N=461)

Reason for Taking Job	Percentage
Parents are poor/need money	92.6
Need money for myself	47.9
Do not want to attend school	7.8
No school in the area	7.4
Parents received an advance on my salary	6.1

Reason for Taking Job	Percentage
Recruitment was part of an agreement made when parents borrowed money from the employer	4.8
Employer provides food and accommodation in exchange for work	1.5
Recruitment was part of an agreement made when family members were recruited by the employer	1.1
Replaced a member of family who was working for this employer but is now unable to work	0.4
Others	16.1

Source: Quantitative survey

The poverty of these families is also indicated by their main sources of income. The great majority of them work either in DFEs or as day laborers in another sector (Table 37).

Table 37: Main Sources of Income of the Households (multiple response)

Income sources	Yes (%)
Dried fish sector	**66**
Day labor	**55**
Fishing	**15**
Transport work	**6**
Small trade	**3**
Agriculture	**1**
Remittance	**1**
Others	**7**

Source: Quantitative survey

Another indicator of the poverty of these families is the type of house they live in as well as the ownership of the house. As shown in Table 38, as much as 93% of the families with a child worker live in *kancha* houses (houses made of straw, clay, and rushes), and only about half of these families have any homestead of their own.

Table 38: Types of Houses Child Worker Families Live in and Ownership

Dwelling (N = 461)		Percentage
Dwelling type	Kancha house (made of straw, clay, and rushes)	92.8
	Semi paka (partly brick-built)	5.2
	Others	0.4
	Total	100.0
Dwelling ownership	Own homestead	50.3
	Rented House	41.9
	Others	7.8
	Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

The business owners in the key informant interviews (KIIs) and the FGDs mentioned that they make advance payments to the families of the child workers (meaning that the child is indebted to continue working until the advance payment is satisfied). Thus, the children commit to working for the employer for a certain period. Sometimes, the inability of the adult workers to complete the work necessitates the involvement of their children. In an FGD, a member of the civil society commented,

> *Some families enter into a nine-month contract and are supposed to complete the stipulated work. The contract may also include child workers. The contract is obligatory even in case the contract signing adult worker (family member) becomes incapable.*

Additionally, parents may take an advance payment backed by their children's work for a certain period of time. The FGDs and KIIs confirm this aspect. The FGD with the local government and elected representatives produced the following observation:

> *Many parents take advance salary and loans from owners and involve their kids in DFEs. Kids have to work against their will. At such stages, if children flee away, parents have to pay back the advance salary along with the interest.*

B. RELATIVE EASE IN GETTING A JOB IN DFES

One reason that the families employ their children into DFEs is because of its easy access in the sense that the jobs require no or very little skill. Some other alternatives (e.g., collecting shrimp fry, street vending on the beach) are also available, mainly in the beach areas, but this work is not as accessible as work in DFEs because of inadequate logistics support. The portion of the sea beach where work is available is a bit far from the place the children's families live. Getting to that area requires transport, while DFEs are within walking distances of the children's residence and involves no commuting costs. Moreover, for many children, one great advantage of working in DFEs is that they can be accompanied by their parents and/or relatives.

The FGDs with business owners and associations expressed that parents demand owners to employ their children as a condition for working. Children are employed working alongside their parents and family members. Of the children surveyed, 78% have family members working in the DFEs. It may be that the need to provide childcare is a reason to bring the children along to work.

The jobs in DFEs do not require the workers to have a great deal of skills. It's not surprising that the survey respondents did not participate in any formal training organized either at the behest of the DFE owners or any other organizations outside of DFEs. A worker can have a good grip on the tricks of the trade through learning-by-doing or with a little help from the adult workers. Secondly, there is a high demand for workers since owners have to employ a group of temporary or contractual workers at one go during the peak season. Thirdly, as discussed in the value chain section, even the DFE work that requires little skill has several steps, beginning from buying the fish from fishers or fish traders to selling the finished products to the wholesalers and retailers. The intermediate steps include unloading and loading the raw fish, transportation of the same to the DFE sites, sorting the fish by type and size, tying the fish, and putting fish on the fences for drying, etc. Thus, there is scope for division of labor. A child worker can be assigned to the easier steps, depending on their age.

The quantitative survey responses from the child workers suggest that the majority of the child workers are assigned relatively easy tasks such as sorting, cleaning, and drying as opposed to loading, unloading, and packaging (Table 16 above). It is also interesting to note that 61% of the child workers claim that they do the same types of work as adults. All this renders the work in DFEs an easy option for most of the families.

C. FAMILY PREFERENCES FOR JOBS IN DFES

There is a pattern seen in the DFEs of following the footsteps of the family members. The quantitative survey data shows that 78% of the child workers responded that their family members also work in DFEs (Table 39). Girls are more likely to have a family member working in DFEs than boys.

Some business owners said that adult female workers often make it a condition to employ their children before they make themselves available for work, as mentioned before. One DFE owner went on to say,

> *While employing women, they bring their children along to work. If I do not involve the child, the mother refuses to work.*

Table 39: Family Members' Involvements in DFEs (N=461)

Family involved	Sex		
	Girls	Boys	Total
Yes	83.5	71.1	77.7
No	16.5	28.9	22.3
Total	100	100	100
p-val	0.00**		

Source: Quantitative survey

*Notes: p-values reported are associated with the relationship between family and sex. A p-value of less than or equal to 0.05 indicates a statistically significant relationship, ** and * denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively).*

Table 40 shows that three-quarters of the child workers (76.8%) reported that their mothers also work in DFEs. Brothers of nearly one-third of the workers and fathers and sisters of one-fifth of the children also work in DFEs.

Table 40: Family Members of Child Workers Working in DFEs

Relationship (N=358)	Percentage
Mothers	76.8
Brother	30.2
Fathers	23.7
Sister	20.4
Grandmother	1.4
Others Family Members	1.4

Source: Quantitative survey

It is interesting to note that as many as five members from the same family work simultaneously in DFEs (Table 41).

Table 41: Number of Family Members Working Alongside Children (N=461)

Number of Family Members	Percent
5 Members	2.5
4 Members	10.3
3 Members	25.7
2 Members	61.5
Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

D. ABSENCE OF THE FATHER OR ANY OTHER EARNING MEMBERS IN THE FAMILY

Some respondents said that the seasonal migration patterns followed by the DFE worker families lead to fractured families; adult male workers coming from the vicinity may temporarily get married to local women and leave them after a certain period. Also, the permanent migrants may opt for more than one wife concurrently or upon separation from the previous wife. Thus, many of the child workers are from seasonal migrants.

Some families are female-headed as the husband is deceased or living separately with a second wife. Table 42 shows that 46% of the families are headed by mothers while 45% are headed by fathers. Child workers are heads of households themselves in 4% of the cases while some households are headed by elder brothers or sisters or any other people. The estranged wives do not have a choice but to join the workforce or send their kids to work. Also, since some families may not have another adult male who could earn income by dint of a paid job, the jobs in DFEs appear to provide an easy way out to them.

Table 42: Head of Child Worker Family (N=461)

Head of the family	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Total (%)
Father	40.3	49.1	44.5
Mother	50.2	41.7	46.2
Self	5.8	1.8	3.9
Elder Brother	1.2	4.6	2.8
Elder Sister	0.4	0.5	0.4
Others	2.1	2.3	2.2
Total	100	100	100

Source: Quantitative survey

E. UNAVAILABILITY OF SCHOOLS NEARBY AND EXTRA EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES

Some localities do not have free government schools within walking distance. For example, Nazirartek, the hub of dried fish activities, has a lone elementary school, which is a private initiative. Attending a school far from home requires conveyance and hence, additional expenses. Additionally, students are required to pay for the study materials and the extra tuition charged by

the teachers. One mother interviewed for the case studies, whose children do not work in DFEs and who sends all her kids to school, points out:

> *Although studying at the government schools is free, yet there are some hidden costs associated. The school authorities run extra classes for money in the name of coaching the students. Moreover, children need money for transportation and study materials. These extra expenses contribute to some parents' unwillingness to send their children to school.*

To most families, education for children does not appear to be an option. This is despite primary education being free of cost, including the government provision of free basic textbooks. Indeed, the government routinely distributes textbooks to all students up to Class X at the beginning of every academic year, usually the first week of January. However, all of the parents cite the additional costs that must be paid for children to attend school.

In Section V, we discussed the child workers' school status and their reasons for quitting or never attending school. The case study interviews show that these families are more concerned with their current subsistence income than potential higher future income through children's higher education and training. Yet, they seem to be aware of this opportunity cost. Lack of education and training does not permit these children to try for better-paying jobs elsewhere. This general tendency notwithstanding, some families choose to send one of their children, particularly a boy, to school in the hope of a better future for the family. Borhan, a 12-year-old working in DFEs of Chowfoldondi along with his mother, contends that the family has decided to send his elder brother to school in the hope that the educated family member will end up with a decent job and help the family out of their financial misery. However, the school-going children are sometimes influenced by their non-school-going working friends to join DFEs to earn some money for themselves. According to Rubban, whose son works in DFEs, kids of other families who are not currently working have a growing interest towards work and are waiting for their families to decide for them to start working.

F. PARENTS' DESIRE TO SEND CHILDREN BACK TO SCHOOL

From the above, we see that child workers are involved in DFEs at the insistence of their parents or based on their own desire to help relieve the family's dire economic conditions. Yet the case study interviews of parents of the child workers revealed that most parents believe that child workers' contribution to the family's well-being is marginal if not altogether insignificant. Child workers merely help to moderate the family subsistence. Moreover, the present earnings of the children hardly improve their future. Parents usually don't want to send their children to work unless they are truly helpless. Thus, most parents would like to see their children go back to school.

Three out of the four parents who participated in the case studies suggest that if their financial conditions were fine, they would not have sent their kids to DFEs. Rather, they would have encouraged their children to go to school. For the reversal to take place, government support is necessary. For example, Belal, a father of a boy working in DFEs, thinks that government assistance and financial aid could prevent the families from sending their children to work when they are supposed to go to school. Similar sentiments are echoed by Salma, a mother with children working in DFEs. She would take her children out of DFEs provided (i) opportunity for proper schooling emerges; (ii) her family's economic condition improves; and (iii) government

assistance in the form of money, vocational training, or alternative job is made available. She also thinks that the government's financial support for children's education and the subsistence of families would prevent families from sending their children to DFEs. Finally, Rubban, who thinks that her kids are dull and lifeless compared to the school-going kids around, is also apprehensive of the fact that her son has to miss school due to work and that he could earn more with education. She also admits that child labor has various harmful effects.

Government pressure, the opportunity for proper schooling, better financial condition of the family, and government assistance can motivate families to take their children out of DFEs. Financial and mental support could discourage families from sending their children to DFEs.

But the case study interviews of parents whose children do not work in DFEs view those parents who send their children to work outside as greedy and short-sighted, while acknowledging the fact that extreme economic hardship is the main reason. Murshida, a middle-aged woman with six children, describes this as follows:

> *Families that send their children to DFEs rather than to school are doing this out of their greed. The extreme economic hardship is a reason. Yet, the parents could have thought of the long-term gains and sacrifice the current comfort of the family.*

This view is interesting as these parents live in similar economic conditions as those who send their children to DFEs rather than sending them to school. All four respondent parents come up with similar views. They contend that education brings in dignity to the family while at the same time connotes higher future family income. This acts, according to them, as insurance to the parents in their old age. Education also helps children become better citizens. Also, an educated girl not only can end up with good jobs but also is likely to be married to a good bridegroom. As Geeta, a 35-year old mother of four daughters sums up:

> *Higher education confirms social status in the society. People can get good jobs only with good education. Good jobs ensure social status. Girls with higher education not only get good jobs but also get better bridegrooms. Moreover, these educated children will act as old-age insurance for the parents. Further, educated persons of the society become respectful to the laws of the country. They learn the norms and values of the society and automatically become good citizens.*

Geeta further contends that working in DFEs brings temporary comfort for the people at the cost of long-term happiness. Murshida holds parents' lack of awareness responsible for their decision to send children to DFEs. According to Hosne Ara (a middle-aged woman with four daughters), "These parents don't sacrifice their short-term comfort for the sake of children's long-term welfare." Saiful, a 35-year-old father with three daughters, brings in two additional dimensions. First, a father should play a pivotal role in shaping up the future of his children as the latter are incapable of doing so. Second, the ultimate purpose of overcoming the family financial crisis remains a far cry as these children embrace the crisis for the rest of their lives. In Saiful's own words:

Parents have a great responsibility in shaping a better future for their children. It is profitable to send children to work at an early age. Some parents find ways to get out of the financial crisis by allowing the children to work. But it comes with a cost. Children are forever in the middle of the economic crisis. Children are the gift from God and as parents they have the responsibility from God to take good care of them. Children can't decide about the course of action. As custodians, parents should take the right decisions for the better future of the family.

VII. KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, AND VIEWS OF PARENTS AND OTHER KEY STAKEHOLDERS TOWARDS CHILD LABOR

A society's ability to effectively address certain pressing issues hindering the progress and wellbeing of its people largely depends on how well the society is aware of the issues and how they accept or reject them. This section catalogs the knowledge, attitudes, and views of the key stakeholders with concerning child labor in dried fish establishments (DFEs). The stakeholders include parents of child workers, employers and business association leaders, government officials, elected local government representatives, community-based organizations, faith communities, non-governmental organization (NGO) staff, and members of the civil society. The information is collected mainly through focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews (KII). The case studies of parents and child workers also shed light on the issue.

A. KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE DEFINITION OF CHILDREN

Different stakeholders were asked about their knowledge of the definition of children. Not surprisingly, parents of child workers were found to be the least knowledgeable. In one FGD, most parents said that they thought a boy or a girl below 10 is a child. Some thought the maximum age of a child is 12. In another FGD, the majority of the parents said that kids aged below 7 are children. Some said the maximum age of a child is 10. Some said it is 15. Some DFE owners also have a misconception about the definition of children. Most strikingly, according to some owners, a boy or a girl aged 8 or above is not a child. We tried to explore if they were pretending and got the impression that this was something they believed. It is important to note that not all DFE owners are adequately educated. From our observations, we found that some do not have any formal or informal education. They are running the business just by using their experience. All other stakeholders were found to be fairly knowledgeable about the definition of children.

B. AWARENESS ABOUT THE CHILD LABOR LAWS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Some stakeholders, including some DFE owners and participants of an FGD with members of civil society organizations (CSOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), faith communities, and NGO staff were found to be unaware of child labor-related laws. Government officials and school administrators seemed to be perfectly aware. Not all parents are aware of the child labor law of the country. Even if some of them are aware, they may not respect the law as enforcement of the law is probably absent, or they would pretend that they did not know the law. Some of the parents participating in an FGD seem to be aware of the fact that children under the age of 18 are strictly prohibited to work (Maheshkhali and some Nazirartek participants). The Mustakpara (in Nazirartek) participants admitted that they knew the government law but pretended otherwise, sending their children to work despite this knowledge. Observing their body language, we had

the impression that they were pretending out of the fear of potential legal punishment. Their admission of pretending came after we assured them of no immediate legal punishment.

C. AWARENESS ABOUT COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

In one FGD, some parents said that they are aware of the provision that children up to Grade 5 can attend school free of cost. In another FGD, parents admitted that they knew about compulsory education. Again, government officials and school administrators were found to be well aware of this. Participants of an FGD with members of CSOs, CBOs, faith communities, and NGO staff, giving a direct response, suggested that they knew about the snacks provided in primary schools. Participants of another FGD with local government elected representatives also did not give a direct response but said that children should be sent to school.

D. KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HARMFUL EFFECTS ON CHILDREN WORKING IN DFES

All categories of respondents excepting the business association leaders seem to know about the harmful health effects of working in DFEs. For example, the DFE owners have mentioned that children working in DFEs are likely to suffer from some diseases including blisters, hand sores, and itching. They also observe that during work, children get injured due to the injection of fish bones. According to the elected local government representatives, children usually work with their bare hands, which get infected with different skin diseases from coming into contact with various chemicals. The parents believe that many children face various diseases due to working under the sun. Their mouths become dry and sometimes they feel dizzy or even faint. Child workers suffer from some common diseases, which include cold, cough, skin rashes, diarrhea, typhoid, headache, acidity, and allergy. The respondents attribute these diseases to the unhygienic working conditions and the weather.

Regarding the schooling effects, all the respondent categories hold similar opinions. As most children work in the DFEs due to family financial needs, very few children continue both school and work. Most kids do not go to school. The ones who go to school tend to come back after a certain period as they see kids of their age earning money and joining DFEs. Local government elected representatives as well as the government officials hold that children tend to join DFEs for cash, particularly during the peak season, despite getting food and scholarships from the government. The parents echo similar views that children have to skip school when work is available.

The respondents are also apprehensive about the adverse effects of the DFE work on the children's emotional status. Some fear that the children might get derailed and drug-addicted, which would greatly hamper their future.

E. STAKEHOLDER VIEWS ON THE WAYS TO IMPROVE CHILD WORKERS' SITUATION IN DRIED FISH ESTABLISHMENTS

Most of the respondents remained silent on the issue of banning child labor. Even the parents are split on the issue. Some parents argue that child labor (CL) should not be banned as some families have no other alternative earning members or sources of income. Only the government officials are the ardent supporters of a ban on child labor. Almost all respondents, nonetheless, suggested measures that they think will motivate the parents not to send their children to DFEs and which might, on the contrary, encourage them to send the children to school.

Their suggestions include providing certain incentives to the families like providing shelter, monthly allowances, vulnerable group feeding (VGF), and pensions; establishing new secondary

and vocational schools; providing free schooling with mid-day meals; creating jobs for adult family members; providing work for DFE workers during off-peak season; facilitating easy access to loans; and establishing child development centers. They opine that legal actions can be taken in extreme cases. They also propose raising awareness amongst stakeholders. In particular, they believe members of the families encouraging or compelling the children to join the DFE work as well as DFE owners should be made to participate in intensive awareness-building programs. Since schoolteachers and religious leaders are among the most respected individuals in the society, the authority can involve them to make the awareness-building programs more effective.

VIII. GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE: LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND THE REALITY

As part of the project start-up activities, CLIMB reviewed the existing Bangladesh labor laws to develop a working definition of child labor. A schematic view of this definition is shown in Table 43. The SUIT team's legal expert reviewed the CLIMB definition to give further insight into the grievance procedure available to child workers whose rights are violated. Although the incidence of child labor (CL) and its worst forms (WFCL) exist in both the formal and informal sectors, the latter are responsible for the employment of 93% of child workers (Wikipedia, 2020a; Mahmud and Hasan, 2002; the *Daily Independent* (February 25, 2019)).

As such, the majority of child workers remain outside the scope of national labor laws as they mainly apply to the formal sector. In consequence, the typical grievance mechanism in the Labour Act 2006 would be inoperative for child labor in the dried fish sector as it is not directly included in the scope of the Act. Moreover, this sector is not listed in the government's gazette of 38 hazardous occupations where child labor of any form is prohibited. In this backdrop, it is quite a challenging task to review the grievance process available to families and children affected by CL, forced child labor (FCL), and unacceptable working conditions in the dried fish establishments (DFEs).

Yet child labor in the dried fish processing continues to be a major concern for Bangladesh as it includes many cases of WFCL. Children engaged in this work are subject to forced or compulsory labor, bonded labor or slavery, trafficking, hazardous work, and precarious conditions. Working conditions are often unacceptable for children working long hours with little or no pay and enduring dangerous conditions. There are reported cases of indentured children below 14 years being employed to unload fish from vessels, load them, and dry them. The children experience health issues resulting from using unsafe methods, carrying heavy loads, and applying harmful chemicals used during the process of fish drying. Children's contact with saline water for a prolonged period harms their skin. Moreover, the day-long work often prevents them from attending school. Thus, there are many elements of a violation of the fundamental labor rights of child workers in the dried fish establishments.

Due to a lack of clear-cut regulations about access to a formal grievance system of labor laws, children and their families have not had mechanisms to address these issues. However, a revisit of the Bangladesh Labor Act 2006 might justify the inclusion of the dried fish sector within the ambit of the formal labor law system.

The working conditions prevalent in all stages of dried fish processing (such as unloading fish from boats, loading onto the carts, sorting fish under direct sunlight, using chemicals, working in unhygienic conditions, and working for long hours without personal protective equipment (PPE), etc.) were found to be hazardous to children by the present study under the CLIMB project as

well as by earlier studies, including the ILO-sponsored pilot survey by the BBS (2006). So, it is obvious that only dried fish processing in the DFEs, no other segments of the dried fish sector (DFS) such as wholesale markets, retail shops, and so on, can be considered as hazardous for children as per the ILO instruments and Bangladesh's national regulations.[13,14] Work done by children in DFEs can be construed as a WFCL according to the Worst Forms of Child Labor Recommendation, 1999 (No. 190), which delineates certain circumstances of hazardous child labor incorporating all the typical working conditions in this sector. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in a workshop had identified fish processing plants as one of the vulnerable workplaces where children work under the WFCL conditions like bonded labor or forced labor. Work in dried fish establishments fall in the category of fish processing and all the observations in the workshop regarding the fishing sector are also relevant for the dried fish sector (FAO Workshop, 2010).

On the other hand, fish processing is treated as an industry under the Bangladesh Labor Act 2006. Thus, the Act can be equally applicable to the children working in the dried fish sector (Bangladesh Labour Act 2006, sec 2 (61), w). Fish-drying plants may also be treated as industrial establishments under the Act because they employ workers to carry on the fish processing industry (Bangladesh Labour Act 2006, sec 2 (31)).

Thus, although the government does not yet officially recognize fish drying as a hazardous occupation prohibiting employment of children under-18, it can be treated as such by applying the circumstances of hazardous child labor under the National Child Labour Elimination Policy 2010. Considering all these factors, it may safely be argued that the employment of children below 18 years in DFEs is illegal under the national labor law of Bangladesh. Children working

in such enterprises are entitled to get remedies under the Labor Act 2006 for violation of their rights. They and their families can take recourse to the grievance mechanisms under the national labor law system.

[13]*Vide*, the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010, ILO Convention 182 and Recommendation 190.
[14]Although ILO did not directly mention fish drying as a hazardous occupation, it recognizes fish processing as part of fishing, which the organization directly mentioned as hazardous. See, ILO (1998), 'Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable,' Report 86 VI (1), Geneva and ILO's Work in Fishing Convention 2007 (C-188), Geneva.

Table 43: Visual Conceptual Framework of CLIMB's Child Labor Definition

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="3">Age Group</th><th>Allowable Work</th><th colspan="3">Child Labor (CL)</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">(1) Work not designated as hazardous</th><th colspan="2">(2) Worst forms of child labor (WFCL)</th></tr>
<tr><th>(1a) Legal work</th><th>(1b) Other forms of work not designated as hazardous</th><th>(1c) Unacceptable working conditions</th><th>(2a) Hazardous child labor (HCL)</th><th>(2b) WFCL other than hazardous work (WFCL/ forced labor)</th></tr>
<tr><td>Children below minimum working age</td><td>Age 5–13 years</td><td rowspan="2">Unpaid household or family work.
No legal provisions limit unpaid work for family.
Work should not interfere with a child's health, development, or school attendance.</td><td colspan="2">Any economic activity</td><td rowspan="2">• Work in jobs on the Hazardous Work List u/s 40(3), the Labor Act 2006
• Work performed for more than 42 hours of work per week.
• Work in the hazardous conditions u/ss 39-43, the Labor Act 2006</td><td rowspan="2">• Work done by Trafficked children
• Forced and bonded child labor
• Commercial sexual exploitation
• Work in illicit activities</td></tr>
<tr><td>Children at or above the general minimum working age</td><td>Age 14–17 years</td><td>Any economic activity, including light work, performed for 42 hours per week or less that does not interfere with child health, development, or schooling.</td><td>From the National Child Labor Elimination Policy 2010, the working environment for defining child labor includes conditions that:
• create undue pressure on his/her physical and psychological health and social status;
• are in an insecure and/or unhealthy environment;
• disproportionate to his or her capacity;
• in such a condition that hinders his or her education;
• demeans human dignity; and
• allows no opportunity for leisure or recreation.</td></tr>
</table>

In addition to the remedies under the labor law system, there are some other legal mechanisms and frameworks that the affected children and their families can take recourse through. As mentioned earlier, CL and WFCL are steadfastly denied in the labor law system of Bangladesh, the ILO Conventions 138 and 182, and other international regulations. Existing legal mechanism in Bangladesh also lay down some other alternative avenues that might be available to the target people in the CLIMB project areas. All these mechanisms, including the remedies under the labor law, are equally essential and supplementary to each other for effectively addressing grievances in the DFEs. These potential grievance mechanisms are discussed below.

The Children Act 2013 provides no specific provision prohibiting child labor, but it proscribes and punishes some serious offenses against children including exploitation of them (Section 80). The Act criminalizes any kind of cruelty inflicted on children while they are working in both formal and informal sectors. Anyone who engages children for work in any factory or establishment and thus exploits them for personal interest will be punished under the 2013 Act. The procedure laid down in the Act can be utilized for the elimination of CL as well as the protection of children and young people. The affected children may be termed as "children in contact with the law" under the Act, who are victims of an offense under any existing law in the country. The law provides for a safe home, alternative care (s.84), and child development centers. In addition, the child welfare board has offices at the national, district, and upazila levels, and there is a juvenile court (s.16) and social inquiry system for the protection of the affected children. The mechanisms so provided can be utilized to resolve the grievances of children affected by FCL and other degrading treatment. The grievances of the affected children can be lodged with the concerned probation officer, social worker, or Child Affairs Police Officer who will take appropriate actions (S. 53, 54).

In 2011, Bangladesh made a moderate advancement in efforts to eliminate the WFCL by passing the Human Trafficking Deterrence and Suppression Act 2012, which makes human trafficking (including labor trafficking) a capital offense. It also developed and fully funded a Child Labor Monitoring Information System to manage child labor-related data. The legislation provides for a "protective home" for the victims of trafficking, slavery, and forced labor. The law has defined forced or bonded labor as criminal acts and has penalized it through punishment (Sections 9, 10). The Act lays down detailed procedures for solving the grievances of victims, which include filing of complaints with police or tribunal, investigation and rescue within a stipulated time, preventive search and seizure, etc. (Sections 17-20). The Anti-Human Trafficking Offence Tribunal established in every district and headed by a Sessions Judge or Additional Sessions Judge is empowered to try the offenses of forced labor or slavery (Sections 21-31). The Act also lays down special measures for child victims (S.38), including their safeguarding and rehabilitation through shelter homes and social integration (Sections 32, 34-37).

The Department of Inspection for Factories and Establishments (DIFE), a subsidiary body of the Ministry of Labor and Employment, is entrusted with the general power and jurisdiction to monitor enforcement of labor rights in all labor sectors, either formal or informal. The Deputy Inspector General (DIG) and other Inspectors of the DIFE's Chittagong regional office have jurisdiction to inspect and take action against violations of labor rights, CL, and FCL in the dried fish establishments of Cox's Bazar. The Labor Act prohibits parents or guardians from pledging their children's work in exchange for payment or benefit. The DIFE can prosecute for labor law violations, including those related to CL; negotiate wages and other issues between the child workers and employers (S.124A); and advise the victims about the appropriate legal measures.

The Labor Court can impose fines or sanctions against employers responsible for unacceptable child labor practices. However, it is very hard to get quick remedies under the Labour Act 2012 due to faulty systems, although there is a fair chance if the labor administration and adjudication authority play their roles properly.

Finally, the Penal Code prohibits forced labor (S. 370, 374). Those who violate the law are subject to penalties, which include imprisonment. The police are empowered to enforce Penal Code provisions protecting children from FL and trafficking. The Ministry of Labor and Employment has several ongoing initiatives to execute the elimination of CL through the engagement of local governments and agencies. These can provide alternative means to address the CL, FCL situations, and unacceptable working conditions in the targeted areas. Advocacy and lobbying through trade unions and NGOs can be another way to resolve the grievances of victims of hazardous child labor in the DFEs. However, currently there is no accurate data about the presence of trade unions and child-related NGOs operating in the DFE locations in Cox's Bazar.

IX. MEDIA LANDSCAPE OF CHILD LABOR IN DRIED FISH SECTOR

A. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

As detailed in the methodology section, the study examined the number of news reports, features, editorials, columns, and picture news published in selected newspapers regarding child labor (CL) between 2015 and 2019. It also checked the importance placed on the CL-related news published in these newspapers by examining the placement of the news items as well as the lengths of the articles.

The data presented in Table 44 was collected through content analysis. During the sample period, the seven selected newspapers published a total of 165 child labor-related items. Among these, the *Daily Kaler Kontho* published the highest number of items: a total of 52 news reports, editorials, opinion editorials, features, and photo news. The *Daily Star* published the second-highest number of items—a total of 38 items—followed by the *Daily Prothom Alo* (27), the *Daily Sun* (20), the *Daily Azadi* (14), the *Daily Jugantor* (10), and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* (4).

Table 44: Number of Items Regarding Child Labor According to the Selected Newspapers

Type of the Newspapers	Name of the Newspapers	Number of Items Published
National Bangla	The Daily Prothom Alo	27
	The Daily Kaler Kontho	52
	The Daily Jugantor	10
National English	The Daily Star	38
	The Daily Sun	20
Local Bangla	The Daily Azadi	14
	The Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar	4
Total		165

Source: Desk research

Table 45 demonstrates the comparison of different types of news items/articles published in the selected newspapers in the past five years. The selected newspapers published 96 news items, 27 feature stories, and 19 editorials on CL issues during the study period. However, only two opinion columns were published during the same period. This low volume of coverage of CL, compared to other issues, indicates that media has not considered it as an important problem for the society. For example, Sayed (2019) examined the coverage of the transport workers in four Bangladeshi daily newspapers during the road safety protest in 2018. The study found that during the period of road safety movement, these four influential newspapers published a total of 1,024 road safety-related items.

Table 45: Number of News Items Regarding Child Labor (CL) by Type

Newspaper Name	Content Type					
	News	Feature	Editorial	Column	Photo-news	Total
The Daily Azadi	5	3	4	0	2	14
The Daily Sun	9	5	2	1	3	20
The Daily Sokaler Cox's Bazar	3	1	0	0	0	4
The Jugantor	8	1	1	0	0	10
The Kaler Kontho	42	7	2	0	1	52
The Prothom Alo	11	9	0	1	6	27
The Daily Star	18	1	10	0	9	38
Grand Total	96	27	19	2	21	165

Source: Desk research

Table 45 also depicts that the *Daily Kaler Kantho* published the highest number of news items related to CL, while the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* published the lowest number of news items in this regard. Surprisingly, the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* published news on CL mostly after CLIMB started working on this topic. The *Daily Star* published 18 news reports followed by the *Daily Prothom Alo* (11), the *Daily Sun* (9), the *Daily Jugantor* (8), and the *Daily Azadi* (5). Table 45 also makes a comparison of the frequency distribution of the feature items published by selected newspapers. It can be seen that the *Daily Prothom Alo* published the highest number of feature stories related to CL, followed by the *Daily Kaler Kontho* (7), the *Daily Sun* (5) and the *Daily Azadi* (3), while the *Daily Star*, the *Daily Jugantor* and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* published the lowest number of feature stories in this regard (one feature each). The *Daily Star* published the highest number of editorial items (10) followed by the *Daily Azadi* (4). The two other newspapers, the *Daily Sun* and the *Daily Kaler Kontho* published two editorials each. In contrast, the *Daily Prothom Alo* and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* didn't publish any editorial on CL issues. When it comes to the devoted newspaper columns, the *Daily Prothom Alo* and the *Daily Sun* published only one column each on this issue. Table 45 also compares the number of the photo-news on CL issues published in these newspapers. The *Daily Star* published the highest number of photo-news (9) followed by the *Daily Prothom Alo* (6), the *Daily Sun* (3), and the *Daily Azadi* (2), while the *Daily Jugantor* and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* didn't publish any photo-news in this regard.

Table 46 shows that the maximum number of items was published in the year of 2015 followed by 2018 and 2019. The *Daily Azadi*, the *Daily Kaler Kontho*, the *Daily Prothom Alo* and the *Daily Star* published items in every year while the other two newspapers put out regular coverage on CL.

Table 46: Year-Wise Published Items by the Newspapers

Year	The Daily Azadi	The Daily Sun	The Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar	The Daily Jugantor	The Daily Kaler Kontho	The Daily Prothom Alo	The Daily Star	Grand Total
2015	1	16	4	10	16	20	9	66
2016	2	-	-	-	12	7	4	25
2017	1	1	-	-	2	2	9	15
2018	5	-	-	-	14	4	9	32
2019	5	3	-	-	8	4	7	27
Total	14	20	4	10	52	37	38	165

Source: Desk research

Table 47 describes the news items in two categories, the general CL news and the individual CL news. The general CL news addresses the social and political issues covering the issues as a whole. Sometimes general CL news is published on different national and international commemorative days. In contrast, individual CL issues emphasize the death or torture of child workers, most often child workers engaged in domestic work. Individual cases also include individual incidents in most of the services sector CL. Table 46 shows that the *Daily Star* has published the maximum number of general CL news items (33 out of 118) followed by the *Daily Kaler Kontho* (23), the *Daily Prothom Alo* (21), and the *Daily Sun* (20). The *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* published the least number of general child labor issues (3). In contrast, the *Daily Kaler Kontho* has published the maximum number of individual child labor news items (29) while the *Daily Prothom Alo* and the *Daily Jugantor* have published 6 items apiece followed by the *Daily Star* (5) and the *Daily Sokaler Cox's Bazar* (1).

Table 47: Types of Child Labor Items Published

Name of the Newspaper	General Child Labor	Individual Case	Grand Total
The Daily Azadi	14	-	14
The Daily Sun	20	-	20
The Daily Sokeler Cox's Bazar	3	1	4
The Daily Jugantor	4	6	10
The Daily Kaler Kontho	23	29	52
The Daily Prothom Alo	21	6	27
The Daily Star	33	5	38
Total	118	47	165

Source: Desk research

Table 48 describes the focus areas of the newspapers during the period of 2015 through 2019. It is seen that among the general CL issues, hazardous/risky jobs got the priority, with 37 news items on the issue followed by the dried fish establishments (DFEs) (14), child labor (12), education (11), domestic issues (10), and child rights (9). All of the articles on the DFEs resulted from CLIMB project activities. The remaining areas include awareness-raising, CL in garments, factory work, grievances, research reports, and tobacco industry. Apart from these, worst forms of CL (WFCL) and violence of CL have also been featured. On the contrary, among the individual child labor issues, domestic violence against the child workers got the highest amount

of attention (20) followed by the transport sector (9), violence of CL (5), child labor (4), and hazardous/risky job by CL (3).

Table 48: Focus Area of the Items by the Type of Child Labor

Focus Area	General Child Labor	Individual Case	Grand Total
Hazardous/risky job by Child Workers	37	3	40
Dried fish sector	14	-	14
Child labor	11	4	15
Education	11	2	13
Domestic	10	20	30
Child right	9	1	10
Transport	5	9	14
Street children	5	-	5
Brick lines	4	1	5
Violence of CL	3	5	8
Worst form of child labor	3	-	3
Awareness raising	1	-	1
Research report	1	-	1
CL in garments	1	-	1
Grievance	1	1	2
Tobacco industry	1	-	1
Factory work	1	-	1
Fishing	-	1	1
Total	118	47	165

Source: Desk research

The *Daily Prothom Alo* and the *Daily Star*, two leading newspapers in Bangla and English respectively, are performing advocacy journalism through publishing plenty of news, feature editorials, opinion columns, proceedings of the round-table meetings, campaigns, and social activities on a range of issues such the fight against drugs, human trafficking, HIV/AIDS, acid attacks, dowry, violence against women, good governance, and others. Surprisingly, these two widely circulated dailies tended to ignore the general CL issues including CL in DFEs. Moreover, only ten items were published during the study period by the *Daily Jugantor*, one of the leading Bangla newspapers. Interestingly, the *Daily Azadi*, a popular local newspaper published from Chittagong City, and the *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar*, a newspaper published from Cox's Bazar where dried fish is processed and produced, also published fewer items than the national dailies.

To understand the importance these newspapers put on the labor issues, the study has looked into the placement of the CL-related items. As Table 49 shows, during the study period, the *Daily Prothom Alo* didn't publish any CL-related news reports and photos on their front page. On the back page, they published two news reports. In addition, among 30 items, there were 30 byline stories in the *Daily Prothom Alo*, while the average column-inch of the headline was 2.70. In a recent student movement on road safety, the *Daily Prothom Alo* has published 75 front-page items, 5 back-page items, and 206 inside items during the 10 days from 30 July to 10 August 2018 (Sayed, 2019).

Table 49: Treatment and Placement of the Items Regarding Child Labor

Name of the Newspapers	Items on Front Page	Items on the Back Page	Byline Item	Average Column-Inch of Headline
The Daily Prothom Alo	0	2	16	2.70
The Daily Kaler Kontho	2	4	13	2.43
The Daily Jugantor	1	2	3	1.95
The Daily Star	1	1	13	3.00
The Daily Sun	3	0	8	3.00
The Daily Azadi	1	1	5	1.71
The Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar	2	1	0	2.00
Total	10	11	58	2.40

Source: Desk research

The *Daily Kaler Kontho* published two news reports on the front page and four news stories on the back page. The newspaper had 13 byline stories, while the average column-inch of the headline was 2.43. On the other hand, the *Daily Jugantor* published one news report on the front page and four news stories on the back page. The newspaper had three byline stories, while the average column-inch of the headline was 2.43. The *Daily Star* published one news report on the front page and one news story on the back page. The newspaper had 13 byline stories, while the average column-inch of the headline was 3. The *Daily Star*, on the other hand, published 57 front-page, 24 back-page, and 211 inside-page items on road safety on the above-mentioned movement in 2018 (Sayed, 2019). The *Daily Sun* published three news reports on the front page and didn't publish any news story on the back page. The newspaper used the writers' names with five stories while the average column-inch of the headline was 3.

The *Daily Azadi* published one news report on the front page and one on the back page. The newspaper had five byline stories while the average column-inch of the headline was 1.71. On the contrary, The *Daily Shokaler Cox's Bazar* had two news reports on their front page and one report on the back page. The newspaper didn't have any byline story, and the average column-inch of the headline was 2.

The findings show that there was a dearth of coverage of issues related to CL in the dried fish sector (DFS) both on the front and the back pages. The insufficient coverage of CL in general, and CL in the DFS in particular, may be caused by the lack of awareness among the journalists. Although dried fish is a popular food item among many Bangladeshi people and DFS contributes to the food supply all over the country, the stories of the children involved in the processing of fish remain behind the screen due to low coverage by the media. The important policy implication of this study is to conduct an advocacy program among the policymakers of the media to encourage them to provide more emphasis on CL issues in DFS so that it can be recognized as a newsworthy beat for the journalists and given better coverage.

B. FINDINGS FROM KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The findings from the key information interviews (KIIs) provide insight into the media coverage of CL issues. The key informants (KIs) view that the newspapers publish CL-related news occasionally, particularly when an issue related to CL arises. According to them, the newspapers do not give any particular focus on DL in the DFEs because of the prevalence of other competing issues. However, they hold that CL in DFEs could draw enough attention to media personnel as

employing children in DFEs is unacceptable on humanitarian grounds as well as by the law of the country.

The journalists acknowledge that the media houses have no reservations in giving coverage on CL issues related to the DFS. All media houses have the freedom to express opinions and publish news. However, they should be careful such that the published news is based on evidence. The KIs mention that they receive both negative and positive feedback after publishing news on CL issues. After publishing a report on CL, the media houses receive phone calls from people on issues such as children suffering nearby or someone not receiving a promised salary on time. Sometimes, the media encounters direct and indirect threats from the groups who benefit from child labor.

Regarding the role of the policymakers after the publishing child labor-related news, the interviewees think that they talk very positively in different meetings but do little to mitigate the issue. Some non-governmental organizations are presently working on CL issues. The KIs express indecisive views on the role of the media personnel. All journalists interviewed acknowledged the importance of training programs about CL issues and admitted that journalists lack the skills to report on CL issues. The KI journalists believe that media can act as an essential instrument in stopping child-worker recruitments in the dried fish establishments. They suggest that training programs for journalists would increase their awareness of the issues and also enhance their reporting skills regarding CL in DFEs.

X. CONCLUSION

This study has provided an independent appraisal of child labor (CL) in the dried fish establishments (DFEs) in Cox's Bazar. Its objective has been to enhance understanding of CL by stakeholders concerned about the issue and to suggest policies to effect qualitative improvements in the lives of these child workers and their potential human capital. The research draws upon the opinions provided by a wide spectrum of respondents, including local-level policymakers such as government officials and elected government representatives, members of civil society, members of community-based organizations (CBOs), leaders of business associations, business owners, parents and families, and, of course, the working children themselves. The analysis of the study is based on a triangulation of the qualitative and quantitative data gathered through key informant interviews (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), case studies, and a quantitative sample survey administered on the child workers through a structured questionnaire.

A. MAJOR FINDINGS

The results of this mixed-method study show that CL exists in the DFEs in Cox's Bazar. Judged by the types of work children perform and the conditions in which they work, the DFE work conforms to the definition of CL by the International Labor Organization (ILO) and by Bangladeshi laws. Further, the study finds elements of forced labor (FL), caused mostly by parents' taking advances from the employers and the impossibility of leaving the employer when employed on contact basis. Child workers get very nominal wages, often one-fourth of what an adult worker gets for the same amount of work. Children working in the DFEs face many challenges to their health, incuding poor working conditions and limited availability of protective gear.

Jobs in the DFEs largely make it impossible for children to attend school. This is particularly true of those who are hired for an entire season and live at the workplace, work long hours,

and/or work the early morning shift (effectively a night shift). Only an estimated 9% of the sampled child workers advanced beyond Grade V while 25% of them never attended school. This represents a terrible loss in human capital. Besides the DFE jobs, education is also hampered by the absence of any government primary school in the location and the lack of private schools within walking distance.

The study finds that girls are more likely to work on a daily basis alongside a family member, usually their mother. Some of these girls also work the 4 a.m. to 8 a.m. shift. Compared to the girls, a larger proportion of the boys are hired for the entire season and live in the workplace, without the protection of their family and often working off their family's advance payment. These two types of workforces have different needs, with the latter being in a more vulnerable position. In general, the workplace does not provide decent toilet facilities or safe drinking water. Boys who live in the workplace do not have separate sleeping arrangements, sharing rooms with the adult co-workers. These children are not even allowed to visit their parents. They are thus left at the mercy of the employers and the adult workers who tend to exert their authority by way of shouting at them and unleashing physical punishments. The adult workers even go farther to subject them to sexual harassment. Sexual harassment occurs even when children do not spend nights in the workplace. However, when they do sleep at the workplace, girls reportedly suffer more abuse than the boys. One can only imagine the state of mind these children are thrown into—tired, dejected, and lonely after the day's work and without family company, care, or support.

For the younger children, alternative job opportunities offering better work environments elsewhere would require the children to part with parental supervision and care at the workplace. Therefore, despite their offering unsuitable work conditions, the DFEs may continue to attract child workers unless parents see the value of their continuing their education. Older children aspiring for better jobs may be motivated to attain a minimum level of education and/or vocational training. The potential for educational and vocational programs to provide alternative opportunities vary by the child's age, whether they ever attended school, and their age at drop-out if they attended school. Again, the lack of educational facilities in the areas where the DFEs are located provides additional challenges.

Case studies of the families whose children do not work in the DFEs, but are of similarly low socioeconomic status, reveal a different orientation towards longer-term goals and children's continued education. These families professed that long-term happiness was more important than the short-term gains in quality of life that children's earnings could provide. Families whose children work in the DFEs sometimes concurred that the children's earnings do not contribute much to household income, but all conveyed that the "hidden" costs associated with school attendance (such as transportation, study materials, and extra tutoring) made it impossible for them to consider sending their children to school instead of requiring them to work.

The study suggests that the stakeholders are not fully aware of the CL laws. This is particularly true of parents and families as well as a good percentage of the business owners. Media personnel have also been found to lack skills regarding how to report on CL issues, particularly in the DFE context. This necessitates efforts to raise awareness of the ILO and the Bangladeshi labor laws.

Legally, it is likely that the best way to address these issues for child workers and their families is for Bangladesh to include the dried fish sector (DFS) on the list of hazardous jobs for children.

This would allow employers to be prosecuted or fined for hiring children. In the meantime, families could receive assistance to file grievances with employers about the working conditions, the lack of protective gear, and the "advance" system for seasonal labor. It should be noted that the Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) under the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2005 already lists the DFS of Bangladesh as a sector using CL and forced child labor (FCL). Therefore, as long as worst forms of child labor (WFCL) in the DFEs exists, it will continue to draw the attention of the international communities. As such, policies need to be framed, aiming to eliminate CL from this sector.

To sum up, the empirical evidence presented here suggests that DFE work by its nature and circumstances is destined to "harm the health, safety, or morals of children" and thus should be considered hazardous by the ILO definition. It is, therefore, imperative that the policymakers in Bangladesh pay due attention to the *modus operandi* of this sector. The first best solution obviously shall be the imposition of a complete ban on the employment of children in this sector. If this would not be permissible considering the ground realities such as the desperate family financial conditions, limited alternative job opportunities, and the absence or limited scope for supplementary income provisions from the government or otherwise, the employers must be subjected to a strong set of restraints. These restraints shall aim at ensuring a work environment conducive to children's education and upbringing and assigning children with the type of work and the work hours that can be deemed fitting with the definition of "child workers" as opposed to "child labor."

B. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research is, of course, not without limitations. These limitations relate to the coverage of the child worker population, the sampling strategy, and the responses from diverse groups of people. This study mainly concentrated on the child workers employed in the DFEs as opposed to the entire DFS. Thus, two important cohorts of child workers have been completely left out from the sampling frame. These are: (a) children who work in the fish trading stage of the value chain carrying out the tasks of loading and unloading; and (b) children involved in wholesale and retail trades. The study also missed a small but important group of girls who work in the DFEs during the late-night-to-early-morning shift of 4 a.m. to 8 a.m. The study used convenience sampling to select DFEs for the quantitative survey, and therefore, the presence of "selection bias" may not be completely ruled out. Finally, the responses may have included "recall biases," and "implicit or self-stated biases" besides holding the elements of "dominant" views.

C. SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present research can, however, represent a benchmark for undertaking studies on additional aspects of CL in the DFS that have consequences for the well-being of the child workers, their families, and the society at large. Some of the topics worth exploring could be: (a) further exploration of the gender dynamics of the girls and boys and how they impact child laborers; (b) expanding the research by including all the stages of the value chain and the associated value additions; (c) a comparative analysis of the disposition of the DFS and the non-DFS child workers with similar socioeconomic backgrounds; (d) the realized economic and social benefits of children's education to families with socioeconomic backgrounds similar to those of working children; (e) the incidence of "floating labor" (seasonal and other intervals) and its impact on the social integration of the suffering families and children; and (f) building community awareness about CL and framing policies including advocacy for CL elimination.

XI. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

We asked the respondents to propose some suggestions for the elimination of child labor (CL). In response, all of the respondents suggested steps that are incentive-generating. Only one respondent proposed that legal actions should be taken along with providing incentives. Based on their suggestions as well as our analysis of the study findings, the study makes the following recommendations from the evidence presented:

- The dried fish sector (DFS) should be added to the Hazardous Work List due to the hazardous conditions facing all children working in the sector, including working long hours, using sharp tools, exposure to hazardous chemicals, exposure to abuse, and others.
- Children and others working in the dried fish establishments (DFEs) should be assisted to file grievances against their employers for such issues as physical punishment and sexual harassment. To identify and discourage abuse of child workers, the government should introduce ways for community monitoring and response to abuses that will complement inspection and enforcement at district and *Upazila* levels.
- DFE owners should be educated about CL laws and should be fined and prosecuted for violations. Stricter enforcement will increase the cost of doing business for the DFE owners and will discourage child labor and child abuse practices.
- Government enforcement agencies should immediately address health and sanitary problems in the DFEs, bringing facilities up to minimum standards.
- Accessibility to schools and alternative learning programs for both drop-outs and for migrant child workers (who are seasonal residents) is a vital concern for these communities as long as the current pattern of CL persists. Many of the residents migrate to these communities only to work in the DFEs, leading to little commitment by the community and few incentives for the DFEs to provide them with basic services. There are no government primary schools in the DFE areas and makeshift primary schools cannot operate without student fees. Establishment of government schools and other child protection services is, therefore, a must.
- Incentives for parents to have their children remain in school rather than join the DFE workforce could include scholarships to cover extra costs.
- Vocational skills training for children who have left school would greatly increase their prospects for long-term income generation and is requested by the children themselves.
- A Counseling and Children Support Committee comprising responsible stakeholders, including elected representatives, would be helpful in sustaining adherence to CL law as well as the compulsory primary education law.
- Introduce conditional low- and no-interest loans and self-employment start-up support for families who keep their children out of CL in the DFEs and continuously enrolled in school. Bangladesh has already put in place a number of safety net programs, and expansion of these programs probably would not be feasible. Such interventions have been shown to be effective in providing families with alternative and supplemental income and reducing the economic and social pressures on families, especially during off-season periods when work is not available to parents and other children.

- The DFE workforce is largely comprised of internal migrant workers. Therefore, government initiatives should also be directed to the people of the *upazila*s where these migrant workers come from.
- Programs should increase in-depth knowledge and reporting skills among journalists about CL in the DFS and in general.
- Local non-governmental organizations, educators, and government social services agencies providing services in Cox's Bazar district should learn more about the conditions that children face in the DFEs and other sectors and introduce ways to support vulnerable families. This may be best achieved and sustained through integration into formal academic and professional training programs for social workers and teachers.
- Conduct additional qualitative research to increase understanding of the gender dynamics identified by the research and better inform child protection interventions in the DFS. This includes identifying the drivers and conditions faced by the significant number of girls working early morning shifts in DFEs and boys who migrate to the dried fish processing communities to work.

Finally, the DFS creates a significant profit in Bangladesh. Understanding the market dimensions that help drive the demand for and supply of CL is critical to eliminating it in the sector. More research needs to be done on alternatives to CL that will enable the DFEs to operate ethically and profitably.

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XIII. ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table 50: What Do the Children Do When Not Working in Dried Fish Sector (%) (N=461)

Training/Courses	Percent		
	Girls	Boys	Total
Help family	62.6	44.0	53.8
Do nothing	38.7	33.9	36.4
Play/watch television	30.0	55.0	41.9
Go to school/madrasa	21.4	17.0	19.3
Work in other sectors	9.5	21.6	15.2
Others	4.1	1.8	3.0

Source: Quantitative survey

Table 51: Sleeping Arrangements of Child Workers Who Live in Separate Residence

Sleeping arrangement (N = 14)	Percent
With adult co-workers	7.1
Alone	14.3
With employer	7.1
Child co-workers	21.4
Others	50.1
Total	100.0

Source: Quantitative survey

Table 52: Duration of Work in Water or Muddy ground

		Girls			Boys			Total	
Duration (N =202)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
2 hour or less	88.9	94.4	90.7	81.3	78.3	79.8	85.8	85.4	85.6
More than 2 to 5	11.1	5.6	9.3	18.7	21.7	20.2	14.2	14.6	14.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P-val	0.35			0.72			0.93		
Mean (hours)	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7
Standard Deviation	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	4	3	4	3	5	5	4	5	5

Source: Quantitative survey

Table 53: Duration of Carrying 5 kg

		Girls			Boys	Total			
Duration (N =381)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**
Just a few minutes (less than 30)	29.9	27.6	29.0	33.6	22.2	28.7	31.7	24.8	28.9
About half hour to one hour	31.6	23.7	28.5	48.6	29.6	40.4	39.7	26.8	34.4
One or two hours	31.6	40.8	35.2	12.2	33.3	21.3	22.3	36.9	28.4
Three hours or more	6.8	7.9	7.3	5.6	14.8	9.6	6.3	11.5	8.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P-val	0.52			0.00			0.00		

Source: Quantitative survey

Table 54: Duration of Carrying 10 kg Load

	Girls			Boys			Total		
Duration (N =294)	**Less than 14**	**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**		**14 to 17**	**Total**	**Less 14**	**14 to 17**
Just a few minutes (less than 30)	25.7	31.6	28.2	35.0	24.1	29.5	30.5	27.1	28.9
About half hour to one hour	47.3	24.6	37.4	41.3	26.5	33.7	44.2	25.7	35.4
One or two hours	17.6	24.6	20.6	15.0	32.5	23.9	16.2	29.3	22.5
Three hours or more	9.4	19.3	13.7	8.8	16.9	12.9	9.1	17.9	13.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P-val	0.05			0.01			0.00		

Source: Quantitative survey

ANNEX 2: QUALITATIVE MATRIX EXAMPLES

Why are Children Recruited by Employers in the Dried Fish Sector?

Respondent type:	Reasons			
	Economic motives	**Children's characteristics (e.g., small hands)**	**Others**	
DFS enterprise owners	KII Findings: • Usually, the financial insolvency of the families and the children's parents' requests motivated me to employ child workers. • While employing women, they bring their children along to work. If I do not involve the child, the mother refuses to work. • Can pay less	<u>KIIs</u> • They can help fish sorting and dry fish tying	<u>FGD Findings</u> • If not employed, children may steal fish! • Parents refuse to work if children are not recruited KIIs: • At the insistence of parents	
DFS business association		KIIs: • They can help sorting fish and tying dry fish	KIIs: • At the insistence of parents	
Local government elected representative	KIIs: • Children are more available at lower wages		KIIs: • Shortage of adult labor supply	

Respondent type:	Reasons			
	Economic motives	**Children's characteristics (e.g., small hands)**	**Others**	
Government officials/school administrator	KIIs: • Cheaper way to get more work done • It gives employer opportunity to exploit • Poverty • Many of them become orphan due to death of fishermen	KIIs	KIIs • Big arrival of fish leaves DFE owners with no choice but to ignore age while recruiting labor	
Parents	FGD Findings • Children are paid less than the adults (An adult may be paid four times of the amount paid to a child)	FGD Findings • Children can work longer hours • They do not waste time • Children can work quicker than the adults • There is certain work which children can do easily		

Source: Qualitative interviews

Notes: DFS = dried fish sector; KII = key informant interviews; DFE = dried fish establishment; FGD = focus group discussion

Why Do Children Work in the Dried Fish Sector?

Respondent type:	Family need	Schooling issue (no school, etc.)	No alternative works	Forced to work
DFS enterprise owners	KIIs: • Financial insolvency of the family, • Single-parent children and children of an unemployed parent • Higher wage compared to the other sector	KIIs • There is no school now here in the dry fish areas	KIIs • Scarcity of alternatives • Easy way to earn huge money compared to the other sectors	FGD Findings • Children are not forced to work
DFS business association			KIIs • No other scopes	
Local government elected representative	KIIs: • Poverty and scarcity • Orphans work for livelihood	KIIs • No high school and thus after primary they do job in DFS	KIIs • There is no other option	
Government officials/school administrator	KIIs: • Poor status of family • Orphans work for livelihood • Easy way to earn			FGD Findings • Kids have to work against their will in case parents take advance money from the employer. KIIs: • Ignorance

Respondent type:				
	Family need	**Schooling issue (no school, etc.)**	**No alternative works**	**Forced to work**
Parents	FGD Findings • Poverty • Father's inability to work • Unavailability of adult earning members in the family • Death of father or husband • Advance taken for marrying off sisters • To support mother as the father got married to a second wife and left the family	FGD Findings • High cost of education		

Source: Qualitative interviews

Notes: DFS = dried fish sector; KII = key informant interviews; FGD = focus group discussion

What is Your Suggestion Regarding Child Labor Improvement in the DFS?

Respondent type:	Should CL in DFS be banned?	Motivation for parents to decide not to send children to DFS	Others
DFS enterprise owners	• No questions	• No question	FGD Findings: • Education should be made an alternative to work. Some students get influenced by their classmates KIIs: • Government should assist owners to improve situation • Financial support to go to school
DFS business association	• No question	• No question	KIIs: • Establishing schools
Local government elected representative	KIIs: • Maintenance of legal action • Establishment of schools at secondary level and providing certain facilities to their families • Providing certain incentives like shelter, money, etc. • Creating consciousness amongst people, pensions for senior citizens and widows, maintenance of all laws, involvement of government representatives, etc. • Technical education, compulsory primary education, Vulnerable Group Feeding, etc.	KIIs: • Providing facilities to families • Building awareness among people	KIIs: • Establish schools, pension for elder citizens and widows and vocational education FGD Findings: • Bring the leaders to training and make them aware about the laws. • If the owners do not abide by the rules, they must be punished. • Rate of poverty should be decreased. • Solve the basic needs of families suffering from poverty. • Focus on future should be made rather than temporary lust for money. • Families should be counseled. • Number of schools should be increased.

Respondent type:	Should CL in DFS be banned?	Motivation for parents to decide not to send children to DFS	Others
			• If necessary, work and schooling have to be conducted together. • School teachers and Imams of mosques can play a vital role for counseling. <u>KIIs:</u> • Establishing schools • Providing facilities to families • Providing shelter and money • Pension for senior citizens and widows • Enforcing laws • Raising awareness • Providing technical education
Members of CSOs and CBOs, faith communities, NGO staff			
Government officials/ school administrator	Yes, we should ban it	<u>KIIs</u> • Monitoring and campaign, and improving family status	KIIs • Shishuunnayankendra, probation and after care service

Respondent type:			
	Should CL in DFS be banned?	**Motivation for parents to decide not to send children to DFS**	**Others**
Parents	FGD Findings • CL should be banned • CL should not be banned as some families have no other alternative earning members or sources	FGD Findings • Government financial support • Free schooling with mid-day meals • Provision of jobs for women by the government • Monthly allowance for families that do not have earning members • Provision of loans from the government and other organizations • Provision of work during the off-peak season of 3 months • Other job facilities • Alternative jobs for kids	

Source: Qualitative interviews

Note: CL = child labor; DFS = dried fish sector; FGD = focus group discussion; KII = key informant interviews; CSO = civil society organization; CBO = community-based organization

How Does Media Cover the Child Labor Issue? (Media Landscape on Child Labor)

Name and Address of KIs	Context of CL	Media Publishes CL issues	Media Publishes CL issues in DFS	CL in DFS got enough concentration?	Causes of CL in DFS not getting attention in the media
Mr. Kollol Dey, *Daily Sokaler Cox's Bazar* KII-1	A large number of children are working as laborer	News is published occasionally.	Publishes as fish-drying activities in this region take place on a large scale.	Definitely yes	Children are part of our society
Mr. Deepok Sharma, *Daily Desh-Bidesh* KII-2	In spite of government effort, still child labor exits in various sectors	Media publishes child labor-related news when there arises an issue	Publishes because of the intensity of the child labor in dry fish sector	Not Enough	Children issues hurt us and thus the news gets importance
Mr. Mohammad Junaid, *Cox's Bazar* Correspondent KII-3	Children are involved in work because of poverty	Occasionally, when an issue related to child labor arises	CL in DFS is equally treated like others	Of course, yes	Media personnel do not accept them working

Name and Address of KIs	Context of CL	Media Publishes CL issues	Media Publishes CL issues in DFS	CL in DFS got enough concentration?	Causes of CL in DFS not getting attention in the media
Mr. Shahabuddin Correspondent, *Daily Samakal* KII-4	Children work in some sectors	Publishes on traditional child labor issue	Publish. The respondent published on health problems of the CL in DFS	Need more attention	

How Does Media Cover the Child Labor Issue? (Media Landscape on Child Labor) cont.

Name and Address of KIs	Feedback on CL news	Observation about policy makers	Importance of training on CL	Role of media on CL	Measures to be undertaken
Mr. Kollol Dey, *Daily Sokaler Cox's Bazar* KII-1	Both negative and positive feedback	Seems to be positive to news published	Would be helpful and will enrich knowledge on it	Certainly, media can change the mind of the people	Training, seminars, and symposia for the journalists
Mr. Deepok Sharma, *Daily Desh-Bidesh* KII-2	Both negative and positive. Sometimes, the accused try to manage us	They appreciate but do consider a little for the policy	Everyone needs to know more and thus training is necessary	Being the fourth pillar of a nation, it can make enough change	Journalists need monetary support from NGO's to focus the news

Name and Address of KIs	Feedback on CL news	Observation about policy makers	Importance of training on CL	Role of media on CL	Measures to be undertaken
Mr. Mohammad Junaid, *Cox's Bazar* Correspondent KII-3	Both negative and positive feedback. Indirect threat from the accused	They seem to be opportunists of a published news	Training is important	By publishing news, media can achieve far-reaching effects	Media personnel need to be motivated by providing financial assistances
Mr. Shahabuddin Correspondent, *Daily Samakal* KII-4	People of the same suffering group call us to publish them. No feedback from government officials.	They are not doing enough	Local journalists like us do not have enough knowledge on everything and thus training is needed	Media can be an instrument to stopping child labor	Inspiration for the journalist could be effective like introducing awards for best news.

Notes: CL = child labor; DFS = dried fish sector; KIII = key informant interviews; NGOs = non-governmental organizations

ANNEX 3: MAPPING STUDY OF DRIED FISH SECTOR (DFS) IN COX'S BAZAR AND MAHESHKHALI

A. INTRODUCTION

In accordance with the proposed methodology, the CLIMB research team carried out key informant interviews (KIIs) for the purpose of mapping the dried fish establishments (DFEs) in Cox's Bazar district. The mapping study was intended to cover the following key aspects: (a) geographic and size distributions of DFEs; and (b) the distribution of child labor (CL) by location, age, and gender. The objective of the mapping study is to develop a sampling framework for the quantitative survey of children working in the DFS, as well as to provide a reference for the location and size of DFEs that may be used for program purposes.

B. METHODOLOGY

Based on the study plan, we have interviewed several key informants (KIs), including business association leaders, teachers, faith community leaders, and local government representatives. All together, we have conducted nine KIIs. However, the information that was collected from the KIs did not turn out to be useful. Most of the KIs had inadequate knowledge of the DFS and provided pieces of information that are quite counterintuitive. Only the information provided by the two business leaders has proved to be reliable.

Given this backdrop, we have changed our information collection strategy. In the case of small dried fish processing zones, namely Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Ghotibhanga and Thakurtala, we have decided to interview personally with each of the DFE owners. This strategy was used because of the fact that reportedly those areas have small numbers of DFEs.

Because Nazirartek is the biggest dried fish processing zone in Cox's Bazar, we decided to conduct more KIIs in that location, but only with the business owners. Our finding has been that business owners are the most knowledgeable respondents about the mapping-related information. In the revised attempt, we first divided the Nazirartek zone into four subzones. Then we have identified one prominent business owner from each subzone as a KII respondent, making sure that among the four identified KIIs that one is a small business, one is a medium-scale DFE owner, and the remaining two are large-scale DFE owners[15] The whole process of identifying the four subzones and the four KIIs has been accomplished in consultation with several community leaders and business leaders who have adequate knowledge about the geographic composition of Nazirartek as well as the industry (DFS) as a whole. Each KII has been facilitated by a member of the research team with the help of two research assistants.

After the completion of the KIIs, we have revisited the areas to validate the information collected through the KIIs. In the validation process, we have talked with four DFE owners from the four subzones (one from each). Information provided by these DFE owners has been found very similar to the information collected through the KIIs[16]

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[15] A DFE is considered small/medium/large if the number of workers employed is <10/10-49/≥50 (ILO & BBS, 2011).

[16] The business association has a list of owners, not DFEs. However, the list covers only those owners who subscribe to the association. Besides, more than one owner may correspond to a single DFE. Thus, the list is of little use for our purpose.

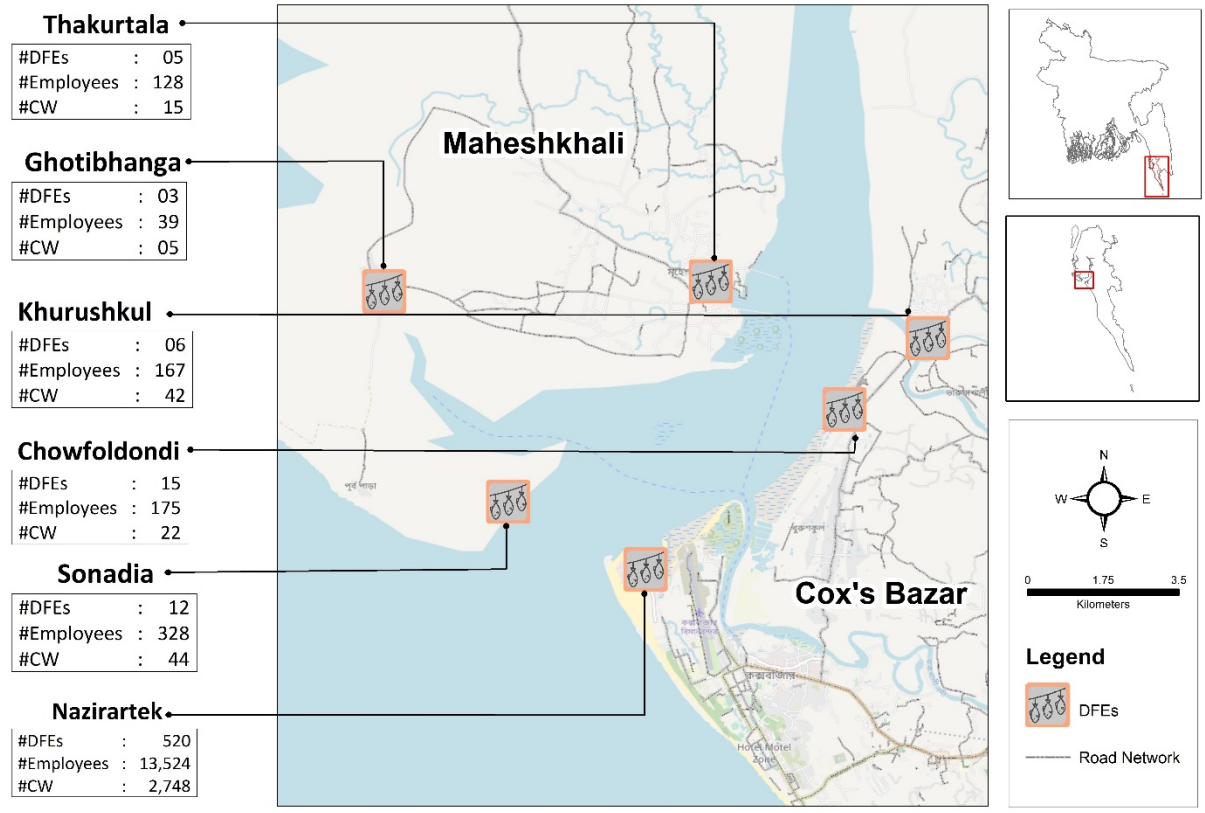
It is important to note here that for Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Ghotibhanga, and Thakurtala, the numerical figures presented in the tables are estimated by adding up the relevant numbers directly provided by all DFE owners. For Nazirartek, however, the numerical figures for each subzone were found by multiplying the subzone averages by the numbers of DFEs of different size categories operating in the subzone. It is worth mentioning that the subzone averages and the corresponding numbers of DFEs of different size categories were provided by the KI of the respective subzone. The figures representing zone totals were arrived at by summing across the subzones.

C. FINDINGS OF THE MAPPING STUDY

1. Locations of the Dried Fish Establishments in Cox's Bazar District

In Cox's Bazar District, DFEs are located broadly in two areas (*Upazilas*): Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali. In Cox's Bazar Sadar *Upazila*, the dried fish processing businesses are operated in three separate geographical locations, namely Nazirartek, Chowfoldondi, and Khurushkul. While Nazirartek is the biggest dried fish processing zone, Chowfoldondi and Khurushkul are significantly smaller compared to Nazirartek in terms of dried fish processing activities.

Figure 15: Locations of the Dried Fish Processing Activities in Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali Upazilas



Note: DFE = dried fish establishment; CW = child workers

In Maheshkhali *Upazila*, there are three locations in which dried fish processing activities are in place. These are Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga. Previously, Sonadia was a very prominent dried fish processing area but nowadays only a few DFEs are in operation. Similarly, in the two other places (Thakurtala and Ghotibhanga), no significant activities are apparent.

A bird's eye view of the above-mentioned locations is presented in Figure 15. This figure is prepared on the basis of the GIS coordinates of different important points of the location recorded by our enumerators during their field visits. ArcGIS software was used in preparing the map in the figure. It is seen from the figure that the dried fish zones are mostly located in areas adjacent to different fish-landing points.

a. *Nazirartek*

Nazirartek is one of the biggest dried fish zones in Bangladesh. It is located near the confluence of the Bay of Bengal and Bankkhali River. It belongs to Ward Number 1 of Cox's Bazar Sadar *Upazila*. Around 520 DFEs are located in this place. The map of Nazirartek is shown in Figure 16. In the figure, the dried fish zone is depicted using red-colored boundary.

Figure 16: Nazirartek Area

b. *Chowfoldondi*

Chowfoldondi is located to the north-east of the Cox's Bazar city. This area is also adjacent to the Bankkhali River. Currently, 15 DFEs are actively operating there. All of them are small-to medium in size. Figure 17 demonstrates the Chowfoldondi dried fish zone along with the surrounding area.

Figure 17: Chofoldondi Area

c. *Khurushkul*

Khurushkul, a union under Cox's Bazar Sadarupazila, is located on the bank of Bankkhali River. At one point, this place was prominent for dried fish production. Currently, the dried fish production activities in this place have been reduced to a negligible state. According to our findings, only six DFEs are left functioning. The dried fish zone of Khurushkul is demonstrated in Figure 18.

Figure 18: Khurushkul Area

d. *Sonadia Island*

The Sonadia Island is located to the far south of Maheshkhali Sadar *Upazila*. The Island is separated from the mainland of the Maheshkhali *Upazila* but adjacent to the Bay of Bengal. The dried fish zone in Sonadia is situated in the eastern part of the Island. Currently, about 12 DFEs are in operation in this area. In the past, the dried fish zone of Sonadia was very vibrant. Over the time, it has substantially declined. The island and its dried fish zone are presented in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Sonadia Island

e. *Thakurtala*

Thakurtala is located right in the middle of Maheshkhali proper and is confined to a small geographical location. The zone contains only five DFEs. Figure 20 below shows the area of Thakurtala and its dried fish zone

Figure 20: Thakurtala Area

f. *Ghotibhanga*

The area of Ghotibhanga is located on the south of Maheshkhali *Upazila* Sadar. Only three DFEs are currently active in this area. The Ghotibhanga dried fish zone and the surrounding area is demonstrated in Figure 21.

Figure 21: Ghotibhanga Area

2. Location and Size Distribution of DFEs in Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali Upazilas

Table 55 presents the results of the mapping exercise, showing the location and estimated numbers of DFEs in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas*. The estimated total number of DFEs operating in the five zones of these two *Upazilas* is 561, of which 520 (93%) are located in Nazirartek itself. Chowfoldondi, Khurushkul, Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga are the locations of only 15, 6, 12, 5, and 3 DFEs, respectively.

In terms of distribution by size, the DFEs are mostly small-to-medium scale. In fact, Chowfoldondi, Sonadia, Thakurtala, and Ghotibhanga do not have any large DFEs. Large DFEs account for only 23% of all DFEs. All but one of them are located in Nazirartek. The remaining one is in Khurushkul. Medium and small DFEs account for about 52% and 25% of all DFEs respectively.

Table 55: Employment and Distribution of Labor in the Dried Fish Sector

Area	Type of DFE by size	Number of DFEs	Total Number of Employees			
			Female	***Male***	***Children***	***Total***
Nazirartek	*Large*	127	4,870	1,030	1,469	7,369
	Medium	263	3,305	731	1,039	5,075
	Small	130	670	170	240	1,080
	Total	**520**	**8,845**	**1,931**	**2,748**	**1,3524**
Chowfoldondi	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	8	80	41	16	137
	Small	7	10	22	6	38
	Total	**15**	**90**	**63**	**22**	**175**
Khurushkul	*Large*	1	0	40	15	55
	Medium	5	31	54	27	112
	Small					
	Total	**6**	**31**	**94**	**42**	**167**
Sonadia	*Large*					
	Medium	12	-	284	44	328
	Small					
	Total	**12**	**-**	**284**	**44**	**328**
Ghotibhanga	*Large*					
	Medium	3	15	19	5	39
	Small					
	Total	**3**	**15**	**19**	**5**	**39**
Thakurtala	*Large*					
	Medium	5	5	113	15	133
	Small					

Area	Type of DFE by size	Number of DFEs	Total Number of Employees			
			Female	*Male*	*Children*	*Total*
	Total	**5**	**5**	**113**	**15**	**133**
Total by size	*Large*	128	4,870	1,070	1,484	7,424
	Medium	296	3,436	1,242	1,146	5,824
	Small	137	680	192	246	1,118
Grand total		**561**	**8,986**	**2,504**	**2,876**	**14,366**

Source: Mapping study

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment

3. Employment and Distribution of Labor in Dried Fish Sector in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas*

Table 55 above provides a comprehensive picture of employment situation and labor distribution in the DFS in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas*. By gender, the workforce is dominated by adult female workers. The total number of employees in the sector is estimated to be about 14,366, of which adult females are 63% (8,986). Adult males and children account for 17% (2,504) and 20% (2,876), respectively.

a. *Child Labor in the DFS*

As shown in Table 55, the prevalence of CL in the DFS is significant. A detailed account of the distribution of CL is provided in Table 56. The total number of children working in the DFS in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas* is estimated to be 2,876. Among these, 2,080 (72%) are girls and 796 (28%) are boys. It seems that the pattern of gender composition in the pool of CL is similar to the pattern found in the pool of adult labor (see Table 55).

Table 56: Distribution of Child Labor in Dried Fish Sector in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas*

Area	Size category	Number of DFEs	Age distribution of CL (all DFEs)						
			Age below 14		Age between 14-17		Total		
			Girls	***Boys***	***Girls***	***Boys***	***Girls***	***Boys***	***Total***
Nazirartek	*Large*	127	434	107	654	274	1,088	381	1,469
	Medium	263	260	200	486	93	746	293	1,039
	Small	130	140	0	90	10	230	10	240
	Total	***520***	***834***	***307***	***1,230***	***377***	***2,064***	***684***	***2,748***
Chowfoldondi	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	8	2	4	4	6	6	10	16
	Small	7	1	2	1	2	2	4	6
	Total	**15**	**3**	**6**	**5**	**8**	**8**	**14**	**22**
Khurushkul	*Large*	1		5		10		15	15
	Medium	5	1	10	5	11	6	21	27
	Small								

Area	Size category	Number of DFEs	Age distribution of CL (all DFEs)						
			Age below 14		Age between 14-17		Total		
			Girls	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Total*
	Total	**6**	**1**	**15**	**5**	**21**	**6**	**36**	**42**
Sonadia	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	12		11		33		44	44
	Small	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	***12***	***0***	***11***	***0***	***33***	***0***	***44***	***44***
Ghotibhanga	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	3	2	3	-	-	2	3	5
	Small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	***3***	***2***	***3***	***0***	***0***	***2***	***3***	***5***
Thakurtala	*Large*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medium	5	-	-	-	15	-	15	15
	Small	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	**5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**15**	**0**	**15**	**15**
Total by size	*Large*	128	434	112	654	284	1088	396	1484
	Medium	296	265	228	495	158	760	386	1146
	Small	137	141	2	91	12	232	14	246
Grand total		***561***	***840***	***342***	***1,240***	***454***	***2,080***	***796***	***2,876***

Source: Mapping study

Notes: CL = child labor; DFE = dried fish establishment

The age composition of the pool of CL suggests that about 41% of the working children are of the age below 14. The remaining 59% are between 14 and 17 years. Again, in both age groups of the child workers, female dominance prevails. Girls account for 71% of those who are below 14 and 73% of those who are between 14 and 17. Interestingly, while the pool of labor in the DFS is found to be female dominated, no girl child is working in DFEs in Sonadia Island. It may be because of the isolated location of this area.

b. *Activity Calendar*

The activities in the DFS in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas* are mostly seasonal in nature. An activity calendar is provided in Table 57. As shown in the calendar, the peak season for the operations of DFEs consists of nine months covering mid-August through mid-May. The remaining three months (mid-May to mid-August) constitutes the off-season and is considered as monsoon. Our findings from KIIs suggest that all DFEs remain active throughout the peak season. However, the activities are very intensive during six months of the peak season compared the remaining months of this season. The number of DFEs that operate during the off-season is found to be very negligible. The calendar also shows the fishing ban period. The Bangladesh government imposes a ban on fishing in two phases. The first corresponds to July–August while the second phase corresponds to 9–31 October. Finally, the calendar reports the periods in which children are involved in DFE activities and the intensity of their engagement. It is seen that children work throughout the peak season, but the intensity of their involvement is higher between mid-October and mid-March

Table 57: Activity Calendar in Dried Fish Sector

Particulars	January		February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
	Poush	Magh	Falgun	Choitro	Boishakh		Joisto	Ashar	Shrabon	Bhadra	Ashwin	Kartik	Ograhayon	Poush
Peak Season for DFS	High	High	High	Low	Low	Low				Low	High	High	High	High
Off Season for DFS							High	High	High					
Ban on fish capturing								High	High			High		
Children's involvement in DFS	High	High	High	Low	Low	Low				Low	Low	High	High	High

High
Low

D. CONCLUSION

As a prerequisite for conducting our intended quantitative study and to develop a reference on the location and size of DFEs using CL for the CLIMB project, we conducted this mapping study to gain insight into the number of establishments involved in dried fish processing. The information collected included the locations of the establishments; distribution of employees by gender, age, and sex; age composition of the child workers; and seasonal overview of DFS activities. The study has been conducted using KIIs, personal interviews, and physical observation of the geographical locations and the establishments including functional modalities. Tables and figures have been used to present the findings of the study. ArcGIS software has been used in the process of analyzing the information obtained. The figures have been used mainly to visualize the locations of the DFEs. The tables have been used to report numeric information including the estimated number of DFEs, location and size-wise distributions of DFEs, total estimated numbers of workers and child workers, and distributions of workers and child workers by DFE size, location, age, and gender.

The findings give several important insights, described below:

- Significant number of DFEs (520 out of 561) are clustered in Nazirartek.
- The estimated number of children in CL is around 2,876, which is about 20% of the total workforce.
- The presence of CL in the DFS in the study area is very visible.
- DFS is predominantly staffed by female workers (63%).
- The same gender pattern is apparent when the pool of CL is considered.

The findings of the mapping study will be used in the sampling strategy for the quantitative survey. In developing this strategy, we will have to take into account the limitations of the mapping study. Major limitations include imprecise knowledge of key informants about the industry and a tendency to hide information about CL, including their numbers. For this reason, the survey team will build flexibility into the sampling strategy: if additional children are found, or if their characteristics are substantially different from these estimates, the sampling strategy will be modified.

ANNEX 4: VALUE CHAIN ANALYSIS OF THE DRIED FISH SECTOR (DFS) IN COX'S BAZAR AND MAHESHKHALI

A. INTRODUCTION

Occupying a significant place in the dietary practice of the people of Bangladesh, dried fish remains one of the most crucial sources of nutrition in the country. According to Belton et al (2014), in Bangladesh, dried fish ranks first in terms of the frequency of consumption. If adjustment is made for wet weight, dried fish turns out to be the fourth most prominent fish in terms of quantity consumed. Thus, the dried fish sector (DFS) plays a critical role in the economy of this country.

Identifying the existence of child labor (CL) in such a crucial sector will have important policy implications. A careful and systematic investigation is therefore called for. As part of the current study, value chain analysis (VCA) was conducted to complement this investigation. VCA helps explore the nature and the extent of CL more accurately. It elevates the understanding of CL issues in the DFS. Moreover, by pinpointing the presence of CL at different nodes of value chain, a comprehensive VCA helps design remedial measures that would directly hit the roots of the problem.

B. METHODOLOGY

Considering the information required to accomplish VCA, we employed two qualitative research tools, namely key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussion (FGD). As per our proposed methodology, five KIIs and one FGD were conducted. Key informants (KIs) were selected mainly purposively. We tried as much as possible to select an actor as KI who is a leader of the respective stage of the value chain. If leaders were unavailable, an ordinary actor was selected at our convenience. The selected five KIs include a fisher, an *aratdar*, a wholesaler, a retailer, and a consumer. The participants of the only FGD were leaders of different stages of value chain. In the process of selecting our KIs and FGD participants, we consulted actors at different stages of value chain to learn about persons who are adequately knowledgeable and have deep understanding of value chain (VC) as well as child labor-related issues.

Our primary purpose of conducting VCA is to identify the stages in which CL exists so that appropriate measures can be devised to root out the problem. We therefore raised queries related to different aspects of CL in the KII and FGD sessions. Each of the KII and FGD sessions was facilitated by a member of the research team. To make sure that no point was lost, an enumerator assisted the facilitator by taking notes.

C. FINDINGS OF THE KIIS AND FGD[17]

1. Value Chain

No unique value chain is identified from the information provided by KIs and FGD participants. The reason why responses varied regarding how dried fish reach consumers lies in the difference in knowledge. Careful examination of the varied VCs revealed by KIs and FGD participants led us to construct a comprehensive VC that covers all the possible channels through which dried

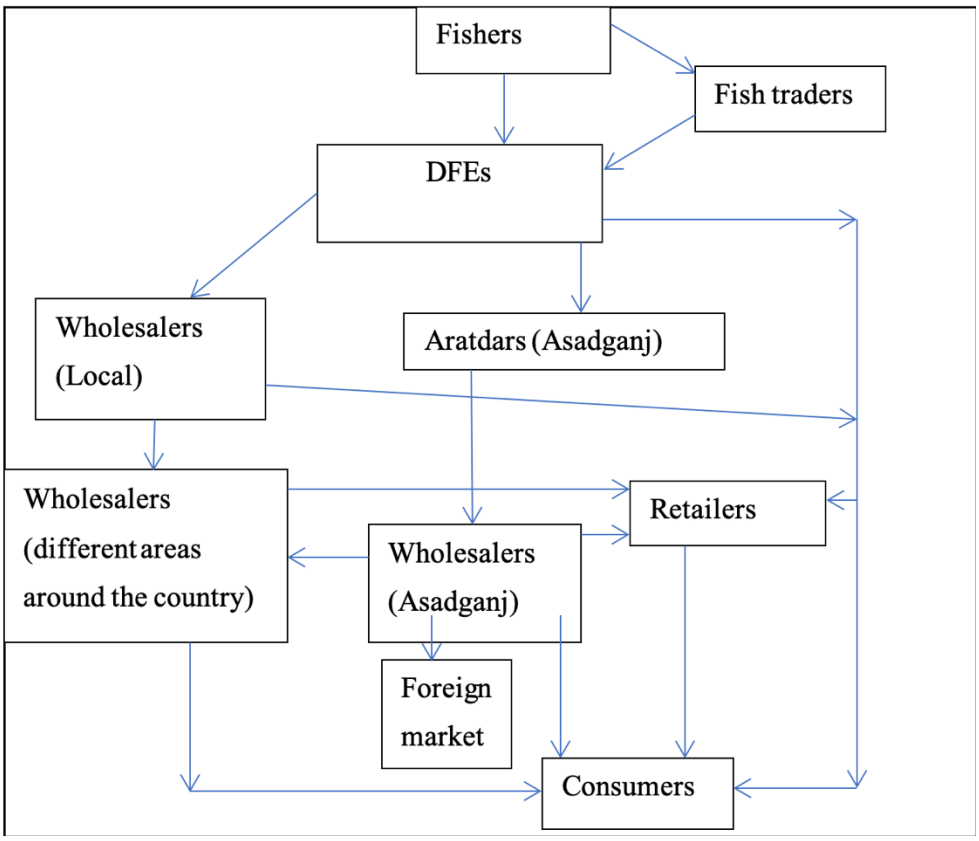
[17] The research matrix on which the analysis is based is presented in appendix. In the matrix, three tables are constructed to accommodate all information.

fish (or raw fishes for processing in dried fish establishments (DFEs)) move from one node to another. The constructed VC is presented in Figure 22.

As implied by this figure, the chain starts from the Bay of Bengal, when the fish are caught. All DFE owners collect raw fish from fishers. To collect more raw fish, owners of some DFEs, buy from fish traders who in turn buy from fishers. The fish traders operate at different fish landing points, including Nazirertek Machh Ghat and Chittagong Fishery Ghat.

After processing, the DFE owners sell the dried fish products chiefly to *aratdars* at Asadgonj. They also sell to local wholesalers, retailers, and consumers. It is important to note that once they take the products to Asadganj, as per a tacit agreement, they cannot sell those to buyers other than *aratdars*. As per the same kind of tacit agreement, the *aratdars* of Asadganj have to sell the products to the wholesalers of the same place. The wholesalers, be it of Asadgonj or of Cox's Bazar, sell the dried fish products to wholesalers coming from around the country as well as to local retailers and consumers. Most retailers around the country buy dried fish products from nearby wholesalers. Further, most consumers buy from nearby retailers.

Figure 22: A Comprehensive Value Chain of Dried Fish Products Produced in Cox's Bazar Sadar and Maheshkhali Upazilas



Source: Based on key informant interview from value chain analysis

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment

2. Child Labor Issues

a. *KII Findings*

In response to our question about the presence of child labor in different stages of the value chain, all of the KIs unanimously replied that CL is present in DFEs. They had differing opinions about other stages. Each stage was mentioned by at least one respondent as a stage in which CL exists. According to all but one respondent, the total value added to the DFS from the contribution of CL is around 10%. One respondent said that in DFEs, 45% of value added can be attributed to CL.

As implied by the respondents' statements, earnings of children working in DFEs range from Tk. 150/day to Tk. 350/day. The reasons why children are employed in DFEs include a demand-side factor, namely, low cost, and a supply-side factor, namely, poverty. No formal recruitment process was identified. According to the respondents, in most of the cases, the process of recruiting a child consists of parents approaching the owner of the DFE where they work, asking the owner to employ their child. In some cases, according to one respondent, employers look for CL and order their agents to bring workers of any age.

Regarding the prevalence of forced child labor (FCL), all of the respondents unanimously said that there is no FCL in any stage of the value chain. According to most of the respondents, no CL is abused in the value chain. Two respondents, however, indicated that abuse of CL takes place to some extent. One of them said that the abuse is in the form of physical assault. As regard to illness and injury, only two respondents reported that child workers suffer from skin-related problems (skin diseases, skin cut, and skin burn). Other respondents either said they do not have any idea about such illness/injury or that child workers do not suffer from any illness/injury.

We asked the respondents to propose some suggestions for the elimination of CL. In response, they focused on motivating parents, offering incentives to go to school, providing free education, warning employers not to employ CL, and taking legal actions in extreme cases.

b. *FGD Findings*

According to the FGD participants, workers of the age below 18 are employed only in the processing phase of the DFEs. They account for 20% of the total workers. They are mainly employed on temporary basis. Likelihood of their being employed is higher when larger amounts of fish arrives. Most of them are children of fathers who died while fishing. Some are school dropouts. They could not continue studying mainly because of financial limitations. Some are of Rohingya origin. The child workers have to perform only relatively lighter work than adult workers, such as sorting and cleaning the fish and watching over the fish-drying site. They are not assigned work involving heavy loads. The earnings of child workers vary from Tk. 150/day to Tk. 300/day. A child working from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. is paid Tk. 200-300/day if she/he is older and Tk. 150/day otherwise. Sometimes they work on contractual basis, which means for a certain amount of work, an agreed-upon amount is paid.

As to why child workers are employed, the participants said that parental pressure plays a crucial role. Parents who come to work persuade employers to employ their children. Regarding the recruitment process, the participants said that parents and relatives bring the children to their workplace and employers informally recruit them at the request of the parents/relative. One participant gave an example of a mother having three children. That mother and her eldest child

work. The other two children just come along with their mother. After a certain period of time, the younger children will learn and start working with their mother and sibling.

The FGD participants proposed the following suggestions for the elimination of CL from dried fish value chain:

- The families of those who died at sea while fishing should be listed and financially helped.
- The fishers should be brought under an insurance scheme so that in case they die, their families do not become helpless.
- Alternative sources of income for the decedents' families should be created so that the children have little incentive to work in DFEs.
- The amount of scholarship for the children of poor families should be adequately increased so that dropout rates decrease.
- Some micro-credit programs pauperized the borrowers, leading to an increased supply of child labor to the DFEs. Those programs must be stopped.
- One of the main reasons why poor families send their children to the DFEs to work is to improve their lifestyle. So, establishing schools and recreational infrastructure and providing better sanitation and different government facilities to improve their lifestyle can deter the incentive to let children work.

3. Validation by Personal Observation

To validate the information provided by the KIs and the FGD participants regarding the location and intensity of CL in the VC, we visited several places where operations of different VC actors take place. The list of areas we visited includes Bahaddarhat bazar, Asadganj, Najirertekshutkipolli, and Najirertek Mach Ghat (fish landing point). We did not find any CL in *arat* and wholesale shops. However, child workers were seen in retail shops in Bahaddar hat, DFEs in Najirertek, and fish trading activities in Najirertek Machh Ghat. In the retail shops, child workers were found to perform light work such as selling dried fish to customers. In Najirertek Machh Ghat, child workers were found to perform work involving heavy loads, such as unloading fish from boats, loading fish onto carts, pulling carts, and the like. We realized that some of children who were doing this heavy work were below the age of fourteen. In the DFEs, the extent of CL was roughly consistent with the information provided by the respondents.

Figure 23: Two boys are carrying fish in Najirertek Machh Ghat

Figure 24: A child, perhaps not older than 12 years, was carrying a heavy weighted fish cage in Nazirartek Machh Ghat

D. CONCLUSION

The main reason why the VCA was planned was to have a better understanding of the prevalence of CL in the dried fish network in Cox's Bazar and Maheshkhali *Upazilas*. It was felt that this understanding would provide policy makers with important insights. Keeping this in mind, guidelines for KII and FGD were prepared focusing on CL-related issues. A total of five KIIs and one FGD were conducted. The respondents were selected purposively based on knowledge of the issue and involvement in the value chain.

From the VCA, we have arrived at several important findings. Although responses regarding different nodes in the VC and linkages among them were largely different, we could construct a comprehensive VC from the information gathered. "DFEs" are identified as the major stage of value chain in terms of the location of CL. According to the respondents, no forced CL is present, and there are very few instances of abuse. Poverty was indicated as the main cause of the existence of child labor. Recruitment of child labor takes place in a very informal way. Children come with their parents or relatives to the DFEs, and employers permit them to work at the request of the accompanying parents/relatives. Major diseases suffered by the child workers are skin related. To improve the situation, all of the respondents suggested steps that are incentive-generating. Only one respondent proposed that legal actions should be taken along with providing incentives.

E. REFERENCES

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F. APPENDIX ANNEX 4: QUALITATIVE MATRIX

Respondent	Involvement of Child Labor	Contribution of Child Labor in Value Addition	Earning of Child Workers	Reasons for Child Labor Recruitment	Process of Child Labor Recruitment
KI 1 (Wholesaler)	To some extent in DFEs and retail shops	10%	Tk. 150/day	Cheap labor cost	Parents' pressure forces DFE owners to employ children
KI 2 (Retailer)	DFEs and *aratdars*; 90% child workers are of the age 14–17	10%	Tk. 300/day	To perform work which adults are not suitable	Parents make their children engaged
KI 3 (*Aratdar*)	To some extent only in DFEs	10%	Tk. 200/day	Cheaper way to get work done	Parents take their children and request the owner to give them work; orphans work for their livelihood
KI 4 (Consumer)	Fish traders (to some extent); DFEs (large scale); *aratdars*/wholesalers/retailers (to some extent)	Fish traders/wholesalers/retailers (to a little extent); DFEs (45%)	On average Tk. 250/day; in some cases, Tk. 150/day	Poverty is the prime reason	Parents insist employers; sometimes employers look for workers and order brokers to bring workers of any age to get their purpose served
KI 5 (Fish trader)	Most of the child workers are in DFEs; some are at fishing stage; 10–17 years	10%	Tk. 300–350/day depending on working hours and amount of works	Parents refuse to work until and unless their children are employed	Parents force the employer to employ their children and the employer recruits them informally

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment; CL=child labor; TK = Taka; KI = key informant

Respondent	Whether Forced Child Labor Exists	Whether Child Workers are Abused	Kinds of Abuse	Whether Child Workers Suffer from Any Illness	Kinds of Illness	Suggestions
KI 1 (Wholesaler)	No	No	---	Not known	---	Motivating parents to send their children to school
KI 2 (Retailer)	No	No	---	Yes	Skin diseases	Motivating parents since they are not aware enough
KI 3 (*Aratdar*)	No	Rarely	Beating	Not known	---	Offering incentives to go to school; taking legal actions; issuing warning

Respondent	Whether Forced Child Labor Exists	Whether Child Workers are Abused	Kinds of Abuse	Whether Child Workers Suffer from Any Illness	Kinds of Illness	Suggestions
KI 4 (Consumer)	No	To some extent at DFEs	They give punishment for not performing work properly	Yes	Skin cuts, skin burns	Eradicating poverty; motivating parents not to send children for work
KI 5 (Fish trader)	No	No	---	No	---	Eradicating poverty; providing free education

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment; KI = key informant

Respondent	Different Stages of Value Chain						
	Stage 1	**Stage 2**	**Stage 3**	**Stage 4**	**Stage 5**	**Stage 6**	**Stage 7**
KI 1 (Wholesaler)	Fishers	DFEs	*Aratdars*	Wholesalers	Foreign market; retailers	Consumers	
KI 2 (Retailer)	Fishers	DFEs	*Aratdars*	Wholesalers	Retailers	Consumers	
KI 3 (*Aratdar*)	Fishers	DFEs buy from fishers; they also buy from fish *aratdars* who in turn buy from fishers	*Aratdars*	Wholesalers buy from *aratdars*; local wholesalers also buy from DFEs	Foreign market; retailers buy from wholesalers at Asadganj; retailers around the country buy from local wholesalers; retailers at Cox's Bazar also buy from DFEs	Consumers	
KI 4 (Consumer)	Fishers	Fish traders	DFEs	Aratdars	Foreign markets; wholesalers mainly buy from *aratdars*, they also directly buy from DFEs	Retailers mainly buy from wholesalers; they also directly buy from DFEs	Consumers
KI 5 (Fish trader)	Fishers	Fish traders	DFEs	Foreign markets; wholesalers	Retailers	Consumers	
FGD	Fishers	DFEs	Aratdars	Wholesalers	Retailers mainly buy from wholesalers; they also buy from DFEs	Consumers	

Note: DFE = dried fish establishment; KI = key informant

ANNEX 5: CASE STUDIES

A. CASE STUDIES WITH CHILD LABOR, FORCED CHILD LABOR, AND HAZARDOUS CHILD LABOR IN THE DRIED FISH SECTOR

1. Borhan at Chowfoldondi (boy aged about 12 years)

Borhan, aged about 12, has lived in Chowfoldondi, Cox's Bazar for a long period of time. He started working in a dry fish factory after the death of his father. It was Borhan's mother who decided to send him to work in dried fish sector (DFS) in a bid to maintain the subsistence of the family. Borhan has two brothers, and his elder brother is going to school. The family expects that the elder brother will end up with a decent job by dint of his education. Borhan and his mother will continue to work in the DFS till then. Borhan thinks, as his mother is a widow, that she has no choice but to go for work and also send her son to work.

Borhan's mother introduced him to the employer he works for now. He is a daily laborer and works almost 12 hours a day, from dawn to dusk. Sometimes he works overtime to earn extra money. He earns Tk. 200-250 daily. He does almost all the same types of work that the adults do but earns relatively less compared to the adult workers. Borhan can leave work at his will because he is not indebted to his employer.

Borhan is comfortable while he works indoors as he can avoid extreme sunlight. Workers mostly have to work under extreme sunlight. Hanging fish onto fences and drying them is the main task he performs. He also thinks that working in the dry fish factories is hazardous. Workers get sick while working here. They mostly suffer from headaches, diarrhea, drowsiness, and nausea. The workers also get sore while knotting fishes in pairs for drying. Borhan thinks that the poor financial condition of a family is the main reason why children work in DFS. He feels that government assistance for the poor families will encourage families not to send their children to work. Borhan is dreaming of a future when he will start going to school and build a better future.

2. Jannatul at Nazirartek (girl aged 13 years)

Jannatul Ferdous, aged 13, lives nearby Nazirartek with her family for a long time. She is originally from Eidgah, Boalkhali (near Ramu). Her father works as a general laborer anywhere in the locality but not in the DFS. Her mother mostly remains at home and does all the household activities. There are two brothers and two sisters. Jannatul is the eldest one and she studied up to Class Five in a nearby school named "Eidgah Boalkhali School." She and her younger sister go to work almost every day whenever the work is available. She reported that the family's financial insolvency is the only reason for her working there.

Jannatul joined the DFS in the month of Ramadan (May) 2019 when her mother called her back from school. She got the job with the help of neighbors and friends who are already working there. Jannatul didn't like this decision but had to obey her mother's instruction. Many of her friends are still continuing their schooling. She is unhappy with the present state of the affairs. It is also true that if she does not work, the family will starve.

According to Jannatul, the working condition in the dry fish factories is not too bad or not too satisfactory. She starts her work at 6:00 a.m. and continues till 6:00 p.m. Outdoor work on a hot sunny day is the toughest work for her. Her usual job is to separate fish and put them together and hang them on to the bamboo under the sunlight. She receives Taka 300 per day for her work. Payment of wages is made at the end of the day. When the workload is high, employer pays them only after the work is completed—sometimes after 2–3 days. Jannatul can quit the job whenever

she wants to as she or her parents never took any advance from her employer. Jannatul claims that she works as well as a male worker but receives a less money; female workers are looked upon as relatively weak and, therefore, receive lower wages. However, female workers do not work during the night.

While physical abuse is absent at the workplace, the employer shouts whenever the workers try to rest during the working hours. Child molestation in the DFS is absent according to Jannatul. However, working with fish is hazardous. She gets hurt in her finger while sorting fishes, and usually applies traditional medicines such as kerosene in her finger. Jannatul hardly ever uses gloves while working.

Jannatul dreams that one day when her family's financial conditions improve, she will be able to resume school and continue a dignified life. At the moment, her family is indebted to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and paying back the loan in weekly installments. Her parents borrowed money to buy a piece of land for their own. After the repayment, Jannatul and her family will be out of the difficult condition and can start living happily.

3. Younus at Nazirartek (Rohingya boy below 14 years)

Younus is a Rohingya boy of about 12 years old who is working at Nazirartek. He lives in a six-member family with three brothers, two sisters and the mother. His father abandoned the family forever. His two other brothers live in the maternal grandfather's home. Younus and his family lived in Morichha, Ukhia and moved to this place for work four years ago. He considers his employer to be his maternal uncle and considers himself to work here on a permanent basis. Younus's mother has given him to his owner for one season (9 months). His mother asked the employer for Taka 12,000 but finally settled for 10,000. Initially, he didn't admit that his mother, brothers, and sisters also work in the DFS. As per the owner, the main reason for him to hide this information was his being a Rohingya, which he also hid from the researchers.

Younus shows absolute loyalty to his employer. He is in charge of the factory in the absence of his employer. His employer often goes to city for business purposes. He has many duties to perform in the factory. He hangs fish on the fence for drying, watches the weather conditions carefully, sells dry fish in the absence of his employer, guards the factory, and so on. During our interview, we observed these activities very carefully. He wholeheartedly tries to prove his importance to the owner. During the interview Younus said, "My maternal uncle (the employer) relies on me. I discharge my duties obediently. I even want to stay here at night to guard dry fish from stealing. He doesn't allow me to do so as I am too little to take that responsibility. I don't want to ruin my uncle's business. If this business is gone, I shall also be gone." He realizes that losing this job will bring disaster to his life. He is doubly vulnerable because of his Rohingya identity.

Younus can't leave the job at his will. His employer doesn't punish him in case of his unwillingness to work. But he was scolded several times, which he never reported to any relevant persons such as police, local representatives, family members, etc. Younus admits that the environment in the working area is not good. Workers face health hazards. Various diseases such as headaches, diarrhea, skin diseases, and stings in the finger are everyday affairs.

Younus wants to go to school if the financial condition of the family improves and his mother allows him. Survival is the only goal for his family now. Nevertheless, he goes to Moktob (religious school) after work and learns religious teachings. Younus dreams of a time when he

will be established in the society after taking education. He wants to be a doctor even though he doesn't see this opportunity as attainable. Until then, he will keep on working for the sake of his family.

4. Shamu at Chowfoldondi (girl aged 10 years)

Shamu, aged 10, works at Chowfoldondi, Cox's Bazar. Shamu's family comes from the place called Eidgah, not far away from the present place. They have been living in this place for about 11 years now. They are a seven-member family with four sisters, one sister-in-law, one brother and the mother. Three of her sisters are unmarried. Her father died a long time ago when she was a small child. Her eldest sister is married and works in a garment factory in Chittagong. Her brother is separated from the family after his marriage. Her mother had to bring her to work in DFS after her brother was separated from the family, as the family earnings faced a serious crisis. Her mother, who also works at the DFS, made the decision.

Shamu works as a daily worker. She works from dawn to dusk for about 10-to-12 hours a day. She can choose any factory to work for. She works alongside her mother in the same factory most of the time. Her main task is to tangle Latya and Churi fishes, separate fishes in grades and hang them on the fences for drying. Shamu does like to work indoors as that allows her to avoid the sunlight. The work environment, according to her, is not satisfactory. The child workers have to carry the same workload as adult workers and do not get extra facilities from the employers. Besides, the hazardous conditions of the DFEs harms the child workers. She never experienced any ill treatment from the employers. The employers cordially correct her mistakes. She didn't even notice any bad treatment of other child workers at the factories.

Shamu also attends school. She is currently studying in Grade IV but attends her classes only irregularly. Attending school for Shamu needs some extra considerations. For example, although school is free, she needs some extra money to pay the school to be a *bona fide* student. She also needs to pay an extra amount of money to the school as coaching fees. It is sometimes very difficult for her to manage time for study. Shamu wants to continue her school if her family's financial solvency is ensured. She thinks education is the only means to moving up in the society.

5. Mohammad Rafiq at Nazirartek (boy aged 17 years)

Mohammad Rafiq, aged 17, is a daily laborer who has been living in this place for a long time. They are a four-member family with two brothers, one sister, and the mother. His father died when he was just six months old. After the death of his father, the whole family moved to Nazirartek in search of work. His mother learned about this place from some acquaintances. His original home is at "Dulahajra" located in the north-western part of Cox's Bazar. He can't remember the exact date of their arrival to this place. In the beginning, his mother, sister, and elder brother struggled for survival. They had to take a loan from employers for medical treatment of their mother, and their hard-earned money could only help them to survive in addition to the repayment of the loan. His mother was infected with liver jaundice presumably caused by the type of work she performs. She works there in the extreme hot condition and hardly takes water regularly while thirsty.

Rafiq earns more because he works at night most of the time. He usually works from 12 a.m. to 6 a.m. in the morning. During the night, he works contractually in a system called "*thiya*," meaning that he has to get a stipulated amount of work done. The payment is made only after the

work is completed. Their sister-in-law is also working in the fishing boat and earns relatively better. This is why his sister does not have to work anymore.

Rafiq is sad that he didn't have the opportunity to go to school. Schooling is important in a man's life because education guarantees higher income and respect in the society. Therefore, he says he would send his daughters to school let them continue their education as long as he can afford the expenses. Although primary education is free of cost, they would still have to purchase books and papers, and pay the coaching fees. Rafiq never borrowed any money from his employers, but his brother borrowed money when their mother became sick. As a result, his brother had to work as an "*Ailla*" (a 9-month contract worker). Most of the workers don't want to work as an "*Ailla*" as they can't move from the place at will. Rafiq cherishes freedom in his life and had decided not to work as an "*Ailla*" worker. Rafiq plans for a bright future. He wants to save money and start a dry fish business of his own.

6. Moni at Nazirartek (girl aged 15 years)

Moni is a 15-year-old girl who lives with her mother and only sister. She is in charge of her family. Her father got married for the second time four years ago and left the family. Since then, Moni has been taking care of her family. Her mother is seriously ill and stays at home. Her mother's extreme sickness and the absence of father was the reason Moni started working. She made the decision to work and found her job in the DFS with the help of neighbors. Moni is the only earning member of the family.

Moni is extremely unhappy with her fate. She sends her sister to a local *madrasa* (free religious school). As the elder sister, she took the responsibility of building a future of her sister. Moni works both as contract and daily laborer. She can't leave her employer as she has taken advance payment for medical treatment of her mother. She repays the loan in installment. Contract work requires her to work 4–5 hours a day, whereas daily work requires her to work12 hours a day.

The working environment for the female workers is not free from hazards. The female workers often face "eve teasing" (sexual harassment). Female workers tend to stay together to avoid harassment or try to maintain a distance from particular male workers who are involved in this kind of activity. During the peak season, work opportunities exist both day and night. However, most female workers prefer to work during the daytime. Daytime work is less laborious and relatively safe for female workers. If a person works at night, then she not only tangles fish but also waits until the morning to hang the fish on fences.

Moni also mentioned the employer's treatment of the "delicate" workers. The female and low-voiced male workers usually separate small fishes, which are more cumbersome and take a longer time. The workers often involve themselves in heated discussions. Sometimes they also fight with the employers for giving them small fishes to sort out for the same amount of wage. A female worker like Moni has no choice but to comply with the task given by the employers.

Moni repeatedly was pointing to the authority of her mother, who still makes the major decisions of the family. Despite serious illness, according to Moni, her mother is saving money for their better future. Even the marriage decision for Moni will be taken by her mother. She is patiently waiting for the day when she will get married to a relatively wealthy man and build a happy family.

8. Minhaz at Nazirartek (boy aged 12-years)

Minhaz, aged 12, came here from Kutubdia after the death of his father. He was a kid when his father was on a fishing boat that was caught by cyclone in the midst of the Bay of Bengal. He never came back home. Whenever a person dies at work on the boat, the owner pays Taka 10 thousand for compensation to the family of the deceased. After his father's death, Minhaz's mother and the whole family left Kutubdia and took refuge at their grandparents' house. They are now a three-member family and both he and his brother work currently. His mother stays home and takes care of all domestic work. His mother borrowed Taka 40 thousand and bought a piece of land for building a small cottage. They are now living in their own house and planning for the future of their family.

Minhaz has been working here for about eight years and works from dawn to dusk. He came here along with other kids of his age and started with work such as driving out the crows or guarding fish from birds. He joins the work early in the morning without having his breakfast, usually taking it at the workplace. Most of the time, it would be a piece of bread and a cup of tea. He is given 20 minutes for taking lunch at home.

Minhaz can change his job at will as he doesn't take any advance payment from any employer. He does all sorts of work, from fish separation to grading, to hanging the fish on the bamboo. He is also responsible for managing water and cleaning fishes for drying preparation. Working under the sunlight is the most undesirable work for him which, however, no worker can escape. Various diseases such as headaches, drowsy feeling, temporary eyesight impairment, diarrhea, nausea, skin problems, and so on are regular phenomena for the dry fish laborers. Minhaz takes medicine from a nearby dispensary when the problem becomes serious. He also uses traditional methods of healing such as using kerosene oil when he gets hurt in the fingers while sorting fish for grading purposes. Minhaz never faces child molestation in the dry fish factories. Working at night pays higher when the season is high. He usually doesn't work at night. However, when the demand is high, he does.

Minhaz feels sorry that he couldn't continue his school. He studied up to Class Five and stopped going to school due to the family's financial crisis. Minhaz thinks education enhances the social status of a person. He, therefore, plans to resume school in the near future, possibly two years from now when the whole family will move out to Chakaria and start living there permanently. At present, family responsibilities and financial debt don't allow him to go to school. He thinks in the near future his mother and eldest brother will ask him to continue his school.

Minhaz doesn't like the kind of work he does in the dry fish factories. Most of the work is cumbersome, and he will leave the job whenever other opportunities arrive. Minhaz will continue his job until his family comes out of the financial crisis. The family is still indebted to an NGO. But he and his family members foresee a near future when they will be able to free themselves from the debt burden and continue a new life in a new place called Chakaria. Once they move in there, Minhaz thinks his dream will be fulfilled and he will resume school and start building a new future.

B. CASE STUDIES OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN WORKING IN DFS

1. Ayesha (family with girl below 14 years working in the DFS)

Ayesha is a mother of four girls. The eldest daughter works with her in the dry fish factories of Nazirartek. The two younger girls are going to school. One is studying in Class Five and the

other in Class One. Ayesha is sad as she recently lost her baby boy who died of liver disease. She couldn't afford proper treatment for him due to poverty. Her husband is a rickshaw puller. They are originally from Nila, farther south of Cox's Bazar. They learned about this place from friends. Poverty is the main reason for sending her eldest daughter to the dry fish factories. Initially, the eldest daughter went to school and studied up to Class Three. However, Ayesha took an advance from one employer and therefore she has to work there without any choice. Ayesha wants her children to go to school. If financial solvency was there, she would definitely send her older daughter back to the school.

The family lived in a rented house for three years. Ayesha managed to take a loan from a local NGO and bought the current house. They go to work early in the morning with or without taking breakfast. Sometimes she and her daughter work without eating any food even for the whole day. They are working not only for the survival of the family but also to have a brighter future for all of them. Ayesha thinks that the working conditions in the dry fish factories are relatively good. The employers usually don't misbehave with the workers. There is a little difference between male and female workers in terms of the workload. The female workers work relatively less heavy job such as grading and tying fishes and putting them on the bamboos for drying. Ayesha thinks that female workers get less remuneration than the male workers. Children get even lesser remuneration although the workload is similar.

2. Belal (father of a boy below 14 years working in the DFS)

Belal and his family live in Ghotibhanga of Maheshkhali (island), which is located to the west of Cox's Bazar. Belal is 33. His family consists of five members with two sons and a daughter. The daughter is the eldest and studying in Grade 6. Belal wants to continue her education up to the secondary level (10th Grade) if the family don't encounter serious economic crisis. His son Tariq is now in Grade Three and attending school without any interruption. He also decides that his son will work in the morning till 11 a.m. and then attend school. This decision will fulfill two purposes. Extra family earning will contribute to the sustainability of the family and at the same time his son will be on track of proper education.

Belal gives extreme importance to education. Education is the only legitimate means for the upper mobility of a family in the present Bangladesh context. Belal thinks that higher education for his daughter will ensure a proper prospective groom for her. Belal has chalked out an interesting strategy for his family. His immediate goal is to survive the present situation and then plan for the longer term. With this end in view, he took "*dadon*" (advance) from his employer to meet family needs. Belal has a large family, and without money at hand, one can't plan properly. Usually taking "*dadon*" from the traditional source is not a happy situation for anybody. Belal thinks that careful planning will bring back the balance in favor of the "*dadon*" taker in the long run. Belal will struggle for now with the compulsory regular installments of "*dadon*." All of his family members will struggle together. He is sure that in the present situation he will be able to absorb the difficulties better than he could in the future. So, it is better to assume the burden now.

Belal thinks that government assistance and financial aid could prevent the families from sending their children to work when they are supposed to go to school. Parents don't usually want to send their children to work unless they are helpless. Of course, a few greedy parents will send their children to work outside, but most parents are concerned about the future of their children. They dream of their daughters' getting married off to a better family where no financial worries will

haunt their lives. They also want to see their boys upgrade their position in the society. Belal also thinks that the environment in the DFS is not satisfactory for the workers. There remains health hazard for the workers. Extreme sunlight is causing serious problems for the workers. The workers hardly use any protective equipment to protect themselves from these harms. Belal is dreaming of a better time when all the family members will enjoy a comfortable life. Sacrificing short-term happiness will bring forth long-term well-being.

3. Salma (mother of two daughters working in DFS)

Salma is the mother of Jannatul, a respondent whose profile was narrated in Section A.2. Salma has three other kids including two sons. She sends both her daughters to DFS. Salma herself made the decision. The family's poor economic condition was the main reason behind this decision. The employer of one of her daughters is a friend of her husband.

Salma does not think that her daughters' earnings contribute much to the cause of the family. She had to call her elder daughter back from school due to financial insolvency. According to Salma, children are not able to make decisions on their own and that they should be strictly guided by adult family members. However, she admits that children's early earnings do not improve their future.

Salma apparently does not know that child labor is unlawful by the Bangladeshi laws. She thinks that with proper education, children should be able to earn more than what they are earning now. She admits that the DFS work can harm her children and that she is depriving her children of many opportunities. She would, however, take her children out of DFS provided that (i) an opportunity for proper schooling emerges; (ii) her family's economic condition improves; and (iii) government assistance in the form of money, vocational training, or alternative job is made available. She also thinks that government's financial support for children's education and for the subsistence of families would prevent families from sending their children to DFS.

4. Rubban Khatun (a mother who works at a Ghotibhanga dry fish factory)

Rubban Khatun does not know her actual age and claims she is 35 to 40 years of age. Her son works as a boat sailor who also sorts fish as and when he finds time. His ability to sail boats earns him greater income than an average child worker. He earns Tk. 500–600 a day when at work. Rubban herself also works in the DFS and earns Tk. 300-400 per day. She has been working for about 8–10 years now. Previously, her daughter also worked in the DFS. Her son only goes to school when he cannot find work. According to Rubban, kids are encouraged to work only when the workload is light. She apparently accords more importance to a son than a daughter.

Rubban's husband made the decision to send their son to DFS. The family's poor economic condition was the main reason for sending the child to work. Her son's income has a positive impact on the family's financial well-being. She spends part of his income on food and part on a private tutor who teaches him as he cannot spend much time at school. Rubban candidly admits that her family depends on his son's work. Rubban thinks that children are not able to make decisions on their own and as such they should be strictly guided. Children also can contribute to the prosperity of the family. However, she does not subscribe to the view that the future of children depends on their early earnings. Rubban is aware of the fact that the Bangladeshi laws prohibit child labor, but she doesn't have a choice. She preferred not to respond to the query if her son was subjected to any type of punishment.

She is apprehensive of the fact that her son has to miss the school due to work and that he could earn more with education. She also admits that child labor has various harmful effects. According to her, kids of other families who are not currently working are also growing interest towards work and are waiting for their families to decide for them to start working. She feels that her kids are dull and lifeless compared to the school-going kids around. Government pressure, opportunity for proper schooling, better financial condition of the family, and government assistance can motivate families to take their children out of DFS. Financial and mental support could discourage families from sending their children to DFS.

C. CASE STUDIES WITH FAMILIES WHOSE CHILDREN DO NOT WORKING THE DFS

1. Murshida (family of a girl below 14 years who does not work in the DFS)

Murshida is a middle-aged woman with six children—four daughters and two sons. She came from "Dulahajra," in the northern part of Cox's Bazar, five years ago when her children were very little and the whole family needed income for survival. With tips from the local people, she and her husband decided to move to this place. Her husband is a rickshaw puller. She and her husband work together. She has already married off two daughters. The other two daughters are currently going to school (both in Class Five). One of their sons is mentally challenged while the other one is still very little. Murshida and her husband are planning to allow their daughters to study up to the secondary level. They think that education will enhance opportunities for their daughters such that they could live a decent life. She always emphasizes long-term happiness. She is ready to sacrifice the short-term joy for the sake of long-time happiness. She will not allow her children to work in DFS as she thinks that working here will not bring long-term benefits to them. She wants to ensure a bright future for her children. She is also determined to send their son to the highest level of education irrespective of the family's financial conditions.

Murshida is strategically managing the economy of the family. She bought a piece of land nearby her workplace by taking loan from a local NGO. She took Taka 30 thousand from them and is now paying out the loan with a weekly installment of Tk. 1,000. She has been very prudent while taking the loan for buying the piece of land. She has a large family, and if she had rented a house, she would have to pay almost the same amount of money (weekly Tk.1,000). There is greater benefit in taking a loan and buying a piece of land than renting, thinks Murshida. Murshida admits that sending their daughters to the school is currently a burden for her family. Both she and her husband are working hard to run the family. They are winning in this battle at the cost of their health. Murshida is suffering from diabetes, high blood pressure, and kidney disease. She has developed all these diseases during the course of her working in DFS. The doctor says that due to working in the sunlight and inadequate drinking of water she developed the kidney disease. Nevertheless, she foresees a comfortable life for the children and the family. Murshida also thinks that families that send their children to DFS rather than to school are doing this out of their own greed. The extreme economic hardship is definitely a reason. Yet, the parents could have thought of the long-term gains and sacrifice the current comfort of the family.

In Murshida's opinion, the lack of awareness regarding child labor is the major reason children go to DFS. Strong monitoring from government agencies could change this behavior of the families as well as the employers. Murshida, along with other parents, points out an interesting aspect of free government school. Although studying at the government schools is free, yet there are some hidden costs associated. The school authorities run extra classes for money in the name

of coaching the students. Moreover, children need money for transportation and study materials. These extra expenses contribute to some parents' unwillingness to send their children to school.

Murshida complains against the working environment of DFS. Working under sunlight is the most difficult job for them. Malnutrition and lack of health facilities are creating further problems in their lifestyle and having an extremely low income puts an extra burden on their livelihood. Nevertheless, she dreams for a better future. One day, she thinks, the family will be able to get out of the present shackle and find themselves in a comfortable situation.

2. Geeta Ghosh (family of a girl below 14 years who does not work in the DFS)

Geeta Ghosh, aged 35, is a mother of four daughters. Her husband is 45 and works outside DFS. They live in Maheshkhali. Three of her four daughters go to school. The eldest daughter is in 8th Grade, next one is in 6th Grade and the youngest one is in 5th Grade. The youngest daughter will begin school next year. All of their daughters are in Adinath Government Primary School. Geeta Ghosh thinks that sending kids to school will ensure a bright future for them. She explicitly mentions that in this society, education is the sole legitimate means to upgrading one's social status. She is determined not to engage their daughters in DFS even when the financial conditions of the family are shattered.

Geeta Ghosh doesn't think that working in the DFS enhances people's reputation in the society. Higher education confirms social status in the society. People can get good jobs only with a good education. Good jobs ensure social status, Geeta thinks. Working in the DFS brings temporary comfort for the people at the cost of long-term happiness. Girls with higher education not only get good jobs but also get better bridegrooms. This has motivated Geeta to send her children to the best possible school in the area. Moreover, these educated children will act as old age insurance: The children will look after them during their old age. Further, educated persons of the society become respectful to the laws of the country. They learn the norms and values of the society and automatically become good citizens.

Geeta Ghosh is aware of the bad impact of child labor. Additionally, she will never allow child marriage for her children. Early marriage for children creates additional problems for both the husband and wife and burdens the new family with unwanted obstacles. Parents, according to Geeta Ghosh, shouldn't send their children at a very young age for work in the DFS. The welfare of the children should come first in the consideration. The parents who are sending their young children to the DFS are greedy and ruining the future of their children. People don't consider the parents who send their children to work as normal parents. These parents acquire stigma from the other parents of the society.

3. Hosne Ara Begum (family of a girl 14–17 years who does not work in the DFS)

Hosne Ara Begum is a middle-aged woman who works in DFS both as a usual dry fish worker and a cook. She came here from Kutubdia when their land went under water. Land erosion was the reason that the whole family moved in here. Hosne Ara Begum has four daughters. The eldest one is 21 years old and already married. The next one is 17 years old studied up to the 5th Grade; the daughter doesn't work outside but takes care of all the domestic activities. The other two daughters also go to school but are not sure if they will be able to continue. One of them is in the 7th Grade and the other in 4th Grade. She will try heart and soul to support their education. The reality is that she is doubtful about the continuity of her children's education. The school's monthly fee is low. However, the hidden expenses are high. After the regular school hours, the

teacher provides tuition-based classes, which are not free. Besides tuition fees, she has to provide for transport and study materials, which is sometimes beyond her capacity. So, despite being positive about her children's education, Hosne Ara thinks that she may not be able to bear educational expenses of her daughters in the future.

Hosne Ara Begum puts utmost importance on the future of her children. She prefers to bear with her present miserable situation. She is against sending her children to work. She thinks some parents send their children to work out of their greediness. These parents don't sacrifice their short-term comfort for the sake of children's long-term welfare. Hosne Ara Begum nevertheless calculates the financial condition of her family and the welfare of her children carefully. Hosne Ara seemed to be bold enough in taking decisions about any family matters. She has refrained from commenting about anything regarding DFS. She works at the DFS from dawn to dusk (6 a.m. to 6 p.m.). She has been working for three and half years now since the death of her husband.

Hosne Ara Begum is sick most of the time. She is suffering from blood pressure and diabetes. If she dies, then her daughter will work at the DFS. She is carefully guarding the interest of her daughter. She is not greedy about her children's earnings. Education provides respect in the society. So, education for her children is a major objective of her life. Her dream is to earn money and save an amount to secure her family's future. She plans for a dignified life for her family members, even in the absence of her husband.

4. Saiful Haque (family of a girl aged 10 years not working in the DFS)

Saiful Haque, aged 35, is a father of three daughters, ages 10, 5.5 and 2.5 years, respectively. His eldest daughter, aged 10, is in 3rd Grade and the second is in 1st Grade. Saiful is determined not to send his children to work until they reach at least18. He doesn't want to endanger his daughters' future by sending them to work and earn for the family. The children have a bright future and only education can ensure that. All the family members are currently struggling on the lone income of Saiful, but this present struggle has pay offs in the future. He expects her daughters to end up with good jobs after they finish their education.

Saiful thinks that parents they have a great responsibility in shaping a better future for their children. Children at their tender age need proper guidance from the parents. Apparently, it is profitable to send children to work at an early age. Some parents find ways to get out of a financial crisis by allowing their children to work. But it comes with a cost. Children are forever in the middle of an economic crisis. Children will be deprived of a stable future. So, better to struggle now and educate them. Saiful thinks of children as the gift from God and as parents they have the responsibility from God to take good care of them. Children can't decide about the course of action. They don't have that kind of maturity. Parents are capable of thinking in a mature way. They learned a lot from the experience of their lives. They are the custodians of their children. As custodians, they should take the right decisions for the better future of the family.

Saiful not only faces financial difficulties while sending his daughters to school and also finds loopholes in the school system. The government schools are free and provide scholarships for the meritorious students. But this system is faulty, thinks Saiful Haque. Parents have to pay extra money to the school in the name of coaching fees that are mandatory for all students. Students need extra money for daily expenses in the school, which are the monies the parents have to collect for the continuation of their children's enrollment at school. Saiful demands that

scholarships should be provided to all students. Most parents are helpless to provide monetary assistance to their children. The earnings from the DFS don't allow the parents to make decisions about sending their children to school. Saiful is dreaming of upgrading the status of his family. His dream will be fulfilled if his children could finish school according to his expectation. He does not think the environment of the dry fish sector is a decent environment. Working at the DFS is extremely hazardous. The workers face extreme difficulties when they work under the sun. Different kinds of diseases develop due to the nature of work. Kidney, liver, and diarrheal diseases are acute among the laborers. Skin disease is a general problem for all. The workers get cuts in their fingers regularly while tangling fishes. Saiful hopes, against all these odds, that his family will one day be able to succeed and get a secure life.

ANNEX 6: QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Quantitative Survey Questionnaires
USDoL-Winrock CLIMB Project
Conducted by:
Sustainable Upliftment Initiative Trust (SUIT)

Information Sheet for the Participants

Hello, how are you? I, Mr./Ms./Dr._____, am working with USDoL–Winrock CLIMB research project conducted by SUIT, Chittagong. The main purpose of this project is to explore the socioeconomic conditions of the child labor involved in the dried fish sector in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. Based on the findings of this research, we will suggest possible steps that can be taken to improve the quality of life of the child labor. Since you are a child and you are working for a dried fish establishment, we are asking you to participate in this study by answering some questions for us about your work and your family.
If you agree to participate, we will ask you questions about a range of issues including the reasons you came to work here, the conditions under which you work, and the living environment of you and your family. We value your opinion and time, and thus we will not take more than 30 minutes for the interview session.

Your participation in this study will pose no considerable risk to your health or your work. None of your personal information will ever be disclosed to anyone outside of this research team. We will not tell your answers to your boss, your co-workers, your family, or anyone. Confidentiality is fully guaranteed.

Participation in this survey is voluntary and if we should come to any questions you don't want to answer just let us know and we will go on to the next question; or you can stop the interview at any time. However, we hope that you will participate in this survey since your views are important, and the results will help the government to improve the child labor conditions in Bangladesh.

Please read this statement and I will read it to you. *Show the child the consent statement and read the statement out loud.* Now sign/give a thumbprint if you agree to participate in this survey.

Assent/Consent form for the Respondent

Respondent Code:

I, _____(participant's name), understand that I am being requested to participate in this survey. I understand that the survey will collect information about the child labor working in the dried fish sector in Cox's Bazar.

I have been provided some general idea about the project and the types of questions I should answer. I have been ensured that my participation is voluntary and thus I can stop being part of the survey at any time. I believe any information that I provide through this interview will be kept confidential, secured, and will be used only for the purposes of this research project. I also believe that participation in this survey will not give rise to any considerable risk for me and my family.

Being fully informed, I agree to participate in the USDoL-Winrock CLIMB research project conducted by SUIT, Chittagong.

Participant name (please print): _____

Signature/thumbprint: _____

Date: _____

Parent's Approval (if any):

Parent's Name: Parent's signature/thumbprint:

Date:

Quantitative Questionnaire: Nature and Extent of Child Labor in DFS
(Respondent Category: Child Workers)

Note that instructions to interviewers are in italics

Section 1: Sample identification

1.1 GIS Coordinates: _____

1.2 Area code: 1.3 Establishment code:

1.4 Child worker code: 1.5 Enumerator code:

Section 2: Personal information

2.1 Interviewer: record child's gender: a. Male _____ b. Female _____

2.2 How old are you? (*if not sure, ask the child to provide an estimate*)_____Years

2.3 What is your birth date? ___/___/___ (DD/MM/YY) __ Don't Know

(If the age is 18 or above, terminate the interview)

2.4 Which ethnicity are you?

a) Bengali
b) Tribal
c) Rohingya
d) Others: (Specify):……

Section 3: Employment and work conditions

3.1 How long have you been working here in DFS? _____ Years_____Months

3.2 What is your contractual arrangement with the current employer and how long do you work? Are you a day laborer, are you contracted weekly, are you contracted monthly or are you contracted for the whole season? Or does the employer call you when there is a need for workers?

After the child answers the question in the column, ask the child the appropriate question(s) in that row, e.g. How many hours do you work per day? *Or* How many days do you work per week? How many hours do you work on those days? *etc.*

Nature of contract with the employer		Amount of works	
a). Day laborer	…… hours/day		
b. Weekly	…… … days/week	…… hours/day	
c. Monthly	…… days/week	…… hours/day	
3.3 d. Seasonal	…….. months/season	……. days/week	…… hours/day

3.4 e. Need based (such as more catches than normally expected)

3.4.1 If Need Based please clarify (Hit; call on emergency basis and pay a certain amount for specific task, contractual arrangement for sorting fish of specific amount and pay an agreed amount etc.) (open-ended)

3.5 What types of work do you do? (*Multiple answer possible. Read each option and circle if the child says yes*) Anything else? *Fill in any other work in (g)*

a. fish sorting
b. fish cleaning
c. fish drying
d. unloading raw fish from boats
e. loading dried fish to vehicles
f. Packaging
g. Others *Specify* _____

3.6 Do you do the same types of work as the adult workers do?

a. Yes

b. No

_____

3.7 When do you do your work here mostly? (*Multiple options. Read the options out loud and circle if the child says yes*)

a. Early in the morning (before 6 a.m.)
b. During the day (between 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.)……..
c. In the evening or night (after 5/6 p.m.)……

d. During both day and the evening (for the entire day)

e. Sometimes during the day, sometimes in the evening

3.8 What do you do when DFS is closed or when you are not working here? (*Multiple options. Read the options out loud and circle if the child says yes*)

a) Go to school/madrasa

b) Help family

c) Work in the other sector(s) (Pls specify) …….

d) Do nothing

e) Play/Watch Television

f) Others (Specify)……

3.9 Which of the following are you exposed to in your workplace? *Read each option and circle when the child says yes*

a. Hazardous chemicals such as pesticides

b. Direct sunlight *If yes:* How many (hours) do you stay under direct sun in a day? Specify ……..

c. Standing in water *If yes:* How many (hours) do you stay in water in a day? Specify ……

d. Standing on muddy ground *If yes:* How many (hours) do you stay on muddy ground in a day? Specify ……..

e. Smoke

f. Sharp tools

g. Climbing on unstable racks

h. Others (please specify) ……..

3.10 When you do this/these activities, do you ever carry a heavy load, such as a 10 liters container filled with water *Show card with picture of water container or other common object weighing 10kg*

a. Yes

If yes: How many hours a day do you carry this load?

1 = Just a few minutes (less than 30)

2= About half hour to one hour

3= One or two hours

4= Three hours or more

b. No

3.11 Now I'd like to ask about a lighter load: When you do this/these activities, do you ever carry a heavy load, such as a 5 liters container filled with water *Show card with picture of water container or other common object weighing 5 kg*

a. Yes

If yes: How many hours a day do you carry this load?

1 = Just a few minutes (less than 30)

2= About half hour to one hour

3= One or two hours

4= Three hours or more

b. No

3.12 Do you use any protective equipment while working?

a) Yes

b) No *Go to 3.10.2*

3.12.1 *If yes,* which equipment do you wear/use while working? (*Multiple options. Read the options out loud and circle if the child says yes*)

a. Gloves
b. Waterproof boot
c. Umbrella/cap
d. Mask
e. Others (Please specify)……..

Go to 3.11

3.12.2 If no, why you don't wear any protective equipment *(Do not read the answers. Circle the option if the child gives this answer, otherwise write the answer in (e) Other.)*

a. I don't know which type of protective equipment we need to use
b. Employers don't provide any protective equipment
c. I don't buy any protective equipment because all are costly
d. Don't know
e. Other answer_____

3.13 Is food provided by the employer? How many times per day?

a. Yes (three times a day) *Go to 3.12*
b. Yes (partially/ some food) *Go to 3.11.1*
c. No *Go to 3.12*

3.13.1 If partially/some, please specify:

3.14 Are you provided any leisure time during the day such as a break for snack or lunch?

a. Yes
b. No

3.15 Did you receive any training from this employer?

a. Yes
b. No

3.16 Are you provided free treatment when you get sick/wounded?

a. Yes, full treatment
b. Yes, but partial treatment
c. No

3.17 Have you experienced any abuse in your workplace? *(Please read these out and check if yes). If no to all of these pl go to 3.18.*

Yes

a. The employer shouted at you in front of others

b. Adult workers shouted at you in front of others
c. Repeatedly insulted
d. Beating/physical punishment
e. Sexual harassment (such as touching you inappropriately and making inappropriate remarks to you)
f. Deprivation of food/water
g. Threatened with physical violence or punishment
h. Others (Please specify)

3.18 Who are the abusers? (*Multiple answers possible*):

a. Employer
b. Employer's representative(s)
c. Adult workers
d. Others (Please specify) ……

3.19 If you experienced violence, did you seek help from anywhere else?

a. Yes
b. No

3.19.1 If yes, please specify from where? ……

3.20 Did you see any of the following inflicted on other children in the workplace? *(Please read these out and check if yes*

	Yes
a. The employer shouted at them in front of others	
b. Adult workers shouted at them in front of others	
c. Repeatedly insulted	
d. Beating/physical punishment	
e. Sexual harassment (such as touching them inappropriately and making inappropriate remarks to you)	
f. Deprivation of food/water	
g. Threatened with physical violence or punishment	
h. Others (Please specify) ……	

3.21 How often do you get paid? Are you paid in cash and if yes how much? If you are not paid in cash, how are you paid?

Frequency of payments	Payments in cash	Payment in kind (specify)
a. Daily	…….. Taka/day	…… /day
b. Weekly	…….. Taka/week	…… /week
c. Monthly	…… Taka/month	……/month
d. Season-end	……. Taka/per season	……../season
e. Others (specify)	……. Taka	….

3.22 To whom is the wage paid?

a) Yourself
b) Your parents
c) Both
d) Others family member (specify) ……..

3.23 What were the main reasons you took your current job? (*Multiple options. Read the options out loud and circle if the child says yes*)

a. Parents are poor/need money
b. Need money for myself
c. No school in the area
d. Do not want to attend school
e. My employer provides me food and accommodation in exchange for my work
f. My recruitment was part of an agreement made when my parents borrowed money from the employer
g. My recruitment was part of an agreement made when family members were recruited by the employer
h. My parents received an advance on my salary
i. I had to replace a member of my family who was working for this employer but is now unable to work
j. Others (specify)…….

3.24 Mainly who decided that you should join this work? *(Only one answer. Do not read the options. Circle if the option matches what the child said or write in (g) if the child gives another answer.)*

a) Parents/family
b) My parents forced by a third party
c) Agent of my current employer/ intermediary

d) My current employer
e) The person from whom my parents borrowed money
f) Myself
g) Others (Please specify) ……

3.25 Could you quit this job if you want?

a. Yes, any time *Go to 3.24*
b. Yes, at the end of my contract *Go to 3.24*
c. No
d. Do not know *Go to 3.24*

3.25.1 If no, what are the reasons? (Open-ended)

3.26 Which of the following promises/hopes about the job that you received from the employer when you were hired? And are the promises fulfilled (do you receive this at your job)? *Read all of the answers in the first column (Promise given) before reading the answers in the second column (Promise fulfilled). Only read the 2nd column for those checked in the 1st column*

Promise/Hopes	**Promise/hopes given (Yes or no)**	**(If yes) Promise/hopes fulfilled (Yes or no)**
Amount of wages		
Number of working hours		
Flexibility of working hours		
Type of work		
Difficulty of work		
Amount of work		
Provided with living facilities		
Provided with food		
(Ordinary) Clothing		
Medical treatment facilities		
Given weekend off		
Given opportunity to visit parents		
Others (Please specify) …….		

Section 4: Educational status

4.1 Are you currently enrolled in a school/madrasa?

a) Yes,

b) No *(go to 4.2)*

4.1.1 If yes, what type education institution? (Choose the main one)

a) Formal school

b) Madrasha

c) Non-formal education

4.1.2 Which class are you in? .....

4.1.3 Do you ever have to miss school because you are working here?

a. Yes

b. No

(Now go to section 5)

4.2 Have you ever gone to school/madrasa?

a. Formal School

b. Madrasa

c. Non-formal education

d. No, never enrolled (*go to Question 4.3)*

4.2.1 What is the highest grade you attained?.....

4.2.2 Why did you quit school/madrasa? (Multiple answer possible)

a) Did not like study/poor in studies

b) Parents could not afford

c) School was too far away

d) School that I used to go was closed

e) To help family financially

f) Education was not considered valuable by my parents/family

g) Others (please specify) ……

Go to Q4.4

4.3 What were the reasons you never enrolled in a school/madrasa? (Multiple answer possible)

a. No school nearby

b. To help family financially

c. Parents could not afford

d. Education is not considered valuable by my parents/family

e. Others (specify) …….

4.4 If you are given an opportunity, would you like to go to school?

a. Yes

b. No (please specify why not) ……..

Section 5: Health status of child worker

5.1 Have you been sick with any of the following illness in the last one year?

5.1.1 List of the illnesses you have suffered (multiple answers)? *Interviewer should read out each illness and circle yes/no*			5.1.2 (If yes) Do you think that this illness occurred due to your work in DFS?	
Skin diseases	Yes	No	Yes	No
Respiratory problems	Yes	No	Yes	No
Chronic headache	Yes	No	Yes	No
Diarrhea	Yes	No	Yes	No
Eye infections	Yes	No	Yes	No
Wounds/ cuts	Yes	No	Yes	No
Fever	Yes	No	Yes	No
Back pains/muscle pains	Yes	No	Yes	No
Extreme fatigue	Yes	No	Yes	No
Fracture	Yes	No	Yes	No
Chronic abdominal pain	Yes	No	Yes	No
Corrosion, frostbite, or scald	Yes	No	Yes	No
Others (please mention):	Yes	No	Yes	No

5.2 Did any of the above illnesses affect your work?

a) Not serious, didn't stop work
b) Stopped work for a few days
c) Stopped work for a long time

5.3 Did any of these illnesses affect your schooling?

a) Not serious, didn't stop schooling
b) Stop school for a few days
c) Stop school for a long time
d) Not applicable for me because I don't go to school

5.4 Where do you go for treatment? (*Multiple options. Read the options out loud and circle if the child says yes*)

a) Medicine shop
b) Kabiraj (Herbal medical practitioner)
c) Village doctor
d) Upazila health complex
e) Clinic
f) Others (Specify)….

5.5 What type of latrine you use while working in dried fish processing establishment?

a) Ring slab with water sealed
b) Ring slab without water seal
c) Open pit
d) Open defection
e) Others (please specify):……

5.6 Before joining as an employee in the DFS, have you submitted any medical certificate to the employer?

a) Yes (Go to section 6)
b) No

5.6.1 If no, did they (Employer) ask to bring it?

a. Yes
b. No

Section 6: Family Information

6.1 Where do you live while working here?

a. At the workplace
b. At a separate/alternative residence Go to Q6.5
c. With family Go to Q6.7

6.2 In the workplace, do you sleep in the same room as the adult workers?

a. Yes

b. No

6.3 What type of house do you sleep in at the workplace?

a) Kacha house (made of straw, clay, or rushes)
b) Semi paka (partly brick built))
c) Paka (brick built) house
d) Other (Specify) ……..

6.4 What of the following facilities are available in your workplace where you live? (*Multiple answer, read each option and circle if yes*)

a) Electricity/Solar
b) Sanitary toilet
c) Safe drinking water (Tube well etc.)
d) Others (Specify) …….
e) None of the above

Now go to Q 6.8

6.5 If separate/alternative residence, please specify the type: _____

6.6 Who do you live with? (*Read each option and circle the ones that the child responds yes*)

a. Adult co-workers
b. Children co-workers
c. Boss
d. Alone
e. Others (*List)* _____

Now go to Q 6.8

6.7 Who are the family members that you live with now? (*Read each family relationship and circle the ones that the child responds yes*)

a) Father
b) Mother
c) Brother
d) Sister
e) Grandfather
f) Grandmother
g) Other family member *(Please specify)* ……...

6.8 When not working here, do you live with your family?

a. Yes

b. No *Go to Q6.10*

6.9 Who are the family members that you live with when you are not working? (*Read each family relationship and circle the ones that the child responds yes*)

a) Father
b) Mother
c) Brother
d) Sister
e) Grandfather

f) Grandmother
g) Others (Specify)…..

6.10 Is your father alive?

a) Yes

b) No (*Go to Q6.12)*

6.11 What does your father do (main occupation)?

a. Day laborer
b. Fisherman
c. Farmer
d. Small shop keeper/trader
e. Transportation laborer
f. Dry fish processing owner
g. Others (please specify): ……..

6.12 Is your mother alive?

a) Yes
b) No *Go to 6.14*

6.13 What does your mother do (main occupation)?

a. Day laborer
b. Fisherwoman
c. Farmer
d. Small shop keeper/trader
e. Housemaid
f. Housewife
g. Others (Please specify) ……..

6.14 *Interviewer: if the child has indicated that one or both parents are dead, please circle the appropriate response and do not ask this question.* Do your parents live together, or do they live separately?

a. living together
b. live separately
c. Widow (Father has died)
d. Widower (Mother has died)
e. Both are dead

6.15 Did your family migrate from another place to here/present address?

a. Yes:
b. No

6.15.1 If yes, from where (please mention the name of the community like Kutubdia, Chotomoheskhali and Teknaf etc.)?

6.16 Does anyone else from your family work in the DFS?

a. Yes,
b. No

6.16.1 If yes, specify the relation: *(Multiple response possible)*

a) Father
b) Mother
c) Brother
d) Sister
e) Grandfather
f) Grandmother
g) Others (Pl specify) ……

6.17 Who is the head of your family?

a. Father
b. Mother
c. Elder Brother
d. Elder Sister
e. Self
f. Others (Please specify):

6.18 Please tell me why you said he/she is the head of your family?

Section 7: Socioeconomic status

Now I am going to ask you some questions about the place that you live with your family, either your permanent home or your current home if you live with your family now. *Interviewer: end the interview if the child lives at the workplace and has no permanent home.*

7.1 Your dwelling type:

a) Kacha house (made of straw, clay, and rushes)
b) Semi paka (partly brick built))
c) Paka (brick built) house
d) Others (Please specify) ……..

7.2 Dwelling ownership of families:

a. Own homestead
b. Rented house

c. Rent-free at the workplace
d. Rent-free somewhere else
e. Khash land (Government owned land)
f. Others (please specify): ……

7.3 What is the source of your household's drinking water?
a. Water supply system
b. Tube well
c. Well
d. Others (please specify): ……..

7.4 Main fuel types your household uses for cooking:
b. Gas (pipe)
c. LPG (cylinder)
d. Firewood
e. Cow dung/leaves/tree branches
f. Kerosene
g. Others (please specify) …….

7.5 What is the source of your household's lighting?
a) Electricity
b) Kerosene
c) Solar
d) Others (please specify)……

7.6 The type of toilet your household uses?

a) Sanitary (ring slab with water sealed)
b) Unsanitary (ring slab without water seal)
c) Unsanitary (open pit)
d) Open defection
e) Others (please specify): ……..

7.7 Which of the following items does your household own? (*Read each option and circle those that the child says yes*)

a) Radio
b) Television
c) Cell phone
d) Fan
e) Refrigerator
f) Watch
g) Vehicle
h) Cow
i) Buffalo

j) Goat/sheep
k) Poultry
l) Others (Please specify) ……..

7.8 Do your family have landed property such as agricultural land?

a. Yes

b. No

c. I do not know

7.8.1 If yes, how much land?.....Gondga/katha.

7.9 What are the income sources of your family *(Multiple answer possible)*?

a) Agriculture
b) Small trade
c) Day laborer
d) Transport worker
e) Fishing
f) Remittance
g) Dried Fish sector
h) Others (please specify)……

7.10 What is your plan for the future?

7.10.1 What type of work would you like to do when you're grown up?_____

7.10.2 Would you like to get more education, training or skill development program in the future?

a. No

b. Yes: Please specify what kind of education or training?_____

Thanks for your time