SMERU Research Report

Diagnostic Study of Child Labour in Rural Areas
(with Special Emphasis on Tobacco Farming)

Emmy Hermanus

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ABSTRACT

Diagnostic Study of Child Labour in Rural Area (with Special Emphasis on Tobacco Farming)

Emmy Hermanus, Stella Aleida Hutagalung, Rezanti Putri Pramana, Fatin Nuha Astini, Elza Elmira, Veto Tyas Indrio, and Widjajanti Isdijoso.

Amid the Government of Indonesia's efforts to eliminate child labour, there is limited information regarding the condition of child labour in the country, especially in the tobacco sector. Against this background, this study investigates the condition and root causes of child labour in two of the largest tobacco producing *kabupaten* (districts) in Indonesia—Jember and Lombok Timur. Information was collected from children, parents, and relevant stakeholders and the study adopted a mixed-method of quantitative and qualitative approaches through a household survey covering 1,000 households in a total of 10 villages, as well as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and photo elicitation interviews. The findings reveal a high prevalence of child labour in tobacco growing which is rooted in local norms and customs. Most of the child labourers are exposed to hazardous work where a very small proportion use protective equipment. The probability of becoming a child labourer is significantly higher among children from the older age group, farm labour households, and *dusun* (village administrative area) with high child labour prevalence. Neither land ownership nor contract status significantly reduces the probability of children's involvement in tobacco growing. As existing regulations lack a detailed description about the hazardous types of work in tobacco growing, there is a lack of awareness and knowledge of the negative impact of becoming a child labourer and exposure to hazardous work. The economic benefit for the household and children to be involved in tobacco growing and the lack of facilities for children to engage in other activities also influence children to become child labourers. Additionally, excess demand for labour during tobacco harvesting season attracts many children to work. The study recommends measures to improve the national policy for the elimination of child labour in tobacco growing and initiate a pilot programme in Lombok Timur and Jember.

Keywords: child labour, tobacco growing, Jember, Lombok Timur

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ALP		Agricultural Labour Practices
AMTI	Aliansi Masyarakat Tembakau Indonesia	Indonesian Tobacco Community Alliance
APTI	Asosiasi Petani Tembakau Indonesia	Indonesian Tobacco Farmers Association
ASP		After School Programme (Extracurricular Class Initiated by Tobacco Companies)
BAT		British American Tobacco
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik	Statistics Indonesia
CERIA		Child Labour Eradication Initiatives in Tobacco Area (Initiated by PT. Alliance One International)
CI		Confidence Interval
CL		child labour
CLT		child labour in tobacco growing
CSR		corporate social responsibility
DBH CHT	Dana Bagi Hasil Cukai Hasil Tembakau	Revenue-Sharing Fund of Tobacco Excise
ECLT Foundation		The Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Foundation
FGD		focus group discussion
GTS		green tobacco sickness (acute nicotine poisoning caused by direct contact with green tobacco leaves)
HRW		Human Rights Watch
ICLS		Indonesia Child Labour Survey
ILO		International Labour Organization
ILO-IPEC		International Labour Organization - International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
JARAK	Jaringan Penanggulangan Pekerja Anak	Network of NGOs Working for the Elimination of Child Labour in Indonesia
Kementerian PPN/Bappenas	Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional	Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency

KIP	Kartu Indonesia Pintar	Indonesian Smart Card
KLA	Kabupaten/Kota Layak Anak	Child-Friendly District/City
MA	*madrasah aliah*	Islamic senior high school
MI	*madrasah ibtidaiah*	Islamic elementary school
MTs	*madrasah sanawiah*	Islamic junior high school
NGO		nongovernmental organisation
NTB	Nusa Tenggara Barat	West Nusa Tenggara
PAUD	*pendidikan anak usia dini*	early childhood education
PBPTA	Penghapusan Bentuk-Bentuk Pekerjaan Terburuk untuk Anak	Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour
PKK	Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga	Family Welfare and Empowerment
PMI		Philip Morris International
PPA-PKH	Pengurangan Pekerja Anak untuk Mendukung Program Keluarga Harapan	The Programme for Reducing Child Labour in order to Support the Indonesia's Household CCT Programme (PKH)
puskesmas	*pusat kesehatan masyarakat*	community health centre
pustu	*puskesmas pembantu*	secondary community health centre
RAN-PBPTA	Rencana Aksi Nasional - Penghapusan Bentuk-Bentuk Pekerjaan Terburuk untuk Anak	National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
RT	*rukun tetangga*	A neighbourhood unit, the smallest unit of local administration consisting of a number of households
RW	*rukun warga*	A unit of local administration consisting of several RT within a *kelurahan*
SMK	*sekolah menengah kejuruan*	vocational high school
SPP		social protection programmes
STP		Sustainable Tobacco Production Programme
TPQ	*taman pendidikan Alquran*	Qur'anic learning centre for children
TTM		TransTheoretical Model
UCW		Understanding Children's Work Programme
UNICEF		The United Nations Children's Fund

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), globally there are at least 168 million children in child labour, 85 million of which are involved in hazardous work. Child labour has an impact on long-term and short-term physiological and psychological well-being of the children involved. The highest incidence of child labour is in the agricultural sector with the involvement of 98 million children (59% of all child labourers worldwide). Child labour is a complex issue and is influenced by many factors, including poverty. Four million children aged 5–17 are identified as child labourers in Indonesia, and 58% of child labourers aged 7–14 work in agriculture. Child labour in tobacco growing is of particular concern due to exposure to chemical hazard from chemicals such as pesticides and nicotine in tobacco leaves.

ILO Conventions No. 138 (1973) and 182 (1999) set the international standards for the minimum age of employment and the worst forms of child labour. In the tobacco sector, the ECLT Foundation was established to commission programmes to eradicate child labour in tobacco growing communities. Multinational companies also implemented a Sustainable Tobacco Production programme which, among other things, works towards ensuring that tobacco growing is free of child labour. Indonesia has implemented national regulations and a time-restricted programme to eliminate the worst forms of child labour by 2022 through capacity building and stricter inspection of labour in workplaces. Little is known about the situation of the children in tobacco growing communities, which makes it hard to create targeted intervention programmes.

To understand the situation of child labour in tobacco growing, the root causes of child labour in tobacco growing, and potential solutions to address this issue, the ECLT Foundation requested that The SMERU Research Institute conduct a diagnostic study on child labour in rural areas, with an emphasis on tobacco growing. This study uses two definitions of child labour—from ILO and from the Indonesian Labour Law (Undang-Undang No. 13, 2003). The study employs both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach utilised survey method, while the qualitative data collection was conducted using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, group discussions, and photo-elicitation interviews. The sample area was limited to five villages in Lombok Timur (West Nusa Tenggara Province) and five villages in Jember (East Java Province). These areas were selected because they are among the main producers of tobacco in Indonesia, hence were purposively chosen and were selected through consultation meetings with the stakeholders. The study interviewed 100 randomly chosen households from each village. The exploratory study was conducted in August 2016, the survey was conducted in October 2016, and the qualitative field work was conducted around December 2016–January 2017.

Main Findings

Child labour in general

Parents and the community are not aware of the difference between working children and child labour. The generally low knowledge and awareness of the concept of child labour is reflected in the high prevalence of child labour in both *kabupaten* (districts), with 14.31% in Jember and 28.33% in Lombok Timur (ILO definition).

Concern around the issue of child labour is enhanced by the general lack of understanding of the variety of hazardous working conditions for children. The majority of working children in this study are classified as child labourers, mainly due to the hazardous nature of their work. In Lombok Timur, from 187 child labourers, there are 167 children who were exposed to hazardous work or 25.30% of the total population of children in the villages in Lombok Timur. Meanwhile, in Jember, 80 children out of 95 child labourers were exposed to hazardous work, or 12.05% of the total child population in the villages in Jember.

The highest prevalence of child labour was found in the age group of 15–17 (ILO definition) with 49.46% in Lombok Timur and 25.64% in Jember, and in the age group of 16–17 (Indonesian Labour Law definition) with 55% in Lombok Timur and 25% in Jember. These findings are in line with the qualitative study, which found a high tendency for adult migration in the study villages, which then pushes the labour demand towards children. Children in these age groups are often not considered to be children by the community and are assigned with heavier tasks, such as transporting bundles of tobacco leaves from the field to the furnace.

The majority of child labourers are involved in the agriculture sector, at 66.32% in Jember and 85.03% in Lombok Timur. Meanwhile, the rest are dispersed amongst non-agriculture sectors (wholesale, construction, services, etc.); 33.68% in Jember and 14.97% in Lombok Timur. As tobacco is the predominant cash crop in the sampled villages, the highest prevalence of child labour among agricultural commodities is in tobacco growing.

Child labour in tobacco growing

The majority of child labourers live in farm labour households, at 43.14% in Jember and 41.3% in Lombok Timur. However, among the tobacco farming households, the status of farmers as contracted or non-contracted farmers, and whether the farmers own land or lease land from other people, does not decrease the probability of a child to become a child labourer. Within the tobacco farming household population, only a small percentage are contracted farmers—3.3% in Lombok Timur and 5.88% in Jember.

Several variables which are consistent significant predictors for children being involved in tobacco growing are age, household head employment, and proportion of child labourers per *dusun*[i]. Older children are more likely to be involved in tobacco work. In addition, parents' employment as hired-farm labourers increases the probability of children working in tobacco growing by 28%. The study also finds that the high proportion of child labour in tobacco per *dusun* significantly increases the probability of children working in tobacco farming by 33%.

The majority of children in the study villages are involved in post-harvest tasks, specifically in tying up tobacco leaves for curing or *menggelantang* (58% of all tobacco child labourers in Lombok Timur) and sticking tobacco leaves for curing or *nyujen* (47% of all tobacco child labourers in Jember). A small proportion of child labourers are also involved in other stages of the process, such as curing.

Older and male children have a higher median number of working hours compared to younger and female children. For those aged 13–14, the median number of working hours is 3–6 hours per week, while among those aged 15–17, especially male children, the median number of working hours reached up to 12 hours per week. There were also children whose working hours are beyond what is permitted for their age. Of all child labourers aged 13–14 years, 18% in Lombok Timur and 33% in Jember work between 15 and 84 hours per week. Meanwhile, of all children aged 15–17 years,

[i] A *dusun* is an administrative area within a village, consisting of a number of RT.

8% in Lombok Timur and 14% in Jember were identified to be working more than 40 hours, and up to 84 hours per week.

Child labour's wage contribution to per capita household income was higher among children in Lombok Timur than children in Jember (14.2% vs. 8.9%). In calculating this number, children's income was weighted using the probability of children working in the tobacco sector for each month over the past year. Children's contribution toward their household's income depends on the economic condition of the family. Children from poor households contribute their income towards purchasing basic necessities (e.g., rice, food, and cooking oil), school needs and pocket money. Meanwhile, children who come from families with a higher economic status usually work to save on the costs of labour (so that parents do not need to pay other labourers). Children also reported using their income for personal enjoyment, such as buying phone credit, mobile phones, secondhand motorcycles, and other personal items.

The types of personal protection equipment (PPE) used by children tend to be very limited. In both *kabupaten*, more than 75% of child labourers neither use safety gear nor have received safety education when working in tobacco growing. Of all children who reported using protective equipment, the majority reported using head protectors (around 20%, i.e., hats and caps) and respiratory protectors (around 10%, i.e., face masks).

Child labourers and adults perceived most work in tobacco growing to be light work and not harmful as long as there is no immediate impact on the health of the child. This represents the general lack of awareness and comprehension around the hazards of child labour in tobacco growing. While a number of adults, mainly village officials and contracted farmers, are able to identify general potential hazards, such as exposure to fertilizers, pesticides, and working at heights, many are still oblivious to the hazards of green tobacco leaves. In fact, the general understanding is that the hazards of tobacco leaves are in the cured tobacco leaves, due to its pungent smell causing asphyxiation and difficulties in breathing.

Many people in the study villages are not aware of the hazard that comes from green tobacco leaves, as advocacy around GTS was found to be limited to students in the community from selected primary schools (through the After School Programme/ASP) and to contracted farmers. Therefore, members of farm-labour and non-contracted farmer households were not aware of Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS). Furthermore, health workers in the study location also admitted that they have never provided information related to Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS). Their concern is more focused on the hazards of fertilizers and pesticides and from the activities of hanging and unloading bundled tobacco leaves inside the curing barn.

Root causes of child labour in tobacco growing

The factors that contribute to the phenomenon of child labour in study locations, especially in tobacco growing, can be distinguished into three categories:

(i) the enabling environment that refers to the underlying contributing factors, which influence and are implicated in both pull and push factors;

(ii) push factors, which occur within the household's and individual children's agency and drive children to undertake economic activities and become child labourers; and

(iii) pull factors, which are factors that attract children to participate in economic activities and fundamentally reflect the conditions of the labour market.

There are two interlinking underlying factors of the high prevalence of child labour. The first is that in local norms and customs, working children are regarded positively. Children's involvement in

tobacco growing has been integrated into local parenting practices, and it is generally an accepted local norm that once an individual is regarded as an adult, they are expected to have their own earnings. The second factor is the existing legal framework related to child labour that has not provided clear definition of light work and hazardous work that are suitable for agriculture working activities, particularly in tobacco growing that has a specific hazard factor.

The push factors include (i) lack of comprehension and awareness surrounding the issue of child labour; (ii) lack of alternative facilities for children's activities; and (iii) economic motives, which include household poverty and children's economic agency. On the other hand, the pull factors include: (i) excess demand for labour in the village, especially during tobacco harvesting season; (ii) lack of technologies and innovations that can reduce and replace labour intensive work, particularly in the jobs that are mostly conducted by child labourers; and (iii) economic motives of the business that is mainly the need to maintain selling prices by immediate handling of tobacco leaves.

Resources and potential solutions

The series of interviews and discussions throughout this study have identified existing resources that can be used to develop and implement a more sustainable effort to eliminate child labour in rural agriculture area, particularly in tobacco growing. At the community and village levels, there are resources that can be utilised to support the elimination of child labour, which include:

a) community forums that can be used to facilitate awareness raising activities;

b) public facilities for children that can be improved to provide alternative activities for children;

c) village regulations that can strengthen law enforcement and help link the formal regulations with local norms; and

d) Village Fund that can be utilised to provide financial support for various community activities related to the elimination of child labour.

The *kabupaten* governments of Lombok Timur and Jember already have child labour elimination programmes—such as routine monitoring and inspection of child labour, participation in the Programme for Reducing Child Labour in order to Support the Indonesia's Household CCT Programme (PPA-PKH), and initial work to develop child-friendly *kabupaten*—which can be further developed to support the elimination of child labour. Existing regulations on tobacco farming and commission on tobacco can also be used to support the awareness-raising activities and strengthening the regulatory framework on the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing. In addition, they also receive Revenue-Sharing Fund of Tobacco Excise (DBH CHT) that can also be used to support various initiatives pertaining to the elimination of child labour in tobacco growing.

The central government already produced a series of laws and regulations which can be improved to better govern the prohibition of child labour, particularly in tobacco growing. The existing road map for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour that is targeting to achieve an Indonesia free of child labour by 2022 can also enriched to effectively address the issue of child labour in tobacco growing. In addition, the various initiatives supported by tobacco companies and NGOs can be leveraged to cover wider areas and more children.

Recommendations

Given the complexity of the factors behind the high prevalence of child labour, we recommend: (i) the improvement of the national policy, and (ii) a pilot programme that can be initiated in Lombok Timur and Jember.

In improving the national policy, first and foremost, the government should devote more resources to improving the enabling environment. This can be achieved by providing operational guidelines for the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing, through revising the Decree of the Minister for Labour and Transmigration No. 235 Year 2003. Concurrently, the Roadmap towards a Child Labour Free Indonesia in 2022 should be complemented with a sectoral-specific strategy focusing on various agriculture sectors where child labour prevalence is high, including tobacco growing. The strategy should also determine concrete steps, including the roles and responsibilities of each institutions, and the time frame for action. In addition, the prohibition of the employment of children in tobacco growing should be included in the national as well as regional (provincial and *kabupaten/kota*) tobacco regulations. Furthermore, the strengthening of existing regulations should be accompanied by stronger law enforcement as well as more intensive advocacy to influence informal norms—local customs and norms—in the community.

To further maximise the national efforts to eliminate child labour, interventions should be directed to enhance people's awareness on the different types of hazardous work, their consequences and the existing regulations prohibiting child labour in tobacco growing. The existing social protection programmes should also be improved or modified to better address the child labour issues. In addition, the child-friendly *kabupaten* programme should also include measures to address child labour in accordance with local problems, and devote all possible funding resources including DBH CHT, Village Fund, and support from business communities. Lastly, in addressing the pull factors which are driven by the shortage of labour, there should be a more intensive effort to develop new technologies and innovations in tobacco handling and processing in order to replace children and adult workers, especially in the hazardous stages of the tobacco production process.

For the pilot programme in Lombok Timur, the measures could include:

a) Establishing formal and informal regulations by the village (such as *awig-awig*) to provide a legal framework for the action taken to address the issue of child labour in the village.
b) Training for health officials on the potential risks and hazards of working in tobacco growing, as well as the health and safety risks of working in tobacco growing.
c) Intensifying socialisation and advocacy on the prohibition of child labour by involving local NGOs and utilising school teachers and informal education institutions (*pengajian*)
d) Continuing socialisation by tobacco companies on the prohibition of child labour for contracted tobacco farmers, as they have been mandated.
e) Forming a community-based monitoring committee led by appointed village cadres, school teachers, and health officials to monitor children's involvement in tobacco growing, especially in activities agreed as hazardous.
f) Addressing the lack of platform for children which leads to their preference of working in tobacco growing, developing a public library and sport facilities would be necessary to provide children with a productive yet safe platform for their leisure activities.
g) Establishing a partnership between the plantation agency and the local school of agriculture to develop technologies which will reduce the need of children's involvement in tobacco growing, especially in hazardous activities.

h) Initiating an incentive-based programme to address the economic motives of child labour in tobacco growing.

For the pilot programme in Jember, the measures could include:

a) Formulating village regulations containing all the explanations on child rights, the prohibition of child labour, prohibition of child marriage, and other regulations considered important for the children's needs. The prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing should explicitly state the hazardous stages to avoid confusion among the villagers. In addition, the regulation should include the mandatory use of PPE for both adults and children involved in tobacco growing.

b) Formulating village regulations which regulate the requirements for farmers and companies to build their tobacco warehouses outside the residential areas to avoid children engaging in tobacco handling and processing activities. If they are unable to do this, farmers and companies should provide childcare or a children's playground situated near warehouses to prevent children from helping their mothers tie tobacco leaves and to allow the children to play in a safer environment.

c) Ensuring that tobacco companies follow one of the best practices introduced by some tobacco companies using the STP Guidance, which is conducting Farmers Register Survey (Survei Register Petani).

d) Establishing a partnership with local NGOs who will perform an assessment to select the village location for the pilot. This should be established prior to the implementation of the pilot programme in Jember. The selection of pilot villages considers criteria such as village staff's understanding of child labour issues, the presence of facilities such as Smart House or ASP (After School Programme) at schools located in the village, and availability of resources.

e) Inviting tobacco companies to share their experience in implementing the ASP or Smart House programme in order to replicate the success of these programmes. To support activities at the ASP and Smart House, the available resources should be effectively mobilised.

f) Establishing the Smart House in *dusun* can be an option. The Smart house can be built at various places at the community level, in places that can be easily accessed by children, such as the TPQ (Qur'anic learning centre for children) at *karang taruna* (youth organisation) or a community centre.

g) Addressing the poor understanding and awareness of child labour among children and parents by conducting a mapping of influential figures in the village who have the capacity to participate in the socialisation programme on children's rights for the community members. This initiative should also involve formal and informal educational institutions, Family Welfare and Empowerment (PKK), *majelis taklim*[ii], *karang taruna*, farmers and farm labourers—and most importantly—health workers and village leaders.

h) Encouraging tobacco companies to develop new technologies and innovations in tobacco handling and processing.

[ii]Name of a Muslim group activity, usually in the form of Qur'an recitation and religious lecture for women.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a contextual background of child labour across the globe and in turn compare it with the existing situation of child labour in Indonesia. It will also elaborate on the urgency of the study along with outlining the research question and objectives.

1.1 Situation of Child Labour across the Globe and Indonesia

The engagement of children in any form of child labour is conceptualised as a form of human rights violation by the global community, as child labour violates children's right to freedom, dignity and, security. Unfortunately, child labour continues to entrap millions of children around the world with the most recent global data estimating that as many as 168 million children were involved in child labour, or equivalent to 11% of the population of children. While children around the world can be found to be engaged in various forms of paid or unpaid work, concerns were raised particularly about children whose work is harmful to them physically, mentally or morally reprehensible – a concept known as child labour. Concerns were validated through the revelation that out of the 168 million child labourers, 85 million children were involved in work considered to be hazardous (ILO-IPEC, 2013).

Numerous studies have documented both long-term and short-term physiological and psychological implications of child labour. A study by Beegle, Dehejia, and Gatti (2009), for example, reveals that child labour has a long-term impact on future education attainment and income, and human capital depreciation. In terms of health, some studies suggest there are several health consequences for child workers, such as physical injuries due to the usage of heavy tools, heatstroke, exhaustion and respiratory illness likely caused by exposure to chemicals such as fertilizer (O'Donnell, Rosati, and van Doorslaer, 2005; Beegle, Dehejia, and Gatti, 2009). These health consequences of child labour depend on the types of work. Health consequences are usually measured by the probability of becoming ill or attaining an injury in the next couple of years.

A situational analysis of child labour worldwide shows that in 2013 the highest incidence of child labour was still in Sub-Saharan African countries and that the agriculture sector (98 million children or 59% of children population worldwide) continues to be the major employer of child labour. It is important to note that child labour can still be found in significant proportions in other sectors, such as in service (54 million children) and industrial sector (12 million children). Although poverty has long been attributed as the main factor of child labour, recent findings indicate the complexities of the issue of child labour as reflected in the higher incidence of child labour in middle-income countries (93.6 million children) than that in poorer countries (74.4 million children) (ILO-IPEC, 2013).

Like the situation around the world, Indonesia is no stranger to the issue of child labour. As a lower-middle income country and the fourth most populous country in the world, child labour is an "anticipated" socio-demographic tragedy. The numerous ratifications of the International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions on the prohibition of child labour and related national regulations are stacked against the thick wall of reality in which the contribution of child labourers remains large in Indonesia, both to the family and the wider business world in general. The government still faces difficulties collecting information on child labour, as most child labourers work in the informal sector, particularly in agriculture. The situation inhibits government efforts to estimate the magnitude of the problem, monitor, and develop a strategy to address the problem.

In 2009, Statistics Indonesia (or Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS) together with ILO-IPEC and Understanding Children's Work (UCW) conducted the Indonesia Child Labour Survey (ICLS) to map the prevalence of child labour in Indonesia. Since then the results have been the only available child labour specific data. The survey reveals that at the time, 4 million children aged 5–17 were child labourers. Staggeringly, 58% of all child labourers aged 7–14 worked in agriculture, and half of them were exposed to hazardous work. Child labour incidences in Indonesia are concentrated in rural areas, in family-business style work. However, still little can be said about the type of family workers and land ownership. The nature of agriculture in rural Indonesia is highly labour-intensive and manual (not mechanised), thus absorbing a large proportion of child labour.

Amigo (2010) identified that children contribute significantly to the need for massive labour in the production of tobacco, hence the persistent occurrence of child labour in the tobacco industry. McKnight and Spiller (2005) stated that child labour in tobacco growing garners more concern than other crops because the tobacco plant itself is already a source of biohazard without the addition of pesticides, which are external to the plant. Past research found that the moisture on tobacco leaves contains as much as 9 mg of dissolved nicotine, which is roughly equivalent to the nicotine content of six cigarettes, increasing the risk of Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS). Green Tobacco Sickness or acute nicotine poisoning is a unique occupational hazard for workers in the tobacco growing industry. GTS occurs when workers absorb nicotine through their skin as they come into contact with green tobacco leaves. Symptoms of GTS include nausea, vomiting, headache, muscle weakness and dizziness. Even though the occurrence of GTS is still a widely debated medical topic, findings from several studies have determined that children are far more vulnerable to GTS as they are yet to develop physiologically and have lower tolerance to nicotine compared to adults, thus raising concerns about child labour in the tobacco growing industry.

1.2 Global and Local Efforts towards the Elimination of Child Labour

The prohibition of child labour, particularly the involvement of children in the worst forms of child labour has been a major concern of the global community. While child labour has been reported to have decreased significantly over the past 12 years, the number of child labourers as reported in the 2012 International Labour Law Global Report emphasizes the urgency to eradicate child labour. The first milestone in the battle against child labour was achieved through the the development of a set of legal boundaries against Child Labour and the Worst Forms of Child Labour (ILO Convention No. 138, 1973; ILO Convention No. 182, 1999). Signatory countries are then responsible for translating the conventions into their national regulations along with establishing concrete actions to aid the eradication of child labour.

Internationally many actors have contributed to accelerating the eradication of child labour around the world. ILO initiated a child-labour focused programme known as the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC), which was formed in 1992 (ILO-IPEC, 2013). With the acknowledgement that the issue of child labour in each country is culturally sensitive, the programme operated within a country-based framework, though it had similar main components across the various countries, including policy reform, building institutional capacity and aiding the development of concrete measures to end child labour. Currently ILO-IPEC has been a growing collaboration engaging several organisations for worker and employer, governmental institutions, private businesses, community-based organisations, NGOs, media, parliamentarians, judiciary, and universities in several countries. As a sector-oriented approach, the Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing (ECLT) Foundation was established in 2000 with a focus on eliminating child labour in tobacco agriculture. ECLT developed a holistic and community-based approach to child

labour eradication with specific objectives, including withdrawing children from child labour in tobacco growing areas, ensuring their access to education and other basic services, as well as improving the livelihoods of their parents and households. A number of multinational companies in the tobacco industry have also taken further steps by implementing the Sustainable Tobacco Production (STP) Programme within their companies to ensure that the supply chain does not involve children (further elaboration on STP programme can be found in section 2.1.3).

As one of the exemplary countries regarding the abolition of child labour, Indonesia has implemented several steps to accelerate the effort, including translating the ILO conventions into the national regulation, such as Indonesian Labour Law (Undang-Undang No. 13, 2003). Aside from the established regulations prohibiting child labour, the government of Indonesia developed a time-bound programme known as Rencana Aksi Nasional – Penghapusan Bentuk-Bentuk Pekerjaan Terburuk untuk Anak (RAN-PBPTA) (National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour) in 2002 through Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002, which consists of three phases (Phase I from 2002–2007, Phase II from 2008–2012, and Phase III from 2013–2022). To support the implementation of RAN-PBPTA, the Ministry of Labour and Transmigration (currently the Ministry of Labour) developed the Roadmap towards a Child Labour-Free Indonesia in 2022. The roadmap serves as a strategic guideline and working plan for all stakeholders, including government officials, the private sector, and nongovernmental organisations. The roadmap also details key issues and challenges faced during the first phase of RAN-PBPTA. To date, Indonesia has entered the second phase of RAN-PBPTA (2013–2022).

The government has also diversified its efforts by developing a child-labour withdrawal programme known as the Programme for Reducing Child Labour in order to Support the Indonesia's Household CCT Programme (PPA-PKH). The programme aims at reducing child labour among PKH – targeted households by providing children with motivational and academic training for one month at a training camp, and consultation sessions with social workers prior to their return to school (ILO, 2013). In addition to the two programmes, the government is also implementing efforts to advocate against the issue of child labour to the public as well as monitoring workplaces and working sectors where children are potentially involved to ensure no violations against the child labour regulations occur.

Similarly, the private sector also participates in efforts to eliminate child labour by monitoring and ensuring that there are no children involved in their production chain. Particularly, multinational tobacco companies operating in Indonesia adhere to a strict code of conduct, with a specific emphasis on the issue of child labour in their supply chains, hence the inclusion of a no-child labour clause in the contracts with their farmers. Companies also conduct their own monitoring of their farmers to ensure no incidences of child labour occur. Civil society organisations, on the other hand, are active in their pursuit of advocacy against and socializing the prohibition of child labour. To strengthen their capacity in eradicating child labour, civil society organisations which are concerned with the issue have joined forces to establish a network known as JARAK – Jaringan Penanggulangan Pekerja Anak (Network of NGOs Working for the Elimination of Child Labour in Indonesia). To date, there are 50 civil society organisations which are members of the network, which actively develops programmes to accelerate efforts toward eliminating child labour, awareness raising, policymaking and advocacy. Despite the efforts implemented by relevant sectors, there is a shortage of data detailing the magnitude of the child labour issue in the country.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

Indonesia is one of the largest tobacco producers in the world. However, the national lack of sector-specific information regarding the situation of child labour resulted in a consensus across stakeholders on the urgency of exploring the issue of child labour in the context of tobacco growing. In 2015, the ECLT Foundation conducted a series of consultations with various stakeholders in Indonesia, including key national government and ministerial representatives (the Ministries of Labour, Women Empowerment & Child Protection, Development Planning, and Education & Culture), tobacco companies (Alliance One, BAT/Bentoel, PMI/Sampoerna, Sadhana, and Universal), farmer representatives (AMTI & APTI), and ILO. All stakeholders involved in the consultations agreed that the lack of data from both the agricultural, and sub-sector (i.e., tobacco-growing) has been an impediment. It was expressed across stakeholders, that without sufficient up-to-date data on child labour incidences in tobacco growing areas, it is difficult to determine potential specific interventions. While the ECLT member companies have been gathering data in their respective areas of implementation, it is understood that this data would be insufficient across the sectors. Therefore, a broader survey on child labour in agriculture, with a priority on tobacco growing areas, was recommended and considered to be of value.

Responding to this need, the ECLT Foundation commissioned the SMERU Research Institute to conduct a study on child labour in two provinces: West Nusa Tenggara and East Java. Both locations are among the largest tobacco growing areas in Indonesia. In brief, this research aims to:

a) Describe the working conditions of children working in small scale tobacco farms (prevalence, type of work, exposure to hazards, economic contribution, access to health and education services and social protection programmes).
b) Identify the root-causes of child labour in small-scale tobacco farms, and factors which contribute to this problem (including push and pull factors and level of awareness)
c) Map and formulate potential solutions, which aim to eliminate the root causes of child labour and support awareness raising efforts.

In general, this study addresses the main question of "What are potential sustainable solutions to addressing child labour issues in the agricultural sector, especially in small-scale tobacco farms?" In addressing this main question, this study will aim to answer the following more detailed questions:

a) What is the situation of child labour in agriculture, especially in small-scale tobacco farms? (in terms of the prevalence, type of work that they are engaging in, exposure to hazardous environments, economic value of their work to their households, and their access to education, health services, and social protection programmes)
b) What are the root-causes of child labour in small-scale tobacco farms, and what factors have contributed to this problem? (including push and pull factors and awareness)
c) What resources are available and/or have the potential to be leveraged to help address the root causes and support awareness raising efforts on child labour?

1.4 Report Structure

The report is structured as follows - Chapter II details the mixed-methods of quantitative and qualitative methodologies adopted in the study. Chapter III elaborates on the prevalence of child labour in general, as well as specifically in tobacco growing. Chapter IV analyses the push and pull factors of child labour in the study area, and Chapter V maps the identified resources and potential

solution. Last but not least, Chapter VI will highlight available resources and potential solutions to eliminate child labour, in particular related to tobacco growing within the study area. Chapter VII will be reserved for the appendices, in which the detailed technical aspects of the study and additional data that are not presented in the main body of the reports will be provided.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Definition

Children's involvement in various form of employment, paid or non-paid, exists to various extents. Notably, there are a number of children engaged in forms of work that do not affect their health, personal development or schooling. Unlike child labour, which deprives children of their freedom and opportunities, these forms of work are generally deemed to contribute positively to children's overall development and welfare. It is necessary to determine the extent of children's involvement in work prior to the categorisation of child labour. Broadly, children involved in a form of work, paid or non-paid, will be referred to as working children. Child labour is a sub-category of working children; while children working in hazardous work is a sub-category of child labour.

2.1.1 Definition of Working Children

The term working children in this study refers to the definition developed by the Ministry of Labour which was adopted in the Indonesian Child Labour Survey (2009). Children aged 5–17 are permitted to work when the nuance of the work task is either to help their parents, to learn new skills or to help children to understand their responsibilities, such as performing household chores or working for the family business. In general, the definition established by MoL is in accordance with ILO's definition, whereby children are working (economically active) in either informal or formal sectors for at least an hour. To provide a clearer guideline, MoL developed the following guidelines in defining acceptable forms of work for children:

a) Helping their parents with light tasks;
b) The nuances of the work is with the purposes of training, learning/practice;
c) Children are still enrolled and active in school;
d) Conducted during children's spare time for a relatively short amount of time;
e) Children's safety and health are ensured.

In the quantitative analysis, this study conceptualised working children to be aged between 5–17 years who are working for at least an hour in a day. The definition of a hazardous task will be explained in the section 2.1.3 below.

2.1.2 Definition of Child Labour

This study used two definitions of child labour for its statistical measurements, in an attempt to ensure that calculations of prevalence are aligned with both the global and the national government's standards. The first definition of child labour in this study is as operationalised in the Indonesia Child Labour Survey (2009). The second definition of child labour utilised is based on Indonesian Labour Law (Undang-Undang No. 13, 2003).

a) Definition According to ILO

In 2009, Statistics Indonesia partnered with ILO-IPEC Indonesia conducted a Child Labour Survey. The definition employed in this prior survey is adopted as the first scheme used to calculate the prevalence of child labour. The categorisation of child labour is based on three concepts; age, working hours, and nature of work:

(1) Aged 5–12 years and work (economically active)

(2) Aged 13–14 years and work for more than 15 hours per week

(3) Aged 15–17 years and work for more than 40 hours per week

(4) Aged 5–17 years and the work is categorised as hazardous

The definition above is used as the main child labour calculation scheme, thus further analysis of child labour and child labourers in this report will be based on this ILO scheme. The inclusion of the second scheme described below (the calculation of child labour based on the national labour law) is to provide a juxtaposition, particularly, on the prevalence of child labour.

b) Definition According to Indonesian Labour Law

Indonesia has ratified both ILO Convention No. 138 (1973) on the minimum employment age and ILO Convention No. 182 (1999) on the Worst Forms of Child Labour. The ratification of the two conventions is reflected in paragraph 2 of the National Labour Law. Building on this law, the second scheme for defining child labour is any child who is:

(1) under 13 years old and works (economically active).

(2) 13–15 years of age and works more than 21 hours per week or works outside the family farm/business.

(3) 16–17 years of age and works more than 21 hours per week.

(4) under 18 years old and whose work is categorised as hazardous.

As the terms hazardous work and light work are not clearly conceptualised in the existing law, particularly when it comes to tobacco-growing related work, child labour guidelines in the STP—which are commonly used by multinational tobacco companies—will be incorporated into the calculation of the first and second schemes in defining hazardous work. Thus, any task which is not categorised as hazardous will be categorised as light work.

2.1.3 Definition of Hazardous Work

The conceptualisation of hazardous work for children in this study is bound by three guidelines: ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour), ILO Recommendation No. 190 concerning Hazardous Work (1999), and STP guideline. Through ILO Convention No. 182, Article 3, the concept of the Worst Forms of Child Labour becomes a binding legislation in defining child labour. The convention concerns itself with the identification and prohibition of the worst forms of child labour, including hazardous work or any other activities which are likely to harm the health, safety and morals of the children (see Table 1). Hence, based on this convention, hazardous work is broadly defined as "work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morale of children." A detailed elaboration of hazardous work is enlisted through ILO Recommendation No. 190 (1999), as presented in Table 2.

As this study places an emphasis on tobacco growing, it also refers to the child labour guidelines in the STP programme. The STP programme by AB Sustain is an industry-wide initiative by the tobacco industry aiming at ensuring quality, continuous improvement, and sustainability across the tobacco industry. One of the key sustainability areas stressed in the programme is child labour, which entails the guideline addressing the hazardous work of child labourers in the tobacco industry, particularly in agriculture. The conceptualisation of hazardous work for children stated in STP is loosely adopted from ILO Recommendation No. 190 (1999) with the particular addition of the hazards of green tobacco exposure—unique hazards found only in tobacco farming which can potentially result in GTS.

Table 1. Worst Forms of Child Labour according to ILO Convention No.182

No	Worst Forms of Child Labour
1	All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict
2	The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances
3	The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties
4	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

Source: ILO Convention No.182.

Table 2. Hazardous Work based on ILO and AB Sustain's STP Programme

ILO Recommendation No. 190	Sustainable Tobacco Production by AB Sustain
Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse	Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse
Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces	Work underground, underwater, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces
Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads	Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads
Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health	Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to extreme temperatures, noise levels or vibrations damaging to their health
Work under particularly difficult conditions, such as working for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer	Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night—or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer/parent
	Physical contact with green tobacco leaves

Source: ILO Recommendation No. 190 and the STP.

Emphasizing the occurrence of child labour in tobacco growing, this study acknowledges the particular need to identify hazardous activities within tobacco farming. Based on consultations with stakeholders throughout this study, the utilisation of STP child labour guidelines, ILO Recommendation 190 (1999), and literature review - particularly on GTS, this study has identified 36 out of 62 activities within tobacco growing which are categorised as hazardous for children. These are presented in Table 3. The types of hazards associated with each activity are outlined in Appendix 1: Table A1.

Table 3. List of Hazardous Activities in Tobacco Growing

1. Seedbed preparation	17. Harvesting green tobacco	28. Drying and curing green tobacco leaves
2. Applying pesticides (CPA)	18. Green tobacco hauling	29. *Penyujenan* (sticking) – The process of bundling tobacco leaves using a stick prior to hanging them to be dried
3. Fertilising seedbeds	19. Packing green tobacco leaves	30. *Gelantang* (Tying)
4. Clipping	20. Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)	31. Hanging bundles of green tobacco leaves
5. Plowing the land	21. Cutting, preparing and arranging curing fuel	32. Loading green tobacco leaves into the curing barn
6. Preparing drainage	22. Placing the curing fuel into the furnace	33. Arranging green tobacco leaves inside the curing barn
7. Ridging	23. Arranging green tobacco leaves	34. Supervising curing barn
8. Fertilising	24. Removing the midrib of green tobacco leaves	35. Unloading dried tobacco leaves from the curing barn
9. Tilling the land	25. Folding green tobacco leaves	36. Packing before selling
10. Weeding	26. Arranging folded green tobacco leaves	
11. Spraying the land with pesticides	27. Finely chopping green tobacco leaves	
12. Topping – Cutting off the top leaves		
13. Suckering – removing sprouts		
14. Re-redging		
15. Applying of substance used to inhibit the growth of sprouts – Suckercide		
16. Fertlising		

Source: SMERU research team, 2016.

It is important to note that while this study has identified hazardous tasks within tobacco growing, the weight of the hazard of each task is not identified. This study treats each hazardous activity with the same intensity regardless of the types of exposure, as this study did not measure nor analyse the intensity or the extent of exposure for each hazard. Furthermore, this study is also unable to provide the same extent of hazard identification for other sectors, as it did in tobacco. Therefore, the statistical estimates of child labour in other working sectors depend on the type of hazards as enlisted according to the ILO Recommendation.

2.2 Research Framework

In identifying the causes and determinants of child labour, this study uses as a reference the supply and demand model developed by ILO and ACT/EMP, as presented in Figure 1 (Nippierd, Gros-Louis, and Vandenberg, 2007). The supply side comprises three factors, namely poverty, social norms, and education. The demand factors include demands from parents' farms or businesses as well as demand from other businesses. The combination of supply and demand contribute to the continued incidence of child labour globally.

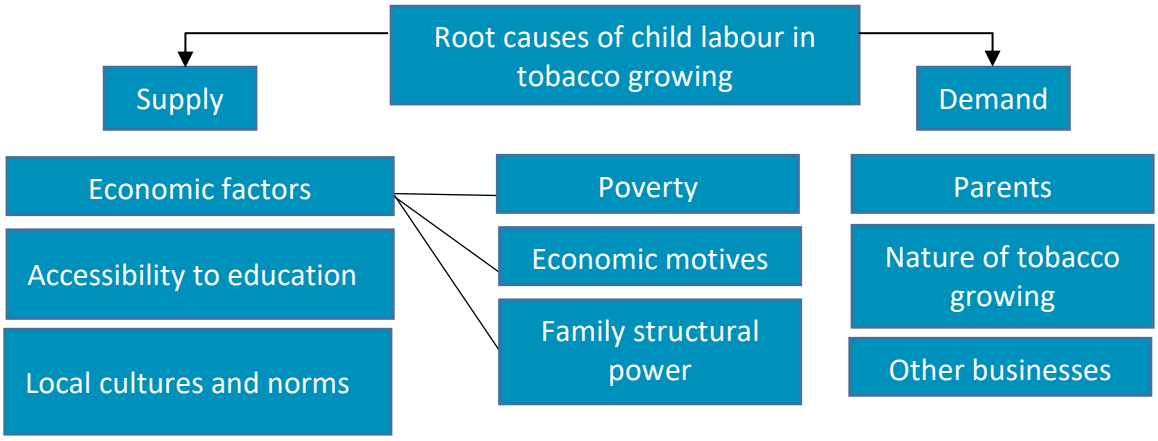


Figure 1. Supply and demand factors of child labour in tobacco growing

Source: ACTEMP, 2007.

Amigo (2010) identified economic factors, comprising of poverty, family structural power and economic motives, as the leading factor in child labour. Due to a family's low income, the children's ability to contribute economically becomes an integral part in the family's ability to fulfill their basic needs. The importance of children's contribution becomes a motivation for children to earn money. The study also discovered that children were very much aware of the value they represent in the family, therefore children were committed to working so they can ease the family's economic burden (University of North Sumatra, 2004; Amigo, 2010). Children are also sometimes influenced to work based on the decision of their parents, which the child is unable to challenge. This relates to the family's structural power, where children are at the bottom of the structure. A study of child labour in rural Kenya found that children contribute as much as 7% to the household income, which indicates the dependency of poor households on children's active financial contribution (Cockburn, 2002).

Lack of access to education is another push factor of child labour. Studies (Organisasi Perburuhan Internasional, 2007; SEATCA, 2013) have shown that limited access to education, good quality education at a low cost, pushes children to enter the workforce. Due to the high price of education, children who live in poverty are often forced to choose work over school in order to earn an income.

Lastly, recent studies have also indicated that local norms play a crucial role in encouraging child labour. Amigo (2010) noted in her study of child labour in Indonesia that when a child is old enough to communicate, roughly 5 or 6 years old, there is already an expectation for them to actively contribute to the family's economy. Congruently, another study (Nurhadi, 2015) found a rather positive perception regarding child labour stemming from an understanding that child labourers represent children's successful independence from their parents and the ethic of hard work.

In this study, we categorise the push factors as the factors of the individual's agency and family factors. This consists of awareness and understanding, opportunities, and economic motivation. On the other hand, the pull factors are defined as factors that attract children to enter the working sector. This includes the conditions of the labour market and community norms.

2.3 Research Process

This study spanned over a one year time-frame, from July 2016 until July 2017. It was a long process entailing both field work and extensive consultions with stakeholders at both national and *kabupaten* (district) levels. The study began with a stakeholder consultation involving national and provincial (East Java and West Nusa Tenggara) levels of government and non-government stakeholders. It was held in mid July and was aimed at selecting the sample *kabupaten*. After a consensus was reached on the study sites, i.e., Jember and Lombok Timur, consultations were organised in each *kabupaten* to select sample villages and to gain initial input on the condition of child labour in the *kabupaten*. These consultations were then followed by an exploratory study, which was conducted in mid-August with the aim of becoming familiar with the custom of tobacco growing in each location. The quantitative survey was then conducted, spanning between the end of September and mid-October 2016. Two months after the quantitative survey, the team conducted the qualitative study. The first was in Lombok Timur and then followed by Jember. *Kabupaten* level consultations were conducted at the end of qualitative fieldwork to explore possible solutions and available resources in relation to child labour elimination in tobacco growing areas. Upon completion of the report, the study was presented to the Government of Indonesia – i.e., Ministry of National Development Planning and Ministry of Labour, ECLT-related corporations, and the ILO office in Indonesia.

2.4 Data Collection Method

This study adopted a mixed-method approach whereby both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilised to allow the study to determine the magnitude of the problem, as well as an understanding of the background of the problem, such as culture and norms, motivation, general perceptions of child labour, as well as the overall local context in the communities. The quantitative approach utilised the survey method, while the qualitative data collection was conducted by combining in-depth interviews, group discussions and visual methodology, which will be further elaborated below.

This study is located in East Java and West Nusa Tenggara provinces, which were purposively chosen as they are some of the largest producers of tobacco in Indonesia. The selection of the two *kabupaten* and 10 villages (5 villages in Lombok Timur, 5 villages in Jember) was carried out through a consultation meeting attended by regional government officials and private sectors – namely tobacco companies, NGOs and other relevant community-based organisations. The household surveys and interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and local languages (Sasak in Lombok Timur, Maduranese and Javanese in Jember). The research team hired ten local enumerators and two regional qualitative researchers, who master the local languages to facilitate the data collection process.

2.4.1 Quantitative Study Design and Instruments

The quantitative data collection was conducted through a household (HH) survey from 2nd to 26th of October 2016. The survey questionnaire consisted of seven modules. The details of the modules are described in Table 4.

Table 4. Questionnaire Modules

Module	Description	Source of Information	Level
Z	Information on interview: where, when, and by whom the interview will be conducted and information on household location/GPS (Cover Module)	Main household informant	Household
A	All household members' basic information, including: age, gender, relationships, marriage status, education, and working status	Main household informant	Individual
B	Information related to working activities carried out by children. This includes information on wages, risks, duration of working activities, and others	HH members – all children aged 5–17 who are categorised as working	Individual
C	Information on children's use of time over the past seven days	HH members - all children aged 5–17	Individual
D	Information on children's past working activities	HH members - all children aged 5–17	Individual
E	Information on other household members who work	Main household informant	Individual
F	Information on access to public facilities and social assistance	Main household informant	Household

Source: SMERU research team, 2016.

Household samples were selected at the village level using probabilistic random sampling based on the proportion of population, taking into account the representativeness of population by *rukun warga* (RW[1]) and *rukun tetangga* (RT[2]) at the selected *dusun*[3]. For each selected village, four *dusun* were chosen through a systematic random sampling approach. If the number of *dusun* in the village is less than four, all *dusun* were surveyed. If the number of *dusun* in the village is more than four, the four *dusun* were selected through the method of systematic random sampling. A full explanation of the selection method is presented in Appendix 2. The distribution of RW and RT for each *dusun* and village is presented in Appendix 3: Table A2 and Appendix 4: Table A3. The selection criteria for an eligible household is a household with at least one member between the age of 5–17 years old. In the case that a selected household did not have a member within the specified age-group, the enumerator would randomly visit other households in the same RT or RW to ensure the fulfilment of 100 hourshold per village. This study interviewed 100 households from each village. In total, 4,016 individuals (adults and children) were interviewed over all ten villages.

2.4.2 Qualitative Study Design and Instrument

The qualitative data collection combined interviews, group discussions, and visual methodology. In-depth interviews were conducted individually and in groups. Group discussions were conducted in the form of focused group discussions (FGD) and lastly the visual methodology opted for in this study was photo-elicitation interviews (PEI). PEI was utilised in this study to capture information about children's activities, especially those related to their involvement in tobacco growing, through visual documentation taken by the children themselves. Children were then asked to tell the story behind the pictures being taken.

[1]RW is a unit of local administration consisting of several RT (neighbourhood units) within a *kelurahan.*

[2]RT, or neighbourhood unit, is the smallest unit of local administration consisting of a number of households.

[3]A *dusun* is an administrative area within a village, consisting of a number of RT.

The qualitative study in Kabupaten Lombok Timur was conducted from the 5th to 16th of December 2016 and in Kabupaten Jember from 4th to 15th of January 2017. Combining these methods allowed the study to capture the experience and perception of children's involvement in tobacco growing at the individual, household, and community level. Children and parents were the main respondents in this study. Other adult respondents were interviewed based on their involvement in the tobacco growing sector, their knowledge and their experience with child labour in tobacco growing (see Appendix 5: Table A4). Below is a detailed list of the respondents in the qualitative study:

a) Key Informants in-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviews with key informants were conducted across different levels. At the national level, key informants included related ministries (e.g., Ministry of Labour, Ministry of National Development) and international NGOs, such as UNICEF, International Labour Organisation, Save the Children Indonesia and Human Rights Watch. At the village level, key-informants comprised of community figures and village officials. To obtain information from the tobacco industry, interviews with selected tobacco companies were conducted. All tobacco companies interviewed are members of the ECLT Foundation, which includes H.M. Sampoerna, Sadhana, Alliance One International, Universal and British American Tobacco.

b) In-Depth Interviews with Child Labourers and Parents

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with selected child labourers identified through the quantitative surveys. Child labourers chosen to be respondents were a representation of children with varying working hours, some having extensive working hours (up to 30 hours per week), some were a median and a few were working the minimum working hours (up to 1 hour per week). Variations of gender and age were also taken into consideration. The information obtained was used to interpret the findings from the survey, as well as supplement information on children's perceptions of and motivations for their involvement. Each child labourer was interviewed along with their parents to obtain information on their familial background. Interviews with children and parents were conducted in separate locations. Interviews with parents were conducted with the aim of mapping the familial background of child labour, such as cultural and local customs.

c) Group Interviews with Mothers

A particularly unique aspect of tobacco season is mothers bringing their children (babies to pre-school age) to work with them, whether it is working in the field or in the workstation. A group interview with mothers who bring their children to work was conducted in each village, with the number of mothers in each group varying between three to five mothers. The group interview aimed to explore the customs and perceptions regarding children's involvement in tobacco growing, along with assessing awareness on hazardous work in tobacco growing.

d) Focus Group Discussion

A total of five focus group discussions were conducted in each study site. In general FGDs were aimed at capturing the practice of child labour in the village therefore providing the contextual information used to interpret the quantitative analysis. The FGD was also used to map potential resources and formulate potential solutions at the village level in relation to the elimination of child labour. Each focus group discussion consisted of 8–10 participants which were grouped as follows:

(1) Village elites – a representative village official, health official, educator, contracted farmer, non-contracted farmer, and community figure
(2) Parents – fathers
(3) Parents – mothers

(4) Boys aged 13–17 years
(5) Girls aged 13–17 years

e) Photo Elicitation Interviews

Children with extensive working hours, 20 hours per week and above, were chosen to take part in photo-elicitation interviews. This enabled the study to capture children's daily involvement in tobacco growing in its natural state, without researcher's physical interruption. A camera was given to each child, upon receiving permission from both parents and the child, for one day. Children were then instructed to take pictures of every activity they did for the whole day. An interview was then conducted based on the pictures they took. In total, eight children (five in Jember and three in Lombok Timur) were involved in this activity.

2.4.3 Study Limitations

This study faces several limitations mainly in the data collection process. Most prominently, due to the unexpected early start of the rainy season, many tobacco farmers had begun harvesting earlier than the regular schedule. Therefore, the data collection was conducted at the end of tobacco season, and some villages had entered the new season for planting other commodities, particularly rice. The research team did not fully capture the busiest part of the tobacco growing season in some locations, which occurs during the peak of harvesting. There is also a potential for recall bias, since most of the respondents interviewed had to recall information about their activities related to tobacco growing. Limitations related to the methodologies of this study are outlined in more detail below:

a) Quantitative Study

Firstly, the design of the quantitative study aimed to provide a level of representativeness at the village level. When the research team carried out data collection across the villages, it was found that there is lack of information regarding the number of households which have children aged 5–17 years. This became a challenge in the process of sample weighting. This challenge was partially addressed by using the 2010 Population Census results. Thus, the probability weight in this study depends on the proportion of households with child-aged members according to the 2010 Population Census. Second was the lack of information on activities in other sectors to compare to tobacco. Third, with regard to identifying any information related to the status (partnership with tobacco companies) of tobacco farmers who employ children on their farms, we found that children did not provide reliable information. Fourth, the questionnaire was designed based on the child labour definition developed by ILO and Statistics Indonesia in the Indonesia Child Labour Survey. Yet, this study also attempts to estimate child labour prevalence based on the national labour law which comprises more detailed criteria than those of ILO. The more detailed criteria were not captured in the questionnaire.

b) Qualitative Study

Geographical distances and time constraints were major obstacles during the data collection process. These constraints resulted in the team's inability to select respondents who are truly representative of the village. Due to distance, the team were unable to invite FGD respondents from different *dusun*. Time constraints lead to the team to prioritise respondents' experiences with tobacco, thus respondents might only be representative of the *dusun* instead of at the village level.

2.5 Data Analysis

2.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Prevalence is the descriptive statistical analysis used to depict the proportion and percentage of a certain characteristic. Prevalence calculates an occurrence against the entire population in the study area. Findings of prevalence will be reported at the village and *kabupaten* level. An analysis of prevalence is calculated by village to enable the study to capture the phenomenon of child labour in each village while at the same time making a comparison across villages. Estimates of prevalence reported by the *kabupaten* are calculated to make a comparison between the five sample villages in Jember and the five sample villages in Lombok Timur. However, they do not represent the conditions at the *kabupaten* level.

In order to understand the association between all of the variables included in this study and the probability of becoming a child labourer, we adopted a household production model to develop our own function to determine activities performed by children (Suryahadi, Priyambada, and Sumarto, 2005; Khanam, 2008). The effects on these variables are simultaneously observed as they are controlling for each other. The model used three characteristics related to a child's probability of becoming a child labourer:

$$\mathbf{Y_i = B_1 x_{1i} + B_2 x_{2i} + B_3 x_{3i} + e \ldots . (1)}$$

Where Y is the probability of children being involved in labour, be it in general sectors or specifically in tobacco. Meanwhile, for independent variables we have used x_1 to represent children's characteristics, including age, age-squared, sex, birth order, and number of siblings. Then x_2 represents household characteristics which include housing quality, per capita income as a proxy for welfare, number of adult males in the house, household head education, employment status, and oldest female education in the house. Lastly, x_3 represents community characteristics, such as proportion of child labour and child labour in tobacco compared to the total number of children in the *dusun* (peer-effect) and the availability of public facilities, such as schools and village offices.

To further analyse the interactions between variabels of outcome we also created another four binary outcomes (1 or 0); children who are labourers, who only go to school, who go to school and work as a labourer, and who do neither. For these outcomes, we looked at children as labourers in general and in the tobacco industry only – by eliminating those working in the non-tobacco farming sector. These outcomes are tested with each independent variable by measuring the variables one by one until the model reached a good fit. We iterate the process of regression to make sure that collinearity and variable omitting are avoided. We group and regroup the variables to make sure model fit and re-categorisation of the variables did not take away important interpretations. An additional regression model was performed against the population of children living in tobacco growing households to reveal the probability of these children being involved in child labour in the tobacco industry. This process involved farmer and non-farmer household heads who are involved in the tobacco growing process.

Using datasets from the HH survey we performed the estimation using probit regression. To see how the model fit the data we compared models using the pseudo R-squared. Significance level is set at 95% Confidence Interval and p-value 0.05.

2.5.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Data obtained qualitatively consists of interviews (i.e group, in-depth & photo elicitation) and focused group disscusions. With the consideration of employing a naturalistic paradigm within the qualitative design, the multiple methodologies adopted across different levels of respondents were chosen for the purpose of triangulation. The data collected was analysed through a conventional content analysis. With conventional content analysis, coding categories are based solely on the data's text (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). To familiarise with the data, transcription was conducted prior to coding. The goal of adopting conventional content analysis was to enable this study to capture the phenomenon of child labour in its natural state, abstaining from the bias of preconceived categories. Categories and schemes which emerged are all extracted from the data collected.

2.6 Characteristics of Sample

The issue of child labour is largely dependent upon the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding environment. Thus, this chapter aims to provide a contextual background through providing a socio-economic description at the village, household and individual level. Information outlined in this chapter includes education level, gender and age of the surveyed population. Characteristics of the villages will also be highlighted to provide a contextual background against which the characteristics of the household and its members arise. Information on the characteristics of the village will include details such as the livelihood and living conditions of the population.

2.6.1 Characteristics of Villages and Households

Characteristics of all villages in both *kabupaten* tend to be very similar, particularly in terms of working sectors. The majority of the population in the study areas work in the agriculture sector – uniquely Lombok Timur has one village with the highest proportion (81.6%) of farmers and also the least proportion of farmers (39.15%). Figure 2 shows that the agriculture sector is slightly more prominent in Lombok Timur (66% of the population) than in Jember (48% of the population). Interviews with village officials confirmed that the majority of the village population, in both *kabupaten*, work in the agriculture sector. The majority of those working in agriculture are farm-labourers and only few are land owners.

> Statistically, the most common occupations in the village are 60% farmers and 20% traders. The remainder varies; there are also home industries producing tempeh and tofu. (Male, village head, Jember, 11 January 2017)

> Here, farmer is the dominant occupation – growing tobacco and rice. Sometimes, besides these two crops, they also grow chilli and beans. (Male, village official, Lombok Timur, 7 December 2016)

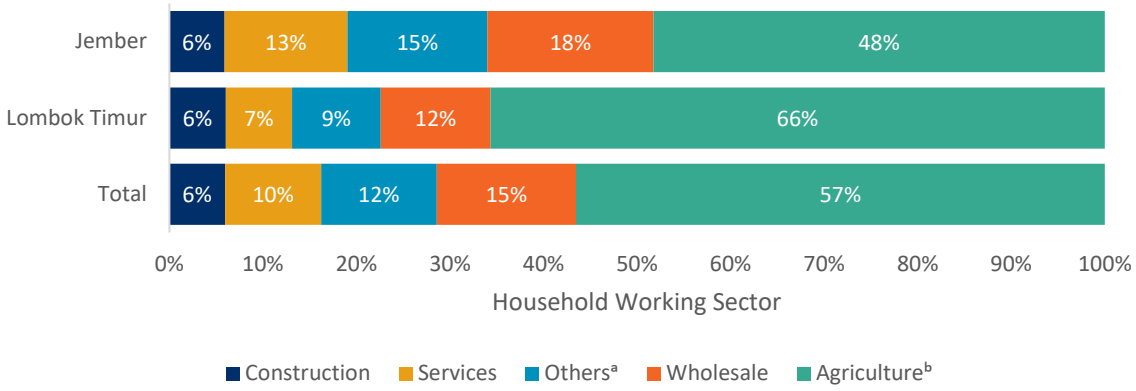


Figure 2. The working sectors of sample households

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: N total = 2,263; N Jember = 1,188; N Lombok Timur = 1,075

[a]Including fishery, ranch, electricity, gas, mining, transportation, finance, and home industry.

[b]Including horticulture and small-scale farming.

People in the villages are struggling against the lack of variety in terms of jobs, particularly for those living in Lombok Timur. The location of the villages in Jember are closer to the city centre compared to the villages in Lombok Timur, which are relatively more remote. Aside from being prominent, the agricultural sector was reported to be the only available working sector in the village. One village in Jember claimed to have a prominent trading sector. This resulted in the village population's dependency on the agricultural sector. A significant amount of the village population in Lombok Timur have migrated abroad to work as Indonesian migrant workers. Based on the 2014 Village Census, the combined number of migrant workers in Lombok Timur is almost 10 times the combined number of migrant workers in Jember.

Both Jember and Lombok Timur are well known for their tobacco. Lombok Timur accounted for 64% of tobacco produced in Indonesia in 2014.[4] Jember, on the other hand, suffered a significant reduction in tobacco production–due to volcanic ash rain–from producing 26.31% of Indonesia's tobacco in 2013 to only 8.55% in 2014. This was confirmed by a few interviews with village officials in Jember who reported that there has been a significant decline in tobacco production in their villages. Meanwhile, tobacco continued to reign as the leading product in almost all of the villages in Lombok Timur. Two *dusun* in Jember were reported to have ceased tobacco production in 2014 due to the extensive losses suffered by tobacco farmers. The high profit margin and compatibility of tobacco crops with the region's soil lead to the fertility of tobacco production and favorability of tobacco amongst villagers in Lombok Timur. Outside of tobacco season, farmers grow rice, chillis and corn.

> Since tobacco was introduced to the village, villagers chose to grow tobacco. The profit from tobacco is much larger than soybean, rice or corn. Everyone can feel the benefits, everyone can enjoy the benefits of growing tobacco. It even leads to the reduction of poverty. Everyone has a job here [during tobacco season]. (Male, religion leader, Lombok Timur, 10 December 2016)

Types of tobacco are more varied in Jember than in Lombok Timur. In Lombok Timur, villages included in the study cultivate two different types of tobacco: Virginia and Rajangan. Rajangan was found to be cultivated in one of the five villages in Lombok Timur. In Jember types of tobacco cultivated include Na-Oogst, Voor Oogst, Kasturi, White Burley and also Rajangan. Each village in

[4]Data from the Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Indonesia.

Jember produces a different types of tobacco, although one village in Jember produces both White Burley and Kasturi.

In terms of public facilities, the 2014 Village Census depicted that basic facilities in the villages in Jember are better than those of the villages in Lombok Timur. There are more villages in Jember which have public spaces, such as an open field or sports fields, compared to villages in Lombok Timur, although in terms of other facilities such as playgrounds, public libraries or hospitals all villages are lacking to the same extent. Access to higher education facilities, namely high school and above, are extremely limited, particularly in Lombok Timur. Two of the villages in Lombok Timur do not have any higher education facilities (tertiary education). The available schools are located at a significant distance from the residential area and are limited in numbers, burdening parents with additional school-related expenses. About 50% of the surveyed population aged five years or above have pre-/elementary school levels as their highest level of education, while the other 8% did not go to—or have never attended—school (see Appendix 8: Figure 3). There is even a study village in Jember of which 80% of the population have never attended school or are only pre-/elementary school graduates.

Table 5. The Characteristics of Household Samples

Household Characteristics	Jember			Lombok Timur		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Household Head						
Sex (N)	468	32	500	330	170	500
Age (mean)	43.97	44.87	44	42.84	39.15	41.6
Education (less than junior high school)[a]	56.62%	68.75%	57.40%	54.55%	64.71%	58.00%
Housing Condition						
House ownership (owned)	92.95%	93.75%	93.00%	93.94%	92.94%	93.60%
Roof (pantile)	98.72%	96.88%	98.60%	89.39%	87.06%	88.60%
Wall	80.56%	84.38%	80.80%	88.79%	72.94%	83.40%
Floor (ceramic)	47.64%	25%	46.2%	20.3%	18.23%	19.6%
Source of water (protected well)	62.39%	62.50%	62.40%	61.21%	64.71%	62.40%
Electricity power (450–900 watt)	84.83%	81.25%	84.60%	92.42%	88.24%	91.00%
Cooking fuel (gas)	59.83%	50.00%	59.20%	76.67%	76.47%	76.60%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

[a]Including "not attending/never attended school" and "pre-/elementary school".

As presented in Table 5, in terms of house ownership, the use of pantile roof and ceramic floor, households in Jember are in relatively better condition than Lombok Timur. However, regarding cooking fuel, Lombok Timur is better than Jember with 76.6% of households in Lombok Timur using gas for cooking fuel. Meanwhile, only 59.2% of households in Jember use gas for cooking fuel. The other households (39%) in Jember still prefer to use firewood and coconut shells for cooking. Table 5 also reveals that the number of female-headed households in Lombok Timur significantly outnumbers the number of female-headed households in Jember. According to interviews with village officials, this phenomenon is due to the high number of migrant workers in the Lombok Timur study areas. In terms of education attainment, female headed households tend to have a

lower level of education attainment than male headed households. This is rooted in the practice of child marriage, which forces girls to leave school at an early age and into the whirlwind of a wife's duties. This phenomenon was found in both study sites, Lombok Timur and Jember.

2.6.2 Characteristics of Children

The total number of children aged 5–17 years included in the study is 1,324. Overall, there are more girls than boys with the ratio being for every 100 girls, there are 94 boys. In Jember, there are more boys than girls (103:100), while in Lombok Timur the number of girls is higher than boys (100:94).

Based on educational levels, 63% of the total sample children are currently in elementary school (see Figure 3). This is reflected in the fact that the majority of sample children are between the ages of 5–12 years old (62.27%) (See Appendix 9: Table A5). This also indicates that most children in this study are attending school at the appropriate age. There were only very few children who were reported not to attend or to never attend school.

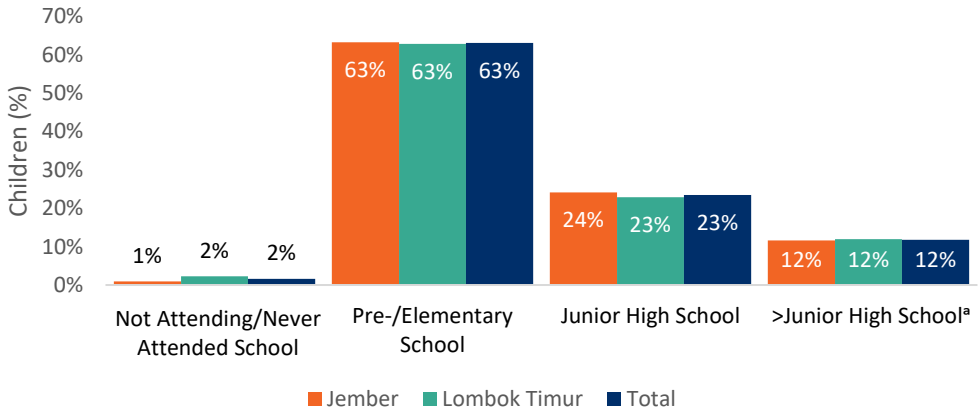


Figure 3. Children by education

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: N = 1,324; Jember = 664; Lombok Timur = 660

[a]Including senior high school and university.

In terms of the children's activities during the past year, 73% of the sample children reported that their daily activities had been attending school only (see Figure 4). The percentage of the children who reported to only attend school is higher for the sample villages in Jember than that for the sample villages in Lombok Timur. Reversely, the percentage of the children who reported to both attend school and work is higher for Lombok Timur than that for Jember (29% vs. 16%). There was only a small number of children whose main activity was reported to be only working. These children, on average, were 14 years old and had been dropped out of school in 2017. During this study, it was also found a child who had never attended school due to the child's very young age. Further discussion on the working children is presented in Chapter III.

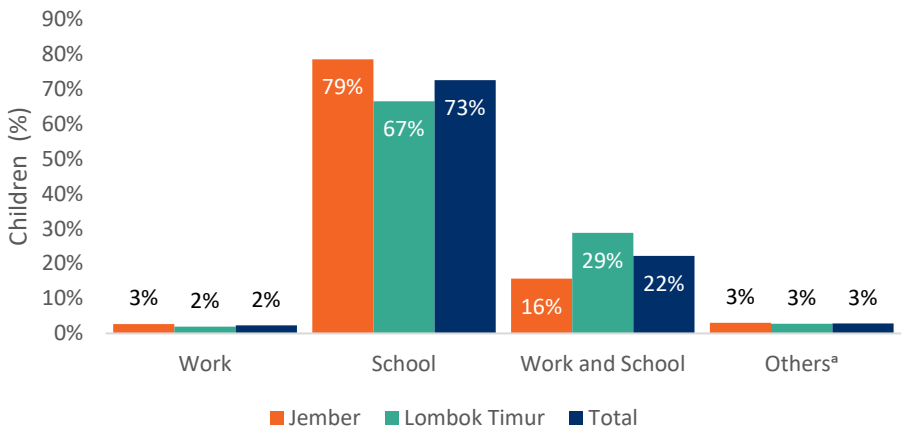


Figure 4. Children by activities during the past year

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: N=1,324; Jember = 664; Lombok Timur = 660

[a]Including looking for a job, leisure time, and domestic activities.

III. SITUATION OF CHILD LABOUR

3.1 Child Labour in General

This section provides a description of the situation of working children and child labour in various sectors in the study villages in Lombok Timur and Jember.

3.1.1 Children Working Status

Children's involvement in the working sector is differentiated into two categories—working children and child labour, as defined in Section 2.1. While the first concept is to a certain extent permissible by law, the latter concept is not as it puts children in hazardous conditions, as well as violating children's basic rights. Village officials in the study area have the tendency to be aware of the prohibition of child labour along with a normative comprehension of the concepts of child labour and working children. They stated that they have received information from *kabupaten* government offices regarding the prohibition of children's involvement in the working sector. However, their knowledge of the variety of hazardous working conditions is very minimum, thus, they perceived children to be child labourers only when the job was extreme and exploitative.

> Children usually work only to get two or three thousand rupiah, and then they go to play again. It's only for their additional pocket money. (Male, village official, Lombok Timur, 7 December 2016)

On the other hand, interviews with parents and community figures indicate that children's involvement in the working sector is very much a common occurrence to the extent where it has become a part of the villages' norms and local traditions. Community figures were found to consider that children were not productive enough to be classified as child labourers since their earnings are not enough to make a substantial contribution to household income. Interviews at the national level also reveal similar views, whereby becoming a child labourer is considered a way of life, especially for children from impoverished households. In general, children's involvement in working activities is classified as acceptable as long as the children still attend school, disregarding the implication of children's working activities on their educational activities and attainment.

> What I meant by 'voluntarily' is that it has become a kind of way of life. Because of their economic condition, they have to work. Most of those who work come from the households living below the poverty line. (Male, government official, Jakarta, 7 November 2016)

> It is normal to have our children involved. What else can we do to teach them the necessary skills? Learning from theory only is not enough, isn't it? If they don't master [the skills for doing agricultural work], how will they survive in the future? (Male, father of a child labourer, Jember, 8 January 2017)

> What differs children who only help [their parents] from those who are child labourers? Because they [the former] still go to school. Child labourers, they work all day. They don't go to school. (Male, contracted farmer, Jember, 7 January 2017)

The generally minimum knowledge and awareness of the prohibition of child labour is somewhat reflected in the high prevalence of child labour in the study villages in both *kabupaten*, with 14.31% in Jember and 28.33% in Lombok Timur (using the ILO standard). The findings are alarming because the estimated prevalence of child labour in this study is at least three times the national prevalence of child labour reported in the Indonesia Child Labour Survey in 2009, which was 6.9% (Badan Pusat Statistik and Organisasi Perburuhan Internasional, 2009), and is around four to seven times higher

than what was found in Indonesia's 2015 Intercensal Population Survey (2.84% in Jember and 4.76% in Lombok Timur).[5] These rates are also high by global standards, with ILO's estimate for the prevalence of child labour in Asia and the Pacific being 9.3% in 2012 (ILO-IPEC, 2013), and the 2013 survey in Bangladesh finding that the child labour prevalence in this country was around 4.3% (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

Table 6. Prevalence of Working Children and Child Labour

Kabupaten	Children Status	Number		Prevalence	
		ILO	Labour Law	ILO	Labour Law
Lombok Timur	Number of Children	660	660		
	Children Not Working	457	457	69.24%	69.24%
	Working Children	203	203	30.76%	30.76%
	Child Labour	187	189	28.33%	28.64%
	Child Labour in Hazardous Work	167	167	25.30%	25.30%
Jember	Number of Children	664	664		
	Children Not Working	542	542	81.63%	81.63%
	Working Children	122	122	18.37%	18.37%
	Child Labour	95	99	14.31%	14.91%
	Child Labour in Hazardous Work	80	80	12.05%	12.05%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Child labourers themselves were unaware of the concept of child labour. Questions were asked in every interview and group discussion about whether they had ever heard the term child labour (*pekerja anak*) and almost unanimously the answer was no. Only a small number of children reported having heard the term child labour through the television or mass media, but were unable to provide clear explanation of what it means to be a child labourer. Children acknowledged that their activities are classified as *bekerja* (working) because they are paid for their labour, contrary to the claims of community figures and village officials who chose the terms helping and hanging out with friends to describe children's activities. But the term 'child labour' was baffling for them, more so in terms of the negative connotations associated with the notion.

The concern regarding child labour is reinforced by the general lack of understanding around the variety of hazardous working conditions experienced by children. Nonetheless, the majority (around 84%–89%) of all child labourers involved are in hazardous work (see Table 6). Most children who are exposed to hazardous conditions work in the agriculture sector. Furthermore, the qualitative research interviews and group discussions revealed no differences in the general awareness of hazardous working conditions in both *kabupaten*.

Minister for Labour and Transmigration's Decree No. 235 Year 2003 classifies work in agriculture sector as one of the worst forms of child labour. Nevertheless, respondents in all levels—village, household, and children—perceived working in the agriculture sector to be safe for children. As a matter of fact, parents and child labourers are unaware of the existing regulations. Health officials in the village expressed their struggle in educating the village community about the hazardous working conditions, because the side effects of exposure are more likely to be subtle and not immediate making it difficult to make the association between hazardous working conditions and

[5]SMERU Research Team's calculation using 2015 Indonesia Intercensal Population Survey.

associated illnesses. Confirming health officials' statements, most parents and community figures as well as child labourers based their perception of the safeness of the job on their previous experiences or those of other people. As long as they are yet to witness or hear of anyone experiencing negative impacts from the work, they consider the job to be safe.

> Maybe for health officers, it is dangerous. But for the people here, it is clearly not dangerous 'cause there hasn't been anyone dying from working with tobacco. Supposedly there is someone dying from it, then you can call it dangerous. (Male, father of a child labourer, Lombok Timur, 7 December 2016)

Commonly known hazards, such as height, fire/heat and chemical exposure, were recognised by community figures, parents and village officials but in practice children were still found to be working under such conditions. This study noted that there were differences in the reporting of children's working activities between adults (i.e., parents, community figures, and village officials) and the child labourers themselves. Because adults often did not perceive the children to be involved in hazardous work, the information was not passed on to their children, meaning that most of the children are unaware that their work is hazardous.

3.1.2 Characteristics of Child Labourers

This section provides more detailed information on the characteristics of child labourers, in regard to gender, school participation, and age. Figure 5 reveals different gender patterns of child labour prevalence between Lombok Timur and Jember. In Lombok Timur, the prevalence of child labour is higher among females than males; while in Jember the prevalence of child labour in the male group is higher than the female group. It is important, however, to note that females are reported to be more involved in domestic chores, which are not regarded as economic work. The figure, however, reveals a similar situation at the national level finding that the prevalence of boys who leave school early is higher than girls. This might be associated with the common belief that because of their future role as breadwinners, boys have a greater responsibility than their female siblings to support their family. Thus, when faced with economic constraints, parents tend to rely on their sons to provide additional income more than on their daughters.

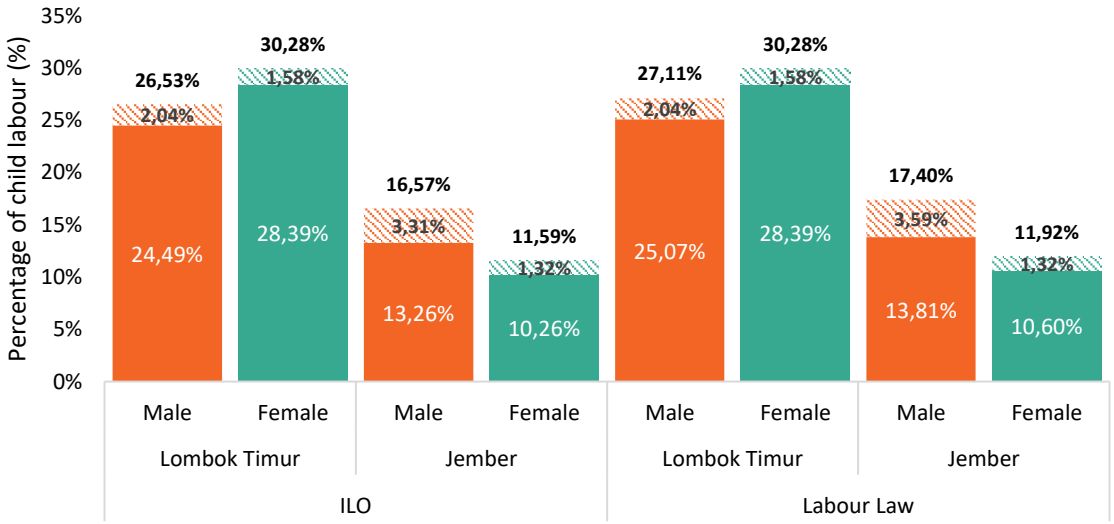


Figure 5. Prevalence of child labour by gender and education

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: In our calculation of children attending school, we excluded one child in Lombok Timur who is yet to attend school due to her young age (five years old).

Despite the slight differences between the ILO and Labour Law in terms of classifying child labour based on age (as mentioned previously in Section 2.1), the estimations based on both definitions result in the similar patterns. The highest number of child labourers occurs in the age group of 5–12 years (see Appendix 11: Table A7). However, the highest prevalences of child labourers occur in the oldest age groups of 15–17 years (ILO definition) and 16–17 years (Labour Law definition).

These findings are in line with the qualitative study that found a high tendency for migration in the study villages, particularly among older children (children aged senior high school or late junior high school), meaning that the absolute number of children in this age group is decreasing, creating excess demand for child labour. Moreover, children in the age group 15–17 (ILO) or 16–17 (Labour Law) are often not considered to be children by the community, and even by themselves, and are thus assigned with heavier tasks like transporting bundles of tobacco leaves from the field to the furnace.

Furthermore, the results indicate that the prevalence of school leavers is higher among older children. Compared to child labourers aged 13–14, amongst those aged 15–17 the prevalence of school leavers is four to five times higher. The problem of early school leavers is particularly serious for the age group of 16–17 in Jember, with one out of two child labourers no longer attending school. Meanwhile, the ratio of child labourers in the same age group in Lombok Timur is less than one fifth. Most of the children who leave school early either have difficulties accessing school or are implicated in child marriage. Of the four children who are married and have stopped going to school, one of them has been identified as a child labourer. Interviews with parents and village officials reported that the expectation for boys to support the family, particularly amongst impoverished households, starts after they graduate from middle school. Children and parents reported that it is hard to pursue higher education, such as senior high school, because the school is located outside the village, meaning there are increased costs associated with attaining such a level of education. Therefore, rather than continuing their education attainment, they instead opt for working so that they can contribute to family's income.

> If he works, we can have more money. Outside the tobacco season, jobs are hard to find. He certainly knows that his parents are not among the haves. He quit school at the eighth grade, didn't want to continue his school 'cause he wanted to help his father earn money for our family. (Female, mother, Jember, 10 January 2017)

Girls are faced with the expectation to be married after middle school so they can relieve the family's economic burden, because once they are married they will be the responsibility of their husband instead of their parents. Religious figures added parents' preference to marry their daughters off, as they believe the right timing for marriage to be once they reach puberty. This is marked by the start of menarche (13–15 years old) and is exacerbated by the belief that in the villages there is nothing else for girls to do.

> There is nothing else to do here. Schools of higher-level education are far from the village. So, it is better for them to get married. That way, we can prevent unwanted things related to juvenile delinquency. With the internet, teenagers nowadays are faced with so many negative influences and examples. (Male, village official, Lombok Timur, 9 December 2016)

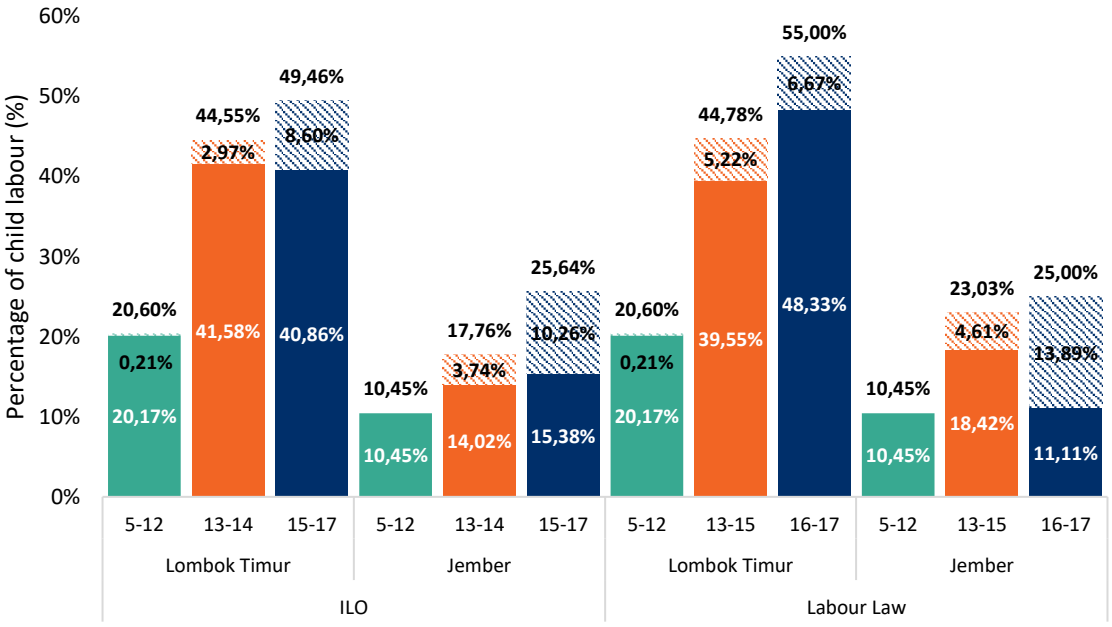


Figure 6. Prevalence of child labour by age group and education

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: In our calculation of children attending school, we excluded one child in Lombok Timur who is yet to attend school due to her age (five years old).

3.1.3 Working Sector and Seasonality

The majority of child labourers in the study villages are involved in the agriculture sector, with 66.32% in Jember and 85.03% in Lombok Timur. Meanwhile the rest (33.68% in Jember and 14.97% in Lombok Timur) are dispersed amongst non-agriculture sectors (wholesale, construction, services, etc.). Because all of the ten villages are well-known for their tobacco growing sector, the highest prevalence of child labour amongst agricultural commodities is in tobacco growing (Figure 7).

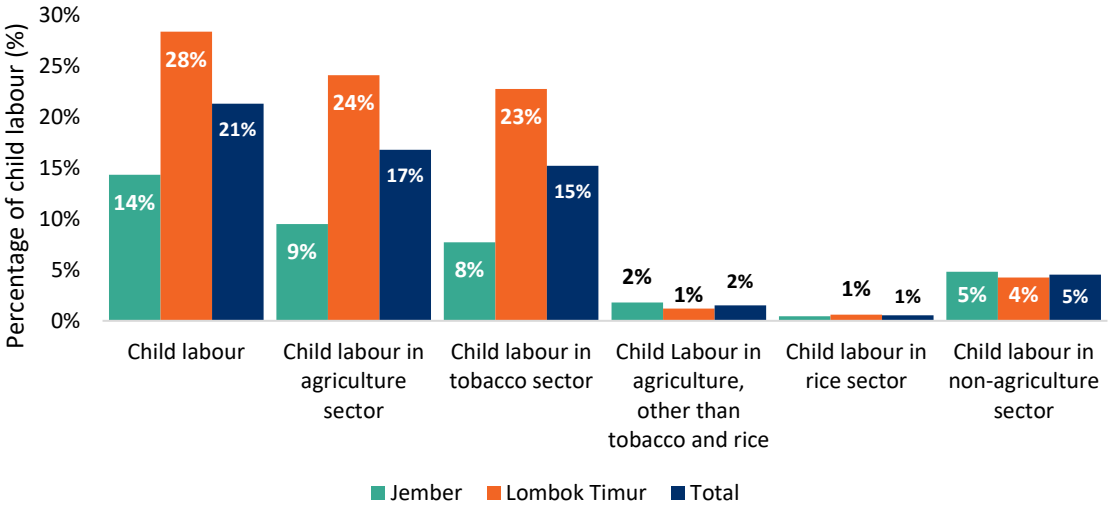


Figure 7. Prevalence of child labour in agriculture and other sectors

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

There are a number of reasons for the high number of children involved in tobacco growing. Firstly, tobacco growing has a lot more cultivation stages than any other agricultural commodity. Rice, for example, has only seven working stages in comparison to the 62 stages involved in tobacco growing which span from growing seedlings up to packing cured tobacco leaves. The extensive stages combined with lack of innovative technology have opened opportunities for children's involvement. In addition, respondents claimed that many of the stages in tobacco growing are menial and light, meaning that children can easily learn them through mere observation. Secondly, tobacco leaves need to be processed swiftly or otherwise they will be tainted thus reducing the selling price. Given the substantial amount of harvested tobacco, tobacco farmers conveyed that they are struggling to find enough labourers to process their harvested tobacco in a timely manner. Thus, to allow for maximum utility of the labourers, tobacco farmers adopted the by-piece immediate payment system whereby labourers receive payment in accordance to the number of products they have produced within a day. On the other hand, the payment strategy of other crops is likely to be in the form of *borongan*[6]. The by-piece immediate payment system is very appealing for children, since they will receive money immediately after working even if they only work for a short time period.

> Why [working in] tobacco? Well, because of the pay. Because of the money they receive. (Female, teacher, Jember, 12 January 2017)

And lastly, tobacco growing is viewed to be both economically and culturally significant for people in the study sites. As reported by respondents in both *kabupaten*, tobacco is considered to be the most profitable commodity compared to other agricultural commodities in the villages. The selling price of tobacco leaves is substantially higher than other agricultural products. In particular, some villages in the study site have been marketed as the best tobacco producers, both in terms of quality and quantity, which provides tobacco farmers with higher bargaining power in selling their harvested products. Tobacco season also benefits farm labourers by providing them with a stable source of income for at least 6 months. Harvesting season is awaited by villagers as a season of celebration. When tobacco season arrives it is common to find many members of the village community buying vehicles, renovating their houses, paying their debts, and getting married.

> Tobacco plays a very important role. Because it is the main source of income. Outside the tobacco season, the situation is like what it is now. Everyone is unemployed. (FGD with the mothers, female, Lombok Timur, 10 December 2016)

> All elements here are associated with the tobacco season. Those who want to get married, they will wait for it in the coming tobacco season. Tobacco brings blessings for everyone; it has been a standard reference for the people here. You want to renovate the house, you will wait for the tobacco to be done [harvested]; you want to buy a motorcycle or anything, you will wait for the tobacco to be done [harvested]; even the circumcision ceremony is included, it has to wait until the tobacco is done [harvested]. (Male, village official, Lombok Timur, 6 December 2016)

> Children here would say that they are rich during the tobacco season, particularly during the *begelantang* period. Someone would come to look for workers, and someone would be hired to work. All in all, people are rich during the tobacco season. If it is not tobacco season, children will not be able to buy ice cream, school necessities. If it is not tobacco season, children will go to school with their old shoes. (FGD, mother, Lombok Timur, 9 January 2016)

From a cultural point of view, the study has noted that as a community, respondents shape their lives around tobacco growing. For example, parents have reported that they have used tobacco

[6]*Borongan* is a form of payment system whereby hired farm labourer are paid in advance according to the agreed number of days or people.

growing as a platform to teach their children the value of hard work. Parents would ask their children to work first before asking for money or an item.

> I could show him that it is not easy to earn money. To get something, you have to work first. I promised him a new bicycle last tobacco season, as he asked for one. I told him, we will buy him a bicycle only if we have a successful tobacco season. (Male, father, Lombok Timur, 7 December 2016)

There are several children and parents in Lombok Timur who reported the involvement of children in other agricultural commodities like rice, but it is more likely to occur when the family owns and manages a paddy field. Most of the parents in this study told the interviewer that the stages of cultivation for other commodities like rice are not as lengthy as tobacco, and most of the stages involve heavy tasks that cannot be done by children. However, children are reported to be involved in several tasks during the rice season, especially among land-owning households. Children are usually involved outside their school time; usually children will go to the field with their parents on the weekends or during school holidays. Aside from agriculture, construction is also reported by some *kabupaten* officials and community members as a sector which involves many children; some of them accompany and help their parents, but there are also children who work by themselves.

Unlike in Lombok Timur, where instances of child labour tend to be isolated to tobacco sector, in Jember children were reported to be involved in other agricultural crops as well. The types of crops which they are involved in depends on the dominant crops in the village. These vary across villages but children's involvement in rice was found to be consistent across the three villages, although not as extensively as that in the tobacco growing.

Aside from the agricultural sector, construction and home industries in Jember (e.g., tempeh home industries) were also reported to involve child labourers. Parents who run the tempeh home industry usually ask everyone in the house, including children, to be involved. This is the reason for many children being involved in home industries. However, one of the important issues arising during the interviews and FGDs with both children and adults was that children working in construction usually drop out of school to get married and migrate out of the village, even to the other islands, because the working sites are located mainly in Bali and Surabaya. Despite the fact that the married children are still under 18, the community does not consider them children anymore.

The high prevalence of child labour in tobacco growing is also reflective of the seasonality of child labour. As reflected in Figure 8, in Lombok Timur children's involvement in plantations (tobacco) started to increase gradually from April 2016 and peaked in August and September 2016. Meanwhile in Jember, children's involvement in tobacco fields was quite low throughout the year, but increased substantially in August and September 2016. The months of August–September happened to be the months immediately following the harvest of tobacco. As will be elaborated in the following section, the post-harvest stage of tobacco production has the highest prevalence of child labour. Despite spanning across the school year, the tobacco season still reigns as the main employer of child labour. Meanwhile, other crops which are cultivated even during school holidays (June–July) have not led to a high prevalence of child labour. Henceforth, the nature of tobacco cultivation on its own is already a prominent factor in attracting children to become child labourers in the tobacco growing industry, as explained in the previous passages.

The timing of the tobacco season was found to be more varied in Jember than in Lombok Timur. In Lombok Timur, there is some uniformity in the timing of the tobacco season, in which the five villages plant their tobacco in early September and harvest the tobacco leaves in mid to late October. In Jember, however, the tobacco season started much earlier, early June in two out of the three villages and late August in the other village. The variation in the tobacco season in Jember,

which is also influenced by the variety of the tobacco planted, implies that there is a tendency for child labourers in Jember to be involved for longer periods of time than child labourers in Lombok Timur. The implications of the lengthy period of child labour on the uniformity of child labour eradication programmes will be explored further in Chapter V.

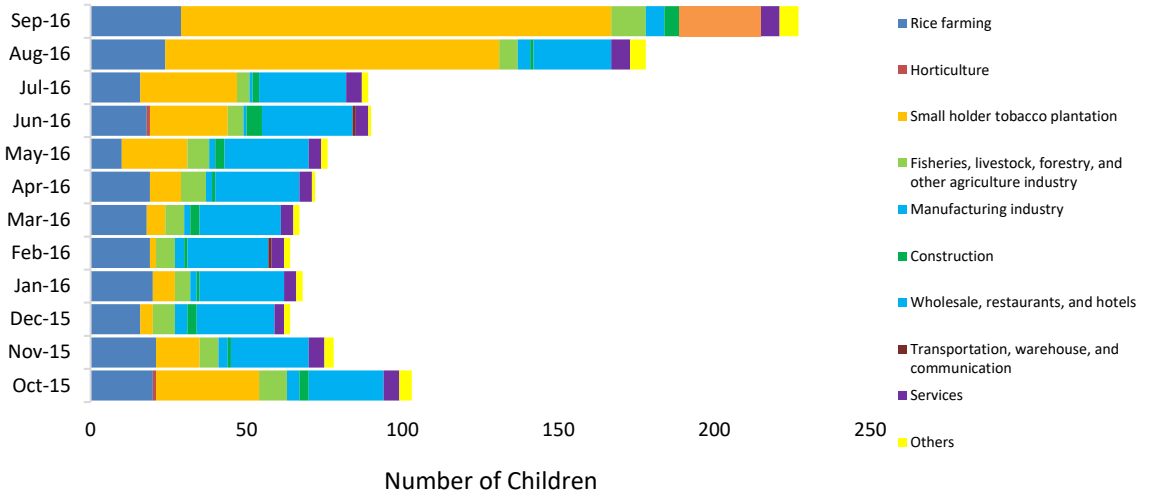


Figure 8. Working sectors and seasonality pattern of working children

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

3.2 Child Labour in Tobacco Growing

This section outlines the conditions of child labour in tobacco growing in the ten study villages in Jember and Lombok Timur. It outlines in more detail the gender, age, schooling and family background of the child labourers in the sector, as well as analysing the determinants of child labour and the practice of child labour in terms of safety, health, and its economic contribution.

3.2.1 Characteristics of Child Labour in Tobacco Growing

The characteristics of child labourers in tobacco growing are unique in terms of age and gender in comparison to those involved in other agricultural commodities. Based on interviews with tobacco owners and parents, girls between primary and junior high school age (7–15 years old) are more prevalent in tobacco; meanwhile junior and senior high school boys are much more prevalent in other commodities. The high prevalence of girls in tobacco growing is grounded in employer preference (i.e., tobacco owners/land owners) because the delicateness of tobacco leaves and the tedious nature of the tasks are considered to be more suitable for females, who are perceived to be more patient and neat in their work.

> Boys are even less likely to work than girls. Whether their mother has money or not, they will not work. They will keep on playing kites or football. (Male, non-contracted farmer, Jember, 5 January 2017)

> Girls can sit and do the *nyujen* for hours. They are also more careful with the tobacco leaves. (Male, non-contracted farmer, Lombok Timur, 9 December 2016)

The prevalence of school leavers is relatively small among child labourers in tobacco growing, as presented in Figure 9. It is significantly lower than the prevalence of school leavers among child labourers in general, as presented in Figure 6 in the previous section. This further verifies the

community's perceptions of the absence of child labour in the village, given that their definition of child labour rests on children's school enrollment. Since most of the children who are involved in tobacco growing still continue their education, both children and adults (i.e., parents, community figures, and village officials) do not perceive children's involvement in tobacco growing to be a form of child labour or that it should be associated with negative connotations.

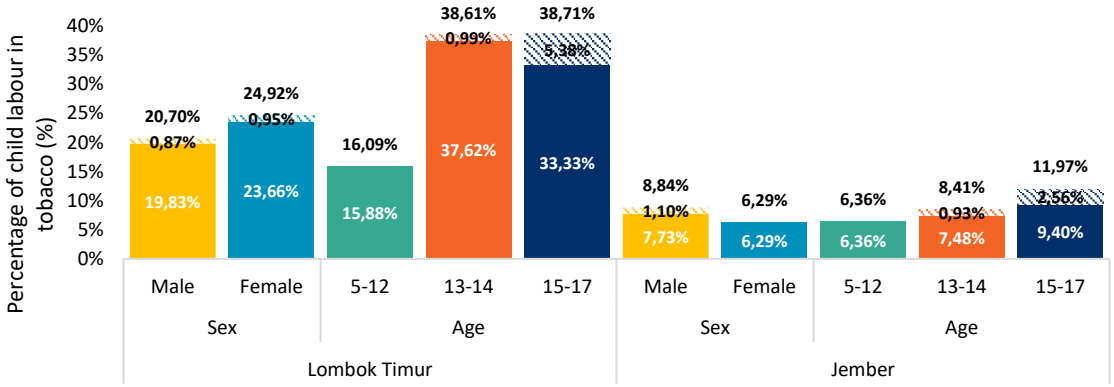


Figure 9. Prevalence of child labour in tobacco by gender, age, and education

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: In our calculation of children attending school, we excluded one child in Lombok Timur who is yet to attend school due to her age (five years old).

In terms of age distribution, similar to the situation of child labour in general, the older the age the higher the prevalence of child labour in tobacco. In addition, older children are more likely to drop out of school. Nonetheless, the prevalence of child labour amongst the younger age group in Lombok Timur is very high by national standards. This is attributable to early exposure to the work in tobacco growing, since many mothers bring along children to their workstations (Box 1).

Box 1
Children's Early Exposure to Working in Tobacco Growing Has Led Them to Long-term Involvement

The cycle of children's involvement in tobacco growing starts as early as when they are a baby. Mothers play an integral role during tobacco season. Evidently, they are involved in all 62 stages of tobacco cultivation. Meanwhile, they continue to fulfill their duty as a mother and as a wife. Mothers who are involved in tobacco growing will bring their children along while working whether in the furnace or in the fields. With the lack of available facilities, mothers interviewed reported that the tobacco furnace/workstation and the tobacco fields become a playground for children and daycare for mothers. It is common during the tobacco season for mothers to bring their children to work. To facilitate the practice, tobacco farmers build a small hut in their fields so that children would not play around tobacco plants. During post-harvest, children would "play" by tying or sticking harvested tobacco leaves.

> I take my children along with me when I am working because I can't just leave them alone at home. They [the children] are happy. The piles of tobacco leaves become toys for them, although they have to be careful. Sometimes my child would help me *begelantang* (sticking tobacco leaves) too. This is good, they can practice and play at the same time. (Group interview with mothers, Jember, 8 January 2017)

Because children become accustomed to being around tobacco plants even before they are able to walk and talk, their tendency to be involved in tobacco grows in accordance to their age. Children asserted their involvement in tobacco growing to be a way of life.

> I like working in tobacco. I have been working there since I was a kid, my mom would take me along with her. I used to just observe my mom sticking and tying tobacco leaves, now I can do it on my own. My sister too, though she just started working. (Female, 14, Jember, 10 January 2017)

Source: Group Interview with mothers in Jember.

In terms of familial background, the study found that in both *kabupaten*, most of the child labourers come from impoverished households. As reflected in the pie chart below (Figure 10), the majority of child labourers come from hired-farm labourer households (43.14% in Jember and 41.3% in Lombok Timur). However, children from tobacco farming families (household head are farmers in tobacco), in both Jember and Lombok Timur, also contribute significantly to the incidence of child labour in the villages (around 18%–25%). A large percentage of tobacco farming households (81% of 64 and 92% of 47 tobacco farming households in Lombok Timur and Jember respectively) are non-contracted farmer households. Parents and children from tobacco farming households reported the involvement of children to be on the basis of teaching necessary skills for the regeneration of professions and transfer of knowledge, which reflects the complexity of motivations for becoming a child labourer (see Box 2). Meanwhile, about a third of child labourers come from other types of households, indicating the necessity to reach beyond families involved in agriculture.

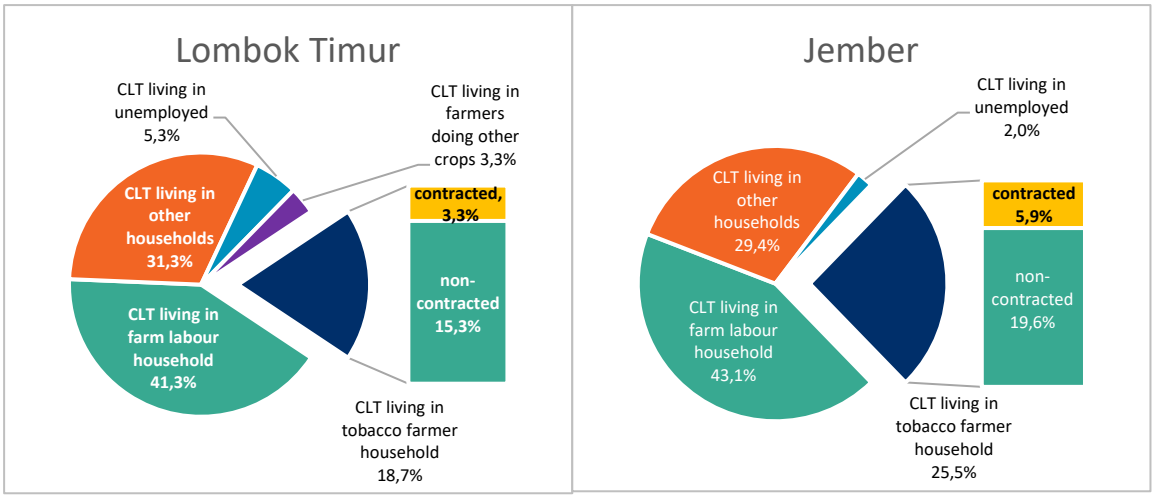


Figure 10. Distribution of child labour in tobacco by household types

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.
Note: CLT = child labour in tobacco growing

The ten study villages are mostly dominated by poor households with the majority of households being classified as deprived – Lombok Timur is found to be more deprived than Jember (Figure 11). In this analysis, households are categorised as less or more deprived based on their access to good quality sanitation and household basic needs. When assessed using these indicators, the majority of households with child labourers are categorised as very deprived. In the communities in Lombok Timur, the proportion of child labourers in very deprived households is three times higher in all strata of housing quality compared to that in the communities in Jember (39% in Lombok Timur vs. 12% in Jember).

In spite of finding that very deprived households have higher prevalence of child labour, receiving government social protection programmes (SPP) was found to impact differently on the probability of households having a child labourer in tobacco in the two study *kabupaten*. In Jember, receiving SPP reduces the probability of households having a child labourer. The difference is quite substantial, especially among the most deprived households. The prevalence of child labourers is smaller among households that receive government assistance (10% vs. 21%). In contrast, in Lombok Timur, the SPP seems to be less than effective in reducing the prevalence of child labour. The proportion of households with child labourers in tobacco growing is higher among households that receive social protection programmes than those that do not receive SPP (43% vs. 16%). It should also be noted that there are households which are not categorised as deprived but still receive social protection programmes, which indicates that recipients are mistargeted, especially in Lombok Timur where programmes are almost equally dispersed among all welfare levels.

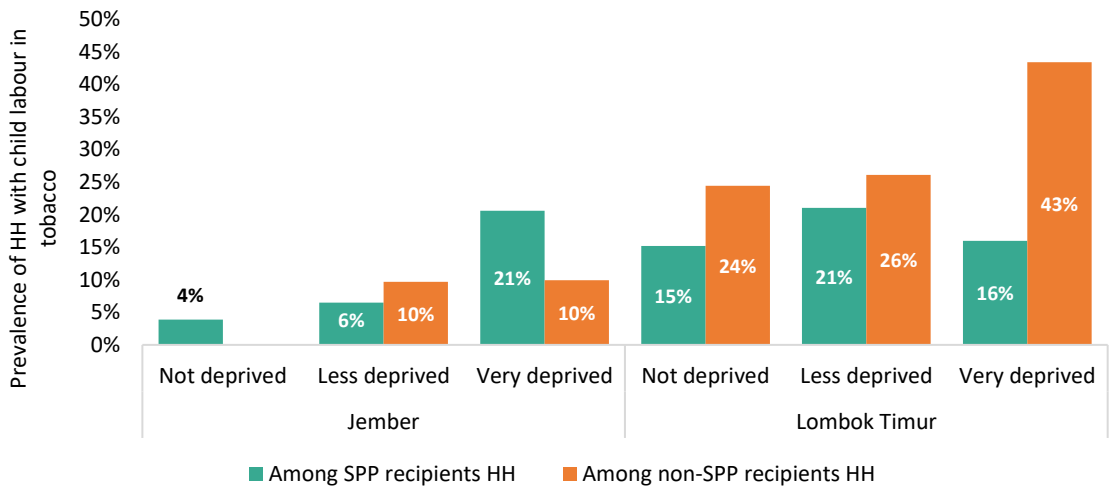


Figure 11. Prevalence of child labour by level of housing quality and SPP coverage

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: Social protection programmes (SPP) include scholarships for poor students, cash transfers, conditional cash transfers, and rice for poor households.

Box 2
Motivation behind Child Labour in Families with High Status of Economic Welfare

Remi is one of the child respondents who reported to be working around 35 hours/week during the tobacco season when the study team visited his village. He did not talk much during the interview and sometimes he just stayed silent and continued to color in the drawing in front of him when we asked a question.

Remi is now 10 years old, and enrolled in 4th grade in primary school. Remi is the youngest child in his family; he has two older brothers and one sister, who all have married but live in the same house with their parents. His two older brothers continue the family business, working as tobacco farmers. Remi's father is the official *dusun* chief in the village, and he is one of the few tobacco farmers in the village who own an oven. His family manages one hectare of farm land and is under contract with one of the local tobacco companies (non-ECLT member). Even though their family can be assumed to be better-off than other families in the region, Remi and his parents revealed that during tobacco season working in the tobacco growing is part of their daily activities in which all family members are obligated to help, including their youngest son, Remi. Remi started to help his parents in tobacco farming when he was in 2nd grade (8 years old). His father proudly told us that he can rely on Remi from the early stages of planting to post harvesting, ranging from delivering the seeds, watering, fertilizing, harvesting, bundling, arranging the leaves in the oven, untying the cured leaves, to supervising farm labourers to ensure the work is done properly. Remi admitted that he is happy to be able to help his parents, but also revealed that he does not dare to argue with his parents since he was once scolded by his dad when he refused to help because he was tired.

Remi's father told the interviewer that he preferred his family members helping him to hiring additional labourers to work on their family farm. Not only because it is faster as farm labourers usually have to work for other farmers, but also because it will enable him to earn and save more money for better production results from Remi's help on their farm; meanwhile, he does not have to pay for additional labour, so the money can be allocated to other things. Remi's father also sees working on the tobacco farm as life skills training for Remi, instilling discipline and the value of hard work at an early age. Therefore, he always rewards Remi for his work by giving him presents when he has finished.

> Near the end of the tobacco season, I promised to buy him [his child] a bicycle so he can ride it to school. Therefore, he worked very diligently during the tobacco season, so he could get what he wanted. (Father of Remi, Lombok Timur, 9 December 2016)

Source: Interviews in Lombok Timur.

3.2.2 Determinants of Child Labour in Tobacco Growing

A series of regressions were performed to test several hypotheses in relation to the findings in the descriptive statistical analysis, and the results show the marginal effect after probit regression (see Table 7). In performing this regression, we have referred to Suryahadi, Priyambada, and Sumarto (2005) and to Khanam (2008) to find relevant variables in relation to child labour and child labour in tobacco growing. The regression models looks into three major types of variables; child characteristics, household characteristics, and community characteristics, in relation to several different outcomes. There are two binary outcomes based on working and schooling status used to analyse predictor variables of child labour in tobacco: (i) children who only go to school during the reference week and (ii) children who combine school and work. Variables were introduced one by one to ensure that collinearity and endogeneity were avoided. Dummy variables were created from existing data to make sure that the model is the best fit.

Several variables which have consistently proven to be significant predictors for children being involved in tobacco growing are age, household head employment, and proportion of child labourers per *dusun*. Older children are more likely to be involved in tobacco growing, which further reinforces previous findings. Furthermore, children whose parents are working as hired farm-labourers have a higher probability of being identified as child labourers. Lastly, when children live in *dusun* with a high proportion of child labour, their probability of becoming a child labourer also increases (neighbourhood effect). It was surprising that the children's gender was not a significant predictor of child labour in tobacco growing, however the trend shows that female children have higher probability of combining school and work.

Both in Lombok Timur and Jember, household heads working as hired farm labourers are commonly found in poor households. The term hired farm-labourer refers to someone who is working for another farmer in return for a salary/wage. The results show that parents' employment as hired-farm labourers increases the probability of children working in tobacco growing by 28% (see Table 7). Interviews with parents and village officials in Lombok Timur indicate that the majority of households are headed by farm labourers, whereby incomes are not only minimum but also sporadic. Living under poverty often pushes children to support their families by working in tobacco growing. This result further reinforces the hypothesis that households being entrapped in poverty increases the opportunity for children to be involved in child labour.

In addition, we found that a high proportion of child labourer in tobacco growing per *dusun* increases the probability of children working in tobacco farming by 33%, a phenomenon which we call the neighbourhood effect. Children reported that when their peers go to the workstation to stick tobacco leaves or *nyujen*, they tend to join their peers and work as well because they can then play together. Tobacco workstations are often considered to be playgrounds for these children.

Further analysis from the regression showed that neither land ownership nor contract status significantly reduced the probability of children's involvement in tobacco growing. Farmers in this study are categorised by land ownership and contract status, in which some of the farmers are land owners and others are tenants. Contracted farmers are defined as tobacco farmers who have established agreements with any tobacco company, while other farmers are not tied down by any one regulation. When we look at the pattern of association between tenancy and contract status across models, the association between land ownership and contract status remained positive, despite the variation of significance level–it might be that the sample was too small to detect a significant association. However, this indicates that interventions into child labour in both *kabupaten* need to go beyond farmers or those who have a legal contract.

Table 7. Regression Results among Children Attending School Only and among Those Attending School and Working

Independent Variables	Children Who Attend School Only		Children Who Go to School and Work	
	Marginal Effects	Standard Error	Marginal Effects	Standard Error
1. Demographic Characteristics				
Age	0.062	0.012**	0.046	0.013**
Age squared	-0.003	0.001**	-0.002	0.001**
Birth order	0.001	0.012	-0.012	0.015
Sex of children (0=male; 1=female)	0.029	0.012*	0.01	0.013
number of siblings	-0.012	0.007	0.008	0.008
2. Household Head and Members Characteristics				
Dependency ratio	0.005	0.010	-0.026	0.014
Number of adult males	-0.004	0.011	0.005	0.013
Housing quality				
Less deprived	-0.015	0.016	0.013	0.018
Very deprived	-0.021	0.015	0.017	0.017
per capita income/month				
<450.000/mo	0.02	0.014	0.006	0.017
>800.000/mo	0.02	0.015	-0.025	0.016
Other characteristics of HH head				
Sex of HH head	0	0.020	-0.005	0.023
HH head's marital status	-0.021	0.025	0.005	0.027
Household head employment status in agriculture				
Farmers w/ land	(-)		(-)	
Farm-labourer	-0.303	0.027**	0.281	0.020**
Family worker in agriculture	-0.234	0.020**	(-)	
Non-contracted tenant farmer	0.057	0.042	0.06	0.033
Contracted tenant farmer	-0.036	0.040	0.125	0.034**
Non-contracted farmer with land	0.017	0.024	0.058	0.020**
Contracted farmer who owns land	-0.053	0.082	0.1	0.061
Education of HH head				
Junior high	0.022	0.015	-0.022	0.018
Senior high and above	0.034	0.016*	-0.027	0.019
Education of the oldest female				
Primary and below	-0.017	0.035	(-)	
Junior high	0.006	0.034	0.038	0.020
Senior high	-0.011	0.035	0.028	0.024
Tertiary	0.028	0.036	(-)	

Independent Variables	Children Who Attend School Only		Children Who Go to School and Work	
	Marginal Effects	Standard Error	Marginal Effects	Standard Error
3. Community Characteristics				
Child labour in tobacco proportion per *dusun*	-0.148	0.050**	0.333	0.055**
Number of primary schools	-0.009	0.004*	0.000	0.004
Number of junior high schools	0.008	0.011	0.011	0.011
Number of senior high schools	0.001	0.011	0.002	0.011
Distance from *dusun* to village office	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
N	1,230		1,230	
Pseudo-R2	0.7233		0.5805	

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

*Significant at 5%.

**Significant at 1%.

Contracted farmers were also found to perceive the prohibition of child labour stated in their contract to be a mere warning instead of a binding policy because no concrete sanctions are explicitly stated. Out of all tobacco farmers interviewed only two contracted farmers in Jember claimed to be very strict in prohibiting child labour, due to the strict monitoring by tobacco companies as well as strict policies against child labour with the consequence of termination of contract.[7] Children interviewed often reported that they were unaware of the contract status of their employer. Some children would take cues from the tying material they use (e.g. the tying material for contracted farmers are made of cloth, while for non-contracted farmers it is made of plastic) to determine whether their employer is contracted or non-contracted. Parents of the child labourers similarly admitted being unaware of the status of their child's employer. However, parents added that there are days when their children are told to not go to work because people from the tobacco companies are visiting.

> [Is the owner a contracted farmer, Ma'am?] I'm not sure, I think he is as some days my daughter was told not to go to work because someone from the warehouse [the company] would come over. (Female, mother of a child labourer, Jember, 10 January 2017)

> [May I see your contract, Sir? Is the prohibition of child labour clearly stated?) Yes, it is, but they don't give it to us to keep [I see, so only the company holds the contract?] Yes. (Do you have a copy of the contract?) No… because, you know, actually it is not that emphasised, it is just an advice. Because, you know, if it was emphasised it would not be so good… [Has there been any farmers whose contract was terminated because they were found out…] To employ children? No, well, no one here. If it is in other villages, I don't know. But here, I can assure you that no one has ever been caught. (Male, contracted farmer, Lombok Timur, 10 December 2016)

The need to maintain the value of products while dealing with delicate tobacco plants that require immediate handling is stated as the reason for farmers to use child labour. Tobacco farmers, especially land-owners, stressed the risk of suffering great losses if the crops fail because the business involves large operational outlay. Therefore, there is huge pressure for tobacco farmers to get the work done swiftly and ensure the yields are in good quality for sale by employing as many workers as they can, especially during the post-harvest season.

[7]Information was unable to be concretely verified by the relevant companies.

> Tobacco growing needs a lot of workers. The main reason is that the work needs to be done quickly. Suppose that we pick the tobacco leaves today; if we just leave them unprocessed, the leaves will be tainted and will therefore not be sellable. If we delay the curing for even one day only, they will be tainted.
>
> … Like I said, if children are not involved, we will be finished. Tobacco needs to be processed immediately, otherwise the leaves will be tainted and we will go bankrupt. Children are only involved in *gelantang* [sticking work] – mostly girls, because boys are not skilled enough; they can't stand sitting quietly for a long time. (FGD, village elites, Lombok Timur, 9 December 2016)

In Jember, farmers reported that they could not control who brought their children to the worksites and sometimes to even help with work, especially children below 12 years old. Many of the children who follow their mothers to the warehouse (*gudang*) also helped their mothers when carrying out *nyujen*. This is illustrated in the following quotes.

> Many children under 12 spend their time playing in the warehouse while waiting for their mothers who are working. A lot of children also help their mothers do the *nyujen*. Well, I cannot forbid the mothers from taking their children along with them because they feel much more comfortable when they can watch over their children while working. (Male, contracted farmer, Jember, 8 January 2017)
>
> All warehouse owners in this village understand our situation, that we have small children so that we need to take our children along with us to the warehouse. (Group interview, mothers, Jember, 8 January 2017)

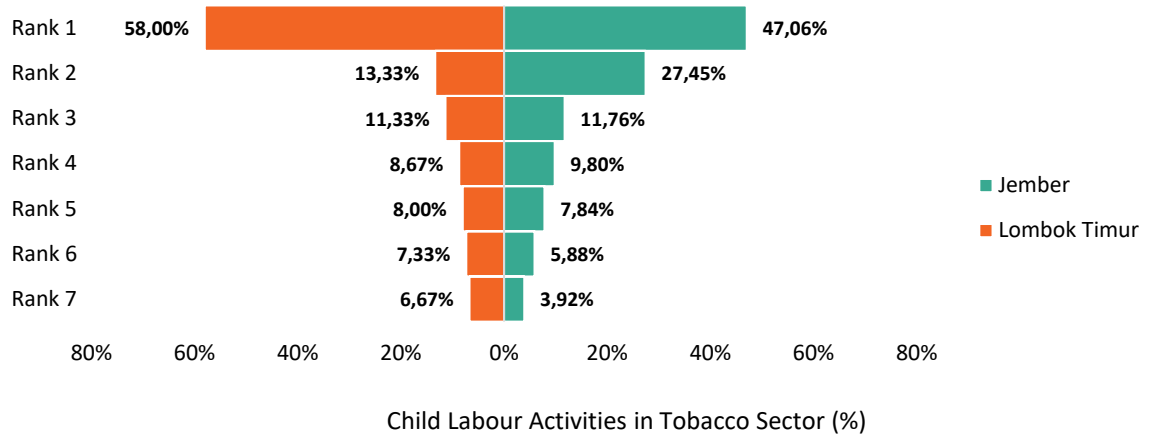
3.2.3 The Practice of Child Labour in Tobacco Growing

a) Children's Involvement in Various Cultivation Stages

The data shows that the majority of children are involed in post-harvest work, specifically in tying (58% of all tobacco child labourers in Lombok Timur) and *penyujenan* (47% of all tobacco child labourers in Jember) (See Figure 12). Tying and *nyujen* were perceived as menial and light work which could be done by children. These activities are usually performed by children after school hours and Qur'anic learning in the afternoon.

Other than in post-harvest work, a small proportion of child labourers are also involved in other stages of tobacco growing, such as curing. The difference is, in Lombok Timur the curing process is predominantly done using *flue* (oven), while in Jember, tobacco leaves are predominantly cured using sun and air. However, these activities are usually done by older children because their physical bodies are considered ready for heavier tasks. While tying and *nyujen* are considered suitable for younger children, other stages in tobacco are considered to be serious work requiring the participation of older children. Furthermore, older children often feel embarassed to be involved in tying and *nyujen*.

Based on field observations, tasks in tobacco growing are also influenced by attitudes towards gender roles. Girls were found to perfom tasks which are menial yet repetitive. Girls were rarely found performing work in multiple stages of tobacco growing. Boys, on the other hand, were perceived to be tougher and therefore were employed in multiple stages, such as handling seedlings, harvesting, planting, or lifting tobacco bundle tasks which are not repetitive but perceived to be more strenuous than other activities.



Top Activities Involving Child Labour in Lombok Timur:

- Rank 1: Tying tobacco leaves into bundle
- Rank 2: Fertilizing the plant(s)
- Rank 3: Inserting tobacco leaves into the oven
- Rank 4: Hanging bundles of tobacco leaves, removing leaves from the oven, Removing the ties of tobacco leaves
- Rank 5: Planting
- Rank 6: Picking tobacco leaves, Arranging tobacco leaves inside the oven
- Rank 7: Carrying tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse), Arranging tobacco leaves

Top Activities Involving Child Labour in Jember:

- Rank 1: Penyujenan - the process of bundling tobacco leaves using a stick prior to hanging them to be dried
- Rank 2: Drying and curing tobacco leaves
- Rank 3: Carrying tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)
- Rank 4: Weeding grass on the seedbeds, Hanging bundles of tobacco leaves
- Rank 5: Watering the land, bundling tobacco leaves, Arranging tobacco leaves
- Rank 6: Applying pesticide, Watering seedbeds, Planting, Fertilizing the plant(s), Using water-can to water the plant(s), Cutting off the top leaves, Fertilizing, picking tobacco leaves, Tying tobacco leaves into bundle
- Rank 7: Spreading seeds, Placing the seeds into containers ready for transport, Mounding, Packing tobacco leaves

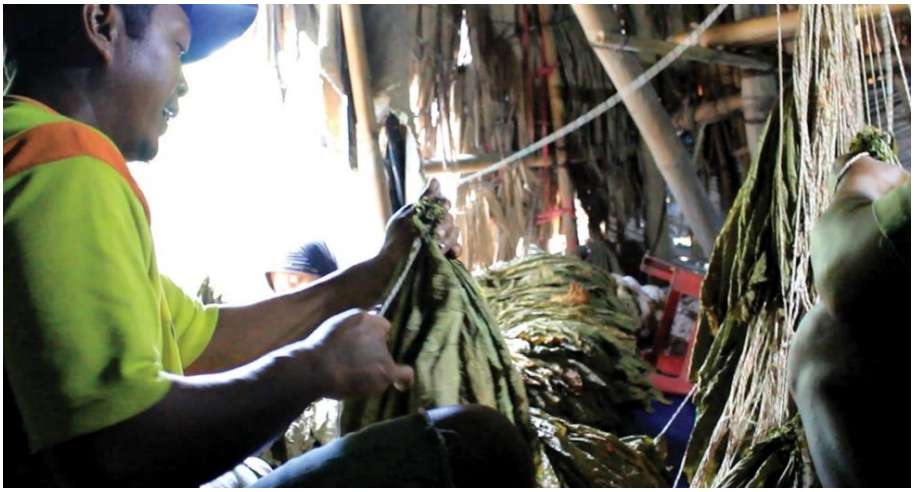
Figure 12. Ranks of children activities in tobacco sector

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

The study also noted discrepancies between tasks which involve children reported by adults (i.e., community figures, village officials, and parents) and children. Children claimed to be involved since the processing of seedlings (especially boys). On the other hand, adults were certain that children are only involved in the post-harvest activities, such as sticking, tying, and transporting the harvested tobacco leaves to the tobacco workstation. Their feeling of certainty on this has led the adults to conclude that the issue of child labour is non-existent, resulting in the lack of efforts from village officials and community figures to advocate for the issue among the general public.

Credit: Hafiz Arfyanto

Figure 13. *Menggelantang* (tying up tobacco leaves for curing)



Credit: Hudi Darmawan

Figure 14. *Menyujen* (sticking tobacco leaves for curing)

Credit: Rezanti P. Pramana

Figure 15. Lifting and putting tobacco leaves in a certain order in the oven for curing

In Lombok Timur, the list of children's activities reported by adults was more accurate with the reality of activities undertaken by children working in the tobacco industry compared to the reports from adults in Jember (see Table 8 for Jember and Appendix 16: Table A12 for Lombok Timur). Some parents, usually mothers, are fully aware of the types of activities their children have been carrying out, however most parents claimed to be unaware of their children's involvement in heavier and hazardous tasks. One of the tasks that adults often assume to be unlikely to involve children is lifting bundles of tobacco leaves into the furnace and supervising the curing barn, because of the level of difficulty and complexity of the task. However, many children reported otherwise, especially amongst the older group (aged 13–17).

> There is no way that he can go up there. He is big [fat], you know, and it is dangerous for him to go up there. The tobacco owner would not ask children to carry them [tobacco bundles] up there. (Female, mother, Lombok Timur, 11 December 2016)

> [So, you climbed up there?] Yes. [Why?] The warehouse owner asked me to carry the tobacco bundles up there. I would get paid for it, so I carried them up there. [Since when?] Since last year, I and my friends were asked by the warehouse owner to do the job because he needed more people. [Does he know how old you and your friends are?] Of course, he knows it. (Male, 14, Lombok Timur, 11 December 2016)

In Jember, as can be seen in Table 8, children were found to be involved in almost every stage of tobacco growing, especially the boys. Most of the adult respondents however, claimed that children would only perform the light tasks for 1–2 hours at a time for the sake of additional pocket money. Many adult respondents, particularly parents, told the interviewer that children are reluctant to work in the field due to the heat of the sun. Most adults also tend to perceive children to be not skilled enough to perform activities in the field resulting in the assumption that children's involvement is limited to the post-harvest stage. Children in both *kabupaten* reported their involvement in hazardous tasks was not self-initiated. Most of the times children were invited by tobacco owners to work on their tobacco workstations.

Unlike in Lombok Timur, boys' involvement in lifting bundles of tobacco leaves during the post-harvest was considered to be a common occurrence in Jember. Adults openly reported the tasks to be the core of boys' involvement during tobacco season, similar to girls' involvement in sticking or tying up tobacco leaves.

Table 8. Tasks Conducted by Children according to Children and Adults in the Tobacco Sector (Jember)

Tasks Conducted by Children	
According to Adults	**According to Children**
Seedling	**Seedling**
	Seedbed preparations
	Seed sowing
	Applying pesticide (CPA)
	Fertilizing seedbeds
	Transporting seedling
Planting	**Planting**
Planting	Weeding and land preparation
Fertilizing	Planting
Watering	Fertilizing
	Plowing the land
	Preparing drainage
	Ridging
	Watering – using watering can
Maintenance	**Maintenance**
Watering	Weeding
Spraying pesticides	Spraying pesticides
	Topping - cutting off the top leaves
	Fertilizing
Harvesting	**Harvesting**
Harvesting green tobacco leaves	Harvesting green tobacco leaves
Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)	Green tobacco hauling
	Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)
	Cutting, preparing and arranging curing fuel
Post-harvest	**Post-harvest**
Penyujenan	Arranging green tobacco leaves
Hanging bundles of green tobacco leaves	Removing the midrib of green tobacco leaves
Unloading dried tobacco leaves from the curing barn	Curing green tobacco leaves (sun-cured)
Untying dried tobacco leaves	*Penyujenan*
	Hanging bundles of green tobacco leaves
	Supervising curing barn
	Unloading dried tobacco leaves from the curing barn
	Untying dried tobacco leaves
	Packing harvest products (using pressing machine)
	Transporting packs of tobacco leaves to companies' warehouses

Source: FGD and household interview, SMERU research team, 2017.

Note: The term adult respondent refers to village officials, community figures, and parents of child labourers interviewed in the qualitative study.

b) Working Hours

Based on a kernel density analysis on working hour by age group, older child labourers tend to have longer working hours compared to younger children. The majority of children above the age of 14 work for at least 7 hours per week, while the majority of children aged 14 and below work less than 2.5 hours per week (See Figure 13). Based on ILO Convention No. 138 and Indonesia's National Law, children aged 5–12 years old should not be associated with working at all, which explains why a high proportion of children aged 5–12 years old are identified as child labourers.

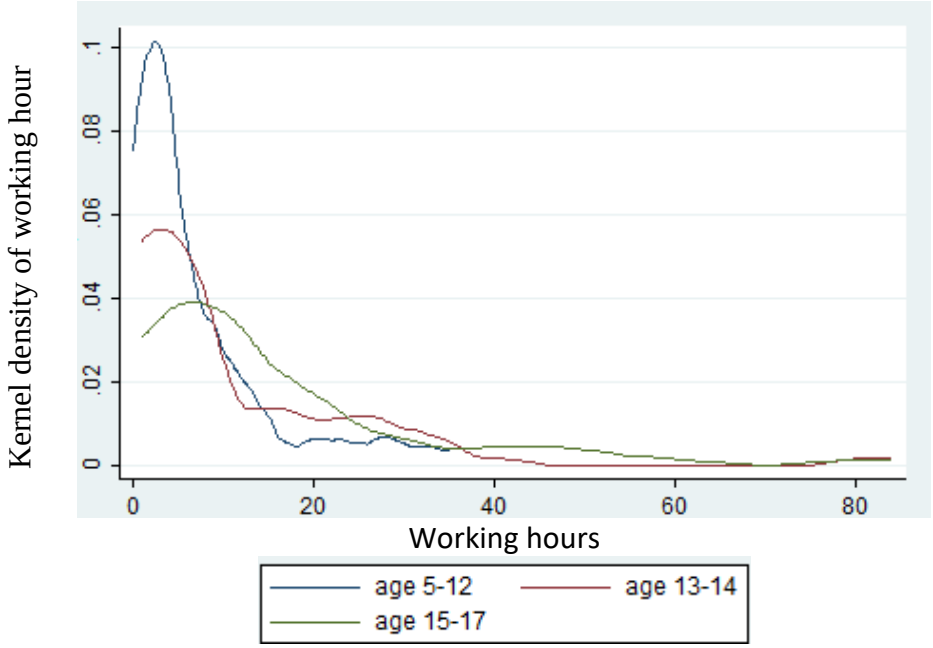


Figure 16. Kernel density of child labour in tobacco working hour by age

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Comparing these results to median working hours, older children and boys often have longer working hours compared to younger children and girls. For those aged 13–14, the median number of working hours is 3–6 hours per week, while among those age 15–17, especially male children, the median number of working hours reaches up to 12 hours per week. There were also children whose working hours are well beyond what is permitted for their age group. Of all child labourers aged 13–14 years, 18% in Lombok Timur and 33% in Jember work 15 to 84 hours per week. On the other hand, of all child labourers aged 15–17 years, 8% in Lombok Timur and 14% in Jember were identified to be working 40 to 84 hours per week (See Figure 16).

Extreme working hours are usually experienced by children from poor families. Stages such as tying and *nyujen* are done continuously until late at night, which opens the opportunity for children from poor families to work longer to obtain more money. Some children even reported that they sometimes have to skip school for 2–3 days during the post-harvest season. They stated that both their parents and teachers would allow them to do so because they understand the nature of tobacco leaves that needs immediate handling.

Long working hours are common in tobacco growing, particularly during the post-harvest season. There are also children who work in attending the tobacco oven (stocker) which also requires them to work all night. A child who is the breadwinner of his family reported working until early in the

morning during the tobacco season (see Box 3). These findings were also confirmed by school teachers in the village.

> Parents sometimes do not stop their children from skipping school because, you know, if their children go to school, they would not have money to buy everyday needs. (Male, teacher, Lombok Timur, 7 December 2017)
>
> Forget about eleven o'clock in the evening. Some even work until one o'clock in the morning. (Male, teacher, Jember, 12 January 2017)
>
> I have a headache when I wake up in the middle of the night to untie the bundles of the cured tobacco leaves. I usually feel it at half past two [in the morning], because I am very sleepy. (Male, 14, Lombok Timur, 9 December 2016)

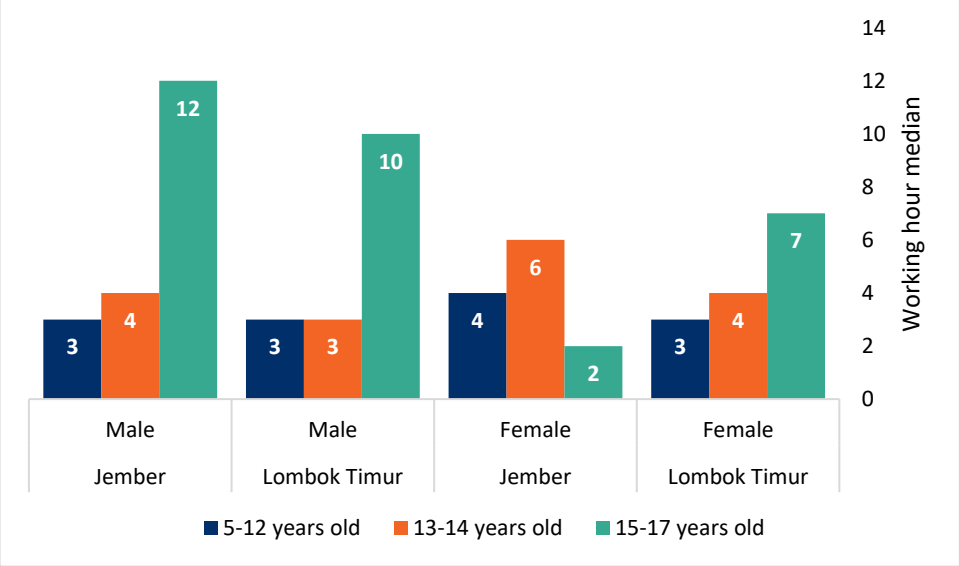


Figure 17. Median working hours of child labour in tobacco by age and sex

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Box 3
Extreme Working Hours

Tandjung is a 15-year-old boy who has been involved in tobacco growing for a long time. He was unable to recall at what age precisely he started working in tobacco, but as far as he can remember it was before he started school. His parents were eager to involve him in tobacco growing on the basis of training and transfer of knowledge but he acknowledged that coming from an impoverished household, he needs to rack up his working hours during tobacco season to acquire as much income as possible. By the time he was in primary school, he was already working long hours: he reported that he worked seven days a week during tobacco season with almost 8 hours per day. During post-harvest season, he reported that he works until midnight because he is involved in surpervising the curing barn as well.

Tandjung illustrated that before getting ready for school, he would collect cured tobacco leaves. Tandjung would continue working after coming home from school (around 1 o'clock). He would go to the field to pick green tobacco leaves and transport them to the furnace/tobacco workstation. Then he would help his siblings complete tying/sticking tobacco leaves while occasionally he would hang tobacco bundles on the rack. Throughout the night he and his friends were tasked with supervising the curing barn.

Interviewer (I): You watch over the furnace until morning?
Tandjung (T): Yes, I and my friends do.
I: How about school?
T: Well, I go to school the next day.
I: Aren't you tired?
T: Of course, but what can I do? I have been doing it [watching over the curing furnace] for a while [since junior high school]; most of my friends too. It is not a rare thing for boys to do it.
I: Does everyone else work for long hours too during the tobacco season?
T: Yes, everyone does. (Male, 15, Jember, 11 January 2017)

Source: Interview with a child labourer, male, 15, Jember.

The interviews also show that the majority of child labourers continue to attend school despite long work hours the previous day. Children start working after school hours, that is around 12 or 1 p.m. They usually have an afternoon break from 2 to 4 p.m. for *mengaji* (learning Qur'an) and doing the afternoon prayer. During the post-harvest season, the children usually start working after school hours until the afternoon-prayer time (around 4 p.m.). After doing the prayer, they *mengaji* until the time comes for the evening prayer (around 6 p.m.). Then, after the prayer, they continue working until around 9 p.m. During school holidays, children admitted to working longer hours. For example, children would start *gelantang* and *nyujen* earlier at around 7 a.m. and work until before *Qur'anic classes* or before the evening prayer, roughly 6 p.m. Outside of tobacco season, children spend their school holidays playing with their peers. During tobacco season however, because almost all of the children in the villages are involved in tobacco work sites, working becomes an opportunity to meet and play with their friends.

c) Economic Contribution of Child Labourers In Tobacco Growing

Child labourers' wage contribution to per capita household income was higher among children in Lombok Timur than children in Jember (14.2% vs 8.9%) (see Table 9). In calculating children's income, we weighted their economic contribution using the probability of children working in the tobacco sector for each month over the past year. However, this statistic must be treated with caution due to potential recall bias in income reporting. Recall bias may lead to over/under-estimation of income. Notwithstanding that despite children's relatively small contribution to household income, the children reported that their income was helpful in purchasing households needs.

Table 9. Contribution of Child Labour in Tobacco to per Capita Income (in Rupiah) by *Kabupaten*

Villages in the *Kabupaten* of	Adults' Average Income/Month	Household Average Income/Day	Child Labourer's Average Income/Day	Child Labourer's Contribution
Jember	455,744	15,191	1,355	8.9%
Lombok Timur	676,323	22,544	3,211	14.2%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Children's contribution to their household's income depends on the economic condition of the family. Children from poor households use their income to purchase basic necessities (e.g. rice, food, cooking oil, etc.), school needs and pocket money. For example, a boy (FKR, 16) in Jember, who has been working for three years, used the money to help his mother to buy basic necessities and give pocket money to his younger siblings.

> I am the eldest. I have four brothers and sisters. My father works as a construction worker in Bali and only comes home once every three months. I do not have much choice; I have to help my mother so we can afford food. I work in the field, usually watering the plants and carrying the harvested tobacco leaves from the field to the warehouse for *sujen* work. During the tobacco season, and if I work all day long, I can earn as much as Rp120,000 per day. I would give my mother Rp90,000; then Rp10,000 for my brothers' and sisters' pocket money, and I would keep Rp20,000 for my own needs. If I only work for three hours, I would get Rp30,000. And if I only receive that much, I would give all of it to my mother. (Male, 16, Jember, 7 January 2017)

Meanwhile, children who come from families with a higher economic status, usually work in order to save on the cost of labour (so that their parents do not need to pay other labourers). Other than that, children also reported using their income for personal enjoyment, such as buying phone credit, mobile phones, secondhand motorcycles, and other personal items. One of the boys (DMS, 16) in Jember, described his work in tobacco growing and how he spent his income.

> I quit school at 14 because my mother cannot afford the school fee. So I chose to work instead of continuing my education, even though my uncle said he would help to pay my school fee if I'd like to go back to school. I feel pity for my mother; I don't have a father anymore, so I want to help her earn money. There is only me who can help my mother. So I work in tobacco growing or any other job I can find. During tobacco season, I can earn a lot more money. After saving the money for some time, I can even buy a secondhand motorcycle. (Male, 16, Jember, 11 January 2017)

The majority of child labourers who are involved in postharvest process have an average wage of Rp5,000 (US$ 0.2)[8] per day, which is around the same amount received by adult labourers. In Lombok Timur, postharvest wages were reported to be the lowest due to the involvement of many children, especially during tying. However in Jember, for tasks considered to be high risk such as hanging bundled tobacco leaves inside the curing barn and unloading dried tobacco leaves, children could receive up to Rp200,000 (US$15.4) per day. Meanwhile, on average children involved in the harvesting process reported higher wages of up to Rp50,000 (US$4) per day. Children could be paid daily, *borongan* (paid in advance with agreed number of days or workers), or seasonally (cumulative payment received at the end of the season). For example, in the postharvest process, wages depend on the number of bundles children make per day. Commonly, in an hour a child could finish 20 bundles and is paid Rp1,000 (US$0.2) for every 5–7 bundles. Meanwhile, in Jember, for *nyujen* a labour gets paid Rp15,000 (US$1.5) for every 100 bundles.

[8]Using currency rate US$1 = IDR 13,000

For the handling of seedlings, planting, maintenance, and harvesting, children in Lombok Timur and Jember reported receiving higher daily wages because the jobs were perceived to be heavier tasks that did not require many labourers. As is shown by the data, there is only a small portion of children involved in these stages. For these stages, the employers usually apply daily wages instead of package wages, which can amount to Rp40,000–Rp50,000 (US$3–US$4) in Lombok Timur and Rp70,000 (US$5.4) in Jember.

3.2.4 Safety Issues of Child Labour in Tobacco Growing

a) The Use of Personal Protective Equipment

The general lack of awareness and understanding of the hazards of child labour in tobacco growing is reflected in the limited use of personal protective equipment (PPE). Around 89% of child labourers in Jember and 77% child labourers in Lombok Timur neither use safety gear nor have received occupational health and safety education when working in tobacco growing. Tobacco companies reported that they have provided their farmers with the recommended safety gear, such as face masks, gloves, and body suits. However, they also mentioned that they have received reports that farmers were having difficulties using the personal protective equipment properly. Therefore, there was a fear that many farmers may chose not to use the gear they have been provided with. Similarly, farmers who employ other families to grow tobacco for them reported that they have provided their hired labourers with gloves to use when working in contact with green tobacco leaves. However, many hired labourers refuse to use them because the gloves make it difficult to work.

The types of PPE used by children tend to be very limited. Of all children who reported using PPE, the majority reported using head protectors (around 20%) (i.e., hats and caps) and respiratory protectors (around 10%) (i.e., face masks) (see Table 10). Child labourers in Lombok Timur were more aware in terms of potential hazards as they reported a larger variety of protective equipment, such as hats, scarfs, face masks and mandatory long-sleeved clothing while working with tobacco. This protective gear was worn either from their own initiative or from parents' initiative for their children. Boys in Jember also reported having bought caps/hats for themselves to use while working in the field as a form of protection from the heat.

> When touching tobacco leaves, we do not use gloves… We hate working in the field because it makes us directly exposed to the sunlight. Usually we wear a long-sleeved T-shirt or shirt and a hat to avoid the sunlight. (FGD, male, 13–17, Jember, 13 January 2017)

Child labourers' habit of using protective gear stems from their own unpleasant working conditions, considering that they do not receive any safety education or training. Girls tend to wear long sleeves while working because they experience itchiness from the insects after handling green tobacco leaves. They wear face masks and scarfs to avoid the pungent smell of cured tobacco leaves. Boys' tendency to wear long sleeves and hats also stems from the unpleasant working conditions under the scorching sun in the field. However, when working with heights, such as lifting tobacco bundles, they are yet to use any form of safety gear because they do not experience unpleasant effects from working in this particular environment.

> If we are careful, we will be fine. No one has ever fallen if they are careful. (FGD, male, 13–17, Jember, 13 January 2017)

Table 10. The Use of Protective Equipment

Protective Equipment	Jember (Total Children Respondents=36)	Lombok Timur (Total Children Respondents=113)
Head protector (e.g. helmet, etc.)	17%	22%
Eye and facial protection (e.g: face mask, etc.)	0%	3%
Ear protection (e.g. ear plugs, ear cover, etc.)	0%	1%
Complete respiratory protection (e.g. face mask, respirator)	3%	5%
Hand and arm protection (e.g. gloves)	0%	10%
Feet protection (e.g. boots)	0%	4%
Protective clothing (e.g. vest, rain coat, apron)	0%	1%
Training related to safety procedures and equipment	3%	0%
No protective gear and training was provided	89%	77%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

b) Risk and Health Symptoms

As discussed in the previous section (Section 3.1), child labourers and adults perceived most work in tobacco growing to be light work and not harmful as long as there was no direct immediate impact on the health of the child. This reflects the general awareness and comprehension of the hazards of child labour in tobacco growing. While some adults, mainly village officials and contracted farmers, were able to identify general potential hazards such as exposure to fertilizsers, pesticides and working at dangerous heights, many are still oblivious to the hazards of green tobacco leaves. In fact, the general understanding of the hazards of tobacco leaves is that the cured tobacco leaf is hazardous due to its pungent smell causing difficulty breathing.

Perceptions of the concept of hazardous work are found to be highly influenced by personal experience and immediate effects rather than accurate knowledge of the potential consequences both in the short term (safety) and long term (health). One of the health workers interviewed explained his general assumption that risks of children's involvement in tobacco growing may arise from physical contact with tobacco leaves. He explained further that parents may ignore the risk of working in tobacco since no immediate consequences, especially negative ones, have been reported so far.

Most children reported soreness and joint pain in the legs, arms, waist, neck, and shoulders due to the repetitive tasks associated with tobacco farming (Figure 18). Children who conducted activities which required them to be exposed to the heat of the sun reported headaches. Children performing tasks which involve heavy equipment, such as using a hoe or an axe, reported soreness in parts of their limbs. Many children also reported experiencing breathing difficulties, especially when exposed to tobacco combustion smoke and pungent smells because they usually work inside a closed workstation. Children in Jember who were involved in *penyujenan* reported more symptoms, such as fatigue, soreness, stiffness, numbness and other external injuries.

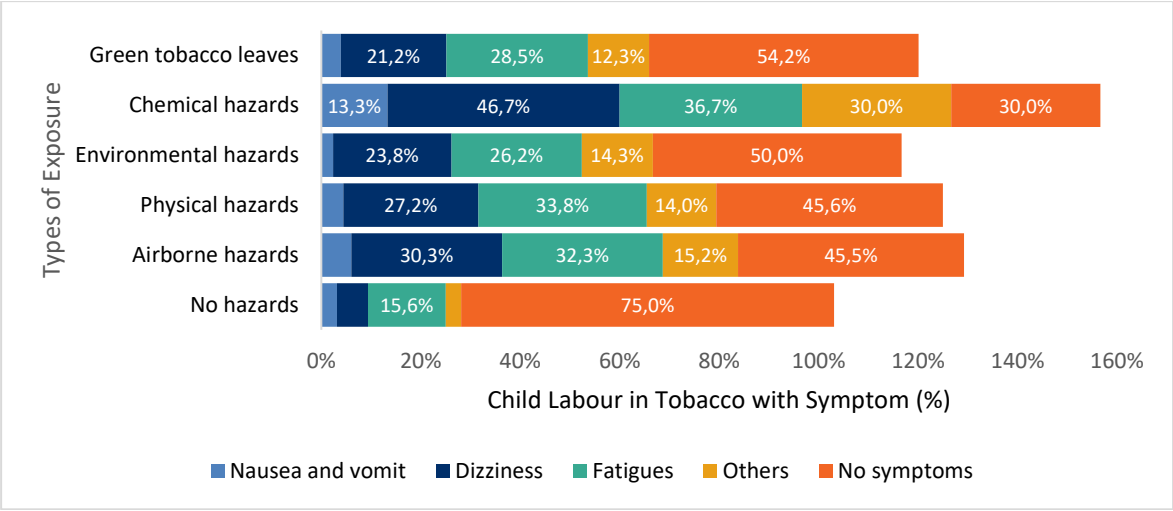


Figure 18. Risks and illness symptoms among child labourers in tobacco

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Further analysis of the association of green tobacco leaves with the symptoms of Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS) showed non-significant results. The logistic regression presented in Table 11 shows that exposure to green tobacco leaves is not significantly associated to having GTS symptoms (nausea, vomit, dizziness, stomachaches, breathing difficulties or palpitations). However, it should be noted the study used a self-reported questionnaire which is prone to recall bias and thus can lead to underestimation of the results. Furthermore, GTS is difficult to diagnose and its symptoms are often disregarded as mere fatigue by children, which may further underestimate the results of the study. Meanwhile, in relation to other kinds of exposure, children only reported symptoms as significant when they are exposed to physical hazards, such as flames, heat, vibrations, using sharp items and carrying heavy items (Odd Ratio 2.56, 95% Confidence Interval 1.00–6.52).

Table 11. Odds of Experiencing Health Symptoms as a Result of Hazards in the Workplace

Exposure	Odds Ratio[a]	p-value	95% CI	
Exposure to airborne hazards	1.57	0.23	0.75	3.27
Exposure to physical hazards	2.56	0.05	1.00	6.52
Exposure to environmental hazards	0.73	0.47	0.31	1.72
Exposure to chemical hazards	2.24	0.13	0.79	6.33
Exposure to green tobacco leaves[b]	1.00	1.00	0.32	3.09

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

[a]These analyses were adjusted to age, sex, education, working hours, usage of safety gear and work safety education.

[b]Analysis was performed using a different set of symptoms to identify Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS).

Many people were not aware of the hazards associated with green tobacco leaves, due to limited advocacy on GTS among the community. Currently, advocacy programmes are only conducted by multinational companies, involving students in selected elementary schools (e.g. After School Programme) and contracted farmers. Therefore, members of farming households and non-contracted farmers were not aware of Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS). Furthermore, health workers in the study location also admitted that they had never been provided with information relating to

Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS). They are usually provided with counseling related to the dangers of smoking and they advise parents not to bring or ask their children to work in the tobacco industry. Their concern is more often based on the hazards of fertilizers and pesticides and from the tasks of hanging and unloading bundled tobacco leaves inside the curing barn.

In response to their ailments, children reported that they were less likely to seek treatment from health workers (53.8% of all child labourers in tobacco). They prefer to rest, get a massage and buy drugs from *warung* (local store). Furthermore, in Lombok Timur, pharmacies, primary health care facilities, and hospitals are difficult to access because they are located far from the villages. Group discussions and interviews with children revealed that children tend to perceive theirs ailments as common. Of all child labourers in tobacco growing, around 10% use traditional methods to relieve health symptoms. This is particularly alarming, because these children were found to use non-prescribed generic medicine, traditional medication, energy drinks, and locally brewed red wine to overcome their ailments—without realising the dangers of such medications.

IV. ROOT CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR IN TOBACCO GROWING

This section analyses the causes of the phenomenon of child labour in the study villages, particularly in the tobacco growing industry. Understanding the direct and root causes, their interlinkages and their dynamics is crucial in finding ways to eliminating child labour. To systematically identify the causes, documents and journals were reviewed in relation to the village, *kabupaten*, and national level conditions uncovered in this study, taking both a quantitative and qualitative approach.

The many causative factors uncovered in this study are interrelated, but for analytical inference can be classified into three major components: (i) the enabling environment, (ii) push factors, and (iii) pull factors as presented in Figure 19. The enabling environment refers to the underlying contributing factors, which influence and are implicated in both pull and push factors. Factors included in the enabling environment include local norms and customs, as well as the existing legal framework related to child labour; both influence the informal and formal rules that shape attitudes and practices within the household and business communities.

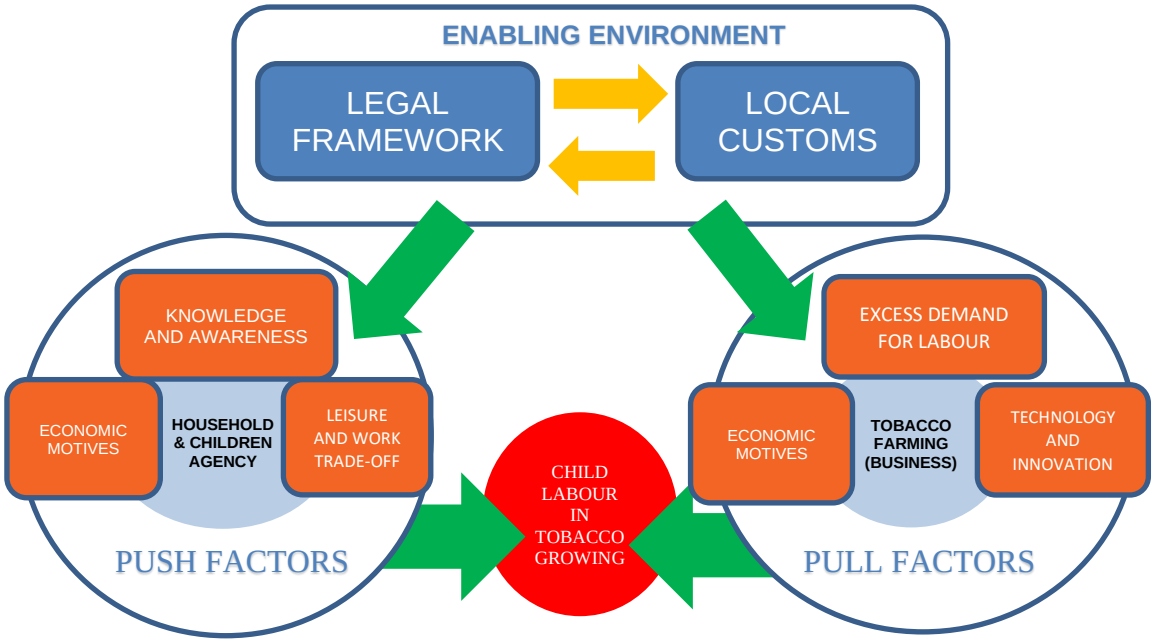


Figure 19. Dynamics of root causes of child labour in tobacco growing

Source: SMERU research team, 2017.

Push factors are factors within the household's and individual children's agency, which drive children to undertake economic activities and become child labourers. These comprise three interrelated aspects of (i) awareness and knowledge, (ii) the trade-off between working, studying, and playing, and (iii) economic motivation. Pull factors are factors that attract children to participate in economic activities and fundamentally reflect the conditions of the labour market. This study identifies at least three interrelated conditions of the local labour market in tobacco growing: an excess demand for labour in the villages, a lack of innovation in the tobacco growing industry – particularly in handling and processing, and the economic necessity to employ child labourers. A detailed discussion of each factor will be presented in the section below.

4.1 Enabling Environment

Enabling environment in this analysis refers to an interrelated set of underlying elements which are at the basis of the pull and push factors of child labour in the village. In other words, when interacting with these factors—depending upon the level it interacts with—the enabling environment becomes the basis for child labour to occur in the village. The enabling environment when interacting with each individual factor then triggers them to become either push or pull factors. The enabling environment identified in this study consists of the local norms and the legal framework of child labour. In the current situation both elements are not coherent and ineffective in supporting the elimination of child labour in agriculture, particularly in tobacco growing. The following passages will explain the situation in more detail.

4.1.1 Local Customs and Norms

Local customs and norms are a unique yet prominent factor, as they act as both push and pull factors depending on the level at which they are operating. When the local customs and norms are internalized and acted upon by members of the household or the child labourer, then they are classified as a push factor. However, the same local customs and norms, when occurring at the community level are classified rather as pull factors as they entice children to enter the labour market. Social norms are not only reflected in individual behaviors but also shape individuals' attitudes and beliefs (Gifford and Nilsson, 2014). Conformity of norms is crucial, particularly in tightly knit communities, such as in rural areas (Zollman, 2010). This study identified at least three local customs which were widely mentioned by respondents in relation to child labour.

Firstly, working children are regarded positively as they represent children's independence from their parents and their ability to be responsible. This finding supports previous studies on child labour in the tobacco growing industry (University of North Sumatra, 2004). Parents are proud to claim that their children work in tobacco growing and teachers were found to also encourage children to work. Most children have internalized this value, whereby helping their parents is an act of merit which will be religiously rewarded.

Secondly, children's involvement in tobacco growing has been integrated into local parenting practices. Parenting skills, such as teaching the values of hard work and responsibility, are deeply integrated in children's involvement in tobacco growing.

Lastly, it is generally an accepted local norm that once an individual is regarded as an adult they are expected to have their own earnings. In the villages included in the study, the age-range of adults is anyone above 12 years of age (after primary school). Children who have reached the age of adolescence, or puberty, are regarded as adults. Therefore, there is an expectation placed upon them to earn their own money—to achieve financial independence from their parents. Age is found to be a significant predictor of child labour. As the age of the child increases so does the probability of them becoming a child labourer. Children in the study aged 12 years and above stated that it would be embarrassing if they were still asking for money from their parents, so when an opportunity arises for them to earn their own money they take the job without hesitation.

Community also plays a significant role in the continuity of child labour practices in the village. The way the community perceives the phenomenon of working children establishes local cultures and norms in relation to child labour, which in this case shapes permissive attitudes towards child labour. As revealed in the regression in Chapter III, the prevalence of child labour in the village positively corresponds to the child's probability of becoming a child labourer. This further confirms that when child labourers are prevalent within a community, children are more likely to be involved

in the practice of child labour. Within an environment where the community accepts working children as a common occurrence, households will be more brazen about sending their children to work (Basu and Tzannatos, 2003).

This study also found that besides the expectation of working, especially in the agriculture sector, children are obligated to help their parents with domestic work, especially the girls. At a very young age many girls have to undertake domestic chores every day, ranging from washing clothes, dishes, cooking, to looking after their younger siblings. Boys, on the other hand, are less likely to do domestic work but were more likely to be involved in heavy tobacco related work. Even though it was never explicitly stated by any respondents in this study, it is clear that traditional gender role is a primary reason behind task allocation. This finding also highlights the importance of the fact that girls are more likely to face a double burden in terms of their work, because they are expected to undertake both tobacco related and domestic work, as also found in previous studies regarding child labour in tobacco growing (Amigo, 2010; SEATCA, 2013).

4.1.2 Legal Framework

As briefly mentioned in Chapter I, Indonesia has adopted the ILO conventions regarding child labour and the worst forms of child labour into its national regulations, including Indonesian labour laws (Law No. 13 Year 2003 concerning Labour, Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002 on the National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, and Minister for Labour and Transmigration's Decree No. 235 Year 2003 on Types of Hazardous Work for Children's Health, Safety, and Morals). In addition, some multinational companies in the tobacco industry[9] have adopted the Sustainable Tobacco Production (STP) Programme, which contains a mandatory clause to ensure that their supply chain does not involve children (see Table 12). There are no official statistics on the production share of these companies, but the proportion of farmers in the study villages who are affiliated with these companies is very limited.

The existing regulations, however, are not yet effective in eliminating child labour or in preventing children from working under hazardous conditions. This study finds several weaknesses in the current regulatory framework, including a lack of clarity in the definitions of child labour and hazardous work in regard to tobacco growing, as well as the absence of child labour issues in regional regulations pertaining to tobacco farming. In addition, the implementation, monitoring, and law enforcement of the existing regulations—both by the government and by the companies—are ineffective.

[9]ECLT members are Alliance One International, H.M. Sampoerna, Bentoel Group, Sadhana Arifnusa, Tempu Rejo, and Pandu Sata Utama

Table 12. Child Labour Regulatory Framework

Core Component of Child Labour Legal Framework	National Regulations	Corporate Regulations
Minimum age of employment	Law No.13 Year 2003 (Children are allowed to do light work, but no clear definition of light work)	Sustainable Tobacco Production (STP) Programme – Child Labour Guideline
Working hours		
Prohibition against child labour		
Light work		
Hazardous work	Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002 Decree of the Minister for Labour and Transmigration No. 235 Year 2003 (Disharmony on the definition of hazardous working conditions for children; simplification & generalisation of hazardous working conditions)	

The major loophole in the current regulations lies in the definition of hazardous work. Details on the standard of hazardous work for children are generalised across all sectors, while different sectors in fact impose unique hazards on children. Children working in the tobacco sector, in particular, are prone to Green Tobacco Sickness (GTS), a hazard unique to the tobacco sector. Generalising hazards across different working sectors leads to the desensitization of unique hazards. Health and safety practices being developed are also based on the same generalized and often mistaken assumptions thus putting children at risk. The study also discovered disharmony between Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002 and Minister for Labour and Transmigration's Decree No. 235 Year 2003. The presidential decree classifies the agriculture sector as being included in the worst forms of child labour. It tends to be over-generalized and difficult to implement. On the other hand, the ministerial decree provides a more detailed definition by specifying several activities as hazardous, including activities with potential exposure to chemicals (e.g. pesticides, fertilizer) and activities involving heavy equipment (e.g. a hoe) or mobilizing heavy machinery (e.g. a tractor) – but does not yet cover hazards specific to the tobacco sector. The discrepancy between a complete ban, based on the presidential decree, and the banning of specific activities, based on the ministerial decree, has resulted in confusion surrounding the standard of hazardous work for children.

The implementation of the regulation also suffers from a lack of synergy between central and local governments, as well as between the government and businesses. In both study *kabupaten*, there is no provincial or *kabupaten* regulation that specifically prohibits child labour, although according to the 2002–2007 National Report on the Implementation of the National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Form of Child Labour, the Regional Commission for the Elimination of the Worst Form of Child Labour had been formed in East Java Province (in 2003), in Kabupaten Jember (2004), and in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province (in 2006) (Sekretariat KAN-PBPTA, 2007). Discussions during the first consultation meeting[10] in Surabaya revealed that, in general, these commissions lack political and monetary support from the provincial and *kabupaten* governments, thus limiting their tasks mostly to the dissemination of activities with a limited scope. In 2014, Sekretariat KAN-PBPTA was disbanded by Presidential Regulation No. 176 Year 2014 due to

[10]First consultation meeting of the study was attended by ECLT member companies, related local NGOs, and provincial-level government agencies in Surabaya. The meeting was held on the 27th & 28th of July 2016.

perceived inefficiencies. The committee's tasks have since been taken over by the Ministry of Labour and Transmigration.

The provincial government of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) and the *kabupaten* government of Jember have issued regulations on tobacco farming,[11] which outline the relationship between farmers and corporations; however, these regulations do not mention anything about child labour. These regulations have made it mandatory for tobacco farmers to be affiliated with a corporation – and also limit the expansion of corporations' direct cultivation. However, in addition to the lack of law enforcement, the nonexistence of clauses regarding the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing has created a gap in the monitoring and enforcement of the law between local and multinational tobacco companies. Contracted farmers of multinational companies, who are the minority, are more likely to adhere to the prohibitions against child labour, as tobacco companies have their own monitoring systems grounded in the STP child labour guidelines. Contracted farmers for local tobacco companies, on the other hand, are not as well monitored because they are not obliged to follow the STP child labour guidelines. Furthermore, farmers who do not have contracts with any companies are outside the reach of both the government as well as the private sector.

The combination of the lack of clarity in defining child labour, particularly types of hazardous work, limited dissemination, and weak monitoring and law enforcement have resulted in a lack of knowledge and awareness about the existing regulations that prohibit child labour. This lack of understanding has led to the failure in countering long standing cultural beliefs which encourage children's involvement in tobacco growing. Promoting awareness and understanding around the regulations against child labour has the potential to buffer parents' decisions to tolerate their children working in the tobacco growing industry.

4.2 Push Factors

Push factors are contributing factors which operate on the level of individual children and the household. These factors are responsible for driving children to enter the labour market. A contextual analysis of the villages revealed that the dominant factor in driving children into the labour market is the lack of comprehension around the concept of child labour. The other two driving-factors of child labour, a lack of alternative facilities for children and economic motives, are to a certain extent reinforced by the lack of understanding of child labour.

4.2.1 Lack of Comprehension and Awareness Surrounding the Issue of Child Labour: Concept, Regulations and Risks

The lack of comprehension and awareness on the issue of child labour amongst the village population has been identified to be the fundamental element in the promotion of child labour in tobacco growing. This lack of comprehension and awareness includes the estrangement of the term child labour, lack of knowledge on the regulations prohibiting child labour and unawareness of the hazardous consequences of child labour in tobacco growing. Utilising the TransTheoretical Model of Health Behaviour Change (TTM) as an indicator of awareness, parents and child labourers are still in the very first stage of pre-contemplation. This is reflected in the estrangement of the term child labour amongst parents and child labourers. In the first stage of TTM, the individual is still very much unaware of the existing issue because they are unaware that their particular routine (i.e.,

[11] Regional Government Regulation of West Nusa Tenggara Province No. 4 Year 2006 on Cultivation and Business Partnership in Virginia Tobacco Plantation in West Nusa Tenggara, and Regional Government Regulation of Kabupaten Jember No. 7 Year 2003 on Tobacco Cultivation.

Involving children in tobacco growing) is a threat to a child's welfare (Forest Research, 2012). Village officials' and community figures' comprehension of the issue is not much more advanced in comparison to parents and child labourers. Referring back to the TTM model, they are in the contemplation stage, which is merely one ladder above the parents and child labourers. In this stage they are aware of the concept of child labour but their knowledge is not comprehensive. Their comprehension is that the negative impacts of child labour only slightly outweigh the benefits, thus the balance between costs and benefits is too ambivalent for them to take concrete actions or even to make a definitive statement on the issue (Forest Research, 2012). In addition, both child labourers and parents are unaware of the existence of regulations prohibiting the practice of child labour, including the categorisation of child labour in plantations as the worst form of child labour. This fact was found to add to the complexity of efforts to eliminate child labour, as parents are often unaware that they have violated any existing laws or regulations.

Perceived threat is an integral factor in dictating an individual's behavior (Whitmarsh, 2008). Children's continued involvement in tobacco growing stems from the lack of perceived threats, because parents, child labourers, community figures and village officials are unaware of the potential hazardous consequences of child labour in tobacco growing. None of the respondents interviewed in this study were found to have an adequate knowledge of the impacts of physical contact with green tobacco leaves, despite increasing discussions in scientific articles about GTS (Green Tobacco Sickness) related symptoms. The lack of direct or indirect (i.e., vicarious learning) exposure to negative experiences from being involved in tobacco reaffirmed their perceptions about the safety of children's involvement in tobacco growing. Direct experiences particularly have been identified as a major influence on behavioral change, along with learning risk perception (Whitmarsh, 2008). Therefore, the lack of perceived threats to self contributes to the reluctance to change the practices of child labour in tobacco growing. Child labourers and parents were quick to identify smoking as hazardous but not exposure to the tobacco plant itself. A few of the parents, community figures and village officials interviewed briefly mentioned hearing about the banning of children's involvement in tobacco, while none were able to demonstrate comprehensive knowledge of the causes, or methods of transfer, prevention, or mitigation.

4.2.2 Lack of Alternative Facilities for Children Activities

The combined factors of the village and individual children result in a trade-off in which children opt to be involved in tobacco growing in their leisure time. The lack of available platforms for children in the village to channel their leisure time underlies children's preference to enter the labour market. While children lose their leisure time by working, they gain income and some still have the opportunity to meet their friends. Given such an equation, the perceived benefits of being involved in tobacco growing could be greater for a child.

Children are very aware of the importance of public spaces and youth organisations, and how the lack of these facilities is related to their involvement in the tobacco growing industry. Given the proximity of tobacco production infrastructure, such as furnaces and workstations, involvement in tobacco growing is very accessible to children. In addition, parents prefer their children to be working instead of playing or just laying around at home doing nothing. During discussions about potential solutions, children uniformly agreed that accessibility and availability of children's facilities, whether in the form of youth organisations or public facilities, has the potential to be one of the main solutions to eliminating child labour (see also Section 5.2).

In regards to specific facilities, many village officials, parents, and child labourers in the village consider the lack of higher education facilities to be the most prominent causative factor of child labour, as it is regarded to demotivate children from going to school due to the distance and lack of proper public transportation (see Appendix 21: Table A17). In addition, many adult respondents

reported that older children, entering junior and senior high school, demand that their parents buy a motorcycle so they can go to school on their own. If parents cannot afford to buy a motorcycle for their children, children often opt to discontinue their schooling. Therefore, as it is reflected in data on school participation among general child labourers and those specifically involved in tobacco growing, participation rates in junior and senior high schools are decreasing (See Section 3.1 and 3.2). Dropping out of school opens up the opportunity for children to work because they have more free time. This spare time leaves them prone to being sent to work, because parents and the community regard it as a positive thing for children to work instead of playing or doing nothing. On the other hand, the lack of accessibility to schools in the villages was also found to prevent some older children from being involved in tobacco related work to some extent, in that their parents sent them to boarding schools outside the village. This resulted in a higher prevalence of child labour among older children who stay in the village.

4.2.3 Economic Motives: Household Poverty and Children's Economic Agency

Given the minimum awareness of the issue of child labour, parents and child labourers perceive children's involvement in tobacco growing to be an opportunity to enhance their welfare, instead of a potential threat to the individuals' future welfare. Economic motives as a driving force for children to enter the labour market were identified as operating on two levels: the individual child labourer and the household.

Amongst impoverished households, children's ability to contribute to the household's income is an integral factor influencing parents' decision to permit their children to work in tobacco growing. Household poverty reflects the general poverty conditions of the study locations, which are caused and maintained by the limited livelihood sectors. The main livelihoods available for adults in the study locations, both in Lombok Timur and Jember, are mostly in the agricultural sector, particularly working as farm labourers on land which is owned by the few rich farmers in the village. This finding is consistent with the regression analysis, which showed that households where the head of household works as a farm labourer is a significant indicator of child labour. Most farm labourers are paid low wages and are likely to be intermittently unemployed throughout the year, because most jobs are only available during certain seasons. Tobacco season, particularly the post-harvest stage, provides the largest number of working opportunities for adults and also children, meaning that it does not provide a stable income. Based on these conditions parents devise strategies which allow the household to achieve optimum welfare attainment. Because the cons of being a child labourer in tobacco growing are deemed to be inexistent, rationally, sending their children to be involved in tobacco growing is a viable strategy.

Child labourers themselves are however not passive subjects within the impoverished conditions of their households. In the midst of subordination among household members, children were found to be active agents in the decision-making processes which drive them into the labour market. Children are aware of the value they represent in the household. Integrated with the positive attribution of children's involvement in tobacco growing in existing local norms and customs, child labourers develop a sense of obligation to contribute to the household's income.

Household poverty alone is not enough to explain the economic motives of child labour because the phenomenon is not exclusive to children from impoverished households. Children were able to clearly articulate their goals along with how they planned to achieve their purchasing or spending goals. Therefore, amongst the study sample the attainment of economic agency was found to be a prominent factor in influencing children's decision to work in tobacco growing. The recent wave of studies on the push and pull factors of child labour mention the potential intrinsic factors which drive children into the labour market, as previous studies tend to depict children as passive actors. Children's economic agency refers to a concept whereby children are active agents in decision-

making related to their economy such as in relation to spending, savings, and even financial planning (Amigo, 2010). Findings from this study found that there is strong tendency for children, even from impoverished households, to employ a variety of tactics whereby they can achieve the optimum economic benefits for themselves (e.g. for their secondary and tertiary needs) whether through extending their working hours, working in more than one tobacco workstation/furnace, or choosing to work in the tobacco workstation/furnace with the highest wages.

4.3 Pull Factors

The nature of the labour market in tobacco growing is the primary pull factor attributed to drawing children into the labour market, and it constitutes of three interrelated factors: excess demand for labour during the tobacco season, the lack of technological advances in tobacco handling and processing, and the economic motives of the business.

4.3.1 Excess Demand for Labour in the Village

The limited number of adults available for labour during tobacco season combined with the labour-intensive yet menial nature of tobacco growing draws children into the industry. The lack of available adults who can be hired to work as farm labourers during tobacco season stems from the lack of variety of jobs available in the village's labour market. In all ten study villages, agriculture sector is considered as the leading and most thriving sector because it provides adequate income for the workers. However, income generated by agriculture is seasonal and unstable, particularly for farm labourers. The lack of variety of working opportunities in the village, particularly those which provide a stable income, encourages adults to migrate outside the village if they want a more secure income and more varied working opportunities, the majority opting to become Indonesian migrant workers abroad. This results in the reduction of the number of available adults in the village, thus when tobacco season comes along, the labour market in the village is unable to provide tobacco owners with sufficient amounts of adult labour. Thus, the viable solution is to substitute for the excess demand for labour in the village through the employment of children.

4.3.2 Lack of Technology and Innovation

Tobacco has been grown in both *kabupaten*, Jember and Lombok Timur, for at least 150 years. However, the increased volume of tobacco production over the years has not been accompanied by the advancement of tools used in tobacco growing. Fieldwork in the study site observed minimum use of semi-automatic or automatic tools,[12] particularly during the post-harvest season where activities need to be conducted swiftly to avoid the tainting of tobacco leaves and reduction in the selling price. Given that the labour market experiences an excess demand for labour during tobacco season, the lack of technology and innovation advancement further seals children's involvement in tobacco growing and in many instances also leads to hazardous working conditions. Instead of having children climbing racks in the furnace to hang tobacco bundles for curing, with some furnaces having racks reaching up to 15 meters with 1 – 1.5 meters gaps between each rack, a simple pulley machine could be integrated in the process to make the process safer but also faster to complete. The state of excess demand in the labour market is recurring, thus without advancement in technology or innovation in tobacco growing children will continue to be used as a substitution for adult labour because within the village they are currently perceived to be the only viable solution.

[12]This study does not pursue the issue of innovation and technology in tobacco growing and only observed the use of labour-intensive handling and processing methods.

4.3.3 Economic Motives: Maintaining Selling Price

There is another factor related to children entering the labour market which operates on the level of the employer. While previous studies have found that employers have a preference for hiring children due to their cheaper wages, no such findings were found in this study. Children, parents, and tobacco owners have reported that children are paid the same amount as adults as the payment is based on the number of *gelantang* or *sujen* they make (piece-rate system).

Predominantly, the motivation of tobacco owners to employ children rested on the urgency of processing tobacco leaves swiftly after they are picked. Although a number of families' motivation was to reduce the cost of labour by utilising their own children as labour on their plantations, the majority of tobacco owners hired children to maintain the selling price of their tobacco production. A delay in the tobacco procession, particularly in the post-harvest stage, immediately taints tobacco leaves. Meanwhile, pricing of tobacco leaves is highly dependent upon the quality of the leaves. These findings reinforce our argument that the three interlinking factors of a lack of adult workforce, lack of technological innovation, and the need for speedy processing of tobacco leaves, have become a vicious circle that pulls children into child labour in the tobacco industry.

V. RESOURCES AND POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

This section maps and discusses the existing resources alongside potential solutions identified through a series of in-depth interviews and FGDs at village, *kabupaten*, and national levels, combined with information gathered from documents related to national and regional policies on child labour issues. The resources discussed in this section refer to supply, support, and aid that have been utilised and are potentially being drawn upon in the effort to address child labour issues; including those which are perceived as necessary by children, parents, and the community. The discussion covers the situation and conditions of these resources—particularly in the tobacco growing industry in the six study villages (three in Lombok Timur and three in Jember), and in Indonesia as a whole—in relation to possible solutions for the elimination of child labour.

The discussion of the root causes of child labour presented in Chapter IV has revealed the complexity of and interlinkages between the various factors behind child labour in tobacco growing. The interviews and discussions with various groups of respondents—including children, parents, village and *kabupaten* officials, community members, as well as experts and activists working on the issue of child labour (as detailed in Section 2.4.2)—have pointed to a range of potential solutions. These solutions involve related stakeholders at all levels, from the community, village, *kabupaten* (and province), to the national level. In general, the process of mapping reveals many potential resources that have not yet been used, particularly at the local and *kabupaten* levels. Hence, there is still a lot of room for improvement in regard to resources that can be provided by the national government, tobacco companies and nongovernmental institutions, in supporting the elimination of child labour.

The following passages explain these potential solutions in detail by distinguishing resources at the level of the community, government, business, and nongovernment institutions.

5.1 Resources at Local Community and Village Government Level

Being the institutions closest to the household and children, communities at the local level and village government have the potential to play a key role in efforts to eliminate child labour in agriculture, especially in tobacco growing. Nevertheless, this study uncovered a lack of community awareness and lack of preparedness among village governments in tackling the issue of child labour. Therefore, many FGDs emphasised a variety of initiatives to be initiated and supported at the community and village level. These include raising public awareness of child labour issues at the village level through formal and informal channels, which can be achieved through: (i) sensitisation and dissemination of comprehensive information to various stakeholders at the village level regarding the issues of tobacco related work, child labour, and its consequences, including how to prevent child labour, mitigate the negative impacts, and information on related regulations prohibiting child labour in tobacco growing; (ii) revitalising community youth organisations and other community based organisations by actively engaging children in the village to design programmes and activities for children and youth in the village; and (iii) advocating for the inclusion of the child protection law, and formulation of standard regulations and efforts at the local (village) level regarding child labour in local regulatory agreements law (i.e., *awig-awig desa*).

In addition, several other physical programmes were suggested, including:

a) utilising sources of funding available at the village level, such as Village Fund, to develop programmes and public facilities addressing issues of child labour in general and child labour in tobacco growing;

b) developing an incentive-based programme and system to help villages and tobacco farmers succeed in eliminating the use of child labour in their neighbourhood and to promote the importance of banning child labour in tobacco growing; and

c) organising a community-based fund pooling system and other social assistance measures to promote the provision of local funding to assist poor households in the village.

The condition of existing resources for these potential solutions is described below.

5.1.1 Community Forums

The series of interviews and FGDs with village officials and community members resulted in a list of local community-based organisations and activity forums, which have often been overlooked or have not yet been utilised as a channel for improving awareness of the prohibition of child labour and hazardous work. The forums and organisations involve children, youth, and women of various age groups, which include:

1. *Karang Taruna* (youth organisation): This forum exists in all villages in Lombok Timur and Jember with the primary mandate of providing activities for youth. This forum is considered to be a formal institution at the village level, meaning that it is eligible to receive funding from the village budget, as well as various kinds of assistance from the *kabupaten* or national government. Thus, children and youth can benefit from *Karang Taruna* if it can function as an activity forum for children and youth in the village. This forum has the potential to support the elimination of child labour by providing alternative constructive activities, such as safe farming education and vocational short training to draw children away from child labour as well as facilitating awareness raising about the issues of child labour among children and youth. This forum also has the potential to be developed as a platform for children to voice their demands in relation to efforts to eliminate child labour during the village development planning process.

2. *Pengajian anak* (children's Qur'an recitation): Other than school, religious activities are part of the daily routine of children both in Lombok Timur and Jember. After attending regular school in the morning (until around 12 or 1 pm), children in these villages usually attend TPQ to study the Qur'an. The classes are regularly conducted at different times, from 2:30–4:00 pm and 6:30–7:30 p.m. The interviews and FGDs with children, parents, village officials, and other community members, revealed that religious activities are considered to be one of the most important activities that should be carried out by children. Not only do children have to keep these times spare to join the class every day, but break times during work also follow the daily times for praying and Qur'anic learning. The teachers of TPQ have the potential to be agents in raising children's awareness of the dangers involved in tobacco growing. During the FGD, some children mentioned that their *Kyai, Tuan Guru*, *Ustad* or *Ustadzah* [13]are people they respect and obey. Especially in Lombok Timur, the community believe that the Tuan Guru has *karomah*[14], meaning they are obedient to their *Tuan Guru*. Even when the *Tuan Guru* has died, the anniversary of the *Tuan Guru's* death draws large crowds and is

[13]*Kyai, Tuan Guru*, *Ustad* or *Ustadzah* are people who are believed to have higher religious knowledge than others

[14]Glory from the God

routinely attended by the community. This indicates that the *Tuan Guru's* influence is enormous.

3. *Majelis taklim*.[15] Apart from religious activities for children, Muslim group activities, such as *majelis taklim*, are local customs in both study locations (usually holding recitations of the Qur'an in the village and religious lectures for women). *Majelis taklim* is also identified as a community group that could potentially benefit efforts to address the issues of child labour, for example through educating women audiences.

4. Family Welfare and Empowerment (PKK): Both in Lombok Timur and Jember, PKK is well known to have relevant programmes for youth and children, with the objective of participating in community development. Within PKK there is a smaller group or unit called Dasa Wisma. Dasa Wisma is a group of mothers derived from 10 heads of households in the neighbourhood. Their aim is to facilitate the implementation of particular programmes. This unit has the potential to raise community awarness around the dangers of involving children in the tobacco sector. Considering the significant role of parents and families in addressing the issue of child labour in tobacco growing, this type of group could conduct activities such as educating the community about child related issues, such as basic parenting, nutrition, health, children's rights, including raising awareness of the impacts of child labour in tobacco growing. This could also be carried out through activities at local health centres at the village level, such as *posyandu* (integrated health service posts).

In addition to these forums and organisation, this study has also uncovered several community initiatives that could be leveraged to address issues related to child labour in tobacco growing. The study team found, for example, that teachers in several villages usually visit their students at home during tobacco season when they skipped their class. During their visit, the teachers try to determine whether the children skipped class because they are sick or because they are working to help their parents.

Additionally, in some villages, the practice of covering the dried tobacco leaves with tarpaulins is common among the community to prevent the strong smell of dried tobacco leaves from spreading inside the houses and neighbourhood. This smell is perceived to be harmful because of the health consequences that may arise from inhaling the smell. This practice highlights the fact that when the community are aware of the risks, they will actively try to address the problem. On the other hand, the fact also emphasises the importance of providing comprehensive information to the community if they are to be expected to work together to address the problem.

There is a potential to develop a community-based fund pooling system or other social assistance programmes to promote the provision of local funding to help poor households in the village. In Lombok Timur, there is a community-based fund pooling system, named *banjar*, which collects money from the community and utilises it to help the needy to cover the cost of weddings or celebratory feasts after the event of a circumcision. This system could potentially be expanded on in collaboration with various community based organisations (e.g. employment centres, training centres for various working skills in the village) to address the issue of poverty in the village. However, as emphasised by a previous study by Basu, Das, and Dutta (2009), any interventions aimed at improving the level of household welfare to address the occurrence of child labour need to be carefully designed as it could result in the opposite effect. This means that the intervention needs to be conducted together with additional measures, including educational activities and advocacy to promote the prohibition of child labour.

[15]Name of a Muslim group activity, usually in the form of Qur'an recitation and religious lecture for women.

5.1.2 Public Facilities for Children

Children, parents, and communities involved in this study identified several facilities as being necessary for children's development, including schools, facilities for religious activities (mosques and neighbourhood prayer spaces or *musala*), sports facilities, and playgrounds in the neighborhood. This study found that in general the sample villages lack public spaces and facilities for children to channel their energy and spare time, hence children engage in working activities, especially during the tobacco season. There are only few villages, particularly in Jember, which were reported to have public sporting facilities, such as fields for playing soccer and badminton, but only one village identified as having a properly constructed futsal field, while the others usually utilise vacant land in the village as a sports field. Moreover, the sport facilities usually lack equipment, such as balls, shuttlecocks, or rackets. Therefore, children in the villages cannot utilise these facilities and prefer to spend their free time hanging around in the village hall, dry lands or paddy fields, by the river, or even in tobacco warehouses to meet and play with their friends, and some children prefer to work to fill their spare time.

Other basic facilities identified in all study villages are schools for various levels, including an (ECED or *Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini or* PAUD), kindergarten, primary, junior and senior secondary public schools. Besides public schools, there are *madrasah ibtidaiah* or MI (Islamic elementary schools) and *madrasah sanawiah* or MTs (Islamic junior high schools), as well as *madrasah aliah* or MA (Islamic senior high schools). The existing PAUD in some villages are mostly initiated by community members. During tobacco season, PAUD are also used as day-care facilities for mothers who work in tobacco growing.

As reported by children, parents, and village officials, most of the study villages still lack junior and senior secondary schools, and even the elementary schools in several villages are reported to be located outside of the village. Hence, many children at elementary school level have to travel quite far to school. A large number of parent respondents stated that many children are sent to boarding schools outside of the villages, or if they continue to secondary school they will ask their parents to provide them with a motorcycle. In addition, teachers, parents, and village officials reported that most villages lack not only school buildings, but also learning equipment (books, stationery) and teaching staff. The lack of secondary schools in the study villages means that children who are studying outside of the villages (boarding school) were not captured in this study. On the other hand, children are forced to work because access to higher levels of education requires a lot of money, so only children from certain circles can continue their schooling.

Compared to other kinds of facilities, facilities related to religious activities were found to be more abundant and accessible. Each village has more than one mosques, *musala* (smaller mosque within each neighbourhood), and Qur'an learning centres for children (i.e., TPA). For example, in a village in Jember, there are five TPA with over a hundred teachers. These facilities are accessed on a daily basis by community members in the villages, including children, for praying and learning the Qur'an.

> "Qur'anic learnings are usually held at mosques or Islamic schools. There are five mosques and over one hundred Qur'anic teachers in this village" – (Male, village official, Jember, 9 January 2017)

Other basic village facilities identified in this study include health facilities provided by local governments. Even though only a few parent and child respondents discussed the necessity of the existing health facilities, the study team observed that in each village there is at least one community health centre, which could be either a *puskesmas* (community health centre) at *kecamatan* (subdistrict) level or *pustu* (secondary community health centre). Health centres are usually run by professional health workers, such as nurses and midwives. However, there is often only one nurse or midwife providing services for the village community. When asked about the

impact of tobacco growing related work among children, health workers reported symptoms related to respiratory illnesses among children arising during the tobacco season. Moreover, most health workers interviewed in this study agreed that exposure to tobacco may have negative impacts on children's health, but this belief is more likely to be related to tobacco smoking, since the only education programme that they received is on the dangers of smoking. All health workers interviewed in the study villages stated that they have not been informed or trained about GTS, therefore they cannot distinguish if certain symptoms were related to GTS or caused by other types of sickness. This is one of the main reasons why cases related to GTS have never been reported in the study villages. The availability of health facilities can be used to educate the community about the dangers of child labour in tobacco growing.

5.1.3 Village Regulations

Village has autonomous power, and can issue village regulations to govern village internal affairs. For Lombok Timur, in particular, many relevant stakeholders from government and non-governmental organisations (NGO) underline the significant role of *awig-awig,* a rule made based on mutual agreement in the village or local regulatory agreements which have similar legal forces as village regulations. *Awig-awig* is considered to have the potential forces to regulate the implementation of any interventions addressing child labour, and to enforce a more holistic and systematic initiatives within the village to address problems related to child labour in tobacco growing.

The inclusion of child labour prohibitions in *awig-awig* will strengthen the effort to implement interventions addressing child labour at the village level. Advocating for the inclusion of information and regulations on children's rights, child labour, child marriage, and other related issues, will help village officials, tobacco companies, and higher-level government authorities to invite and engage more community members in raising awareness on other issues which affect the prevalence of child labour. It is also important to identify local initiatives that could strengthen the effort to address child labour within villages, particularly in tobacco growing. *Awig-awig* could help to enforce the systematic implementation of these initiatives. Efforts may include regulating the availability of PAUD in the village to support working mothers and prevent them from bringing their babies and young children with them when working in tobacco farms and warehouses, and implementing regulations which require farmers and companies to build their tobacco warehouses and curing-ovens away from residential areas in order to prevent children from engaging in tobacco growing.

5.1.4 Village Fund

Discussions at the village and *kabupaten* levels have pointed to Village Fund as a potential source that could be explored in supporting the elimination of child labour. Since 2015, the new Village Law (Law No. 6 Year 2014) has distributed significant block grants to be managed by village governments. Thus, each village has discretionary power to manage village funds allocated by *kabupaten* governments and central government (Village Fund Allocation). On average, a village in the province of East Java received a total transfer of Rp781 million in 2015, which increased to Rp1.167 billion in 2016. In West Nusa Tenggara province, the village recieved an average of Rp951.8 million in 2015 and Rp1.391 billion in 2016 (Kementerian Keuangan, 2016). The funds can be used for financing various development programmes, including public infrastructure, public services, and community empowerment. Therefore, the funds can also be allocated to develop child-friendly village facilities and accommodate children's interests, for instance by allocating the funding towards building accessible public playgrounds, community libraries and sporting facilities, and public awareness raising activities.

Village officials, community members, and tobacco companies or NGOs need to work together to develop a child-friendly village development budget to make sure the general principal of child protection, including the prohibition of child labour, is applied. In addition, the development of facilities or activities could also be managed in collaboration with vocational high schools and universities, in order to expose children to higher education facilites.

5.2 Resources from the *Kabupaten* Governments

The current decentralised government system in Indonesia grants autonomous political and economic powers to *kabupaten* governments. Because of this, most public services including welfare improvement and child protection come under the responsibility of the *kabupaten* government. The strategic position of the *kabupaten* government results in high expectations from the various stakeholders who participated in the series of discussions conducted througout this study. They suggested various strategic measures to be implemented by the *kabupaten* government. These include more intensive efforts to raise the knowledge and awareness of relevant stakeholders by: (i) empowering and improving the capacity of community leaders, health workers and teachers in preventing child labour; (ii) positioning farmers and farm labourers as agents in raising awareness on the impacts of child labour in tobacco growing by regularly engaging in discussions on how they might resolve this issue; and (iii) engaging with and increasing the roles of local/regional Komisi Urusan Tembakau (Tobacco Commissions) to facilitate coordination amongst various actors in the tobacco industry.

In addition, it was suggested that the *kabupaten* government should develop an incentive-based programme and system for villages and tobacco farmers that succeeds in eliminating child labour in their neighbourhoods. This kind of programme is expected to change the way communities view the regulations – from stick to carrot. Another expectation was for the *kabupaten* government to promote alternative livelihood means that can provide a more stable income for villagers and prevent them from becoming migrant workers. To some extent, this would help to reduce demand for child labour stemming from the excess demand for labour during tobacco season. Regional agriculture and forestry bodies need to advocate for the cultivation of other crops in addition to tobacco, and for ensuring the standardisation of the price of product. For example, Wonosari village in Jember successfully cultivates eggplants, melons, soybeans, cassava, chilli and corn, as well as tobacco and rice. This effort is expected to provide alternate working sectors for village communities in order to keep villagers working locally (not migrating away from the village).

These potential solutions could be developed from existing resources. Both Jember and Lombok Timur have already initiated efforts aimed at the reduction of child labour, although not all are specifically targeted toward the issue of child labour in the tobacco growing sector. These efforts will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1 Child Labour Elimination Programmes

As mandated by the Labour Law, the regional governments of both *kabupaten*, particularly the labour and transmigration agency, conduct regular field inspections and monitoring across working sectors to ensure that companies obey the national regulations, including ensuring that no underage workers are employed. The mechanisms of inspection and monitoring are usually unannounced, and sometimes engage other relevant stakeholders in the *kabupaten*. In Jember, monitoring to ensure that no underage workers are employed is conducted through regular on-the-spot inspections of workers' ID cards. Meanwhile in Lombok Timur, field inspections are carried out in collaboration with the health agency and the local police.

Even though the main focus of supervision is still reported to be on the formal sector, *kabupaten* officials interviewed in both Lombok Timur and Jember claimed that they have initiated regular field inspections and monitoring of informal sectors, including tobacco growing. Yet the visits are still implemented in a non-systematic manner, in that they are only conducted in sites they pass through during field inspections in the formal sector and are not based on a systematic list.

> ….that is why we usually conduct inspections randomly, since we only have a few field inspectors, so we visit and inspect the workplaces to see whether they employ children…sometimes during these inspections we find (accidentally) workplaces that never report their business. (Male, *kabupaten* officials from the office of labour and transmigration, Lombok Timur, 12 August 2016)

As discussed in section 4.1.2, the main obstacle that they face is the limited number of staff and budget. The ratio of field inspectors against the number of existing companies in the region is less than ideal. The respondents in both *kabupaten* claimed that the existing resources are stretched far too thin to monitor both the formal and informal sectors, which results in the minimum number of inspections being conducted. For example, in the entire province of West Nusa Tenggara the government enlisted approximately 700 companies, but there are only 24 field inspectors to monitor all of these companies. According to the respondents, with this number of companies the local office of labour and transmigration should ideally provide at least 10–12 more field inspectors per *kabupaten*. Despite the constraints faced by the *kabupaten* office, the respondents highlighted that the regional government has been committed to ensuring the enforcement of regulations across all working sectors, both formal and informal.

To some extent, the initiation of regular inspections and monitoring of the informal sector was triggered by the implementation of the PPA-PKH programme. PPA-PKH is a central government programme, managed by the Ministry of Labour. The programme is aimed at bringing child labourers from PKH[16] beneficiary households back to school and preventing them from dropping out of school. Lombok Timur and Jember have been covered by this programme for a couple of years. Jember received the programme in 2014 and 2015. Although the programme beneficiaries were determined by the central government, the *kabupaten* government was heavily involved in the implementation of the programme, including in verifying the beneficiaries and identifying whether children from the beneficiary households have dropped out of school or have the potential to drop out of school. This involvement has somewhat heightened the local government's understanding of the situation of child labour in their *kabupaten*.

In addition, both Lombok Timur and Jember are currently developing a regulatory and programmatic framework to become a child-friendly *kabupaten* (Kabupaten Layak Anak or KLA). The KLA programme is also a national programme initiated and managed by the Ministry for Women Empowerment and Child Protection. To become a child-friendly *kabupaten*, Lombok Timur and Jember governments have begun to form a working group comprising of relevant agencies and to prepare a draft *Bupati* (Head of District) Decree on the KLA working group. The formation of the working group will lay the foundation for inter-agency collaboration on various KLA programmes. Since the general objective of the KLA programme is to guarantee the fulfillment of child rights, this will provide an umbrella for a holistic approach to the elimination of child labour. Nevertheless, since KLA covers various child-rights issues special advocacy efforts will be required to ensure the inclusion of and attention to the issue of child labour in agriculture, especially child labour in tobacco growing.

[16]PKH stands for Program Keluarga Harapan, a conditional cash transfer programme managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

These existing child labour elimination programmes can be strengthened and used as a vehicle to eliminate child labour, especially in tobacco growing. However, it will require efforts to involve various relevant stakeholders and develop their knowledge and awareness regarding child labour and hazardous work, including sectorally specific hazards, such as GTS in tobacco growing. The stakeholders to be involved will include, but will not be limited to, the labour agency, health agency, women empowerment and child protection agency, as well as stakeholders at the village level (community leaders, health workers, and teachers).

In addition, there is also a need to develop more incentive-based systems in promoting the elimination of child labour. This study found that most of the existing initiatives and programmes addressing the issue focus on child labour more as an immoral practice as it can negatively impact all aspects of a child's development. On the other hand, the decision to employ children is mostly driven by incentives, both monetary and non-monetary. Monetary incentives stem from the opportunity for farmers to save on labour costs, higher production of tobacco etc. On the other hand, farmers who comply with the regulations do not recieve any non-monetary incentives since most community members are still not aware of the negative impacts working may have on their children. Moreover, tobacco companies and contracted farmers reported that their effort to enforce the ban are often viewed as impractical and burdensome by other farmers. This finding highlights the importance of deliberately providing incentives in any interventions designed to address child labour in tobacco growing. This measure would also be aimed at changing the way the community views the regulations and effort to enforce the practice.

5.2.2 Revenue-Sharing Fund of Tobacco Excise (DBH CHT)

Locally known as DBH CHT, the revenue sharing fund is collected specifically from tobacco production and is allocated to *kabupaten* governments by the national government. According to Law No. 39 Year 2007 that regulates excise policy, 2% of the national income from tobacco excise should be transferred to the province of origin and then be distributed to the producing *kabupaten*. The utilisation of the fund is regulated by a ministerial regulation. Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 20/PMK.07 Year 2009 (as an amendment to Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 84/PMK.07 Year 2008) states that DBH CHT can only be used for five purposes: (1) improving tobacco quality, (2) assisting the tobacco industry, (3) assisting/improving the social environment, (4) socialising excise regulations, and (5) tackling the issue of illegal excise. The latest regulation—Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 28/PMK.07 Year 2016 on the utilisation, monitoring, and evaluation of the revenue-sharing fund of tobacco excise—imposes new rules on the utilisation by allowing *kabupaten* governments to use a maximum of 50% of the fund for other development priorities, in accordance with local conditions; while maintaining a minimum of 50% of the fund to be used as regulated by the previous ministerial decree.

As tobacco producing regions, both Jember and Lombok Timur receive substantial amounts of DBH CHT. Jember received Rp41.96 million in DBH CHT in 2014, which increased to Rp55.4 million in 2015; while Lombok Timur received Rp55.67 million in 2014 (PSPK-UGM, 2016). According to the most recent study by PSPK-UGM (2016), in Jember the largest proportion of the fund was used for assisting/improving the social environment and was mostly used to increase entrepreneurship and skills for micro and small businesses and to improve medical equipment in health facilities. These initiatives are not related to tobacco growing. In 2014 in Lombok Timur, a substantial portion (around 35%) of the fund was allocated to cash transfers to tobacco farmers. Thus, in 2014, around 16,000 tobacco farming households received a transfer of Rp1.1 million per hectare. This scheme was considered to be very benefial by the recipients, but was also highly criticised for its potential miss-targeting. Substantial proportions of the fund were also allocated to public works (22%) and trade and industries (18%). The PSPK-UGM study in the two *kabupaten*, as well as in four other

tobacco producing *kabupaten*, in general found that the use of the DBH CHT fund in 2014 and 2015 was not sensitive to the needs of the tobacco growing sector.

Many of the participants in the interviews and various FGDs conducted during this study also share similar concerns about the utilisation of DBH CHT. It was reported that the distribution of cash transfers to tobacco farmers in the study villages was vague; not all farmers interviewed in this study receive the funding and none of them can explain how to determine the amount they should receive. Many farmers have lodged complaints to their village officials regarding the potential misuse of the funding as they never receive anything from the programme, despite it being socialised often as a tool in advancing the welfare of tobacco farmers.

Hence, the FGD participants pointed to DBH CHT as one of the sources of government funding which could potentially be allocated towards addressing problems related to child labour in tobacco growing. Since the finance ministerial regulation includes the provision of services and facilities related to community health and welfare in the detailed list of activities that can be funded, allocating the funding to programmes which address child labour problems in the village—such as a reward programme for farmers or villages that succeeds in eliminating child labour as described in the previous section—is feasible and in line with the aims of DBH CHT. However, the implementation of such programme should be complemented with an improved system to monitor farmers regarding the involvement of children on their farms.

5.2.3 Regional Tobacco Regulations and Comissions

Being one of Indonesia's largest tobacco producing regions, the West Nusa Tenggara provincial government has established a provincial level tobacco regulation which stipulates that all farmers who plant Virginia tobacco should be contracted by companies, whether national or international (Regional Government Regulation of West Nusa Tenggara Province No. 4 Year 2006). This regulation aims to ensure that all farmers are formally registered and in doing to increase the possibility of monitoring. Meanwhile, Kabupaten Jember Government also regulates tobacco farming through Regional Government Regulation of Kabupaten Jember No. 7 Year 2003, which limits the size of tobacco plantations in an effort to protect small holder tobacco farming and requires tobacco companies to establish contracts with farmers. As also discussed in the previous chapters (see section 4.1.2), these regulations do not cover the issue of child labour. In order to internalise the prohibition of child labour into a tobacco farming code of conduct for all tobacco farmers, both small holders and big plantations, it is necessary to amend the regulations and to include clauses on the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing that also outline a list of hazardous work and the necessary safety meaures.

The Government of Kabupaten Jember has also established the Jember Tobacco Commissions, a commission that provides support to the *kabupaten* government in assisting and monitoring tobacco farming businesses. The members of the commission include relevant *kabupaten* government agencies, universities, the Centre for Tobacco Quality Certification and Testing (*Balai Pengujian Sertifikasi Mutu Tembakau*), the Tobacco Institute (*Lembaga Tembakau*), association of tobacco businesses, association of tobacco farmers, farmers group, association of tobacco traders, and other professional organisations working in tobacco. Forum discussions are often conducted within the commission during which topics such as child labour eradication could be brought up. Several FGD participants from Jember highlighted the potential role of this commission in facilitating awareness raising among all tobacco sector players in Jember. By involving this commission, all stakeholders will have better ownership over the child labour elimination target. In turn, all members of the commission will actively participate in the effort to eliminate child labour in tobacco growing.

5.3 Resources from the Central Government

The central government of Indonesia plays a pivotal role in setting national standards and targets in the elimination of child labour and preventing children from becoming involved in hazardous work. The various discussions held throughout this study highlighted the urgent need for meaures to improve existing regulations, including the need to synchronise laws regarding the definition of the age of an adult, including the marriage law, labour law and child protection law, and to revise the existing regulations to better conceptualise the terms hazardous work and light work. In addition, many participants mentioned the need to establish a discussion forum between the national government, tobacco companies, and NGOs to facilitate the regular exchange of information and allow for timely updates on the situation of child labour in Indonesia.

These demands were brought up against the backdrop of existing resources, which will be explained in more detail below.

5.3.1 National Regulatory Framework

As mentioned earlier in Chapter I and also discussed in Chapter IV, Indonesia has issued various regulations regarding child labour. In addition to the Labour Law (Law No. 13 Year 2003), there are a series of laws that are relevant to the issue of child labour, including the Marriage Law (Law No. 1 Year 1974), the endorsement of ILO Convention Number 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (Law No. 20 Year 1999), the endorsement of ILO Convention Number 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (Law No. 1 Year 2000), and the Child Protection Law (Law No. 23 Year 2002) and its amendment (Law No. 35 Year 2014). Several participants in the discussions argued that the misinterpretation of children's age is one of the factors affecting the high prevalence of child labour. The Marriage Law in Indonesia sets the minimum age to get married at 16 years old for females and 19 years old for males, with exceptions for younger children with the approval of their parents. Meanwhile, the Labour Law sets the minimum age for working at 15 years old, while the Child Protection Law defines children as those below the age of 18 years old. Thus, participants argued that synchronising the official age of children across different laws and regulations is vital because married children have a higher probability of working, and children that work full time tend to drop out of school.

The labour Law limits the age and working hours permissible for working children (see also Table 12 in Section 4.1.2) and prohibits the involvement of children in hazardous working conditions. The definition of hazardous working conditions is detailed in Decree of the Minister for Labour and Transmigration No. 235 Year 2003. This regulation is used as a guideline for monitoring in all sectors, including in agriculture and tobacco growing. Nevertheless, the list of hazards outlined in this decree was considered to be too general to be properly applied to the agriculture sector because it does not include specific hazards which can only be applied to certain sectors, such as GTS in tobacco growing. Additionally, Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002 briefly classifies working in tobacco growing as one of the worst forms of child labour. This claim is not practically applicable because some tasks can be categorised as light work. This situation has triggered confusion and ambiguity in interpreting the regulations and in determining which types of work are still allowed to be carried out by children. Nevertheless, the decree is a good starting point to develop a sectorally specific definition of hazardous work. This definition should be developed through a participatory process involving all relevant stakeholders—including farmers and experts in agriculture, health, and safety.

Aside from hazards, it is also important to clearly define the concept of light work which children are permitted to do. The study noted that the lack of a clear definition of light work leads to children's involvement in hazardous work. Moreover, technical guidelines for specific sectors like tobacco growing are crucial in assisting stakeholders at all levels to enforce restrictions on child labour. Another pivotal aspect of the regulation is to ensure that it is well socialised to the public in order to provide people with an understanding of the issue and in doing so prevent future cases of child labour.

5.3.2 National Programmes Related to the Elimination of Child Labour

One of the landmarks of Indonesia's commitment to implementing programmes to eliminate child labour was the formation of the National Action Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (KAN-PBPTA) in 2001 (Presidential Decree No. 12 Year 2001), followed by the formulation of the long-term National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (RAN-PBPTA) for the period of 2002–2022. The KAN-PBPTA was directly accountable to the President. It was led by the Minister for Labour and Transmigration with members from other relevant ministries and government agencies, business and professional associations, universities, NGOs, and mass media. Regional governments were required to form the same institutions, and in 2013 all provinces (34) had already established a provincial action committee and 161 (out of 497) *kabupaten* had formed a *kabupaten* action committee. However, by 2013 only 7 provinces and 17 *kabupaten* had formulated an action plan (Minister for Labour, 2014). The KAN-PBPTA, however, was abolished in 2014 (Presidential Regulation No. 176 Year 2014)[17] and its function was transferred back to the relevant unit within the Ministry of Labour. The abolition of KAN-PBPTA has somewhat slowed down the pace of coordination at the national, as well as the regional level. Therefore, some FGD participants urged for the formation of a discussion forum, with a smaller and more specialised scope, to facilitate the intensive exchange of information and closer coordination between the government, nongovernment actors, and business communities. The forum could also facilitate substantial discussions in order to regularly review and provide inputs for updating regulations if necessary.

As described in Chapter I, the RAN-PBPTA consists of three phases: Phase I from 2002 to 2007, Phase II from 2008 to 2012, and Phase III from 2013 to 2022. Entering the third phase, the Ministry of Labour developed a Roadmap towards a Child-Labour Free Indonesia in 2022, which serves as a strategic guideline and working plan for all stakeholders, including government officials, the private sector, and NGOs (Ministry of Labour, 2017).

In addition to a review of the achievements during the first and second phases, the roadmap determines four main priority actions: (i) harmonising regulations and law enforcement, (ii) education and training, (iii) social protection, and (iv) labour market policies. The roadmap then lists the tasks that should be carried out by the government, labour unions, business (associations), and civil society under each priority. Among the priority tasks under the harmonising of regulations is drafting a policy to increase the minimum working age to 18 years old so that it is in accordance with the 12 year compulsory education policy. The tasks under education and training are in general also directed towards supporting the 12 year compulsory education policy and bringing child labourers who have left school early back to school. The social protection section is aimed at cushioning household income against shocks, preventing children from becoming child labourers and keeping children at school. Meanwhile, the labour market policy section is directed at: (i) strengthening vocational training to reduce youth unemployment, (ii) formalising informal sectors where child labour and the worst forms of child labour exist, (iii) intercepting the global chain of

[17]In the spirit of bureaucratic reform, this presidential regulation abolished eight special commissions and transferred their fuction to relevant ministries.

child labour, (iv) strengthening monitoring to ensure decent work for all, and (v) strengthening work relation systems to prohibit child labour.

The roadmap also determines two main implementation strategies. The first is to bring the issue of child labour into regional development planning meetings, so that child labour elimination strategies and programmes will be incorporated into the regional medium term development plan. This roadmap provides detailed guidelines on how to insert the issue of child labour into local government plans. The second strategy is to mainstream child labour issues in all sectors and all levels of government so that they will be addressed in a sustainable way.

Unlike phase I and phase II of the RAN-PBPTA that determine the priorities of specific sectors with the most severe child labour problem, the roadmap in phase III provides a very general guide and briefly touches on issues beyond child labour, including youth unemployment and providing decent work for adults. Although the roadmap advocates for mainstreaming the issue among regional governments and other sectors at the national level, without reliable data and information on the situation of child labour in various sectors there is a danger that regional governments as well as the sectors will not be able to uncover the problem of child labour in their areas, especially in informal sectors, including agriculture. This is likely to occur as the main focus of child labour monitoring activities is still placed on the formal sector. There is, therefore, a need to complement the roadmap with a sectoral or regional-based review of the situation of child labour such as this study on child labour in tobacco growing to guide policy formulation.

In terms of programmes, since 2008 the government of Indonesia—through Ministry of Labour and Transmigration—has implemented a programme called PPA-PKH. The programme aims to reduce child labour among PKH beneficiary households. The programme provides one-month motivational and academic training at a training camp and consultation sessions with social workers for targeted children prior to their return to school (ILO, 2013). The priority is placed on child labourers from very poor households who have dropped out of school. Activities carried out involve relevant governments, NGOs, and the private sector at central, provincial, and *kabupaten* levels. The coverage of the programme has increased significantly. In 2008, it covered 48 *kabupaten* in 7 provinces, with 4,853 children and was supported by 500 social workers. In 2016, the programme had expanded to cover 143 *kabupaten* in 24 provinces, and provided benefits to 16,500 children supported by 1,650 social workers.

In addition, the government implemented various programmes that are not directly targeted at child labour but will contribute positively toward the elimination of child labour. These programmes include non-formal education for early school leavers, cash transfers for the poor, scholarships for the poor now called Indonesian Smart Card (KIP), a Child Social Welfare Programme (PKSA), Universal Health Coverage, School Operational Asistance (BOS) which over the last two years has been expanded to cover senior high school, and the programme for developing child-friendly *kabupaten* and provinces.

5.4 Resources from Nongovernmental Institutions

Non-governmental institutions, particularly tobacco companies and NGOs, have contributed to the elimination of child labour in various ways. Several multinational tobacco companies under the coordination of the ECLT Foundation deliver programmes and interventions to address the issue of child labour, especially for farmers that hold contracts with them. These companies also collaborate with NGOs to implement awareness raising programmes. However, the programmes tend to be sporadic or implemented with a very limited scope. Many FGD participants highlighted the need to

increase the coverage of these programmes. This request, in some ways, is infeasible given the limited resources and scope of power of these companies, which cannot extend beyond their own contracted farmers. There is, therefore, a need to increase collaboration and knowledge exchange between institutions and the government, especially at the *kabupaten* level, in order to ensure that the best practices be replicated and expanded.

5.4.1 Tobacco Companies

Measures taken by tobacco companies – especially multinational companies - are based on the child labour policies aligned with International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions and national laws. Children (aged under 18 years) are prohibited from performing hazardous work[18], children aged 13 to 15 are permitted to perform light work, and children aged 15 to 18 are permitted to perform non-hazardous work in accordance with the working hour limitations stipulated in the national law. Another condition applied is that children performing non-hazardous work "should not be under the age of compulsory schooling," and the work "does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their school attendance or their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes." (AB Sustain, 2016: 94).

In addition to child labour regulations developed by these companies, they also have guidelines on labour practices, environmental management, GTS, the use of pesticides stipulated in the Sustainable Tobacco Production (STP) and Agricultural Labour Practices (ALP). Moreover, management staff and field technicians from these companies receive training on these guidelines and are qualified to explain the regulations to contracted farmers. In the guidelines, the companies are instructed to explicitly stipulate the prohibition of child labour in contracts between companies and farmers.

The various information gathered in this study uncovered that only tobacco companies under the coordination of ECLT foundations have taken measures to ensure that contracted farmers comply with regulations that prohibit child labour in tobacco growing. No other companies in the study locations took such measures. This finding is in line with findings from the Human Right Watch in their previous study on child labour in tobacco growing (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The measures taken by companies include: conducting periodic Farmer Register Surveys (*Survey Register Petani*) to track contracted farmers' household data and farm labourers who work for them, routine field monitoring and unannounced visits to partner farmers and buying agents, and training for contracted farmers to promote the guidelines (to explain why child labour is prohibited; the danger of the GTS and prohibition of children being in the vicinity of warehouses, with regard to barn safety).

In addition, the companies are in the process of inventing agricultural technology to reduce the need for labour, developing advocacy media (posters, videos) and sessions for awareness raising on the banning of child labour, and monitoring school attendance of students coming from households headed by their contracted farmers. They provide support to ASP in selected schools, targeting children in tobacco growing areas during the post-harvest season. They also collaborate with local universities in conducting research and discussions with relevant government stakeholders which will serve as a basis to develop an action plan on preventing child labour in the tobacco industry.

Nevertheless, most programmes are targeted at contracted farmers and are carried out only in several villages in Lombok Timur and Jember. Only a few programmes target not only the tobacco

[18]A list of hazardous tasks can be found in Chapter II (Definition – Hazardous Work)

farmers, but also other family members within the farmers' households and the surrounding communities and neighbourhoods. Considering the fact that many child labourers in tobacco growing come from households headed by farm labourers, tobacco companies need to reconsider targeting only contracted farmers because this will not effectively address the problem. In the future, these companies plan to progressively improve their programmes based on needs and local context, while all companies interviewed are expecting the government sector to initiate more programmes to address the problem.

5.4.2 Nongovernmental Organisations (NGOs)

NGOs operating in both *kabupaten* are also active in advocating for the elimination of child labour. In Jember particularly, one of the NGOs is partnering with multinational tobacco companies in implementing child-labour elimination intiatives by conducting an ASP to distract children from working during the tobacco harvesting season. In Lombok Timur, one of the tobacco companies has established a foundation to monitor and implement its child-labour-elimination programme. Aside from these two NGOs which are advocating for the issue of child labour specifically within the tobacco sector, there are also NGOs in East Java concerned with the issue of child labour in general. These NGOs have been collaborating with ILO in developing a programme which aims to combat the issue of child labour in the region through a study regarding child labour in tobacco growing, operating mainly in Kabupaten Jember. Similar to Jember, in Lombok Timur there are several NGOs working on the issue of child labour in general within the West Nusa Tenggara area.

5.4.3 Universities

Universities have also been involved in various activities related to the efforts of eliminating child labour, especially in conducting research. Among the tobacco companies operating in the study *kabupaten*, BAT has collaborated with the Faculty of Agriculture of Mataram University and with the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Jember University to conduct monitoring and evaluation during tobacco season. This was aimed to gain information on the influence of the tobacco season on children's vulnerability to working, particularly in relation to the neglect of formal education. Results of the research were disseminated to relevant stakeholders, such as the labour agency, youth and sports agency, and plantation agency, with the aim of discussing potential solutions to prevent children's involvement in the tobacco growing industry.

In Jember, in 2016, BAT also cooperated with the Faculty of Agriculture, Jember University (UNEJ) to conduct a study similar to the study in Lombok Timur. According to BAT Probolinggo, this issue should be a common concern, not just for corporations. The research cooperation of universities is a form of devotion to the community that has become one of the pillars of *Tri Dharma* (three missions) of Higher Education. If these kinds of activities continue to be carried out it will help to change the mindset of the community and related parties in relation to this issue.

VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

This study found high prevalence of child labour in the ten study villages, which all are tobacco producing areas. The prevalence of child labour in Lombok Timur is higher than that in Jember; however, both are higher than the national and *kabupaten* averages. Moreover, the local communities, parents, and children have very limited knowledge and awareness of the concept of child labour. They are not able to differenciate between working children and child labour and are not aware of hazardous work.

The majority of the child labourers in these villages are working in tobacco growing, and most of them are exposed to hazardous work with only a very small proportion using PPE. The largest proportion of the child labourers is at the age between 5 and 12 years old, but the highest prevalence of child labour is in the oldest age group of 15–17 years old. They are mostly still enrolled in school, although the proportion of early school leavers tends to be higher in the older age group. In Lombok Timur, the child labour prevalence is higher among girls than boys; however, in Jember it is the opposite. The gender composition is also determined by the types of work and the varieties of tobacco.

Child labour in tobacco growing, however, is a seasonal phenomenon. It reaches the peak during the harvest season, as they are usually involved in post-harvest work—specifically in tying (in Lombok Timur) and sticking (in Jember). Tying and sticking are perceived as menial and light work which can be easily performed by children. Moreover, these types of activities are the most labour intensive since the tobacco leaves should be immediately cured to avoid damage. Older children and boys often have longer working hours than younger children and girls do. Children aged 14 and below mostly work less than 2.5 hours per week, while those above the age of 14 work for at least 7 hours per week.

A substantial proportion (more than 40%) of child labourers are from households headed by farm labourers, while only less than 20% are from tobacco farming households—where only a very small proportion of the tobacco farmers have contract with tobacco companies. Child labour is more prevalent among the more deprived households, as poverty encourages children from farm labour households to work in tobacco growing to help fulfilling basic necessities. Unfortunately, the existing social protection programmes seem to be less than effective in reducing the likelihood of children to become a child labourer.

The regression analysis shows that the probability for becoming a child labourer is significantly higher among older children, children from farm labour households, and those living in a *dusun* with a high prevalence of child labour. Meanwhile, neither land ownership nor contract status significantly reduces the probability of children's involvement in tobacco growing. Although tobacco companies have inserted a clause prohibiting child labour in their contracts with farmers, this study found that the contracted farmers perceived it only as an appeal or advice. Furthermore, none of them have a copy of the contract since the documents are held by the companies. Another difficulty is that contracted farmers often were unable to prevent their workers (i.e., mothers who have children under 12 years old) to bring their children to work because there is no one at home to take care of them.

The study also found that health workers, religious leaders, and village apparatus have not yet contributed in educating the community about GTS as they have no knowledge about it. The

companies also have difficulty convincing the farmers about the dangers of GTS due to lack of scientific evidence (or factual example) about the dangers of GTS. Children who have been exposed to pollution and physical and chemical hazards while working in tobacco growing are more likely to report symptoms such as fatigue, dizziness, soreness, headaches, breathing difficulties, stiffness, and external injuries. However, they had never associated these symptoms with the exposure to green tobacco leaves. With no knowledge of GTS among local health workers, these symptoms are considered to be common physical symptoms related to exhaustion from working.

A deeper contextual analysis has uncovered the complexity of factors behind the phenomenon of child labour in tobacco growing. The high prevalence of child labour in the study villages is rooted on the local norms and customs which perceive child involvement in tobacco growing as a positive and a necessary part of educating children about farming and about taking responsibility. On the other hand, the parents (and also the community in general) are less than aware of the existing regulations on the prohibition of child labour; while the existing regulations also lack a detailed description about the types of work in tobacco growing that are considered hazardous.

In addition, there are at least three factors within the household's and individual children's agency that drive children to undertake economic activities: (i) the lack of awareness and knowledge on the negative impact of becoming a child labourer and exposure to hazardous work, (ii) the lack of facilities which provide children with the opportunity to engage in other activities (other than working in tobacco growing), and (iii) the economic benefit for the household and the children themselves. Meanwhile, the excess demand for labour, especially during tobacco harvesting season, attracts many children to work. This seasonal excess demand for labour occurs due to high outmigration of the adult work force motivated by the lack of stable income from farming activities, while tobacco leaves need to be processed immediately to prevent losses. Moreover, there has been no major technological breakthrough that was able to replace the existing labour-intensive menial work mostly performed by child labourers.

The series of interviews and discussion throughout this study have identified existing resources which can be used to develop and implement a more sustainable effort to eliminate child labour in rural agriculture area, particularly in tobacco growing. At the community and village levels, there are community forums, public facilities for children, village regulations, and Village Fund. The *kabupaten* governments of Lombok Timur and Jember have already developed child labour elimination programmes, regulations on tobacco farming and commission on tobacco, as well as DBH CHT. Aside from various child-focused and social protection programmes, the central government has already produced a series of laws and regulations, and a planning document in the form of a road map for the elimination of the worst froms of child labour. This plannning document aims to achieve an Indonesia free of child labour in 2022. In addition, tobacco companies and NGOs have already initiated various activities specifically directed to support the elimination of child labour, which can be leveraged to cover wider areas and more children.

6.2 Recommendations

Given the complexity of the factors behind the high prevalence of child labour, interventions and efforts in eliminating child labour in tobacco growing should be implemented comprehensively and through the cooperation of all stakeholders: local community, village leaders, NGOs, tobacco companies, as well as local and national governments. In line with the results of the causation analysis presented in Chapter IV of this report, and taking into consideration the existing resources and potential solutions presented in Chapter V, we suggest that measures should be develop to address problems in the enabling environment as well as the push and pull factors. To cater the

need for improving national policies—which might need a longer time frame and a more practical short-term and quick yielding action, this recommendation is devided into two parts. The first part will address long and medium terms national (macro) policy; the second part will provide suggestions for a pilot programme that can be initiated in Lombok Timur and Jember.

6.2.1 Improvement of National Policy

First and foremost, the government should devote more resources to improve the enabling environment. This can be achieved by enhancing existing national regulations to provide operational guidelines for the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing through revising the Decree of the Minister for Labour and Transmigration No. 235 Year 2003. The regulations should also include mandatory requirements for the use of PPE, and a list of the hazardous stages of the tobacco cultivation process in which children are prohibited to be involved. This regulatory improvement should be developed through an inclusive and participatory approach, so that all stakeholders will have better ownership. The list of hazardous work in tobacco growing presented in this report (see, respectively, Table 3 in Chapter II and Appendix 1) can be used as a starting point to commence consultation with wider stakeholders.

Concurrently, the National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (Presidential Decree No. 59 Year 2002), should be updated and improved to better tackle the problem of child labour in tobacco growing and agriculture in general. The Roadmap towards a Child Labour Free Indonesia in 2022 should be complemented with sectoral specific strategy focusing on various agriculture sectors where child labour prevalence is high, including for tobacco growing. The strategy should also determine concrete steps, including the roles and responsibilities of each institutions, and the time frame for action. The development of such strategy should begin with the establishment of a discussion forum between the national government, tobacco companies, and NGOs. Such forum will facilitate regular exchange of information and allow for timely updates on the situation of child labour in Indonesia.

In addition, the prohibition of the employment of children in tobacco growing should be included in the national as well as regional (provincial and *kabupaten*) tobacco regulations. Developing such regulation will need close coordination between Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Agriculture, and other relevant ministries—which could include Ministry of Health, Ministry of Home Affairs, and Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. The regulation should prohibit child labour in all tobacco farming—small holders and large plantations, so that it will bind all farmers and farm labourer regardless of their contract with tobacco companies. This regulation should also require tobacco companies to provide contracted farmers with a copy of the contracts. This would enable farmers to be familiar with and be reminded of the prohibition of the employment of child labour.

Furthermore, strong enforcement would reinstate the binding power of the legal framework among the stakeholders (i.e., the government, companies, farmers and communities). Strengthening of the existing regulations should be accompanied by stronger law enforcement as well as more intensive advocacy to influence informal norms—local customs and norms—in the community. The strengthening of law enforcement should be supported by directing more focus to monitor child labour in rural agriculture sectors. This should be complemented with a more intensive dissemination of the regulations to the communities, tobacco companies, farmers and farm labourers in order to facilitate awareness building among the society regarding child labour.

To further maximise the efforts to eliminate child labour, interventions should also target the push and pull factors of children's involvement in tobacco growing. To enhance people's awareness, they should be educated about the different types of hazardous work, their consequences and the existing regulations prohibiting child labour in tobacco growing. This initiative should involve formal

and informal educational institutions. Socialisation on existing regulations prohibiting child labour should also be targeted at tobacco companies (local and multinational) and farmers (contracted and non-contracted) through relevant government agencies.

The existing social protection programmes, should be improved or modified to better address the child labour issues. In addition, the child-friendly *kabupaten* programmes should also include measures to address child labour in accordance to local condition. For example, to cater for children's need for a platform to channel their leisure time, all villages in the *kabupaten* should develop and expand on public spaces for children. In addition, programmes such as after school programmes should be implemented with a wider scope at the village level, preferably funded by companies' CSR funding, DBH CHT, or the Village Fund. An agricultural school for older children, which provides information on better and safer farming practices could be developed at the village level.

Lastly, in addressing the pull factors which are driven by the shortage of labour, the development of new technologies and innovations in tobacco handling and processing would not only accelerate the tobacco growing process, but could also potentially enhance the quality of tobacco produced. The use of technologies and innovations could reduce the need to employ children and adult workers during hazardous stages of the tobacco production process.

This study recommends the following pilot design (section 6.2.2 and 6.2.3) to be implemented in the study sites. The pilot was designed to be comprehensive to enable it to target all of the interrelated factors as stated above in Chapter IV. The pilot study is to be implemented at the village level. This short-term study aims to address the following core components of the issue: (i) village regulations, (ii) local customs, (iii) knowledge and awareness, (iv) leisure and work trade-off, (v) technology and innovation, and (vi) economic motives of the individual, household, and employer.

6.2.2 Pilot Programme in Lombok Timur

In addressing the issue of awareness, first and foremost, the village must establish a regulation to provide a legal framework for the action taken to overcome the problem of child labour in the village. Specifically in Lombok Timur, this means integrating the prohibition of child labour into local formal regulations (i.e., village regulation) and informal regulations (i.e., *awig-awig*). The prohibition should explicitly state the hazardous stages to avoid confusion among the villagers. In addition, the regulation should include the mandatory use of PPE for both adults and children involved in tobacco growing.

Prior to the establishment of a regulation and the start of the tobacco season, health officials in the village should be trained by forestry and plantation agency, health agency, and labour and transmigration agency on the potential risks and hazards of working in tobacco growing. The training should also include information on the health and safety of working in tobacco growing. Thus, village health officials will receive comprehensive information. It is recommended that the training for health officials of major tobacco producing villages be conducted regularly. This information then should be disseminated and discussed in *musyawarah desa* (village meeting) as the base for *awig-awig* and village regulations in relation to the prohibition of child labour and hazardous working condition in tobacco growing. A community-based engagement approach would enable the laws and regulations against child labour in tobacco growing to be merged with local customs and norms of the villagers.

With an established legal framework, socialization and advocacy on the prohibition of child labour would have a binding effect. The pilot recommends the involvement of existing local NGOs to conduct socialisation on the prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing and occupational health

and safety in tobacco growing. The pilot also opts to utilise school teachers and informal education institutions (*pengajian*) as an agent of socialisation to reach the family members of farm labourers, as formal channels (i.e., socialisation conducted by regional government and tobacco companies) have failed to reach them. Simultaneously, tobacco companies should continue their socialisation on the prohibition of child labour amongst the contracted tobacco farmers as they have been mandated.

A community-based monitoring committee led by the appointed village cadres, school teachers, and health officials should be established in the village during the tobacco growing season. The monitoring committee is mandated to monitor children's involvement in tobacco growing, especially in activities agreed as hazardous. The monitoring committee would also play a role in coordinating socialisation against children's involvement in hazardous activities for the child and his/her family member.

Addressing the lack of platform for children which leads to their preference of working in tobacco growing, the development of a public library and sport facilities would be necessary to provide children with a productive yet safe platform for their leisure activities. The public library should collaborate with local universities to provide the public library with a tutor for certain classes—preferably computer and English class. Aside from providing children with classes which caters to their interests, the interaction between university students and these children could potentially motivate these children to pursue higher education.

Given the importance of children's involvement in tobacco growing, the pilot recommends a collaboration involving children of agriculture school in addressing the issue of labour in the village labour market, particularly during the tobacco growing season. Given the increase in tobacco production, advancement of technology is crucial to reduce the need for intensive labour and the use of child labour. Thus, to seed interest of agriculture amongst children in the village, children should be involved in the research and development of technology in relation to tobacco growing. The pilot recommends a partnership between the plantation agency and the local school of agriculture. The development of technology aims to reduce the need of children's involvement, namely in hazardous activities, as well as potentially increasing the quality of tobacco produced. Funding of the Reseach and Development could be obtained from the DBH CHT[19]. With technologies and innovations in tobacco growing, tobacco owners are also less likely to experience a shortage of labour as the cultivation would be less labour intensive.

An incentive-based programme should be applied to address the economic motives of child labour in tobacco growing. Particularly in Lombok Timur, the prevalence of deprived households outnumbers the prevalence of deprived households in Jember. Therefore, a substitution of children's income should be provided for families who relies on children's income. Information of deprived households should be accurately obtained and verified by village facilitators, thus reducing the chance of mistargeting. Data collection of deprived households should be conducted by the established monitoring committee, assisted by the village officials.

6.2.3 Pilot Programme in Jember

Villages with tobacco growing in Jember are expected to formulate village regulations containing all the explanations on child rights, the prohibition of child labour, prohibition of child marriage, and other regulations considered important for the children's needs. If possible, these village

[19]Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 20/PMK.07 Year 2009 on Amendment to the Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 84/PMK.07 Year 2008 on Allocation of the Revenue-Sharing Fund of Tobacco Excise, Article 3: To allocate funds to improve the quality of raw materials of the tabacoo industry.

regulations should also regulate the requirements for farmers and companies to build their tobacco warehouses outside the residential areas to avoid children engaging in tobacco cultivation. If they are unable to do this, farmers and companies should provide childcare or a children's playground situated near warehouses to prevent children from helping their mothers tie tobacco leaves and to allow the children to play in a safer environment. The prohibition of child labour in tobacco growing should explicitly state the hazardous stages to avoid confusion among the villagers. In addition, the regulation should include the mandatory use of PPE for both adults and children involved in tobacco growing. Village regulations should also include the requirement that when tobacco companies, national and multinational, expand their businesses into the villages, they must be equipped with certain guidelines. These guidelines include the STP that provide guidance on labour practices, environmental management, GTS, the use of pesticide, and instruction that explicitly stipulate prohibition of child labour in contracts between companies and contracted farmers.

One of the best practices introduced by some tobacco companies using the STP Guidance is the conduct of Farmers Register Survey. They conduct the Farmers Register Survey to track contracted farmers' household data and farm labourers who work for them. The surveys are conducted periodically and the results are directly connected with the company's server. Field technicians of the tobacco companies routinely conduct field monitoring of the farmers and pay unannounced visits to ensure that no child labourers are used. The best practice can be replicated by other companies, which can benefit from the availability of a complete data on farmers' households and farm labours' households to capture various information on school-age children that serves as the basis for programme intervention.

Prior to the implementation of the pilot programme in Jember, it is important to establish a partnership with local NGOs, who would perform an assessment to select the village location for the pilot. The selection of pilot villages considers criteria such as village staff's understanding of child labour issues, the presence of facilities such as Smart House or ASP at schools located in the village, and availability of resources (discussed in Chapter V). Stakeholders mapping is then conducted in the selected village to identify the parties which can be invited to cooperate. The important aim of engaging various stakeholders is to make the elimination of child labour as the common goal.

To replicate the success of the ASP or Smart House programme, tobacco companies should be invited to share their experience in implementing these programmes. If the ASP held by the tobacco companies usually put primary school students of 3rd – 6th grades as the primary beneficiaries of the programme, ASP at the village level is expected to target all the children in the village, especially vulnerable children. ASP can take village halls, mosques, or other facilities available in the village as the venue. ASP can be scheduled to run the whole year or during harvest and post-harvest seasons, when more children are involved in tobacco cultivation. Activities in the ASP can be classified to target certain age groups or to focus on certain areas of interest such as agriculture, performing arts, literary, environment conservation, sports, languages, marching band, cooking and sewing, automotive, martial arts, leadership trainings, and many more. The village government can invite participation of concerned or qualified residents or successful farmers as tutors. For older children (15–17 years old), the activity may take the form of farmer field schools and apprenticeships. This agriculture class and farmer field schools are to retain children's interest in the agricultural sector. In *dusun*, the establishment of the Smart House can be an option. The Smart house can be built at various places at the community level, in places that can be easily accessed by children, such as the TPQ*, Karang Taruna,* or a community centre. The Smart House may provide math and English tutors and is equipped with computers to access the Internet. To implement the ASP and Smart House, the village government can collaborate with tobacco companies and NGOs. This collaboration can include exploring ways to tap the available resources such as Village Fund and DBH CHT.

To support activities at the ASP and Smart House, the available resources should be effectively mobilised. Village Fund, CSR of tobacco companies, and DBH CHT can be allocated to build a playground and childcare nearby tobacco warehouses, where female workers stick tobacco leaves. This is crucial because it is extremely difficult to prevent these female workers from bringing along their children (under 12 years old) to work. Female workers were left with no option except to bring their children to the tobacco warehouse because they have no one in the family who can look after the children when they are at work. The funds can also be used to build sport facilities and their equipment such as balls, shuttlecocks and rackets, or to hire trainers. The involvement of universities and vocational high schools (SMK) in the ASP and Smart House in villages is important. Children need exposure to a variety of vocational skills and these educational institutions are in the right position to implement transfer of knowledge programmes. According to FGDs with the villagers, currently rich and successful tobacco farmers are the role model for children in the villages. Involvement of SMK and university students would allow the children to have an alternative role model for their future life.

To address the poor understanding and awareness of child labour among children and parents, it is necessary to conduct a mapping of influential figures in the village who have the capacity to participate in the socialisation programme on children's rights for the community members. These village figures should also have the capacity to explain the differences between 'working children' and 'child labour', the dangers of green tobacco leaves, and the risk of working in tobacco growing, etc. This initiative should also involve formal and nonformal educational institutions, PKK*, majelis taklim, karang taruna*, farmers and farm labourers—and most importantly—health workers and village leaders. The community as a whole should be made aware that child labour is a problem. The socialisation must use easy and simple language and must be supported by using posters, videos, and pictures. Using posters, videos, and pictures help the community visualise the issue. They help the community understand why child labour is prohibited, including the negative impacts from which child labourers might suffer from, and in what stages children can be involved to retain the regeneration process. In addition, movies can be used to promote the importance of education and innovations in the agricultural sector.

Lastly, tobacco companies should be encouraged to develop new technologies and innovations in tobacco cultivation. For example, a new technology for sticking tobacco leaves, a task that at this moment use many child labourers. The use of technologies and innovations could reduce the need to employ workers, including children, during hazardous stages of the tobacco production process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Table A1. Kinds of Hazardous Exposure Involved in Each Activity

No	Activities	Hazards
	Seedling	
1	Seedbed preparation	Exposure to sharp tools, heavy machinery
2	Applying pesticides (CPA)	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
3	Fertilising seedbeds	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
4	Clipping	Exposure to sharp tools
5	Plowing the land	Exposure to sharp tools, heavy machinery
6	Preparing drainage	Exposure to sharp tools
7	Ridging	Exposure to sharp tools
	Planting	
8	Fertilising	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
	Maintenance	
9	Tilling the land	Exposure to sharp tools
10	Weeding	Exposure to sharp tools
11	Spraying the land with pesticides	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
12	Topping – cutting off the top leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals), sharp tools
13	Suckering – removing sprouts	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
14	Re-ridging	Exposure to sharp tools
15	Applying of Suckercide – a substance used to inhibit the growth of sprouts	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
16	Fertilising	Exposure to hazardous chemicals
	Harvesting	
17	Harvesting green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
18	Hauling green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
19	Packing green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
20	Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to home/warehouse)	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals), heavy load
21	Cutting, preparing, and arranging curing fuel	Exposure to sharp tools, heavy load
22	Placing the curing fuel into the furnace	Heavy load, exposure to extreme heat/fire
	Post-Harvest	
23	Arranging green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
24	Removing the midrib of green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
25	Folding green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)

No	Activities	Hazards
26	Arranging folded green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
27	Finely chopping green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals), exposure to sharp tools
28	Drying and curing green tobacco leaves	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
29	*Penyujenan* (sticking) – the process of bundling tobacco leaves using a stick prior to hanging them to be cured	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals), exposure to sharp tools
30	*Gelantang* (tying)	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
31	Hanging bundles of green tobacco leaves	Exposure to extreme height, heavy loads
32	Loading green tobacco leaves into the curing barn	Exposure to heavy loads
33	Arranging green tobacco leaves inside the curing barn	Exposure to green tobacco leaves (hazardous chemicals)
34	Stoker – supervising curing barn	Exposure to working long hours, extreme heat/fire
35	Unloading dried tobacco leaves	Exposure to heavy loads
36	Packing before selling	Exposure to heavy loads, heavy machinery

Source: SMERU research team, 2016.

APPENDIX 2

Study Design

Research Approach

This study combines a quantitative-survey approach and an in-depth investigation-qualitative approach. The study is representative at the village level. The survey focused on collecting statistical data on the prevalence of child labour in the study area, while the qualitative approach mainly aimed to determine the rationale behind the statistics that had already been provided.

This study consists of four research phases. The first is the exploratory phase, in which the research team visited the selected *kabupaten* to gather early information from various levels of stakeholders within the issue of child labour. We also used the exploratory phase to select sample *kecamatan* and villages, the selection mechanism for which is explained later in the next section. The second phase is the pilot survey, which was conducted to test the survey instrument. The pilot project was run by SMERU researchers in West Java which was also found to be a significant tobacco growing area. The results of the pilot project are mainly used to revise the instrument and as a reference for the analysis plan. Third phase is the quantitative survey. The survey was conducted between 2 and 26 October 2016. Follow-up qualitative surveys were conducted in Jember (4 to 15 January 2017) and Lombok Timur (5 to 16 December 2016). For the qualitative survey, the team used preliminary results from the quantitative survey.

Kabupaten selection

This study was conducted in 10 villages across two *kabupaten* in two provinces in Indonesia. The research team employed mixed methods across various administrative levels to select the research areas. The two provinces, East Java and Nusa Tenggara Barat were selected because they are the main producers of tobacco in Indonesia. The selection of *kabupaten* also followed the same rationale. Kabupaten Jember produces 26.31% of the total tobacco production in East Java (Ministry of Agriculture, 2013), equivalently about 11.84% of the total national production. Meanwhile, Lombok Timur produces 60.36% of the total tobacco production in West Nusa Tenggara (Ministry of Agriculture, 2013), or about 14.14% of the total national production.

Kecamatan selection

In selecting *kecamatan*, the research team engaged with multi-level stakeholders in the issue of child labour through the process of focus group discussions (FGD). The process was simultaneously conducted in the two *kabupaten*. The participants of the FGDs were varied across local governments, tobacco farmer associations, NGOs, and corporations. As a result of the FGDs, three *kecamatan* in Jember and five *kecamatan* in Lombok Timur were selected.

In order to select the *kecamatan*, the research team provided a brief explanation of the aims of the study. Then, the research team presented various *kecamatan* characteristics that relate to the issue of child labour. These include: prevalence of child labour, size of tobacco farm per head, total size of tobacco farm, incidences of child poverty, incidence of poverty, and other indicators. The research team also pre-listed all *kecamatan* into ten *kabupaten* based on those indicators before letting the participants of the FGD make the final decision.

Village selection

Village selection also followed a similar process to the *kecamatan* selection. Using FGDs, participants selected villages by considering the aforementioned characteristics used in the *kecamatan* selection. The FGDs resulted in five villages for each *kabupaten*. The villages were Desa F, Desa G, Desa H, Desa I, and Desa J for Jember, and Desa A, Desa B, Desa C, Desa D, and Desa E for Lombok Timur. For each village, the team randomly selected four *dusun* as the enumeration areas to reach a total of 40 enumeration areas. The complete list of selected villages and *dusun* is provided in the tables on sampling selection. In Jember, post-FGD consultations resulted in some villages being replaced due to technical considerations.

***Dusun* selection**

The systematic random sampling method used for *dusun* selection ensures that all selected *dusun* had the same probability of being selected based on the population size of the *dusun*. Firstly, the team collected information on the population size of each *dusun* within a village. Then, the *dusun* were ordered alphabetically by name. In summary, the team numbered the whole population from 1 to *N* (total population of the village). Each *dusun* then had an alphabetically ordered range of numbers based on population size and rank. The research team then chose a random number *r* ranging from zero to one. This *r* was multiplied by *k* for the total population and divided by the intended *k*-class of the selected *dusun*. The result of multiplying *r* and *k* became the mid point of selection where the sample was collected. The next enumeration area would follow *r* times *k* times *k*-th class until the *k*-th EA.

APPENDIX 3

Table A2. Enumeration Areas in Lombok Timur

Village	Enumeration Area	Number of RT	Number of RW
Desa A	Dusun A1	2	0
	Dusun A2	2	0
	Dusun A3	2	1
	Dusun A4	2	1
Desa B	Dusun B1	2	1
	Dusun B2	2	1
	Dusun B3	4	2
	Dusun B4	3	2
Desa C	Dusun C1	3	4
	Dusun C2	2	3
	Dusun C3	2	2
	Dusun C4	3	4
Desa D	Dusun D1	2	0
	Dusun D2	2	0
	Dusun D3	3	0
	Dusun D4	2	2
Desa E	Dusun E1	8	3
	Dusun E2	4	2
	Dusun E3	4	2
	Dusun E4	3	3

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 4

Table A3. Enumeration Areas in Jember

Village	Enumeration Area	Number of RT	Number of RW
Desa F	Dusun F1	3	10
	Dusun F2	2	7
	Dusun F3	3	16
Desa G	Dusun G1	3	5
	Dusun G2	5	9
	Dusun G3	5	4
Desa H	Dusun H1	14	4
	Dusun H2	11	5
	Dusun H3	4	1
	Dusun H4	7	2
Desa I	Dusun I1	4	3
	Dusun I2	4	6
	Dusun I3	4	7
	Dusun I4	4	4
Desa J	Dusun J1	3	3
	Dusun J2	4	2
	Dusun J3	3	1
	Dusun J4	4	2

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 5

Table A4. Criteria of Qualitative Research Informants

The criteria of the qualitative research respondents differed for each qualitative research activity. Below is an outline of the criteria for each activity:

Activity	Criteria
Interview – Children	Children who are involved in tobacco growing – Identified through quantitative survey
Interview – Parents	Parents who have children involved in tobacco
Interview – Village elites	Head of the village/ village staff, teachers, healthcare workers, religious/community figures, and cadres who know about children's involvement in tobacco
Interview – Farmer	Contracted and non-contracted farmers, *pengepul* (collecting traders), and owners of tobacco workstations
FGD – Children	Children (separated into boys and girls) 13–17 years old who are involved in tobacco growing
FGD – Parents	Fathers or mothers who have children working in tobacco
FGD – Village elites	Village officials, teachers, healthcare workers, religious figures, contracted and non-contracted farmers, *pengepul,* and owners of tobacco workstations
Group interview	Mothers who bring their children to the workstation

Source: SMERU research team, 2016.

APPENDIX 6

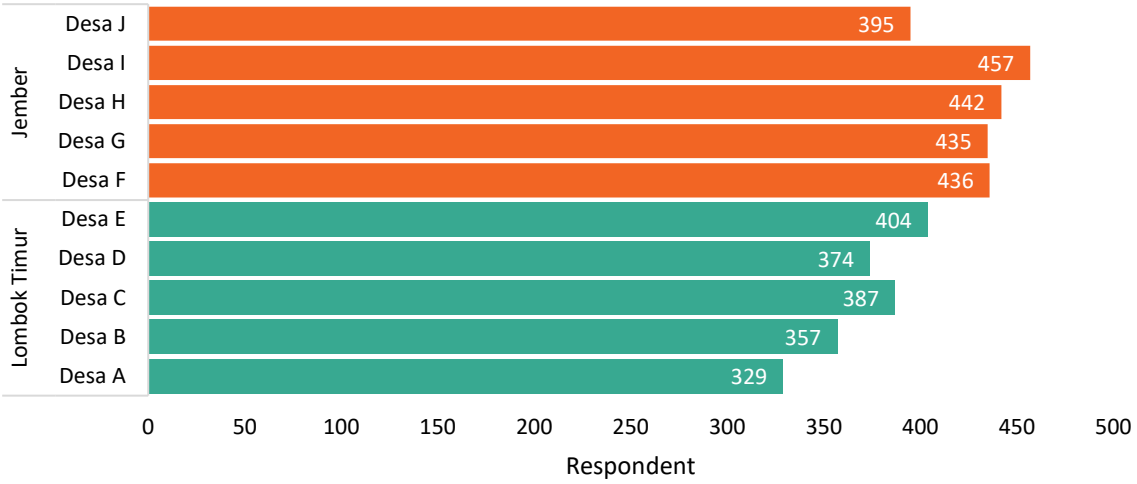

Figure A1. Number of observations by village

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 7

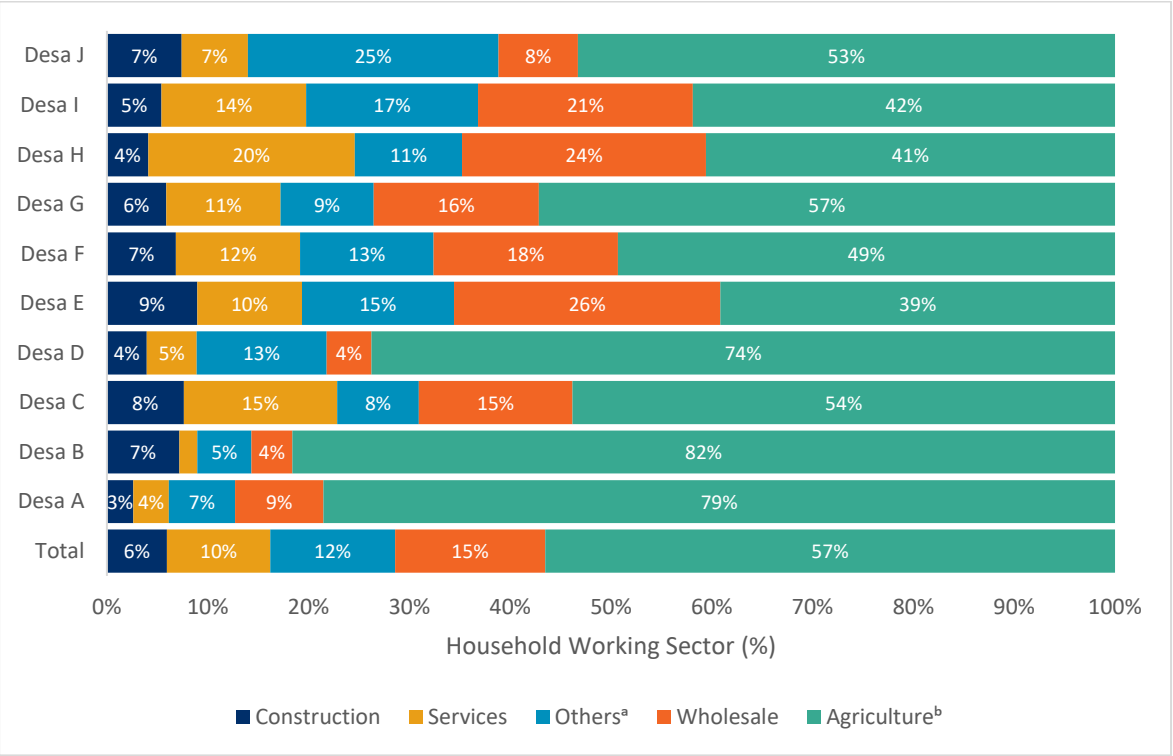

Figure A2. Working sector and villages

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: Number of people who work in each village: Desa J = 229, Desa I = 258, Desa H = 244, Desa G = 238, Desa F = 219, Desa E = 212, Desa D = 202, Desa C = 210, Desa B = 223, Desa A = 228; total = 2,263.

[a]Including fisheries, ranches, electricity, gas, mining, transportation, finances, and home industries.

[b]Including horticulture and tobacco growing.

APPENDIX 8

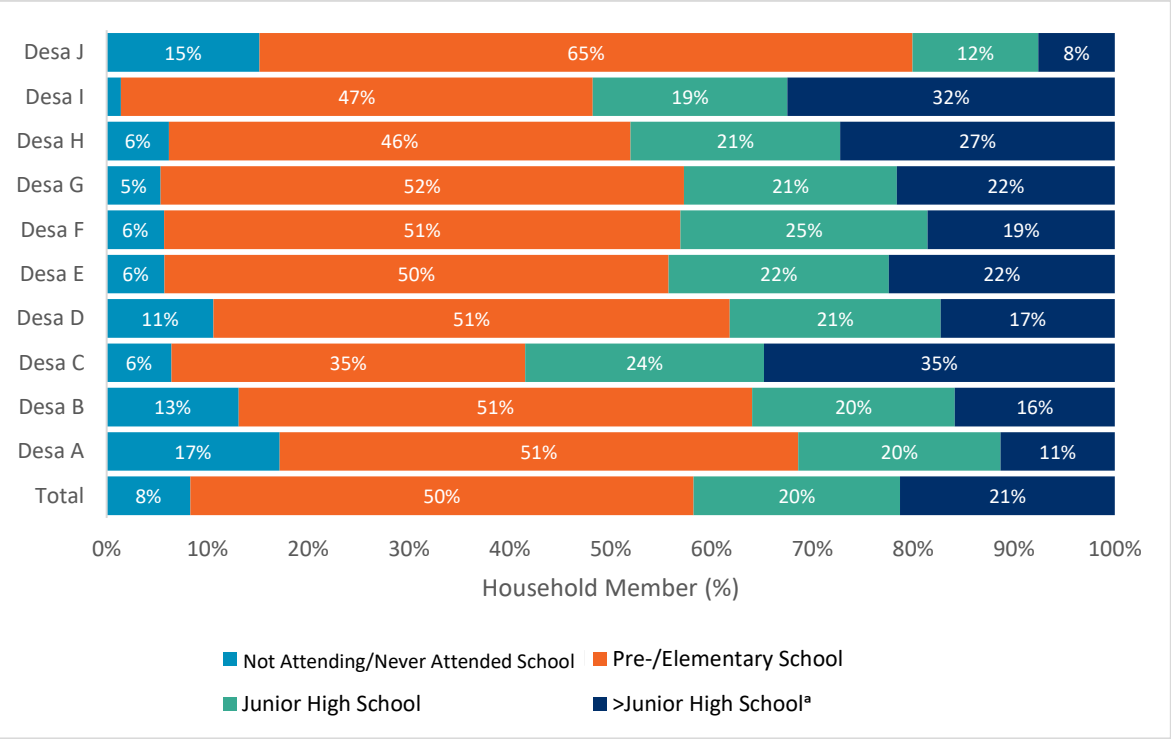

Figure A3. Education and villages (age >4 years)

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note: Number of people who work in each village: Desa J = 369, Desa I = 425, Desa H = 404, Desa G = 412, Desa F = 404, Desa E = 366, Desa D = 330, Desa C = 342, Desa B = 328, Desa A = 309; total = 3,689.

[a]Including senior high school and university.

APPENDIX 9

Table A5. Children by Age Using ILO and Labour Law

Age by ILO Definition	Jember		Lombok Timur		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
5–12	440	66.27	466	70.61	906	68.43
13–14	107	16.11	101	15.30	208	15.71
15–17	117	17.62	93	14.09	210	15.86
Total	664		660		1,324	

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Age by Labour Law Definition	Jember		Lombok Timur		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
5–12	440	66.27	466	70.61	906	68.43
13–15	152	22.89	134	20.30	286	21.60
16–17	72	10.84	60	9.09	132	9.97
Total	664		660		1,324	

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 10

Table A6. Total Children by Status

Status of Children	Number		Prevalence (%)	
	ILO	Labour Law	ILO	Labour Law
Number of Children	1,324	1,324		
Children Not Working	999	999	75.45	75.45
Working Children	325	325	24.55	24.55
Child Labour	282	288	21.30	21.75
Child Labour in Agriculture Sector[a]	222	228	16.77	17.22
Child Labour in Tobacco Growing	201	204	15.18	15.41
Child Labour in Tobacco Sector in Hazardous Work	197	197	14.88	14.88
Child Labour in Rice Farming	7	9	0.53	0.68
Child Labour in Other than Tobacco & Rice Farming	20	23	1.51	1.74
Child Labour in Non-agriculture Sectors	60	60	4.53	4.53

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

[a]Respondents can choose more than one answer (tobacco, rice, others).

APPENDIX 11

Table A7. Child Labour by Age, Sex, and Education

Children	*Kabupaten*	Population		Child Labour			
				Number		Prevalence (%)	
		ILO	Labour Law	ILO	Labour Law	ILO	Labour Law
Total	Jember	664		95	99	14.31	14.91
	Lombok Timur	660		187	189	28.33	28.64
By Age							
Age 5–12	Jember	440	440	46	46	10.45	10.45
	Lombok Timur	466	466	96	96	20.60	20.60
Age 13–14 (ILO)/13–15 (Labour Law)	Jember	107	152	19	35	17.76	23.03
	Lombok Timur	101	134	45	60	44.55	44.78
Age 15–17 (ILO)/16–17 (Labour Law)	Jember	117	72	30	18	25.64	25.00
	Lombok Timur	93	60	46	33	49.46	55.00
By Sex							
Male	Jember	362		60	63	16.57	17.40
	Lombok Timur	343		91	93	26.53	27.11
Female	Jember	302		35	36	11.59	11.92
	Lombok Timur	317		96	96	30.28	30.28
By Education							
Not attending/never attended school	Jember	6		0	0	0.00	0.00
	Lombok Timur	15		1	1	6.67	6.67
Pre-/elementary school	Jember	420		44	45	10.48	10.71
	Lombok Timur	415		80	80	19.28	19.28
Junior high school	Jember	160		37	38	23.13	23.75
	Lombok Timur	151		71	72	47.02	47.68
Senior high school/university	Jember	78		14	16	17.95	20.51
	Lombok Timur	79		35	36	44.30	45.57

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 12

Table A8. Child Labour by Working Sector

Sector		Number/ Prevalence	Definition	*Kabupaten*	
				Jember	Lombok Timur
Agriculture	Tobacco	Number	ILO	51	150
			Labour Law	52	152
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	7.68	22.73
			Labour Law	7.83	23.03
	Paddy	Number	ILO	3	4
			Labour Law	4	5
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	0.45	0.61
			Labour Law	0.60	0.76
	Others	Number	ILO	12	8
			Labour Law	14	9
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	1.81	1.21
			Labour Law	2.11	1.36
Non-agriculture	Wholesale	Number	ILO	10	9
			Labour Law	11	9
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	1.51	1.36
			Labour Law	1.66	1.36
	Services	Number	ILO	7	0
			Labour Law	6	0
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	1.05	0.00
			Labour Law	0.90	0.00
	Construction	Number	ILO	2	6
			Labour Law	2	6
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	0.30	0.91
			Labour Law	0.30	0.91
	Others	Number	ILO	13	13
			Labour Law	13	13
		Prevalence (%)	ILO	1.96	1.97
			Labour Law	1.96	1.97

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 13

Table A9. Children's Involvement in Agriculture

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Village I- Jember												
Crops	Chilli	Cassava	Nuts Soy Cassava	Paddy Corn	Tobacco Paddy Corn	Paddy Soy	Paddy	Tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco Soy Cassava Eggplant
Activities	Planting	Cleaning after harvest	Clearing land Watering Fertilizing Harvest Harvest	Planting Seedling Clearing land Planting Fertilizing Spraying pesticides	Clearing the land Fertilizing Irrigation control Planting Harvest	Harvest Harvest	Drying	Seedling Watering Planting Fertilizing Clearing land Preparing the land	Fertilizing Topping Watering Spraying pesticides Harvest – bottom leaves Killing insects	Harvest Transporting tobacco Tying Curing	Harvest Transporting to company's warehouse Packing	Harvest Removing ribs of tobacco's leaves Tying Planting Planting
Village F - Jember												
	Jan	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**June**	**July**	**Aug**	**Sept**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**
Crops	Paddy	Paddy	Corn	Paddy	Chilli Tobacco Corn	Chilli Tobacco Corn	Tobacco	Chilli Tobacco Corn Soy	Corn Tobacco	Tobacco	Corn Tobacco	Corn Tobacco
Activities	Planting Preparing the land Clearing the land Fertilizing Seedling	Fertilizing	Fertilizing	Harvest Drying Cutting paddy	Preparing the land Planting	Watering Spraying pesticides	Planting Watering Making seedbeds Topping	Harvest Harvest Watering Fertilizing	Planting Harvesting Tying Arranging	Fertilizing	Harvest Harvest Curing Cleaning corn Trying Arranging tobacco leaves	Harvest Transporting tobacco
Village G - Jember												
	Jan	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**June**	**July**	**Aug**	**Sept**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**
Crops	Paddy	Paddy	Paddy			Tobacco	Tobacco Paddy	Tobacco	Tobacco	Tobacco		Paddy
Activities	Clearing the land	Clearing the land	Curing paddy	Clearing the land	Clearing the land	Planting Clearing the land	Planting Harvesting	Planting Watering Preparing the land Fertilizing	Watering Fertilizing Preparing seedbeds	Planting Harvesting Curing tobacco Sorting tobacco Spraying pesticides Watering		Clearing the land Fertilizing Spraying pesticides for rats

Source: FGD with children (female and male), Jember, 2017

APPENDIX 14

Table A10. Child Labour in Tobacco by Age, Sex, and Education (Lombok Timur)

Child Labour in Tobacco	Number and Prevalence	Desa A	Desa B	Desa C	Desa D	Desa E	Total
Total	Population	120	129	132	140	139	660
	Number	43	37	30	34	6	150
	Prevalence	35.83%	28.68%	22.73%	24.29%	4.32%	22.73%
By Age							
Age 5–12	Population	89	104	88	95	90	466
	Number	24	25	15	9	2	75
	Prevalence	26.97%	24.04%	17.05%	9.47%	2.22%	16.09%
Age 13–14	Population	16	12	24	23	26	101
	Number	11	4	9	13	2	39
	Prevalence	68.75%	33.33%	37.50%	56.52%	7.69%	38.61%
Age 15–17	Population	15	13	20	22	23	93
	Number	8	8	6	12	2	36
	Prevalence	53.33%	61.54%	30.00%	54.55%	8.70%	38.71%
By Sex							
Male	Population	63	71	74	68	67	343
	Number	20	20	13	14	4	71
	Prevalence	31.75%	28.17%	17.57%	20.59%	5.97%	20.70%
Female	Population	57	58	58	72	72	317
	Number	23	17	17	20	2	79
	Prevalence	40.35%	29.31%	29.31%	27.78%	2.78%	24.92%
By Education							
Not attending/never attended school	Population	1	7	2	4	1	15
	Number	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Prevalence	0%	14.29%	0%	0%	0%	6.67%
Pre-/elementary school	Population	82	89	74	85	85	415
	Number	20	20	10	10	1	61
	Prevalence	24.39%	22.47%	13.51%	11.76%	1.18%	14.70%
Junior high school	Population	24	21	38	34	34	151
	Number	15	9	17	15	4	60
	Prevalence	62.50%	42.86%	44.74%	44.12%	11.76%	39.74%
Senior high school	Population	13	12	18	17	19	79
	Number	8	7	3	9	1	28
	Prevalence	61.54%	58.33%	16.67%	52.94%	5.26%	35.44%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 15

Table A11. Child Labour in Tobacco by Age, Sex, and Education (Jember)

Child Labour in Tobacco	Number and Prevalence	Desa F	Desa G	Desa H	Desa I	Desa J	Desa
Total	Population	135	131	123	149	126	664
	Number	8	12	7	22	2	51
	Prevalence	5.93%	9.16%	5.69%	14.77%	1.59%	7.68%
By Age							
Age 5–12	Population	82	95	73	92	98	440
	Number	5	6	5	10	2	28
	Prevalence	6.10%	6.32%	6.85%	10.87%	2.04%	6.36%
Age 13–14	Population	31	17	22	25	12	107
	Number	2	3	1	3	0	9
	Prevalence	6.45%	17.65%	4.55%	12.00%	0%	8.41%
Age 15–17	Population	22	19	28	32	16	117
	Number	1	3	1	9	0	14
	Prevalence	4.55%	15.79%	3.57%	28.13%	0%	11.97%
By Sex							
Male	Population	74	67	68	83	70	362
	Number	6	6	4	15	1	32
	Prevalence	8.11%	8.96%	5.88%	18.07%	1.43%	8.84%
Female	Population	61	64	55	66	56	302
	Number	2	6	3	7	1	19
	Prevalence	3.28%	9.38%	5.45%	10.61%	1.79%	6.29%
By Education							
Not attending/never attended school	Population	0	0	0	0	6	6
	Number	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Prevalence					0%	0%
Pre-/elementary school	Population	81	93	66	85	95	420
	Number	5	6	3	10	2	26
	Prevalence	6.17%	6.45%	4.55%	11.76%	2.11%	6.19%
Junior high school	Population	42	26	38	38	16	160
	Number	3	6	4	6	0	19
	Prevalence	7.14%	23.08%	10.53%	15.79%	0%	11.88%
Senior high school	Population	12	12	19	26	8	77
	Number	0	0	0	6	0	6
	Prevalence	0%	0%	0%	23.08%	0%	7.79%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 16

Table A12. Comparison of Children's Activities according to Parents and Children (Lombok Timur)

According to Adults	According to Children
Seedling	**Seedling**
Seed preparation	Seed preparation
Seedling	Seedling
Transporting seedlings	Transporting seedlings
Getting water and watering seedbeds	Seed preparation
	Weeding
Planting	**Planting**
Plowing the land (Weeding)	Plowing the land (Weeding)
Preparing drainage	Fertilizing
Covering seedbed with hay	Watering
Fertilizing	
Maintenance	**Maintenance**
Fertilizing	Fertilizing
Watering	Watering
Topping - cutting off the top leaves	Topping - cutting off the top leaves
Spraying pesticides	Spraying pesticides
Killing off insects	
Harvesting	**Harvesting**
Harvesting green tobacco leaves	Harvesting green tobacco leaves
Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)	Carrying green tobacco leaves (from the field to the home/warehouse)
Post-harvest	**Post-harvest**
Transporting tobacco leaves to the furnace	Preparing and cleaning the pipe of the oven before the season
Tying (Gelantang)	Cutting, preparing and arranging curing fuel

Source: FGD with children (female and male), Lombok Timur, 2017.

Note: The term "adults" here refers to village officials, community figures, and parents of child labourers interviewed during the qualitative study.

APPENDIX 17

Table A13. Proportion of Households with Child Labourers (Number and Ratio)

Villages	Tobacco			Contracted			Non-contracted			Farming Labour			Other			Unemployed		
	RT-CL	RT	Ratio	RT-CL	RT	Ratio	RT-CL	RT	Ratio	RT-CL	RT	Ratio	RT-CL	RT	Ratio	RT-CL	RT	Ratio
Desa A	4	16	0.25	0	0	0	4	16	0.25	19	39	0.49	10	36	0.28	3	5	0.60
Desa B	13	19	0.68	1	1	1.00	12	18	0.67	12	44	0.27	6	26	0.23	2	7	0.29
Desa C	3	11	0.27	1	6	0.17	2	5	0.40	10	28	0.36	13	54	0.24	1	7	0.14
Desa D	5	16	0.31	2	5	0.40	3	11	0.27	13	39	0.33	10	36	0.28	2	6	0.33
Desa E	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	27	0.04	5	61	0.08	0	7	0
Lombok Timur	**25**	**64**	**0.39**	**4**	**12**	**0.33**	**21**	**52**	**0.40**	**55**	**177**	**0.31**	**44**	**213**	**0.21**	**8**	**32**	**0.25**
Desa F	2	2	1.00	1	1	1.00	1	1	1.00	0	32	0	4	61	0.07	1	4	0.25
Desa G	1	21	0.05	0	1	0	1	20	0.05	3	22	0.14	4	51	0.08	0	3	0
Desa H	2	6	0.33	1	2	0.50	1	4	0.25	2	28	0.07	3	59	0.05	0	6	0
Desa I	5	14	0.36	0	0	0	5	14	0.36	8	21	0.38	4	62	0.06	0	1	0
Desa J	1	4	0.25	0	0	0	1	4	0.25	1	40	0.03	0	56	0	0	0	0
Jember	**11**	**47**	**0.23**	**2**	**4**	**0.50**	**9**	**43**	**0.21**	**14**	**143**	**0.10**	**15**	**289**	**0.05**	**1**	**14**	**0.07**

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

Note:

RT-CL: Number of households with children identified as child labourers in tobacco growing

RT: Number of households according to type

Ratio: Ratio of RT-CL/RT

APPENDIX 18

Table A14. Comparing Children's and Adults' Wages in the Tobacco Sector per Day and Household Annual Income (Mean)

Villages	Adults' Average Income/Day (Rp)	Child Labourer's Average Income/Day (Rp)	Household Average Income/Day (Rp)	Child Labourer's Contribution (%)
Desa A	39,508	2,668	41,096	6.18
Desa B	39,308	3,130	106,575	2.53
Desa C	34,575	2,625	74,247	3.44
Desa D	34,967	4,518	62,192	6.74
Desa E	45,000	5,625	72,055	5.21
Lombok Timur	**38,672**	**3,314**	**71,233**	**4.45**
Desa F	26,950	1,939	49,589	3.67
Desa G	27,582	1,894	42,466	4.08
Desa H	33,719	750	81,918	0.74
Desa I	27,227	1,200	87,397	1.32
Desa J	23,242	656	26,841	2.39
Jember	**27,744**	**1,225**	**57,642**	**2.08**

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 19

Table A15. Risk Proportion Based on Symptom Categories (%)

Risks	Nausea	Vomitting	Dizziness	Blurred Vision	Fatigue	Palpitation	Stomach Pain	Difficulties Breathing	External Injuries	Others	Total People with Symptoms
Excessive dust and/or vapours	6.06	2.02	30.3	4.04	32.32	2.02	2.02	3.03	3.03	5.05	99
Flames and/or gas	5.26	0	21.05	0	42.11	5.26	0	5.26	0	0	19
High noises and/or vibration	10	0	25	0	30	5	5	0	5	0	20
Extreme temperature	4.65	3.49	31.4	2.33	34.88	1.16	3.49	1.16	2.33	3.49	86
Hazardous equipment (such as knives, hoes, axes, plows, and bailing machines)	5.36	3.57	26.79	0	33.93	3.57	3.57	5.36	12.5	1.79	56
Working underground	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Working at heights	2.78	2.78	19.44	2.78	27.78	2.78	2.78	2.78	5.56	2.78	36
Working in the water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Working in places with minimal lighting	0	0	50	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lack of vents	0	0	42.86	14.29	42.86	0	0	0	0	0	7
Exposure to chemical substances	10	10	46.67	3.33	36.67	3.33	10	6.67	13.33	6.67	30
Exposure to explosives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other hazardous conditions	0	0	0	16.67	0	0	0	16.67	0	0	6
Not exposed to any hazards	0	2.7	5.41	0	13.51	0	0	2.7	2.7	0	37
Exposed to green tobacco leaves	3.35	1.68	21.23	2.23	28.49	1.68	1.68	2.79	5.03	2.23	179
Exposure to heavy loads	0	0	18.75	6.25	50	0	0	0	0	0	16

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 20

Table A16. Comparison of Protective Equipment and Measures between the Two *Kabupaten*

Protective Equipment	Jember (Total Number of Responses=36)	Lombok Timur (Total Number of Responses=113)
Head protector (e.g., helmet)	17%	22%
Eye and facial protection (e.g., face mask)	0%	3%
Ear protection (e.g., ear plugs, ear covers)	0%	1%
Complete respiratory protection (e.g., face mask, respirator)	3%	5%
Hand and arm protection (e.g., gloves)	0%	10%
Feet protection (e.g., boots)	0%	4%
Protective clothing (e.g., vest, rain coat, apron)	0%	1%
Individual protective-fall equipment (e.g., body belt, safety rope)	0%	0%
Life vest	0%	0%
Flashlight	0%	0%
Training related to safety procedures and equipment	3%	0%
No protective gear and training was provided	89%	77%

Source: Calculated based on results of the household survey (2016) conducted by the SMERU research team.

APPENDIX 21

Table A17. Number of Schools by Village

Kabupaten	Village	Level of Education				
		Kindergarten	Elementary	Junior High	Senior High	Univ.
Jember	Desa F	5	5	1	0	0
	Desa G	3	4	0	0	0
	Desa H	2	4	2	2	0
	Desa I	1	5	5	4	0
	Desa J	1	4	1	1	0
Lombok Timur	Desa A	4	3	2	0	0
	Desa B	2	7	3	1	0
	Desa C	3	5	2	2	0
	Desa D	3	3	1	0	0
	Desa E	6	12	3	1	0

Source: Podes 2014.

APPENDIX 22

Table A18. Net Enrolment Rate by Village

Village	School Participation (Elementary) - 2010 (%)	School Participation (Junior High) - 2010 (%)	School Participation (Senior High) - 2010 (%)
Desa A	92.46	55.71	22.35
Desa B	89.48	62.26	27.53
Desa C	86.27	56.56	54.02
Desa D	89.48	66.37	42.92
Desa E	87.66	53.64	35.82
Lombok Timur	**88.08**	**55.66**	**39.81**
Desa F	88.77	62.2	35.9
Desa G	89.7	54.3	31.84
Desa H	87.01	71.73	45.89
Desa I	89.43	60.43	43.6
Desa J	84.46	32.87	17.21
Jember	**89.07**	**54.08**	**32.25**

Source: Poverty and Livelihood Map of Indonesia 2010.

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