

Survey on Child Labour in Agriculture in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon: The Case of Syrian Refugees



Syrian Refugee Camp in Bekaa, Lebanon
Photograph taken by the research team, 2017

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|--|
| AFFSS | Arab Family Food Security Scale |
| AUB | American University of Beirut |
| CAS | Central Administration of Statistics |
| DRC | Danish Refugee Council |
| HH | Household |
| IAMP | Inter Agency Mapping Platform |
| IDRC | International Development Research Centre |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IRC | International Rescue Committee |
| ITS | Informal Tented Settlement |
| MoL | Ministry of Labor |
| NRC | Norwegian Refugee Council |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNHCR | United Nations Refugee Agency |
| UNICEF | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund |
| VASyR | Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WFP | World Food Programme |
| WFCL | Worst Forms of Child Labor |

Glossary

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| dwelling | The occupied physical space of the housing unit. |
| household | The members residing in the same dwelling. |
| household head | The person responsible for the family or the household – most often the father or a male adult relative – and who provides the main source of income for the household. |
| household/proxy respondent | A senior female living in the dwelling who is most knowledgeable about the health and wellbeing of household members, household expenditures, and food-related issues. Or a senior female household member who answered questions about housing conditions, food security, coping strategies, household expenditures, social services, and vocational training. This household/proxy respondent also answered on behalf of working children aged between ≥ 4 to ≤ 8 years to questions regarding their health, education, type and field of work, wages, work hours and weekly vacation, and work injuries. |
| self-respondent | A working child aged between > 8 to ≤ 18 years who directly responded to questions related to his/her health, education, work, social relations, and future aspirations. |
| shaweesh | A member of the Syrian refugee population who is well-connected to the community and who acts as a foreman/middleman, overseeing the employment of men, women, and children mostly in the agricultural fields in Bekaa. |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In late 2015, the Child Labor Unit at the Lebanese Ministry of Labor in coordination with the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), approached the Faculty of Health and Sciences (FHS) at the American University of Beirut (AUB) to undertake an assessment of child labour among Syrian refugees in the agricultural sector of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Consequently, a quantitative household survey was conducted in Syrian refugee communities located near agricultural areas in Bekaa. This study was initiated in 2016 with partial funding and support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the American University of Beirut (AUB).

This report explores the experiences of child labour among Syrian refugees in the Bekaa Valley. The report is based on data collected on 12,708 refugees living in 1,902 informal tented settlements. These refugees are among the most vulnerable populations in the country. They experience poverty characterized by a lack of basic necessities and comforts, as well as hazardous living conditions. Financial strain and food insecurity are primary motivators pushing children in refugee families into work and out of school. Chapter 1 provides a thorough literature review contextualizing the experiences of Syrian refugees in the current moment, as well as proposing a theoretical framework for the study that adopts a holistic understanding of workers' health recognizing the interrelated determinants of occupational, household, and community factors that impact individual wellbeing. Chapter 2 explains the methods used in surveying Syrian refugees (n=12,708) across four districts in the Bekaa Valley: Baalbek, Hermel, West Bekaa, and Zahle. A random sample of 153 informal tented settlements was selected from the Interagency Mapping Platform, a database of Syrian refugees living in Lebanon used by non-governmental agencies to coordinate humanitarian activities. The remainder of Chapter 2 discusses the

study implementation steps, including questionnaire design, recruitment of data collectors and training protocols, pilot study, fieldwork activities, and quality control measures. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the study population demographics, socioeconomic data, income and expenditures, and food security indicators for surveyed households. The surveyed population of Syrian refugees was generally young, with 65% being under the age of 18 years. Households were relatively large, as 50% were comprised of 7 members or more. Around 29% of the households were headed by females. Most households (74%) were severely food insecure. The average monthly income per capita was 50.7 USD whereas the average monthly expenditure per capita was 119.7 USD, indicating a monthly income-expenditure gap of 69 USD. These conditions precipitate children's entry into the work market. Chapter 4 focuses on the conditions and experiences of these working children, presenting data on demographics, occupational experiences, and health outcomes. The majority of the children (around 75%) worked in the field of agriculture, in occupations that are considered hazardous, dangerous, and unfit for children. Harsh work conditions were commonly experienced by children, of whom 30% reported having been injured at work. On average, the work day was 6.7 hours long for males and 6.4 hours for females. Few children said that they take a weekly vacation (44.8% of the males and 38% of the females). Only 18.3% of the working children were enrolled in some form of schooling and the majority of those (58%) attended public schools. Around 51% of the children who were not attending school reported 'work' as the main barrier for education. Among the working children, about 58% reported giving their wage (or part of it) to their parents. Chapter 5 addresses housing conditions and sanitation services (including water access and wastewater disposal) available to the study population. Most toilets (75.2%) were not equipped with direct water supply and households used service water for cooking (77.5%) and drinking (80.9%). Chapter 5 also addresses working children's opportunities for recreational activities. Results on questions regarding activities done outside work

show that children did not have many opportunities for recreational activities. In fact, among the children aged between >8 and ≤18 years, only 14% of the males and 3% of the females practiced sports. Chapter 6 explores indicators of social support as well as respondents' attitudes towards vocational education opportunities. Children seemed to feel happy and safe in their communities. Around 82% of the children reported turning to a household member for help when faced with personal problems. Among the working youth between the ages of ≥14 and ≤18 years, 94% reported that they never heard of vocational training in agriculture, and only 7.2% were enrolled in vocational training programs including sewing, predominantly for females and auto repair and agriculture, mostly for males. Of those who were not enrolled, 61.8% reported interest in vocational training such as sewing, hairstyling, and makeup for females and construction for males.

A proportion of working children were not interested in vocational training either because they perceived it as time consuming (59.6%), unaffordable (17.4%), or inaccessible due to long travelling distance (11.7%). Chapter 7 presents a synthesis of the report's key findings and proposes intervention strategies that address the root causes of child labour among Syrian refugees. Potential interventions include renewing efforts to enforce Lebanese laws meant to address child labour and protect children. Simultaneously, these types of initiatives must be met with scalable development projects that cultivate financial stability for households and social and educational capital among children. Displaced children that continue to be outside school are likely to suffer from diminished future prospects and difficulties in escaping child labour even after the conflict is over.





CHAPTER ONE

Background

■ Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

The prolonged warfare in Syria has resulted in loss of lives, widespread destruction of infrastructure, and social and economic instability. Moreover, displacement, death, and economic loss have left millions of displaced families desperate to find basic security and stability leading to a forced migration crisis of catastrophic proportions. Syrians now constitute the largest group of refugees worldwide (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2019a). According to the UNHCR (2019b), as of 2019, the total number of Syrian refugees is close to 5.6 million. The countries that have received the highest numbers of people fleeing the violence in Syria include Turkey (3,606,737 individuals), Lebanon (938,531 individuals), and Jordan (660,393 individuals) (UNHCR, 2019b). In Lebanon, 55.2% of the Syrian refugee population are under 18 years of age (UNHCR, 2019c). With 341,234 individuals, the Bekaa region in eastern Lebanon has the highest concentration of Syrian refugees in the country, followed by North Lebanon, Beirut, and South Lebanon (UNHCR, 2019c). Numbers released by the UNHCR include only the refugees that have registered with the organization, but some sources estimate that the total number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is closer to 1.5 million (European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, 2018; Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC], 2017). A small country, Lebanon has disproportionately felt the impact of this crisis and currently has the highest number of refugees per capita of any country in the world (UNHCR, 2015a).

The massive influx of refugees has had substantial repercussions on Lebanon's economic, social and political landscape. This has been felt acutely by the public education sector, where the primary school gross enrollment ratio reached 113% between 2008 and 2014, indicating an overloaded education infrastructure (UNDP, 2015). Similarly, national unemployment rates have doubled since the conflict began (Gebara, 2015). This has led to frustration on the part of Lebanese nationals, who feel that the growing number of refugees pose a serious threat to the economic livelihoods of citizens (Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016).

The tensions produced by these structural factors are compounded by other historic political and social conflicts in the country. First among these is the role that Syria played during the Lebanese Civil War, resulting in deep-seated resentment among some segments of the population. Further, Lebanon's sectarian political system stokes fears that predominantly Sunni Muslim refugees might throw off the balance of power if their settlement becomes more permanent or if a pathway towards their naturalization is established (Turner, 2015). Similar claims have been directed towards Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon; and just as the plight of the Palestinians is highly politicized (NRC, 2017), so has the status of Syrian refugees become politically charged.

■ Legal Status and Economic Repercussions

The legal status of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is a complicated and highly contentious issue. For one, the state is not a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention and, specifically, the convention's 1967 Protocol which urges countries to uphold a number of basic rights for refugees, including the right to education, the right to non-refoulement,¹ and the right to work. In 2003, the Lebanese government signed a memorandum of understanding with the UNHCR through which Lebanon grants asylum seekers temporary residence until they are resettled to a third country (UNHCR, 2003). This agreement is the only legal guarantee of rights that refugees have while in Lebanon, especially considering that there are no national laws enshrining fair treatment of refugees (Saliba, 2016). In fact, the Lebanese government does not refer to Syrians who have fled to Lebanon as refugees but as “displaced”.

As the war in Syria persisted, and the number of people crossing the border to Lebanon steadily increased, the Lebanese public became increasingly concerned over the stability of the country and its ability to accommodate an ever-growing number of refugees. In July 2013, the number of Syrian refugees registered with the UNHCR reached half a million, prompting the government to start applying stricter documentation checks and restrictions to those seeking refuge (Dionigi, 2016). By January 2015, the Lebanese government asked that the UNHCR suspend registration of Syrians entering Lebanon and stricter regulations governing the entry and stay of Syrian refugees in Lebanon were issued (World Food Programme [WFP], UNHCR, & United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund [UNICEF], 2015). Refugees who are not registered with the

UNHCR were now required to have a Lebanese sponsor in order to obtain legal residency (Dionigi, 2016). Additionally, the General Security enforced new regulations on all Syrians who were registered with the UNHCR, whereby they had to present a notarized pledge agreeing not to seek work in the country (Saliba, 2016). Added requirements, such as providing a lease agreement along with a burdensome \$200 yearly residency renewal fee, pushed many refugees to remain undocumented, placing them at greater risk of abuse and exploitation (UNHCR, 2015a). In February 2017, the government lifted the residency fee but only for Syrian refugees registered with the UNHCR; this exemption excluded the most vulnerable refugees who are not registered with the UNHCR (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2017).

As a result of this legal context, many Syrian refugees unable to register with the UNHCR or get a Lebanese sponsor are residing in the country illegally. Furthermore, Syrians' legal status makes it difficult for them to find employment or to commute freely to work, since their freedom of movement is restricted by the authorities. Many refugees live in fear of arrest or deportation. As a consequence, Syrian refugees send their children to work because they are less likely than adults to get arrested and investigated (NRC, 2014). Other factors that hinder refugees' access to work include employers' attitudes, mistaken beliefs about the legality of hiring refugees, and refugees' lack of access to information about where and how to apply for work permits (Zetter & Ruadel, 2016).

Unable to provide for themselves, many Syrian refugees in Lebanon live in a precarious socioeconomic situation. Funds provided through foreign aid are

1 The principle of non-refoulement asserts that refugees should not be made to return to a country where they are under the threat of persecution.

consistently falling short of the amounts needed to address this humanitarian crisis (Refaat & Mohanna, 2013). According to the Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon (VASyR) report (2017), 75% of Syrian refugee households in Lebanon have no access to basic food needs, and 58% are living in extreme poverty conditions unable to access the basic needs for survival. This trenchant poverty produces

the conditions where children must work to ensure their families' survival (WFP, UNHCR, & UNICEF, 2016). In cities, children work in the streets doing various jobs, including begging for money, street vending, and shoe shining (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2015); whereas Syrian working children living in the rural Bekaa typically find employment in the agricultural sector (Save the Children, 2015).

■ Syrian Refugees in the Bekaa

The concentration of Syrian refugee communities in Lebanon is intimately tied to geographic and economic factors. The Bekaa Valley, where the largest number of refugees reside, shares a long border with Syria, making it a natural gathering point for those fleeing the conflict. In addition to that, the Bekaa Valley is home to 42% of the country's total cultivated land; and the Lebanese agricultural industry is heavily dependent on low-wage workers to reduce costs and bolster profits. As such, despite legal restrictions on employment imposed by the state, employers in the Bekaa region have welcomed and benefited from an exploitable Syrian workforce. With few alternatives and no legal protection, many Syrians have settled in the Bekaa in informal tented settlements (ITSS) made up of make-shift tents close to agricultural fields where some work opportunities exist.

The Bekaa Valley comprises two of Lebanon's eight governorates—Baalbek-Hermel and Bekaa. Located at an altitude of 800 to 1100 meters above sea level and encompassing a large fertile plain, the valley is the country's main agricultural region. The Bekaa governorate is divided into three administrative districts: Zahle, West Bekaa, and Rachayya. The Baalbek-Hermel governorate is divided into the districts of Baalbek and Hermel.

The Bekaa Valley economy relies primarily on agriculture and livestock, in addition to a number of small industries such as agro-food industries like dairy production (IDAL, 2017). The Baalbek-Hermel governorate is one of the least populated governorates in Lebanon and has high poverty rates. The neighboring Bekaa governorate has the highest poverty rates (38%) in Lebanon, with an economy heavily reliant on agriculture (Central Administration for Statistics [CAS] & The World Bank, 2015). Bekaa hosts 1,424 ITSSs sheltering 86,647 registered Syrian refugees, while Baalbek-Hermel hosts 1,140 ITSSs sheltering 60,117 registered Syrian refugees (OCHA, 2016).

Before the Syrian conflict, Bekaa had long been a place for Syrian migrants to participate in seasonal agricultural work (Habib et al., 2016). In 1993 and 1994, an open border policy was consolidated through three bilateral agreements² between Lebanon and Syria. These agreements facilitated the movement of goods and people between the two countries and provided the Lebanese job market with cheap labour in low-skill jobs such as construction and agriculture (Lebanon Support, 2016). Before the Syrian crisis, many Syrian families who are now living as refugees in tents used to participate in seasonal

² The agreements are: The Bilateral Agreement on the Regulation of Transport of Persons and Goods, the Bilateral Agreement for Economic and Social Cooperation and Coordination, and the Bilateral Agreement in the Field of Labor (Lebanon Support, 2016).

agricultural work, moving between their homes in Syria and their work in the Bekaa fields (Abi Habib-Khoury, 2012).

Today refugees living in the Bekaa are among the most vulnerable and prone to abuse. Many reside in informal settlements, usually a collection of tents, because they cannot afford to pay rent (Dhala, 2014). The Lebanese government has refused the establishment of official camps run by the UNHCR, leading to the establishing of informal settlements by Syrian refugees themselves (Turner, 2015). In these tents, refugees are subject to harsh weather conditions, like snow in the winter and sweltering heat in the summer, and to various life-threatening hazards. For example, in July 2017, a fire raged

through a refugee camp in the Bekaa near the town of Qab Elias destroying 100 tents and leaving 6 people injured and one child dead (Al Jazeera English, 2017). In addition to that, informal settlements are always at the risk of being evicted or forcibly removed. In July 2017, the Lebanese army notified Syrian refugees living in a tented settlement near Riyaq (in Bekaa) that they must clear the area for security reasons. Several NGO representatives voiced concerns over the lack of relocation options and the possibility that refugees without residency permits might be detained and deported to Syria (Kanso, 2017). Evictions of Syrian refugees have also taken place in several regions around the country, such as Bcharre, Mizyara, Zahle, and Hadath (HRW, 2018).

■ The Challenges and Impacts of Child Labour

As many as 152 million children around the world are engaged in labour and half of these work in hazardous child labour (UN, n.d.). According to ILO's Global Estimates of Child Labour report (2017a), the regions with the highest prevalence of child labour are Africa (10.6%), the Americas (5.3%), the Arab States (2.9%), Asia and the Pacific (7.4%), and Europe and Central Asia (4.1%).

In circumstances of extreme poverty and precarity, families may rely on child labour as the only coping strategy available to them to ensure survival. However, child labour can have severe social and economic impacts on those who experience it, including loss of educational and development opportunities, lower future earnings, and poor health (Basu & Tzannatos, 2003; Heady, 2003; Roggero, 2007). Working children suffer adverse schooling impacts (Zhang, 2012), including reduced likelihood of completing primary school (Beegle, 2008). With less educational access, child labourers are less able to acquire the educational and social capital needed to find better

life opportunities and achieve economic and social stability (Basu & Tzannatos, 2003).

There is also considerable evidence associating child labour with negative health outcomes, including early mortality, morbidity, low educational attainment, and poverty (Nemery, 2012; Roggero et al., 2007; Rosati, 2007; Sughis et al., 2012). Asthma and dry cough, silicosis and tuberculosis among child workers (Parker, 1997), as well as adverse effects on growth in height and weight (Hawamdeh & Spencer, 2003) were reported in the literature, in addition to risks of stunting, wasting, and anemia (Hawamdeh & Spencer, 2002). Work experiences can also pose psycho-emotional challenges to children, potentially exposing them to high levels of stress (Kinney, 1993) and greater emotional and behavioral challenges than non-working children (Fekadu et al., 2006). Because of child workers' vulnerability, they can experience acute sexual and verbal abuse at work, which can result in severe psychological harm (Save the Children, 2015).

■ Child Labour in Agriculture

According to FAO (2017) there are 108 million boys and girls working in agriculture, making up 70% of child labourers worldwide. Work in agriculture exposes children to many risks and hazards, like working in extreme temperatures, using sharp tools, injury and death by farm machinery, poisoning through exposure to pesticides, and respiratory diseases due to organic dust exposure (Hurst, 2007). These occupational hazards present in agricultural work may result in chronic and severe morbidity, including cancer, infertility, and chronic back pain (World Health Organization [WHO], 2018).

Previous research on child labour in Lebanon found the practice most prevalent in remote, rural areas and at its highest in the Bekaa (ILO, 2002).

Another study on child labour in Lebanon revealed that in Central Bekaa, the agricultural sector is dominated by Syrian workers (Abi Habib-Khoury, 2012). Few studies on child labour in Lebanon have focused on Syrian refugees in the Bekaa, but there is evidence to suggest that the phenomenon is widespread (Cochrane et al., 2016; The Daily Star, 2017a). Preliminary reports have noted that Syrian children are performing tasks such as bagging potatoes, picking up rocks and cleaning fields where pesticides are present (Save the Children, 2015).

■ Legal Framework for Child Labour

Child labour has been an issue of concern to a large number of countries especially those in the Global South. The International Labour Organization has been active in putting together legal frameworks and conventions for the elimination and control of child labour. This section presents the existing legal framework related to child labour in Lebanon.

The ILO convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, C182 (ILO, 1999), is aimed at prohibiting and eliminating the worst forms of child labour. Article 3 of C182 defines the worst forms of child labour as:

- All forms of slavery, trafficking of children, debt bondage, serfdom, forced labour, and the recruitment of children in armed conflict;
- Using or offering children for prostitution or pornography;

- Using or offering children for illicit activities;
- Work which is harmful to the health, safety or morals of children.

The ILO Minimum age Convention, C138 (ILO, 1973) sets the minimum age for employment at 15 years (developing countries may initially set it at 14 exceptionally due to restricted socio-economic conditions as has been the case of Lebanon). However, the convention allows countries to opt for a national legislation regulating “light work” (from the age of 12-13 years), which is defined as work that is unlikely to harm the child’s health and development and that does not compromise the child’s education.

Lebanese legal codes allow for child employment under the age of 18 in a limited capacity in work that is not considered dangerous. Importantly, national labour regulations bar work for children who are younger than 14 years old and restrict

work in occupations that are a danger to life, health or morals to children that are under 18 years old. These occupations are defined in Decree 8987 of the Lebanese Labour Law which identifies the list of hazardous occupations prohibited for children under 16 years; although some are permitted to children between 16 and 18 years provided that specific occupational health and safety conditions are met. Furthermore, children in Lebanon must not work more than 6 hours per day, they should have a one-hour break at least if they are working for more than 4 consecutive hours/day, they must receive vacation days, and must not work on days that are considered national holidays (Lebanese Labour Law).³

Not all work that children do is considered child labour. According to the ILO, child labour is work that jeopardizes children's mental or physical health, work that is harmful to them socially or morally, and work that interferes with their schooling by preventing them from attending school, forcing them to drop out of school or to combine schooling with long hours of difficult work (ILO, n.d.). Defining what is considered child labour "depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries" (ILO, 2004).

Article 4 of C182 specifies that it is up to each country to identify and define the forms of child labour that fall under Article 3(d). As per Decree 8987 (Lebanese Labour Law),⁴ work in the agricultural sector in Lebanon is identified as hazardous work. Consequently, it is prohibited for children who are under 16 years of age and allowed for those who are between 16 and 18 years old under appropriate occupational health and safety conditions. This is in line with international classifications of work in agriculture as hazardous work (FAO, 2018b) and with initiatives such as the International Partnership for

Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture (IPCCLA) to raise awareness, promote better health and safety practices, and help develop appropriate policies and regulations related to child labour in agriculture (ILO, 2011; FAO, 2018a).

In October 2001, the Lebanese government established the Unit for the Combat of Child Labour in Lebanon. This specialized unit within the Lebanese Ministry of Labor aims to raise awareness on the problem of child labour, spread knowledge about international and Arab conventions on child labour, develop national laws that fall in line with international conventions on child labour, and develop national strategies for the eradication of child labour (Ministry of Labor [MoL], 2015). Decree 15959, dated 19 November 2005, stipulated the creation of a National Steering Committee to eliminate child labour. The committee is charged with preparing and monitoring programs and strategies for the eradication of child labour in Lebanon, in cooperation with the ILO, the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), and other relevant international, Arab, and local civil society organizations (Government of Lebanon, 2005).

In 2013, the Lebanese government, represented by the Ministry of Labor, committed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour as per ILO recommendations; it presented its strategy in the National Action Plan (NAP) (ILO & MoL, 2013). The NAP⁵ aims to eliminate the worst forms of child labour through strategic interventions on several fronts including legislation, education, capacity building, raising awareness, and child protection and rehabilitation (ILO & MoL, 2013). In 2017, the action plan was revised to include Syrian refugee child labourers and set a goal to eliminate the worst forms of child labour by 2020 (Government of Lebanon & UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Lebanon, 2017).

³ For details on regulations regarding the work of children in Lebanon please see the Appendix.

⁴ Decree 8987 (Lebanese Labor Law) identified all forms of hazardous work for children in Lebanon and was endorsed by the Lebanese government in 2012. For the list of all forms of hazardous work, please see the Appendix.

⁵ The NAP is under the directive of the Minister of Labour and was prepared with the contribution of members of the National Steering Committee Against Child Labour (such as workers' associations and employers) as well as several officials from relevant ministries and civil society organizations (ILO & MoL, 2013).

Furthermore, towards the end of 2016, the General Security in Lebanon, in close coordination with the Ministry of Labor and the Farmers Union (with ILO technical support) and in line with Decree 8987, issued a memo that strictly prohibited work in agriculture for children under 16 years, including Syrian refugees. The Division of Human Rights and

Trafficking of the General Security was tasked with implementing this memo in 2017.

The following sections present the theoretical framework that guided the research described in this report along with the study objectives.

■ Theoretical Framework

Research on child labour highlights the importance of looking at the structural nature of this phenomenon that is deeply rooted in an array of social, economic, and political factors pushing children into the labour market (Sharit, 1992; Lavalette, 2000; Kak & Pati, 2012).

In Lebanon, Syrian refugee children experience multiple forms of marginalization. Many are forced to work because of dire social and economic circumstances and the burden of providing for their families (Save the Children, 2015). The large increase in the population of Lebanon due to the influx of refugees coupled with the continuing economic stagnation and the lack or mismanagement of resources, have put a strain on the country and its ability to tackle the refugee crisis. These factors may have contributed to the legal, social, and economic constraints and the lack of basic rights for Syrian refugees. Forced from their homes and without access to the economic and social capital they may have once possessed, refugee families are often in the midst of desperate struggles for survival. Given the interconnected social, economic, and political

factors impacting Syrian refugee child labourers, this study adopts a multidimensional approach that seeks to understand this phenomenon on multiple levels: the occupational setting, the familial experience, and the community context.

Concurrently, this study explores children's wellbeing, which is impacted by their physical, psychological, cognitive, social, and economic conditions. Studies on child wellbeing emphasize the importance of multi-dimensional assessments to explore and understand how complex and diverse factors affect the everyday lives of children (Bradshaw et al., 2007a; 2007b). In their study of child wellbeing, Bradshaw and colleagues (2009) utilize a six-dimensional framework that includes housing and environment, education, health, risk behaviors, and quality of school life. Developing effective policies aimed at improving children's future prospects depends on a recognition and addressment of the conditions contributing to child wellbeing (Conti & Heckman, 2012). This study seeks to understand the many dimensions that shape the lives of Syrian refugee child labourers in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon.

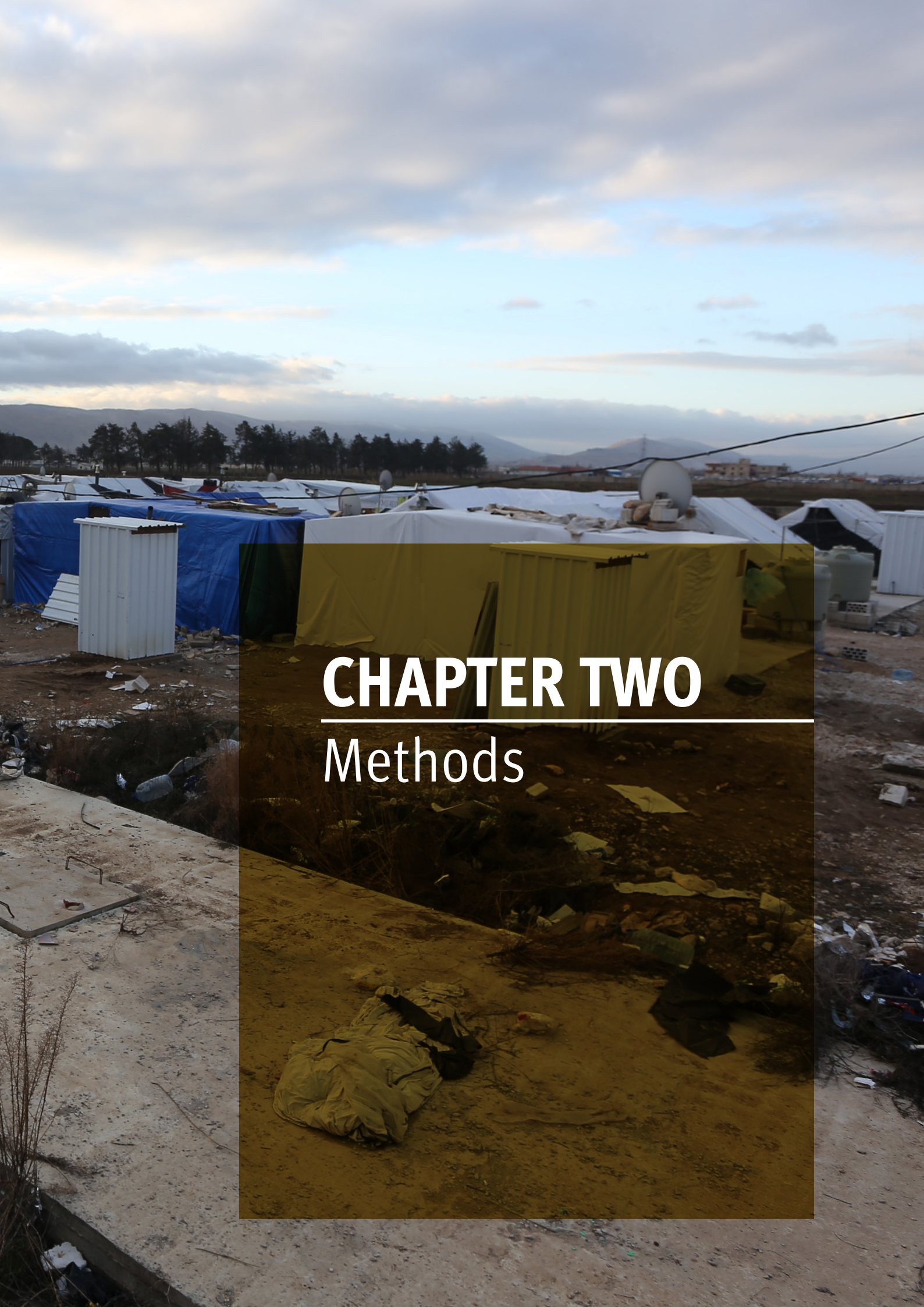
■ Objectives of the Study

This study takes a multidimensional approach to explore the living and working conditions of child labourers in the agricultural sector in Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. The aim of this research is to explore the impacts of these conditions on child wellbeing, seeking to understand how these experiences manifest both in the workplace and living spaces. Specifically, the study aims to document:

- the working and living conditions of Syrian refugee child labourers living in informal tented settlements in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon;
- the social capital of the working children and their families; and
- the impacts of child labour on education and wellbeing.

A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE DATA FROM THIS STUDY WILL PRODUCE A HOLISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN BEKAA, BOTH AS IT RELATES TO CHILD LABOUR IN AGRICULTURAL SETTINGS AND TO THE BROADER EXPERIENCES OF REFUGEE CHILDREN. TO THIS END, A HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF WORKING CHILDREN AMONG SYRIAN REFUGEES LIVING IN INFORMAL TENTED SETTLEMENTS IN THE BEKAA VALLEY OF LEBANON WAS CARRIED OUT IN THE SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 2017.





CHAPTER TWO

Methods

In late 2015, the Child Labor Unit at the Lebanese Ministry of Labor in coordination with the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), approached the Faculty of Health and Sciences (FHS) at the American University of Beirut (AUB) to undertake an assessment of child labour among Syrian refugees in the agricultural sector of

Lebanon’s Bekaa Valley. Consequently, a quantitative household survey was conducted in Syrian refugee communities located near agricultural areas in Bekaa. This study was initiated in 2016 with partial funding and support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the American University of Beirut (AUB).

Target Population and Sampling Frame

The target population consisted of Syrian refugee working children residing in informal tented settlements (ITSs) in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon. The Interagency Mapping Platform (IAMP)⁶ was used to select the sample for this study. The IAMP is a database for information on Syrian refugees living in ITSs across Lebanon. IAMP is updated on a three-month basis and used for the coordination of humanitarian activities (Reliefweb, 2018). IAMP mapping uses Place Codes (PCodes) to assign an address to a location. A PCode system for ITSs in Lebanon is based on administrative boundaries (governorate, caza, cadaster) (UNHCR, 2018). This database included information on 234,546 Syrian refugees across Lebanon living in 6,192 ITSs ranging in size from 1 to 244 tents.

The IAMP database relating to the Bekaa governorate (including West Bekaa, Zahle, and Rachayya districts)

and the Baalbek-Hermel governorate (including Baalbek and Hermel districts) formed the sampling frame for this study.⁷ These two governorates are home to a total of 183,816 Syrian refugees living across 3,748 ITSs. The distribution of the ITSs and the individuals residing in each of the districts is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Informal tented settlements and residents by district in Bekaa.

| District | Number of ITSs | Number of Refugees |
|------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Baalbek | 1,748 | 79,917 |
| Hermel | 66 | 1,524 |
| West Bekaa | 605 | 27,942 |
| Zahle | 1,314 | 74,280 |
| Rachaya | 15 | 153 |

⁶ The IAMP data comes from various UN agencies and NGOs working with refugees. It is managed by Medair who is the National IAMP Coordinating Agency in Lebanon (UNHCR, 2018).
⁷ The IAMP version update from 7 December 2016.

■ Study Sample

Among the target population, child workers living in selected households were identified. The survey was directly administered to working children, as opposed to only interviewing parents, so as to respect the perspectives of young people whose viewpoint is fundamental to enacting effective development policies. Interviewing this population granted the research primary data related to the experiences of child labour and life in the Bekaa, which was invaluable to the study.

For the districts of Baalbek, West Bekaa and Zahle, the sample was doubled to allow for replacements as per the strategy outlined below. Over sampling was not possible in Hermel due to the low count of refugees as compared to the other 3 districts.

From the 2016 IAMP database, a random sample of 153 ITSs (n=68 in Baalbek, n=5 in Hermel, n=23 in West Bekaa, and n=57 in Zahle) were selected for the final sample (as shown in Table 2), in which we identified 1,907 households housing working children (as explained below).

In each of the randomly selected ITSs, a listing of households (tents) was completed to identify units where working children between the ages of 4 and 18 lived. Households meeting this criterion were identified through conversations with the 'shaweesh'.⁸ All of the tents that housed working children (as identified by the shaweesh) were numbered and visited; their total number was 1,907 households. Through face-to-face interviews, data were collected on households and working children between the ages of 4 and 18. Whenever the shaweesh was not able to accurately pinpoint the tents that housed working children, all tents in the ITS were approached by the study team to identify and enumerate the tents where working children reside by directly asking a member in each household.

Table 2: Number of informal tented settlements selected in the study by district.

| District | Number of ITSs Selected | Number of Refugees |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Baalbek | 68 (136)* | 21,769 |
| Hermel | 5 (5) | 531 |
| West Bekaa | 23 (46) | 9,621 |
| Zahle | 57 (114) | 21,316 |
| Total | 153 (301) | 53,237 |

* The parenthetical figures represent the number of ITSs selected including oversampling (for replacement).

⁸ The shaweesh is an intermediary who acts as a job manager in each ITS and who hires the children and other workers to work in nearby farms, restaurants, auto repair shops or other workplaces. The shaweeshs are also well-connected and powerful community leaders, they sometimes act as mediators between aid organizations and refugee households.

■ Replacement Strategy

A replacement strategy for ITSs was implemented in the following cases:

- If the selected ITS did not exist anymore;⁹
- If the shaweesh was uncooperative and refused to direct the fieldwork team to the requested households;
- If no working children resided in the selected ITS;
- If an ITS has less than 5 tents.

Whenever any of the above-mentioned cases occurred, a new ITS was selected from the pool of remaining ITSs in each district. Any ITS discarded from a specific district was replaced by a new one from the same district. After a replacement was selected, the ITS selection process would resume using the original list order.

When selecting an ITS as a replacement, the designated shaweesh was consulted to point out all

the households where working children reside, and then the interviewers would proceed to interview all these children.

A face-to-face interview was directly administered to working children aged >8 to ≤18 years. On the other hand, proxy respondent answered on behalf of working children aged ≥4 to ≤8. The choice of using a proxy respondent for children aged ≥4 to ≤8 years was due to the fact that some survey questions might be difficult for children of this age to comprehend and answer accurately. For example, young children might struggle to answer questions relating to the part of the salary given to parents (quarter, half, three quarters...), the number of daily work hours, and chronic illnesses they might have.

■ Questionnaire Design

Two questionnaires were developed for the survey: a structured household questionnaire and a child questionnaire. The questionnaires were coded into Open Data Kit (ODK), then downloaded into individual electronic tablets that were used by the data collectors. Colloquial Arabic was used in the questionnaires to facilitate the interview process.

The household questionnaire, which was addressed to the household/proxy respondent, included questions related to the dwelling, in addition to questions relating to household members. Data collected on household members of all age groups residing in the same dwelling for at least 15 days included: demographics (relation to household head

⁹ The design of the survey did not capture the mobility of the Syrian refugee population in the Bekaa (for example those who have moved to other locations) following the IAMP database update of 7 December, 2016.

and to the working child, gender, nationality, month and year of birth, and marital status), literacy and education (does not read/write, reads/writes with no schooling, highest formal education level reached), type of school attended¹⁰ (public, private, non-formal), current work, number of work hours, whether work is seasonal or year-long, weekly vacation, salary (whether salary is given to the family, portion of salary given to the family), work hazards (using sharp or heavy objects at work, work injuries), schooling (enrollment status, type of school attended, reasons for not going to school), activities done in free time, and health indicators (chronic and acute illness, functional disability, and cause of disability). The household questionnaire also included questions on vocational training. The household respondent was asked whether they had heard of vocational training in agriculture, their views about which age groups should get such training, and whether they would encourage their family members to join such training programs.

Data collected on dwellings included: type of housing unit, building material used for walls and roof, availability of electricity and heating systems, water sources, and waste disposal systems. In addition, the survey included questions on estimated household expenditures during the last month for each of the following items: food, housing rental, cooking and heating fuel, electricity, drinking and service water, health services, education, telecommunications, clothing, transportation, basic health and hygiene, infant needs, entertainment, debt repayment, and

other household expenditures. Additionally, food security was measured using the validated seven-item Arab Family Food Security Scale (AFFSS) (Sahyoun et al., 2014), and coping mechanisms were measured through the five-item Reduced Coping Strategies Index (RCSI) (Maxwell et al., 2008). The survey also contained questions on access to social services (familiarity with organizations offering services, types of services used, and types of services needed). These questions were addressed to the proxy respondent (a homemaker who was present in the home).

The child questionnaire was addressed to working children between the ages of >8 and ≤18. These questions addressed schooling (school enrollment in Lebanon, type of school attended, school schedule, reasons for not attending school), and, for children aged ≥14 to ≤18, questions on vocational training programs. These questions included: (a) whether they were enrolled in vocational training programs, (b) the field in which they were receiving their training, and for those who were not receiving any vocational training: (c) whether they were interested in such training, (d) their field of interest, and (e) the reason(s) for not being interested in vocational training. Other questions covered health status (illnesses, disabilities, and causes of disabilities), type and sector of work, working under harsh conditions, treatment of work injuries, wages, treatment at the workplace, verbal and physical abuse at the workplace, activities done outside work, and perceptions of the future.

10 Syrian refugee children who are continuing their education in Lebanon are either enrolled in formal schooling (Lebanese public or private schools) or attending non-formal schooling (NGO-run programs). The Lebanese government tried to facilitate access to education for Syrian refugee children for example, by waiving school and book fees, and introducing second shift classes at public schools (El-Ghali et al., 2016). Formal schooling follows the Lebanese curriculum that has proved difficult for Syrian children mainly due to the language of teaching (subjects such as Math and Sciences are taught in French or English in Lebanese schools, unlike Syrian schools where these subjects are taught in Arabic), leading to a high school dropout rate (70%) in 2011-2012. As a response, several NGOs started offering non-formal educational programs such as basic literacy and numeracy, and accelerated learning programs that enable Syrian students to integrate in the Lebanese schooling system (El-Ghali et al., 2016). In 2013, the government decided to take control of organizing the education of Syrian refugee children (Buckner et al., 2017). Consequently, the MEHE launched in 2014 the Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) program enrolling 200,000 Syrian children in formal public schools and targeting another 200,000 with foreign language education, basic literacy and numeracy, and accelerated learning programs (MEHE, 2014). In 2016, the RACE II strategy was developed focusing on interventions that integrate child rights and protection, the availability of quality education opportunities and public education services for Lebanese and non-Lebanese children, and expanding the coverage of such education to all children and youth (MEHE, 2016).

■ Institutional Review Board Approval

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the American University of Beirut was approached to obtain ethical approval for the study. An application was prepared and submitted to the IRB on 28 April, 2016. Following the first round of IRB review, revisions to the study instruments and protocols were undertaken to meet the IRB requirements. All of the measures that were recommended in order to safeguard the safety, privacy, and confidentiality of the study respondents were included in the revision of the survey protocol. Special consideration was given to making the consent

and assent forms understandable to respondents of different age groups. The material prepared for the training workshop of data collectors was also reviewed by IRB. Several rounds of submissions to the office of IRB were completed, incorporating additional amendments to the protocol and study instruments per IRB recommendations. Final IRB approval was obtained on 3 August, 2017 (IRB Protocol Number: FHS.RH1.08). The IRB review process was thorough and lengthy considering the multiple vulnerability of the study population: ‘children refugees at work.’

■ Recruitment and Training of Data Collectors

A total of 33 data collectors and one field coordinator were recruited to attend an intensive four-day training workshop on 5-6 and 8-9 May, 2017 at the American University of Beirut (AUB). The data collectors were recruited in collaboration with Beyond association, a Lebanese NGO that operates in different parts of Lebanon including the Bekaa region, and works on child health and protection. Most of the data collectors had previous experience in surveys, especially with the Syrian refugee community in the Bekaa region. The training workshop aimed to train the data collectors on the following components: (i) the objectives and purpose of the study, (ii) interviewing techniques, (iii) the way to ask the questions in the household and child questionnaires, (iv) handling and filling questionnaires electronically on the ODK Collect application, (v) roles and duties of the data

collectors, supervisors, and field coordinator, (vi) importance of informed consent and confidentiality and (vii) handling and reporting child abuse. The remaining sessions included hands-on refresher courses delivered to further train field workers on interviewing skills, filling the questionnaires electronically using computer tablets, and locating ITs using Locus Map Free application. At the end of the training workshop, data collectors had to pass a written exam that assessed their comprehension of the training material. The trainees were granted a certificate of participation in the training workshop. The workshop was followed by three additional training sessions held at Beyond premises in Zahle (Bekaa) on 18 May and 11-12 July, 2017 prior to launching the pilot study.

■ Pilot Study

The training workshop was followed by a four-day pilot study held on 13-14 and 17-18 July, 2017 in an area that was not selected in the final sample. The pilot, which was carried out in Zahle district, allowed the research team to observe the conduct and performance of the data collectors and supervisors and to check whether the questionnaires required any adjustments. After doing the necessary revisions to the questionnaires, another pilot study was conducted on 8 August, 2017 in another non-targeted area in Zahle to double check the flow of the questionnaire and the performance of the data collectors in the field. Sixteen data collectors and three supervisors were finally hired at the end of the second pilot, based on their performance in all the training sessions.

The study personnel consisted of two teams of five data collectors and one team of six data collectors, with each team directed by one supervisor. Furthermore, a coordinator was appointed to manage the districts and areas to be visited by the teams, collect and redistribute tablets, prepare daily progress reports, forward completed questionnaires and other survey

documents to the central survey, and act as a liaison with AUB to report on the progress and problems encountered in the field. Table 3 below provides a statistical summary of data collected through the pilot study.

Table 3: Descriptive data summary of pilot study (13-14 July; 17-18 July and 8 August, 2017).

| | |
|---|-----|
| Total number of visited households | 235 |
| Total number of unreached households | 28 |
| Total number of households with no children between 4 and 18 years | 119 |
| Total number of interviewed households | 88 |
| Total number of working children reported | 166 |
| Total number of unreached working children | 65 |
| Total number of interviewed working children | 101 |
| Total number of non-working children (in the 88 interviewed households) | 198 |

Following the pilot study, minor amendments were introduced to the questionnaires; hence an additional training workshop was held on 7 and 8 August, 2017 at Beyond premises and in Maallaqa Aradi ITS in Zahle, respectively, to insure the readiness of the data collectors prior to starting the fieldwork.

■ Fieldwork Activities

Data collection for the study officially commenced on 14 August, 2017. The initial work plan consisted of deploying 19 data collectors in two out of the four targeted districts in this study: Zahle and Baalbek. Two teams, consisting of 4-5 field workers, carried out data collection in Zahle. The first team's shift was from 8:00 am until 3:00 pm and the second team's shift was from 1:00 pm until 8:00 pm. A supervisor accompanied each team during their shifts. The time overlap between the two shifts ensured a smooth transition of the workload. On the other hand, one team consisting of five field workers and one

supervisor, carried out data collection in the Baalbek district.

At the start of each fieldwork day, the field coordinator provided the supervisors with information about the ITSs included in the planned visits. Based on this information, the supervisors arranged to meet the shaweesh of these ITSs to explain the study and provide them with the municipality approval to access the camp for data collection. The tents were number-sprayed with a green marker by the supervisor, who, along with the shaweesh, listed the

tents that housed at least one working child. The lists of the numbered tents were then distributed among the data collectors. The data collectors were asked to record their daily activities on forms: visited tent number, number of working and non-working children living in the household, completed questionnaires, and other relevant remarks.

Data collectors approached the tents marked by the supervisor. They were asked to interview the female homemaker in the selected households whenever possible. The preference to have the female homemaker as a proxy respondent to the household questionnaire was motivated by previous research experience from surveys in Lebanon (Habib et al., 2009; 2011; 2013; 2014). As care takers, female homemakers tend to be more knowledgeable of household characteristics and household members' issues. In the absence of the female homemaker at the time of the survey, data collectors would interview any adult household member. Data collectors obtained oral informed consent from the female homemaker and assent from the working children (between the ages of >8 and ≤18), explaining to them the purpose of the study and stressing the confidentiality of the gathered data, as well as their identity as participants. They also explained that participation was voluntary, and if they refused to participate, household members would not face any penalty nor would their relationship with the institutions conducting (AUB) or sponsoring this research (IDRC, UNICEF, FAO, ILO, MoL) be affected.

At the end of a fieldwork day, each supervisor checked in on their tablets the finalized questionnaire forms prior to submitting them to the server.

Simultaneously, each supervisor filled a detailed sheet that included a summary of all fieldwork activities performed by their team and sent copies of their fieldwork reports to the field coordinator.

On 19 August, 2017, the Lebanese Armed Forces initiated an attack against Islamic State (IS) militants in Ras Baalbek, El-Qaa and Aarsal in the district of Baalbek (The Daily Star, 2017b). This military operation was carried out to expel IS militants from Lebanese territories and to learn the fate of Lebanese policemen and soldiers kidnapped by the militants in early August (Civil Society Knowledge Center, n.d.). Consequently, a decision was made to postpone data collection in the selected ITSs in Aarsal and Qa'a until it was deemed safe for data collectors to work in the camps.

In the meantime, the principal investigator approached the Director General of the Lebanese National Security Forces to obtain a permit to access the highly secured districts in Qa'a and Aarsal. The approval for data collection in these districts was granted on 23 October, 2017 following a waiting period of several weeks. A new team of 9 data collectors residing in Qa'a or Hermel were recruited and trained by the AUB team to undertake the data collection in Qa'a and Aarsal. The data collection in Qa'a and Aarsal districts started on 3 November, 2017 and was completed on 27 November, 2017.

■ Quality Control Measures

Strict measures to ensure the quality of the data were adopted in this study. This included hiring a quality control team who reported directly to the principal investigator at AUB. This team included a field coordinator and seven quality control officers. The team supervised the data collection process: they ensured that all eligible tents were visited up to three times to carry out the interviews, that the interviews took place, and that the collected data was of high quality. The data was checked throughout each stage of the survey to validate the information obtained and check for inconsistencies through tent re-visits and on the electronic database.

Furthermore, a triangulation of quality control measures was adopted, as follows: (i) observations of mock interviews during the training phase to provide feedback to the interviewers and improve their performance, (ii) field re-visits to all selected households in the sample; these revisits were carried out by the AUB fieldwork team to check on the work of the data collectors; and finally (iii) checks for inconsistencies on the KoBo server by the AUB-based quality control team.

Hence, the AUB fieldwork quality control team performed checks and re-visits to all surveyed households. The team checked the following indicators: whether (i) the tent was actually visited by the data collector, (ii) the female homemaker was interviewed whenever possible or was replaced by another member of the household, (iii) every working child (age >8 to ≤18 years old) in the household was

interviewed, and (iv) whether the month and year of birth for family members was reported according to legal papers (UNHCR registration or Syrian IDs or any family register). Concurrently, quality of the data and inconsistencies between the household and child questionnaires data were verified for the submitted questionnaires on the KoBo toolbox by another quality control team based at AUB.

The data collection team visited 1,907 eligible households. Of the 1,907 households, 4 refused to participate in the study and 1 household was vacant. Thus, a total of 1,902 households constituted the final sample. The non-response rate was minimal due to the methodology adopted in preparation for the fieldwork (multiple approvals were obtained from all stakeholders, including the district municipalities, the Governor, and relevant authorities, allowing the team to access highly secured areas). Meanwhile, during the implementation of the fieldwork, working with NGOs well known by the study population encouraged participation in the survey. Finally, each household was revisited three times ensuring maximum participation.

The AUB quality control team revisited all 1,902 households in the sample. Inconsistent information was detected in 153 (8%) households; examples of these inconsistencies were errors in recording the year of birth and the family relations, as well as interviewing a member of the household on behalf of the working child. These problems were corrected in the field.





CHAPTER THREE

Household Demographics and Socioeconomic Status

Key Findings

65%

of the surveyed Syrian refugees were under **18 years old**

71%

of the households were **headed by males**

50%

of the households included **7 members or more**

119.7 USD

was the average monthly **expenditure per capita**

69 USD

was the average **income-expenditure gap**

This chapter provides an overview of the composition and the socioeconomic status of the population of Syrian refugees surveyed in this study. It contextualizes child labour among Syrian refugees in the agricultural sector in Bekaa and explores the linkages between their vulnerable status and the work of children as underlined in the objectives of this study. Data on the characteristics of the surveyed population are presented and discussed. The data includes district of residence, age distribution, working status and occupation of household heads, income and expenditure, food security, and strategies adopted to cope with inadequate access to food.

Study Population

The survey population consisted of Syrian refugee working children and their household members living in ITSs in the Bekaa and Baalbek-Hermel governorates, specifically in the districts of Baalbek, Hermel, West Bekaa, and Zahle.

The total surveyed population consisted of 12,708 individuals (6,034 males: 47.5%; 6,674 females: 52.5%) (Table 4) living in 1,902 households. The total number of children (≤ 18 years) living in these households was 8,284.

This chapter summarizes the demographics of the total population of all age groups residing in the 1,902 surveyed households.

Table 4: Gender of Syrian refugees surveyed in the Bekaa (n= 12,708).¹¹

| | Baalbek | Hermel | West Bekaa | Zahle | Total |
|--------|---------|--------|------------|-------|-------|
| Gender | % | % | % | % | % |
| Female | 51.7 | 54.8 | 54.5 | 52 | 52.5 |
| Male | 48.3 | 45.2 | 45.5 | 48 | 47.5 |

As presented in Figure 1, the surveyed population was predominantly young (65% ≤ 18 years; 29% between >18 and ≤ 49 years).

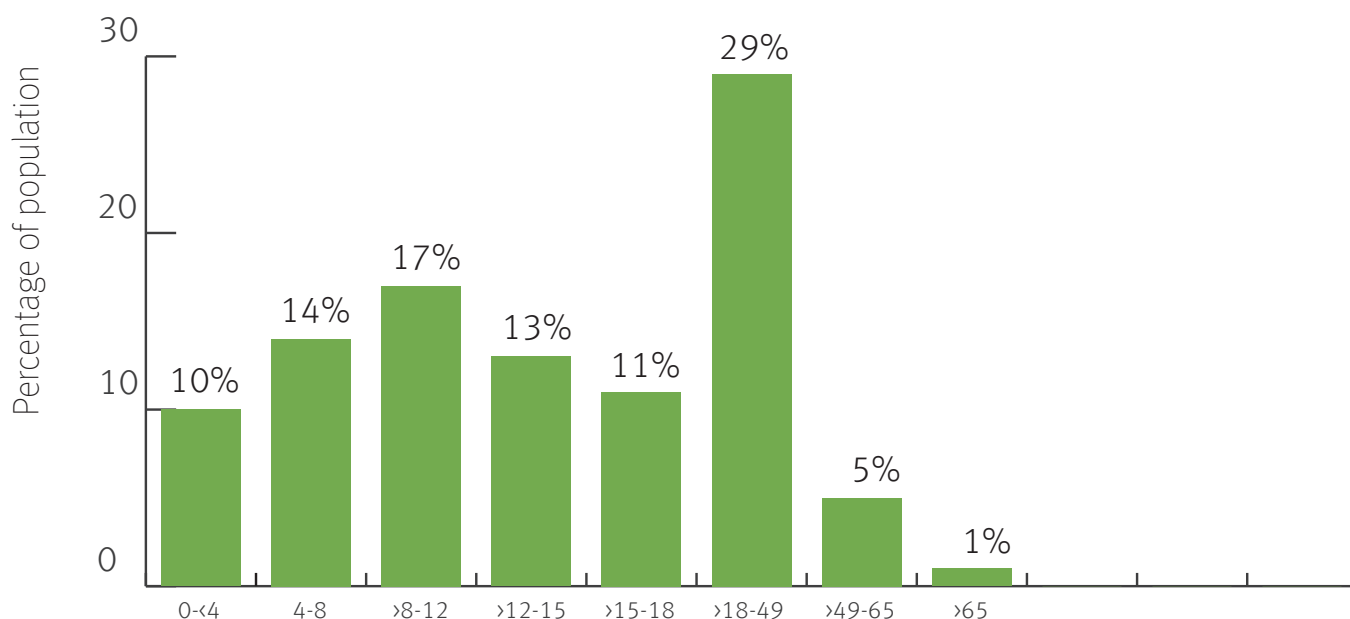


Figure 1: Study population by age group

The majority of the surveyed population were single (69.9%) and about 27% were married. Three percent were either divorced, widowed, or separated. Table 5

presents the marital status of the study population by age group.

¹¹ n = 12,708 is the number of the total population of all age groups residing in the 1,902 households surveyed.

Table 5: Marital status of Syrian refugees surveyed in the Bekaa (n= 12,708).

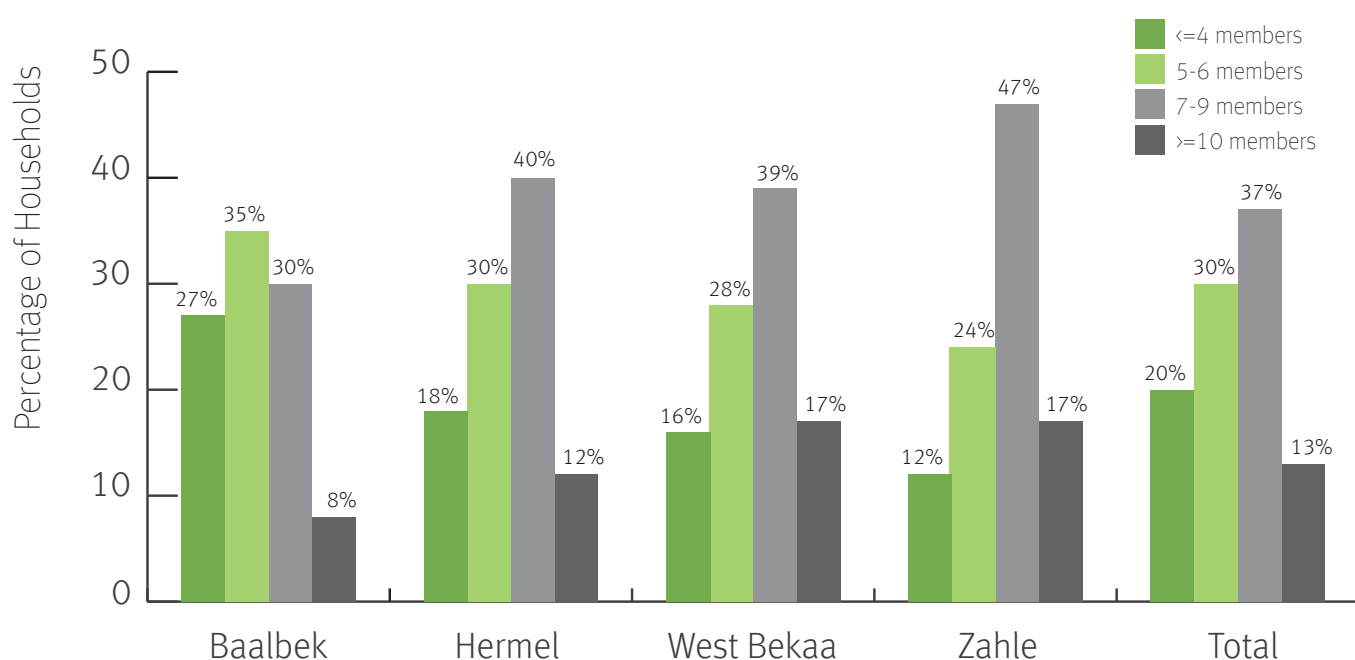
| Age Groups | Single | | Engaged | | Married | | Separated | | Divorced | | Widowed | |
|------------|--------|------|---------|------|---------|------|-----------|-----|----------|------|---------|------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| 0 - <4 | 1312 | 14.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ≥4 - ≤8 | 1733 | 19.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| >8 - ≤12 | 2146 | 24.1 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 0.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| >12 - ≤15 | 1692 | 19 | 4 | 7 | 22 | 0.7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.4 |
| >15 - ≤18 | 1185 | 13.3 | 23 | 40.4 | 146 | 4.3 | 3 | 4.9 | 10 | 11.4 | 1 | 0.4 |
| >18 - ≤49 | 807 | 9.1 | 26 | 45.6 | 2608 | 77.2 | 47 | 77 | 66 | 75 | 115 | 49.1 |
| >49 - ≤65 | 13 | 0.1 | 0 | 0 | 544 | 16.1 | 11 | 18 | 12 | 13.6 | 76 | 32.5 |
| >65 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 55 | 1.6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 41 | 17.5 |

Household Composition

On average, households were comprised of 6 to 7 members. Overall, 37% of the households were comprised of 7 to 9 members and 13% had 10 members or more (Figure 2). Households were mostly composed of nuclear families (84.3%). Extended families accounted for 15.5% of residents.

The surveyed households in the Bekaa were larger in size than the average Syrian refugee household of 4.9

members as reported in the 2017 VASyR report (WFP, UNHCR, & UNICEF, 2017). This is not unexpected given that the survey targeted households with working children. Child labour may be encountered in larger households where additional bread winners are needed to meet basic household needs (Togunde & Richardson, 2006).

**Figure 2: Distribution of households by size (number of members living in residence)**

On average, households reported 4 children between the ages of ≥ 4 and ≤ 18 . The districts of Zahle, West Bekaa, and Hermel had a higher average number of children per household (4 children) than Baalbek district (3 children).

Working and Non-Working Household Members

On average, households contained 3 dependents – that is non-working adult or child members – and 3.5 working members. As for working members in households (51.8%), 42.3% were between the ages of >12 and ≤ 18 years, 28.2% were between the ages of >18 and ≤ 49 , and 23% between >8 and ≤ 12 years (Table 6). Out of the total number of children between the ages of ≥ 4 and ≤ 18 years (6,972) in the surveyed households, 4,592 were working children (65.9%). The working children make up 69.7% of the working population surveyed in the study as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Distribution of working household members by age groups (n=6,586).

| Age groups | Male | | Female | | Total | |
|-------------------|------|------|--------|------|-------|------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| $\geq 4 - \leq 8$ | 178 | 5.4 | 109 | 3.3 | 287 | 4.4 |
| $>8 - \leq 12$ | 829 | 25.1 | 688 | 21.0 | 1517 | 23.0 |
| $>12 - \leq 15$ | 782 | 23.7 | 758 | 23.1 | 1540 | 23.4 |
| $>15 - \leq 18$ | 634 | 19.2 | 614 | 18.7 | 1248 | 18.9 |
| $>18 - \leq 49$ | 817 | 24.7 | 1040 | 31.7 | 1857 | 28.2 |
| $>49 - \leq 65$ | 61 | 1.8 | 69 | 2.1 | 130 | 2.0 |
| >65 | 2 | 0.1 | 5 | 0.2 | 7 | 0.1 |

Household Respondents

Data collectors interviewed 1,902 respondents from all 4 districts. Household respondents were almost completely female homemakers (98%). Previous studies in Lebanon point out that female care takers tend to be more knowledgeable of household characteristics and household members' issues (Habib et al., 2009; 2011; 2013; 2014). However, due to the absence of a female homemaker in 38 households at the time of the survey, the data collectors interviewed an adult male household member. The average age of household respondents was 39 years, and 84.4% were married, 12.4% were divorced, separated, or widowed, and only 3.2% were single.

Household Heads

A household head is a person responsible for the family or the household – most often the father or a male adult relative of the children living in the household. Around 71% of the surveyed households

were headed by males and 29% by females. In 25 households, household heads were between ≥ 14 and ≤ 18 years of age (38% females and 62% males) (Figure 3).

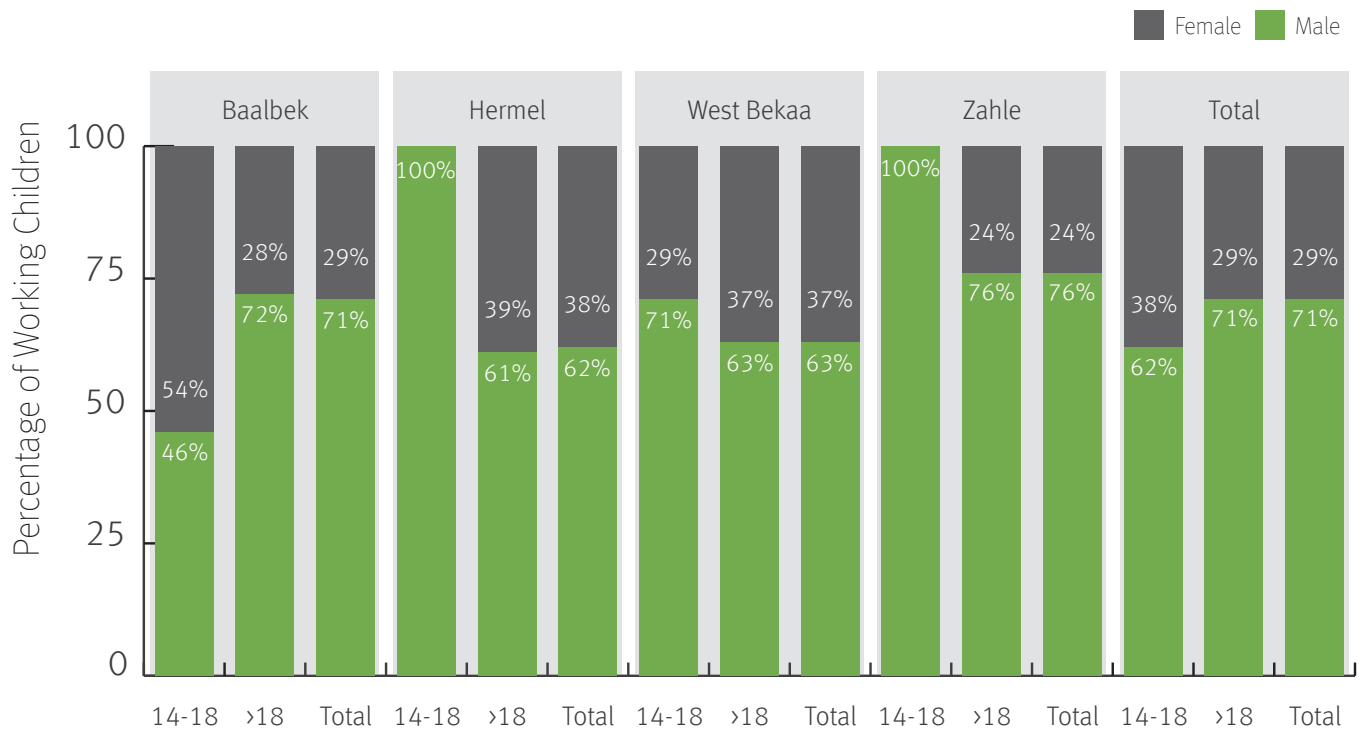


Figure 3: Household heads by age and gender.

Income and Expenditures

Households were surveyed on average monthly income per capita, as well as monthly expenses, including food, education, rent, healthcare, service water, transportation, and other costs. These findings

reveal the financial insecurity households generally experienced. Households reported expenditures that outpaced income, while debt repayment constituted a substantial portion of monthly household expenses.

■ Per Capita Income and Expenditures

The average monthly expenditure per capita across all districts was 119.7 USD. The highest expenditure per capita was in West Bekaa (140.9 USD) followed by Hermel (115.4 USD). The average monthly income per capita across all districts amounted to 50.7 USD. The results suggest an income-expenditure gap of 69

USD on average. This gap was the highest in West Bekaa where it amounted to 86.6 USD. In Baalbek and Hermel, the gap amounted to 69.2 and 66.6 USD, respectively. Finally, Zahle had the smallest income-expenditure gap of 57.1 USD.

■ Household Expenditures

In all districts, households spent the larger part of their incomes on food, debt, and health services. Food took up the largest percentage of household expenditures (41%), while 15% went to debt and 8% to health services (Figure 4). The percentage of the household expenditures spent on food was similar

in all districts, ranging from 37% to 43%. The same applied to repayment of debt, which ranged from 14% to 17%. The percentage of household expenditures spent on health services ranged between 7% and 8% (Figure 5). A small percentage of household expenditures (0.4%) was spent on education.

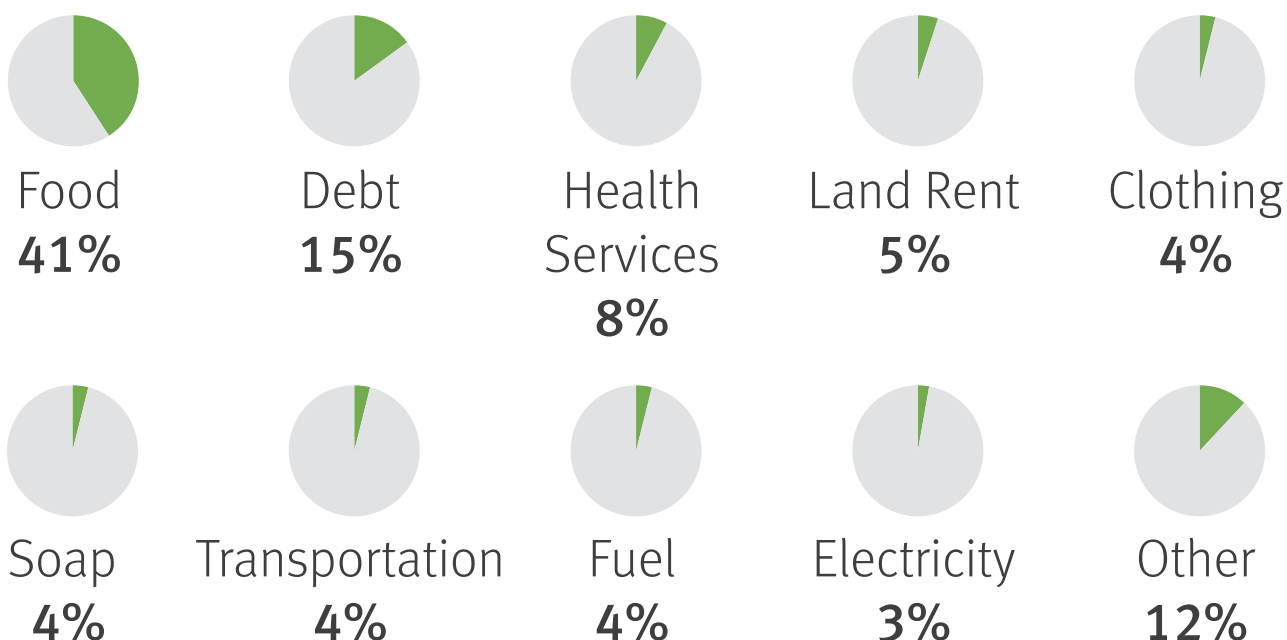


Figure 4: Average composition of household expenditures.

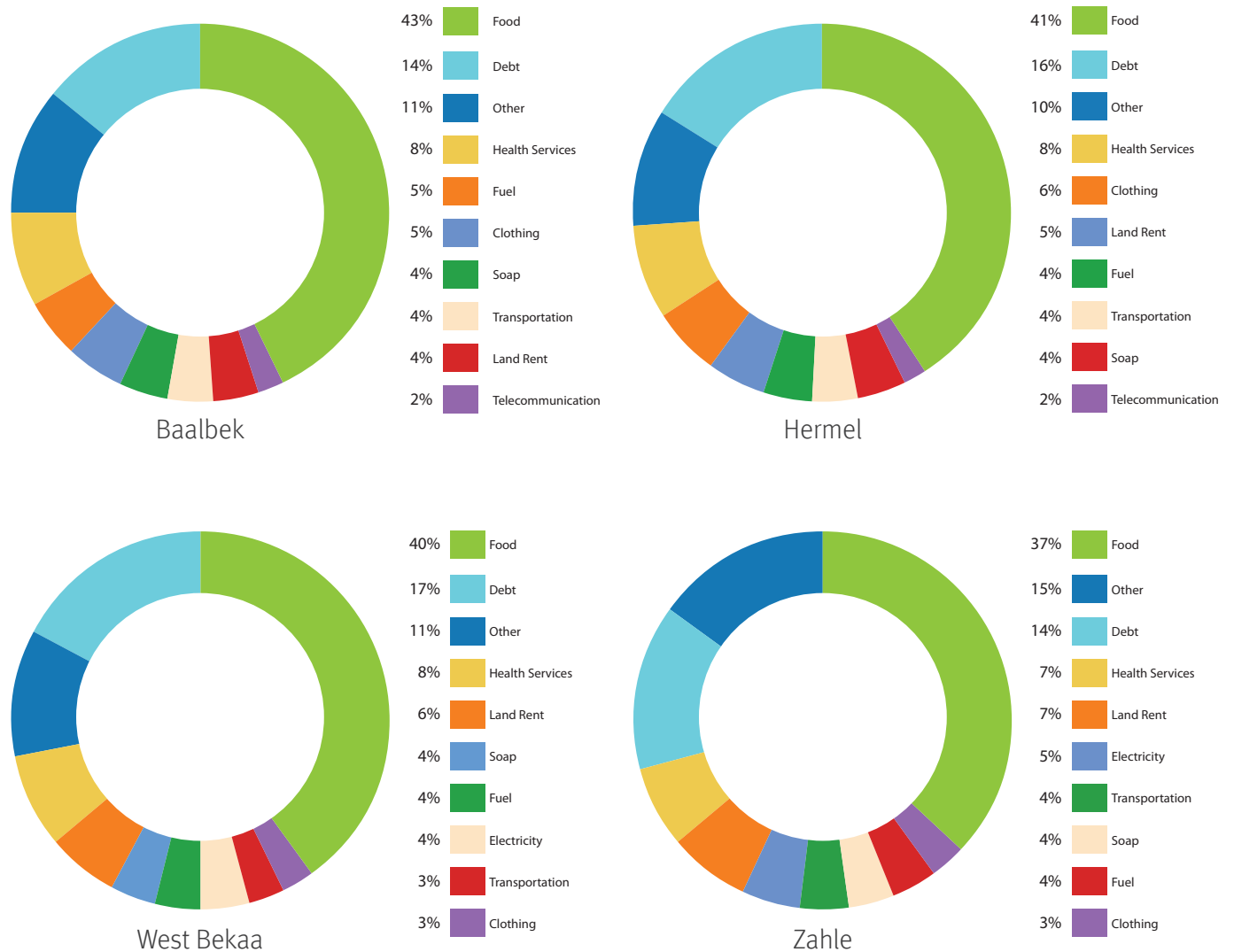


Figure 5: Composition of household expenditures by district.¹²

Access to Services and Assistance

Household respondents were asked whether they know any organizations that provided assistance to Syrian refugees. They were also asked about the services provided by these organizations, whether they had used these services, and the types of services they received. Irrespective of whether or

not they had received services from organizations, respondents were asked for their opinion on whether such services improve the status of families and neighborhoods, whether they needed such services, and what types of services they needed.

¹² For the districts of Hermel and Baalbek, the “Other” category includes Education, House rent, Service water, Drinking water, Children’s diapers, Electricity, Household utilities or assets, and Entertainment. For the districts of Zahle and West Bekaa, the “Other” category includes Education, House rent, Service water, Drinking water, Children’s diapers, Telecommunication, Household utilities or Assets, and Entertainment.

Around 79% of the household respondents did not know of any organizations that provided services to Syrian refugees. Among those who knew of such organizations, 77% reported having used services. This indicates that, although households needed assistance and would use it if available, many do not have proper access to information about the organizations that could provide them with assistance and about where and how to access aid.

The types of assistance that households received from organizations were food (47.6%), drinking water (16.5%), food coupons (14.9%), free treatment or medication (12.1%), and cash assistance (9.5%).

Among household respondents, including those who have not received services from organizations, 92.3% believed that such services help their families, 95.4%

believed that they improve their neighborhoods, and 91.4% thought that they needed such services. When asked about the specific services their families needed, 88.7% of the respondents said cash assistance, 86.4% said food assistance, and 53.7% said healthcare coverage.¹³ Only 9.5% of the household respondents thought that aid services reach the people in need, 39.7% thought that aid never reached those in need, 27.7% believed that services are reaching people in need as well as those who are not in need, and 23.1% thought that services are generally distributed without distinction between those who are in need and those who are not.

■ Food Security

The Food and Agriculture Organization (2003) defines food insecurity as people's "physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." At the start of the study, the research team anticipated that food security may be a familial determinant of child labour participation. As such, the research team asked household respondents to answer questions on food consumption practices for the six months preceding the survey, based on the AFFSS (Sahyoun et al., 2014). The proxy respondent was asked whether families: had enough food and variety to eat, if they were concerned about running out of food, whether they had money to buy enough food, and if they cut the size of meals, skipped meals, or went to bed hungry because there was not enough food.

The majority of the households in all 4 districts were vulnerable to food insecurity, with around 74% severely food insecure, 21% food insecure, and 5% reporting food security. West Bekaa was the district where severe food insecurity was most prevalent (88%), followed by Zahle (76%), Hermel (74%), and Baalbek (67%) (Figure 6). Overall, the majority of the households were either severely food insecure or food insecure corresponding with income and expenditure data that showed most households ran deficits. Without adequate and regular financial resources, households may have to choose between purchasing food and other essential necessities.

13 Totals do not add up to 100 because these categories are not mutually exclusive.

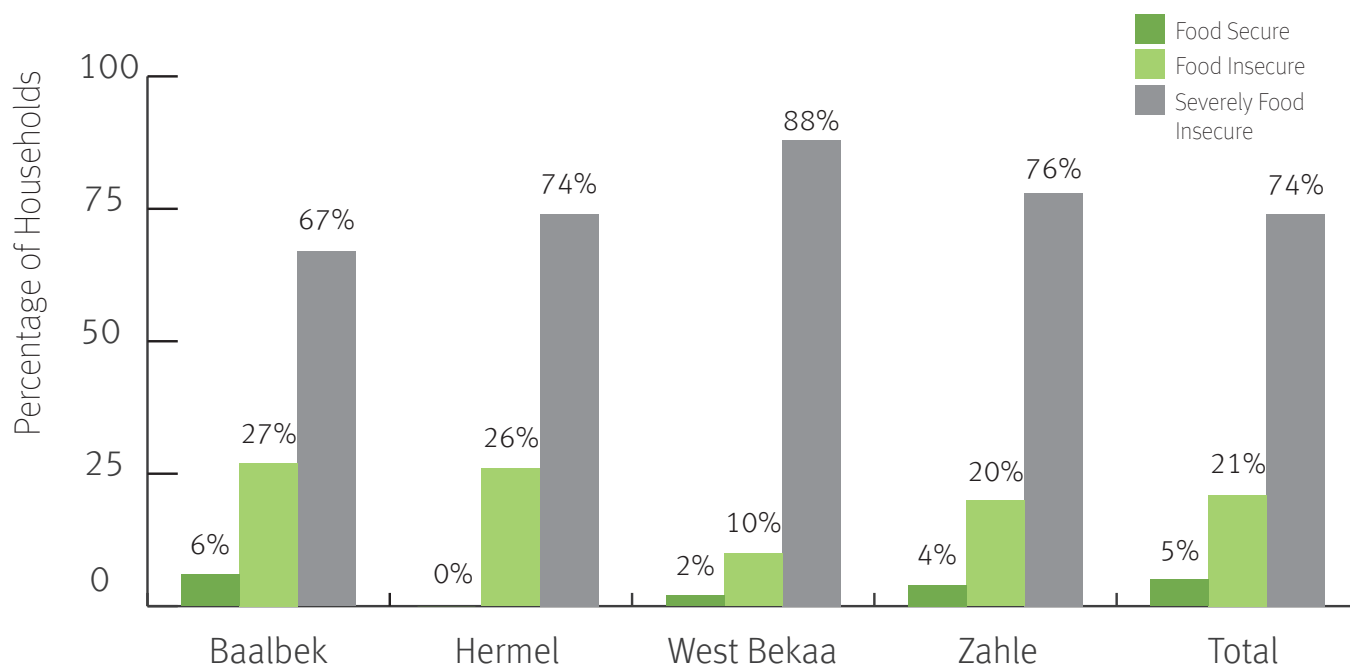


Figure 6: Food security level by district.

A Reduced Coping Strategies Index (RCSI) was calculated for households based on a list of 5 food-related coping strategies (Maxwell et al., 2008). A higher RCSI score indicates more severe food security levels. Households were grouped into three categories: no or low coping (CSI= 0-3), medium (CSI = 4-9), high coping (CSI \geq 10). Results show that households in all four districts adopted a coping

strategy to deal with food insecurity. In addition to that, the majority of households (76.6%) were in the high coping category, indicating a prevalence of severe food insecurity (Table 7). These findings confirm the conclusions of other reports that warn of deteriorating conditions for Syrian refugees living in Lebanon (Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016; UN, 2017; Bartels et al., 2018).

Table 7: Coping Strategies Index for households by district (n=1,902).

| | Baalbek | | Hermel | | West Bekaa | | Zahle | | Total | |
|--------------------------|---------|------|--------|----|------------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No or low coping (0-3) | 91 | 10.4 | 5 | 10 | 21 | 5.3 | 40 | 6.9 | 157 | 8.3 |
| Medium (4-9) | 178 | 20.3 | 21 | 42 | 31 | 7.8 | 58 | 10 | 288 | 15.1 |
| High coping (\geq 10) | 607 | 69.3 | 24 | 48 | 344 | 86.9 | 482 | 83.1 | 1,457 | 76.6 |

Coping with Food Insecurity

To deal with the shortage in food supply and inadequate access to food, households resort to a number of mechanisms known as food-related coping strategies. These are short term strategies, for example, reducing the number of meals consumed per day (Maxwell & Caldwell, 2008).

Questions used in this survey were adopted from the Coping Strategies Index (CSI) (Maxwell & Caldwell, 2008). Household respondents were asked whether they adopted any food-related coping strategies in the past seven days, including relying on less preferred food, reducing the number of meals per day, and/or

borrowing food from friends or relatives. Household respondents were asked about the number of days in which they adopted one or more food-related coping strategies during the seven days that preceded the survey. A higher number of days indicated that food shortage is more severe and frequent.

Often households reported relying on less preferred or less expensive food for 4 days per week (n=202 households) and reported reducing daily meals for 3 days per week (n=339 households). Borrowing food from other households or relying on help from friends or relatives (n=444 households), reducing meal portion size for all household members (n=404 households), and buying low quality food (n=237 households) were often adopted for 2 days per

week. Table 8 presents the study's food insecurity findings, showing differences in coping mechanisms by district. Households in West Bekaa relied on less preferred or less expensive food for 5 days per week (n=41 households out of 396 households) compared to 4 days in Zahle (n=65 households out of 580 households), 3 days in Baalbek (n=163 households out of 876 households), and 2 days in Hermel (n=32 households out of 50 households). Households in Baalbek, West Bekaa, and Zahle reduced the number of daily meals for 3 days per week (n=161 households out of 876 households in Baalbek; n=66 out of 396 households in West Bekaa; n=100 out of 580 households in Zahle) compared to 2 days for households in Hermel (n=19 households out of 50 households).

Table 8: Days per week of adoption of food-related coping strategy by district.

| | Baalbek | Hermel | West Bekaa | Zahle | Total |
|--|---------|--------|------------|--------|--------|
| | Median | Median | Median | Median | Median |
| Relied on less preferred/less expensive food | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Reduced number of meals per day | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Borrowed food or relied on help from friends or relatives | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Reduced meal portion size for all household members | 2 | 1.5 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Bought low quality food | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Restricted consumption by adults to save food for children | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Used canned foods | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Collected wild plants | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sent household members to eat elsewhere | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Restricted consumption by females only | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Spent an entire day without eating | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sent female household members to work as domestic workers | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

THE SURVEY FINDINGS REVEAL THE DIRE SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION OF SYRIAN REFUGEES LIVING IN INFORMAL TENTED SETTLEMENTS IN THE BEKAA. MOST SYRIAN REFUGEE HOUSEHOLDS IN THE STUDY ARE RELYING ON WORKING CHILDREN TO MAINTAIN THEIR LIVELIHOODS, AS 69.8% OF WORKING HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS ARE BETWEEN THE AGES OF ≥ 4 AND ≤ 18 YEARS. HOUSEHOLDS WERE CHARACTERIZED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS, WITH HIGH LEVELS OF FOOD INSECURITY, AND PER CAPITA INCOMES THAT FELL SHORT OF EXPENDITURES. THESE REALITIES ARE IMPACTING THE LIVES OF CHILDREN, INCREASING THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN CHILD LABOUR AND UNDERMINING THEIR ABILITY TO PURSUE AN EDUCATION.



A photograph of a child in a field, possibly a farm, with birds in the background. The child is wearing a dark cap and an orange vest. The background is a field of green plants and a large flock of birds, including a prominent one with a red head and blue body. The scene is brightly lit, suggesting a sunny day.

CHAPTER FOUR

Working Children

Key Findings

Children ≥ 4 - ≤ 18 Years

74.8%

of children work in the **agriculture sector**

30%

of working children **reported injuries at work**

50.5%

of working children **do not go to school** because of work

18.3%

of working children were **enrolled in some form of schooling** in 2017

Children > 8 - ≤ 18 Years

37.8%

of working children were not paid on time.

43% **41%**
of male of female

children were insulted at work.

This chapter presents findings on the conditions of working Syrian refugee children living in informal tented settlements in the Bekaa. Data for this section was collected through face-to-face interviews with proxy respondents, who answered questions relating to children aged ≥ 4 to ≤ 8 , and directly with working children¹⁴ between the ages of > 8 and ≤ 18 . As outlined in the study objectives, survey questions covered several topics related to work, schooling, and occupational health to document work-related problems and risks faced by Syrian refugee child workers. Results pertaining to education and school enrollment, work hours and work type, wages, hazardous work, injuries, and mistreatment and abuse at the workplace are described in the following sections.

Study Population

The findings of this study showed that 4,592 children, between the ages of ≥ 4 and ≤ 18 years, were reported as actively working, out of a total of 6,972 children (≥ 4 and ≤ 18 years) living in the surveyed households. A total of 4,377 children were reached and information about them was obtained through interviews.¹⁵ Of the 4,377 working children, 4,090 children were aged between >8 and ≤ 18 and 287 children were aged between ≥ 4 and ≤ 8 .

The distribution of working children by gender was 52.2% males and 47.8% females. Approximately 34% were between the ages of >8 and ≤ 12 years, 33% were between >12 and ≤ 15 years, and 26% were between >15 and ≤ 18 years¹⁶ (Figure 7).

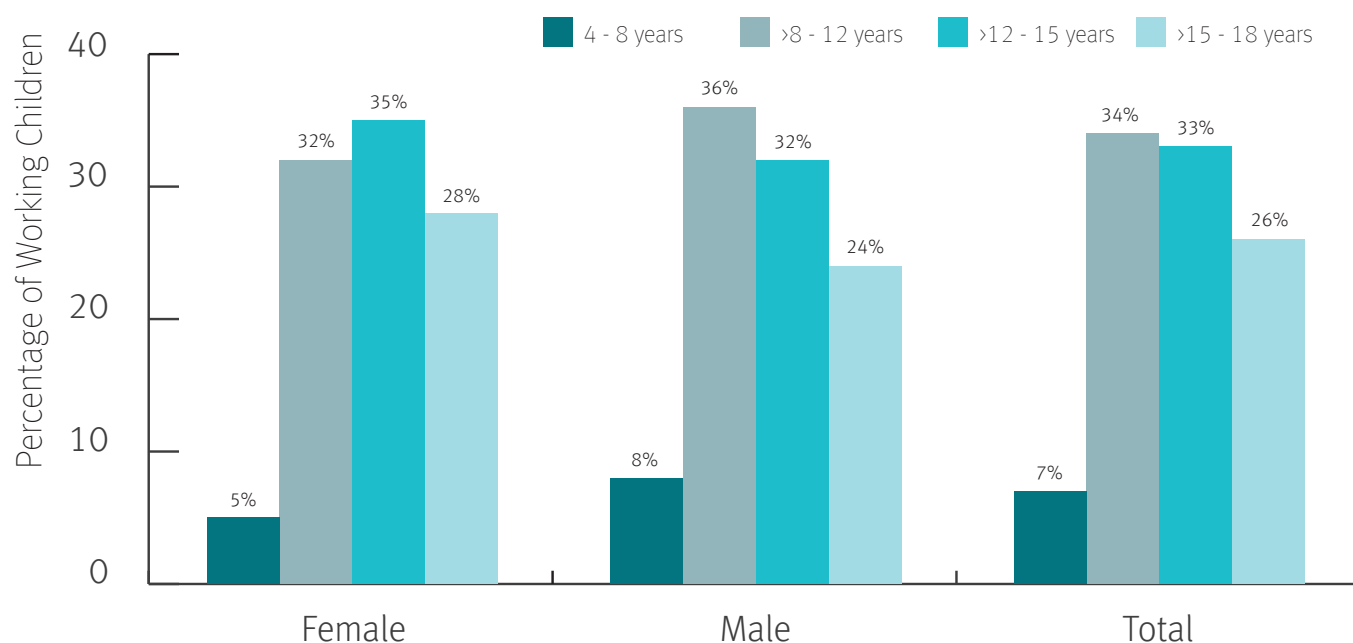


Figure 7: Working children by age groups and gender.

Access to Education

Despite the Lebanese government's efforts to provide education for Syrian refugee children (MEHE 2014, 2016), several challenges still face school age Syrian children and hinder their access to education. Low

school enrollment has been reported among Syrian refugee children in Lebanon for a number of reasons, including lack of space in public schools, income generation (HRW, 2016), prohibitive transportation

¹⁵ 215 children could not be reached during the survey due to difficult work schedules. Data collectors were instructed to return to the tent in case a working child was not present at the time of the visit. A child who was not found at the tent for 3 consecutive visits was not interviewed and was considered unreachable.

¹⁶ The working children were grouped in four age categories: ≥ 4 - ≤ 8 years; >8 - ≤ 12 years; >12 - ≤ 15 years; >15 - ≤ 18 years.

and school supplies costs, and unaffordable school registration fees (HRW, 2016; Shuayb et al., 2014). Recently, school enrollment has improved among Syrian refugee children in Lebanon, but disparities still exist between regions, with the lowest enrollment level in the Bekaa (WFP, UNHCR, & UNICEF, 2017).

Studies suggest that child labour hinders schooling opportunities for children either through non-enrollment in school, school dropout, and/or poor performance (Demir et al., 2006; Holgado et al., 2014; Putnick & Bornstein, 2015). To understand the possible effects of child labour on schooling of Syrian refugee child labourers, questions related to school enrollment were addressed to both proxy- and self-respondents. Respondents were asked about present enrollment, type of school attended, and, if respondents were out of school, the reasons for their decision (e.g., inaccessible, work commitments, unaffordable).

On average, 18.3% of working children were currently enrolled in some form of schooling, out of which 4.1% attended private schools, 58% attended public schools, and 36.8% attended non-formal schools. The percentage of males attending school (19.6%) was slightly higher than that of females (16.9%). Around 23% of the working children in compulsory school age (≥ 6 to ≤ 15 years)¹⁷ were attending school with a higher percentage of males (24%) than females (22%). As for working children between >15 and ≤ 18 years, 5% were attending school with no difference across genders (5% for both males and females) (Figure 8). Out of the working children attending school (≥ 6 to ≤ 15 years), 4% attended private schools, 59% attended public schools, and 36% attended non-formal schools. Among the older grouping of working children attending school (>15 to ≤ 18 years), 5% attended private schools, 45% attended public schools, and 45% attended non-formal schools (Figure 9).

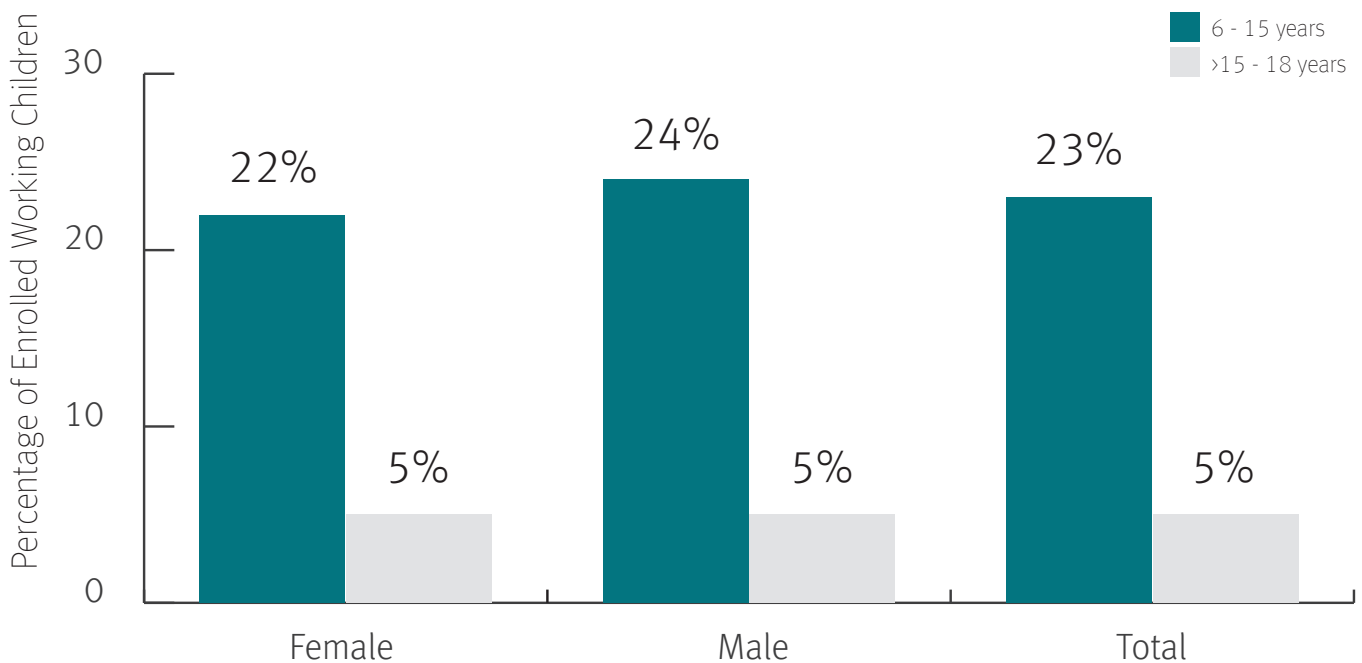


Figure 8: School attendance for compulsory and non-compulsory school age children.

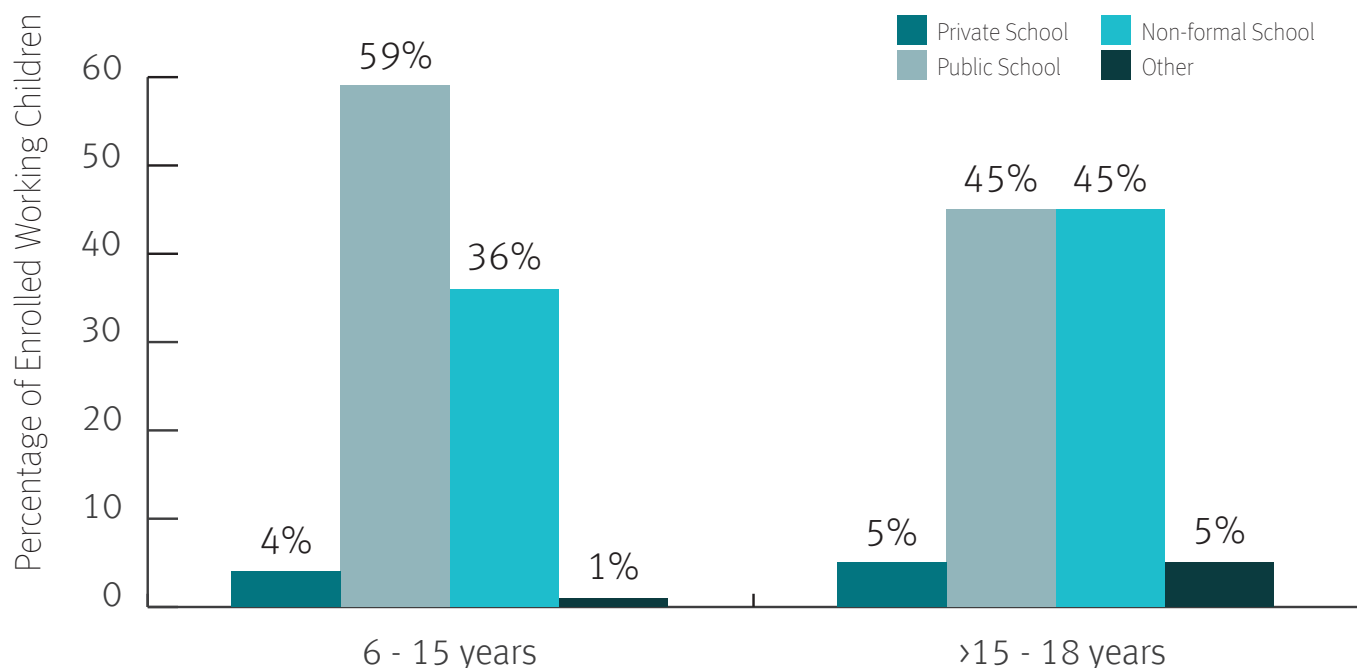


Figure 9: Type of school attended for compulsory and non-compulsory school age children.

A further break down of working children who were attending school shows that the highest attendance is among children between >8 to ≤12 years of age (57%), followed by children between >12 and ≤15 years (24%) and those between ≥4 to ≤8 years (12%).

The lowest attendance was among children between >15 to ≤18 years (7%). There were no considerable differences between males and females in each age group (Figure 10).

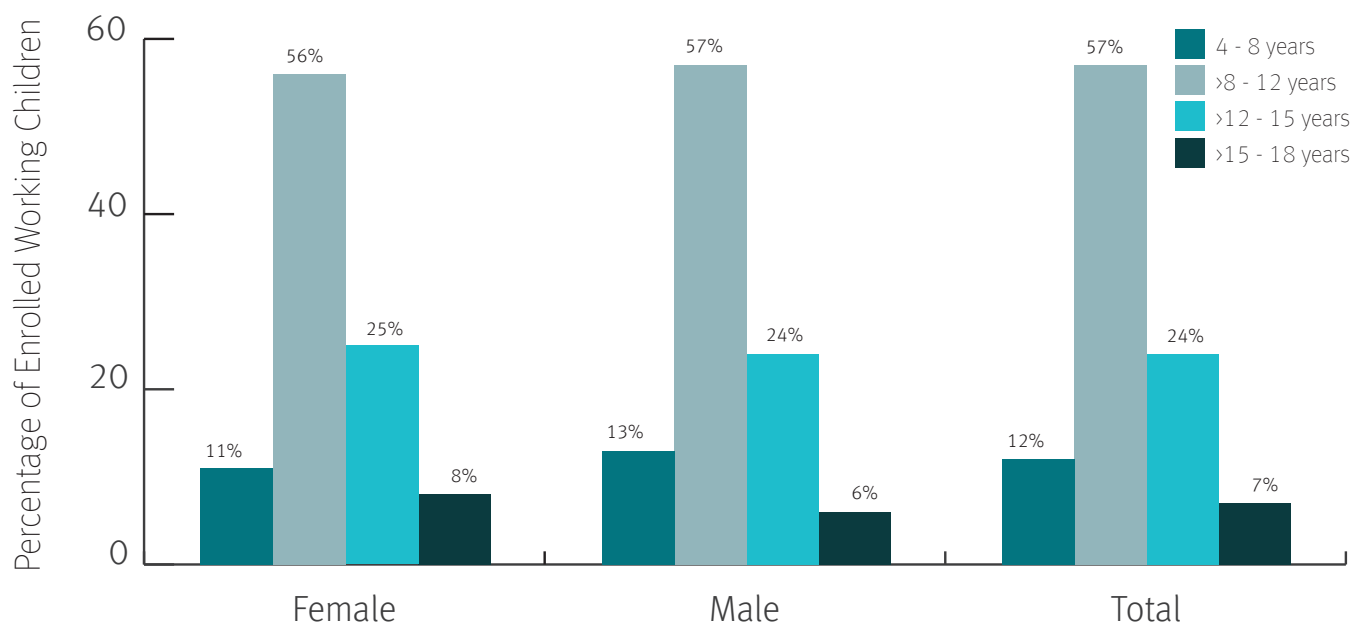


Figure 10: Age distribution of working children attending schools by gender.

The majority of the children (>8 to ≤18 years old) who attended school went in the afternoon (61.4%) and 37.9% went during regular hours. Around 95% of these children (>8 to ≤18 years old) went to school every day.

The findings of this study confirm much of the previous research (HRW, 2016; Shuayb et al., 2014; UNHCR & REACH, 2014) showing that children did not enroll due to work commitments (50.5%). Other reasons reported in this survey include absence of

a nearby school (14.9%), lack of time to dedicate to school (10.3%), lack of financial resources to cover schooling costs (7.5%), and disinterest in school (7.2%). The lowest school attendance was in Hermel, where only six out of the 125 working children were attending school. These results indicate that the presence of familial financial pressures and the need to work, along with the lack of easily accessible, nearby schools may negatively shape educational outcomes for this population.

Work Hours and Work Type

All respondents were asked about the extent of child labour participation, namely how long children had been working, which industry they worked in, whether their work was seasonal or yearlong, the number of hours they worked per day, and whether they received a weekly vacation. On average, children reported that they had worked for 17.8 months when the survey was conducted (17.2 months for males

and 18.4 months for females). The average work day was 6.7 hours for males and 6.4 hours for females. For both males and females, the average number of work hours per day increased with age (Table 9). Only 41.5% of the respondents said that they took a weekly vacation (44.8% of males and 38% of females), suggesting widespread exploitation of child labourers.

Table 9: Average work hours/day by age and gender.

| Age group | Baalbek | | Hermel | | West Bekaa | | Zahle | | Total | | Total |
|-----------|---------|--------|--------|--------|------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | |
| ≥4 - ≤8 | 4.5 | 4 | 2.5 | 4 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 6.1 | 5.4 | 5.1 | 4.5 | 4.9 |
| >8 - ≤12 | 5.4 | 5.1 | 4.9 | 5 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 6.5 | 6.3 | 6.1 | 6 | 6 |
| >12 - ≤15 | 6.5 | 5.6 | 5.8 | 5.5 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 6.6 | 6.9 |
| >15 - ≤18 | 7.1 | 5.8 | 5 | 5.3 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 8.5 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 6.9 | 7.3 |

Around 75% of the children were working in agriculture, with a higher percentage of females (85%) employed in this sector than males (66%). According to a recent study, this disparity may be due to traditional gender roles, where agricultural tasks requiring greater patience like sowing, weeding, and harvesting fruits are delegated to women, while men handle tasks requiring greater physical strength, such as machine handling and crop transportation (International Rescue Committee [IRC], 2013a).

Other fields in which children worked included waste picking (5%), construction (3%), and street services like shoe shining (3%) (Figure 11).

These findings were expected given that the labour-intensive agricultural sector is the primary industry in the area. In fact, Syrian labourers have long worked in the agricultural fields of the Bekaa, well before the Syrian conflict. Since the outbreak of violence in Syria, many of the once-seasonal migrant workers

have become refugees seeking continuous residence and employment in Lebanon (Habib et al., 2016). Construction has also been a sector that historically

employed cheap migrant Syrian labourers, making it another destination industry for Syrian refugees to find employment (ILO, 2014).

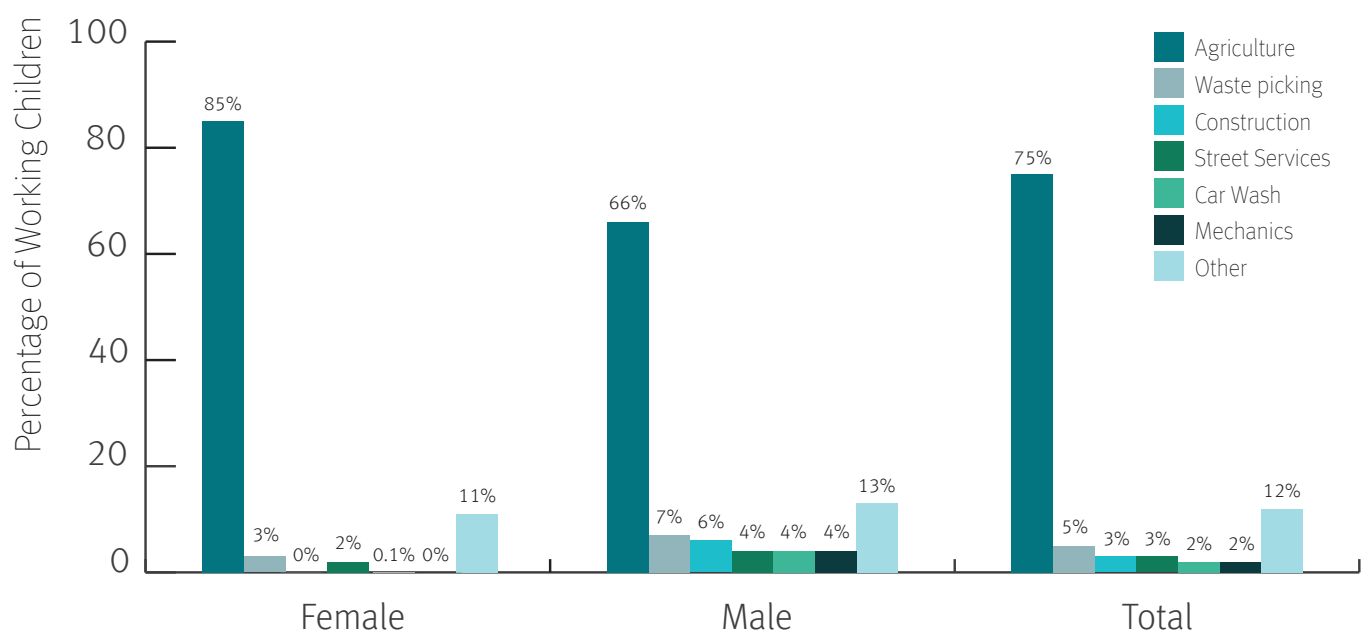


Figure 11: Children's field of work by gender.

About 73% of the children reported having seasonal work, compared to 23.3% who had year-round work, and 3.5% who had seasonal and year-round work. Seasonal work is characteristic of agricultural occupations, as varying crops, agricultural seasons, and the difference in climate between regions results in different periods for tilling, planting, sowing, and harvesting. In Lebanon, the period of October through February is the time for sowing crops like barley, wheat, and onions. April through August is the time for sowing vegetables like lettuce, tomatoes, and eggplants. Most of these crops are harvested in

the period starting in June and ending in September.¹⁸ Many Syrian agricultural workers migrate within Lebanon, moving between North Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley according to the seasons that control the demand for labour (IRC, 2013a).

Findings showed that children doing seasonal work were more likely to be attending school than those who had year-round work. Children who had both seasonal and year-round work were the least likely to be attending school (Figure 12).

¹⁸ Based on information obtained from FAO in 2017.

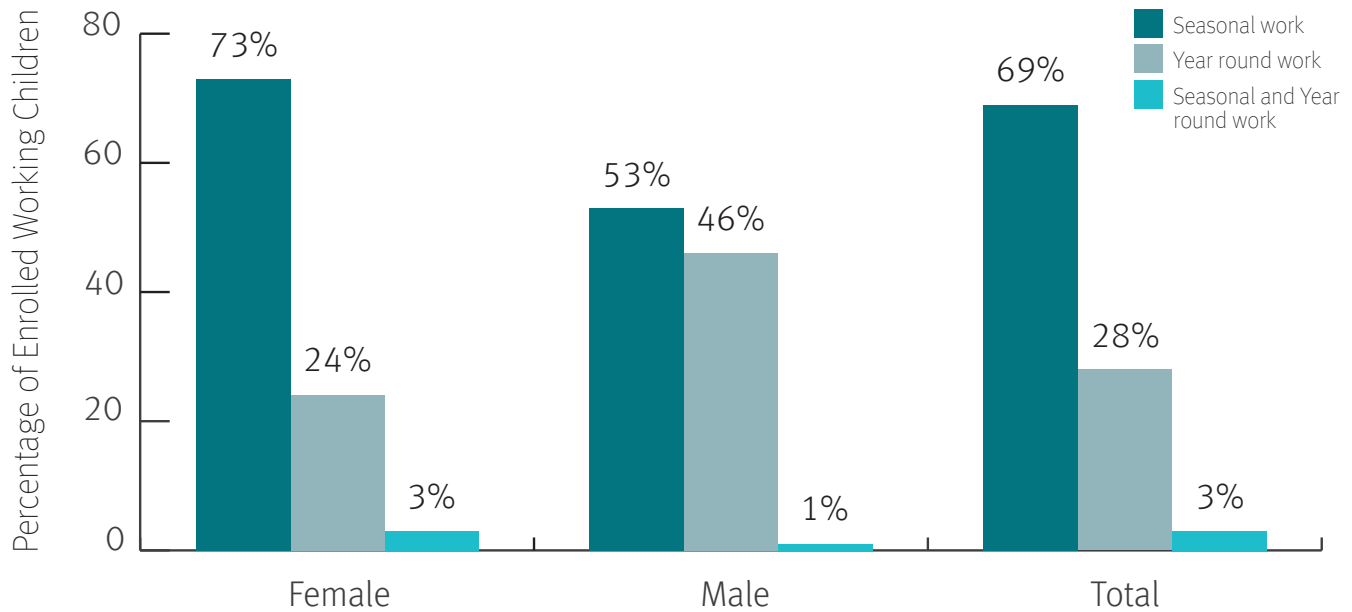


Figure 12: Type of work for working children attending school by gender.

Wages

Respondents were asked about their monthly wages and the wage shares given to their parents. The average wage was 72.2 USD per month (74.9 USD for females and 69.7 USD for males).

Around 58% of the children said that they give their wages to their parents. Out of those giving their wages to their parents, 92.8% gave all of their wages, 4% gave three-fourths, and 1.8% gave half of their wages.

Other studies on child labour in Lebanon have reported higher wages than found in this study. A survey of working children in the Bekaa and North Lebanon reported that Syrian children working in agriculture in the Bekaa were paid on a daily basis;¹⁹ their rates were reportedly 3 to 13 USD for girls (5,000 to 20,000 LL) and 5 to 33 USD for boys (7,000 to 50,000 LL) (Abi Habib-Khoury, 2012). An ILO (2015) report found that children²⁰ working on the streets (in such activities as begging, vending, shoe-shining, and fortune telling)

in the Bekaa earn around 11.76 USD per day (17,800 LL). Working children may be forced to accept lower wages due to increasingly desperate realities with the decrease in financial support for Syrian refugees, the deteriorating economic conditions (UNHCR & UNDP, 2017; Reuters, 2018), and the influx of refugee families increasing labour force supply (IRC, 2013b; Stave et al., 2015; Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016).

Employers may also be taking advantage of familial precarity, employing Syrian adult and child family members so that they work together for longer hours and lower wages (Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016). The availability of cheap labour is an advantageous situation for employers who prefer to hire Syrians—though this phenomenon is exacerbating hostility between Syrian refugees and host communities concerned with economic precarity (ILO, 2014). Some studies have suggested that high labour supply has proved detrimental to both host and refugee

19 The report by Abi Habib-Khoury (2012) does not provide information on the number of work hours per day for these children.

20 In the ILO (2015) report, 73% of these children are Syrian nationals or children coming from Syria and 61% of those came to Lebanon during the Syrian crisis.

communities, as wages tend to drop coupled with an increase in unemployment for both populations (IRC, 2013b; Stave et al., 2015; Küppers & Ruhmann, 2016).

Self-responding children were asked to answer additional questions about their salary, including “Do you receive your salary on time?” “Are you receiving the same salary you agreed to when you accepted your job?” “Are you receiving the same salary as others who are the same age as you?” “Are you receiving the same salary as the others who are older than you?” “Are you paid more if you finish more work than you are supposed to complete?”

About 38% said that they did not receive their salary on time, while 5.1% said that they did not receive the salary they agreed on with their employer. As for how their salary compares to other working children, 89.9% said that their salaries are comparable to that of other children their age and 70.7% said that their salary is comparable to that of older working children. Fifteen percent of the children said that their salary is based on the number of tasks they perform or items they deliver per day.

Health Profile

Proxy and self-respondents reported incidence of acute illness, chronic illness, or disability. Respondents were asked whether children experienced specific acute and chronic illnesses (e.g., headache, joint pain, diabetes, anemia, asthma). Proxy- and self-respondents were also asked about the prevalence of physical disability (yes/no) and the reason behind this disability (e.g., congenital, illness, accident, other).

Around 7% of the children (≥ 4 to ≤ 18 years) suffered from an acute illness and 15.3% suffered from a chronic illness. As for disabilities, 0.96% had a physical disability. The main causes of disabilities were congenital (49%) and accident-related (26.6%) (Table 10). Reports of acute illness among this population were relatively lower than incidence rates of youth from adjacent low-income communities (Habib et al., 2013). Further, while disability rates were comparable to the general Lebanese population of young people, chronic illness rates were considerably higher (Lebanese Ministry of Public Health, 2016).

Table 10: Morbidity and disability among working children (≥ 4 to ≤ 18 years) (n= 4,377).

| | Male % | Female % | Total % |
|---------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Illness | | | |
| Acute | 6.7 | 7.7 | 7.2 |
| Chronic | 15.3 | 15.3 | 15.3 |
| Disability | | | |
| Physical | 1.23 | 0.67 | 0.96 |
| Other | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Cause of disability | | | |
| Congenital | 43.3 | 60 | 49 |
| Accident | 33.3 | 13.3 | 26.6 |
| War | 10 | 20 | 13.3 |
| Illness | 13.4 | 6.7 | 11.1 |

Hazardous Work and Injuries

According to the International Labour Organization, agriculture is considered a hazardous occupation because workers in this field are prone to “accidents involving agricultural machinery or poisoned by pesticides and other agrochemicals;” moreover the risk of accidents in this field is aggravated by “fatigue, poorly designed tools, difficult terrain, exposure to extreme weather conditions, and poor general health, associated with working and living in remote and rural communities” (ILO, 2018).

The ILO defines hazardous child labour as that “which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children” (ILO, 1999). Hazardous child labour is pandemic, affecting 73 million (4.6%) children globally and approximately 616,000 in the

Arab states (ILO, 2017b). Although the Lebanese Ministry of Labour had committed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (including Syrian refugee child labourers), the findings of this study suggest that hazardous child labour continues to be a major problem in the country, especially for Syrian refugee children who experience greater vulnerability.

The study participants were asked to report any injuries that took place while at work. Proxy- and self-respondents reported 33.9% prevalence of sharp or heavy object use at work (35.9% females and 32% males). Use of sharp or heavy objects was highest among children between >12 and ≤15 years (39%) and those between >15 and ≤18 years (35%) (Figure 13).

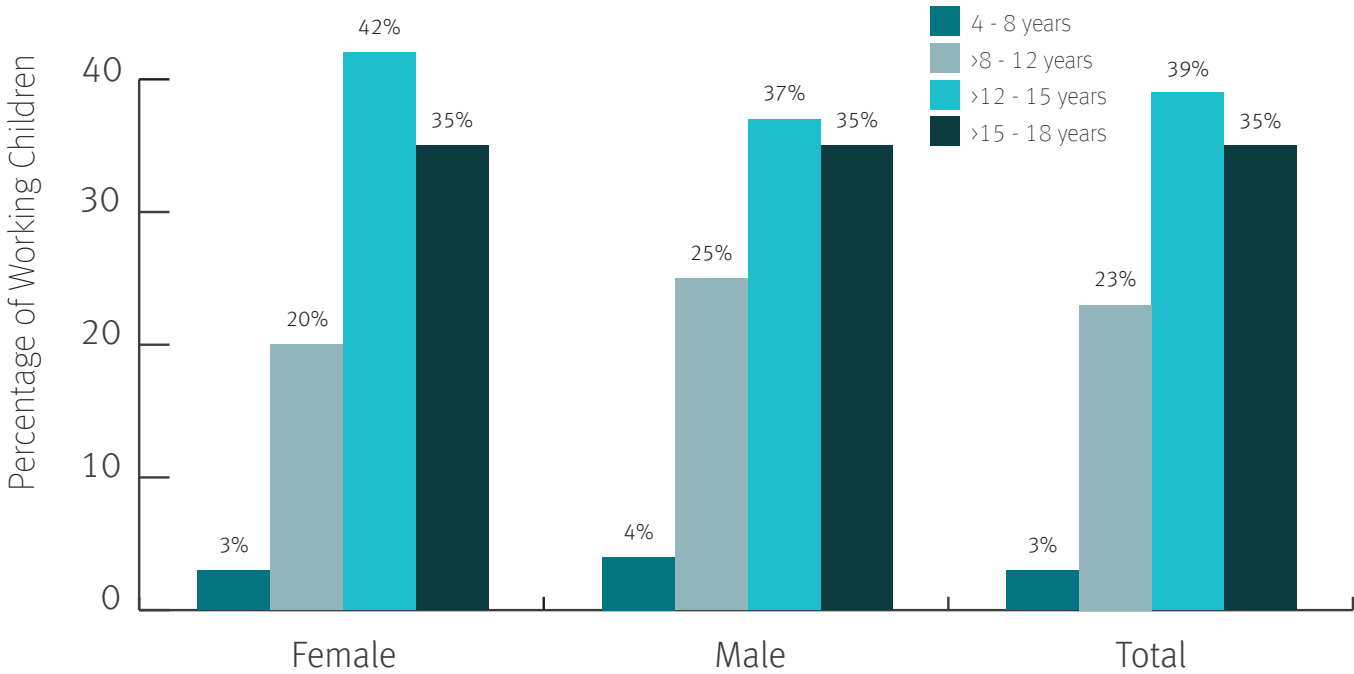


Figure 13: Use of sharp or heavy objects at work by age group and gender.

Around 30% of the working children experienced a workplace injury (25.9% females and 34.4% males).

Self-respondents (working children between the ages of >8 and ≤18 years) were asked further questions

about workplace conditions, including their exposure to sun, cold, and rain, and use of personal protective equipment. Furthermore, respondents who reported occupational injuries were asked if they treated the injury immediately, who paid for the treatment, and if

they missed school or continued working in spite of the injury.

Eighty-two percent of the working children stated that they worked under the sun for an average of 5.9

hours per day. About 30% said that they worked in the cold for an average of 5.8 hours per day. Almost all (94%) said that they wore protective clothes to protect them from the cold. A small proportion (11%) said that they worked in the rain (Figure 14).

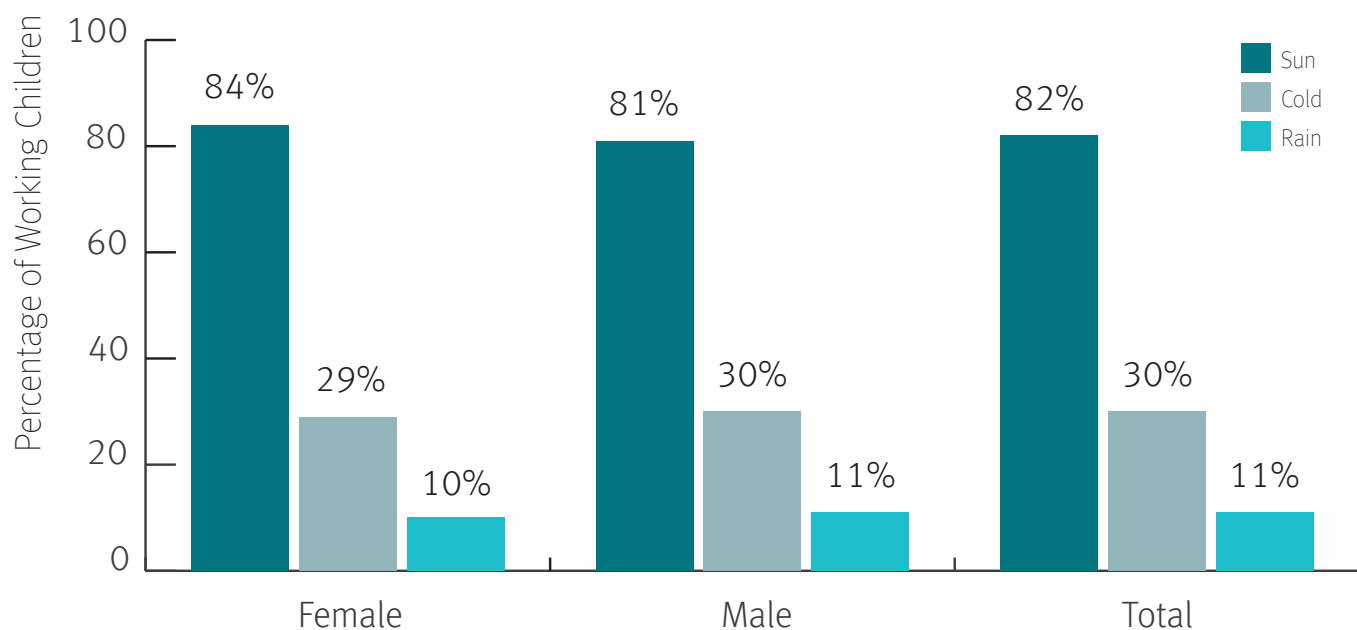


Figure 14: Working in the sun, cold, and rain by gender (children >8 to ≤18 years).

Around 76.2% of the working children who experienced occupational injuries reported receiving treatment immediately. The cost of this treatment

was predominantly covered by their parents and the children themselves (86%), while employers covered these expenses only 14% of the time (Figure 15).

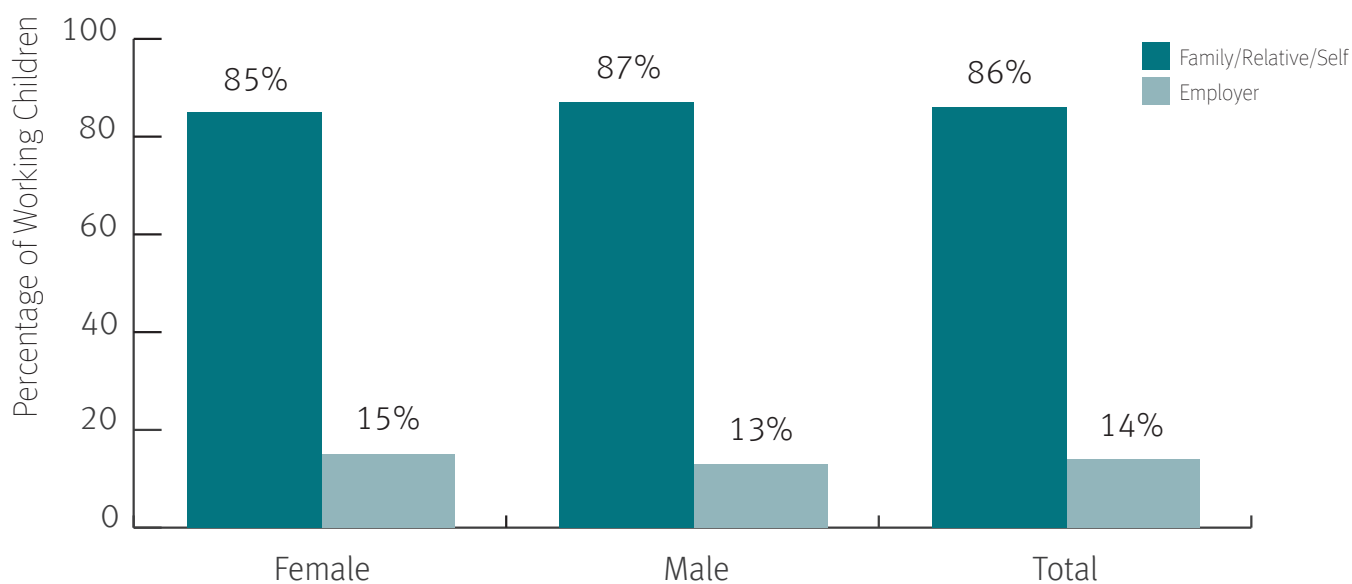


Figure 15: Paying for treatment of work-related injuries by gender (children >8 to ≤18 years).

Mistreatment and Abuse at the Workplace

Children (aged <8 to ≤18 years) were asked about the nationality of their employer. They were also asked whether they were abused at work and were requested to specify whether in the past 12 months they felt threatened, were hit, hit hard, insulted, or directly threatened at work.

Among the working children, 78.8% reported that their employer was Lebanese, 19.5% indicated that their employer was Syrian, and 1.7% reported that their employer was neither Lebanese nor Syrian without naming a specific nationality.

A large proportion of the children (males 43%, females 41%) reported that they have been insulted at the work place, 24% of the males and 16% of the females reported having been threatened, 20% of the males and 12% of the females reported having been hit, 20% of the males and 12% of the females said they have been hit, and 15% of the males and 12% of the females said they have felt threatened (Figure 16).

Younger children are generally at higher risk of abuse at the workplace because of their lower social capital and limited ability to care for themselves (Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2010). The children surveyed in this study might be at a particularly high risk of exploitation because of the hostile attitudes that members of the host population might have towards Syrian refugees (Shawaf & El Asmar, 2017). Moreover, since refugees are unprotected in Lebanon and generally vulnerable, these children might not feel empowered to stand up to abuse or call on their parents for protection. Also, some shaweeshs are abusing children by forcing them out of school and into work (Ghaddar, 2017), thus contributing to the problem of child labour among Syrian refugees. Children's dependence on these jobs for survival may also silence self-advocacy and encourage both children and parents to accept degrading conditions at the workplace.

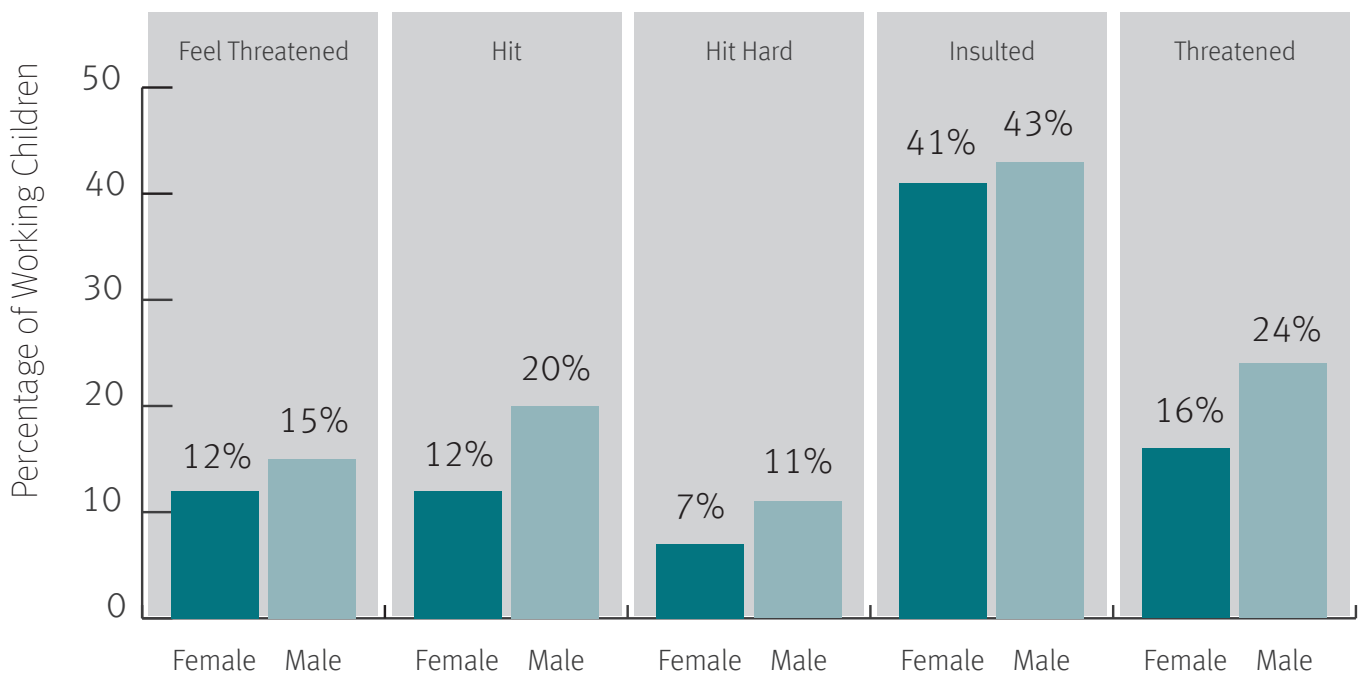


Figure 16: Mistreatment at the workplace by gender (children >8 to ≤18 years).

THE FINDINGS REPORTED IN THIS CHAPTER SHOW THAT CHILDREN ARE WORKING IN HAZARDOUS CONDITIONS WITH POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THEIR HEALTH. WORKPLACE INJURIES WERE COMMON, AS WERE DANGEROUS WORK EXPOSURES THAT PUT THESE CHILDREN AT RISK. TYPICAL WORKDAYS WERE LONG AND INVOLVED PHYSICALLY DEMANDING TASKS PERFORMED MOSTLY OUTSIDE UNDER THE SUN. CHILDREN ALSO REPORTED EXPERIENCING VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, AND ABUSE AT THE WORKPLACE. CHILDREN ARE LESS LIKELY TO STAND UP TO THIS MISTREATMENT BECAUSE THEIR FAMILIES DEPEND ON THEM FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN WORK ALSO MEANS MISSING OUT ON FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES THAT MIGHT BE PROVIDED THROUGH AN EDUCATION.





CHAPTER FIVE

Household and Community Environment

Key Facts

46.9m²

was the average
shelter surface area.

77.5%

of households used
service water for cooking.

80.9%

of households used
service water for drinking.

3% 14%
of females of males

(>8 to ≤18 years)
practiced sports.

1%

of female and male
children (≥ 4 to ≤8 years)
practiced sports.

This chapter presents findings on working children's living environment, lifestyle choices, and leisure activities. This chapter also seeks to explore how living conditions may affect the health and wellbeing of child workers. Poor housing conditions are linked to a number of problems relating to individuals' overall wellbeing, especially physical and psychological or mental health (Platt et al., 1989; Krieger & Higgins, 2002; Galea et al., 2005; Schootman et al., 2007; Marmot et al., 2008; Habib et al., 2009; Butler et al., 2012). Displacement puts people in precarious living conditions and is associated with poor housing conditions and with poor health reports (Habib et al., 2011). The health consequences of displacement are worst for those refugees who also suffer from poverty and economic marginalization (Zabaneh et al., 2008; Habib et al., 2014), as found among Syrian refugees in Jordan living in ITSs that lack access to basic services (Achilli, 2015). Along these lines, this chapter reports neighborhood and household environmental data, such as housing type, sewage water and waste disposal, water sources, and access to electricity and heating.

■ Non-Work Activities

The relationship between recreation, physical activity, and child health is well established. Practicing sports and outdoor activities promotes mental and physical wellbeing and improves psychosocial health in children (Eime et al., 2013). Children who have experienced traumatic events and who live in difficult circumstances are even more in need of activities that help them cope with such conditions.

Hence, respondents were asked about the recreational and other non-work activities that they engaged in during their free time.

Figures 17 and 18 show the results for non-work activities among female and male working children aged ≥ 4 to ≤ 8 years. Proxy respondents said that the activities done by children in their spare time included playing with friends (66% for females and 80% for males) and watching television (69% for females and 65% for males). Only 1% of female and male children practiced sports in their free time.

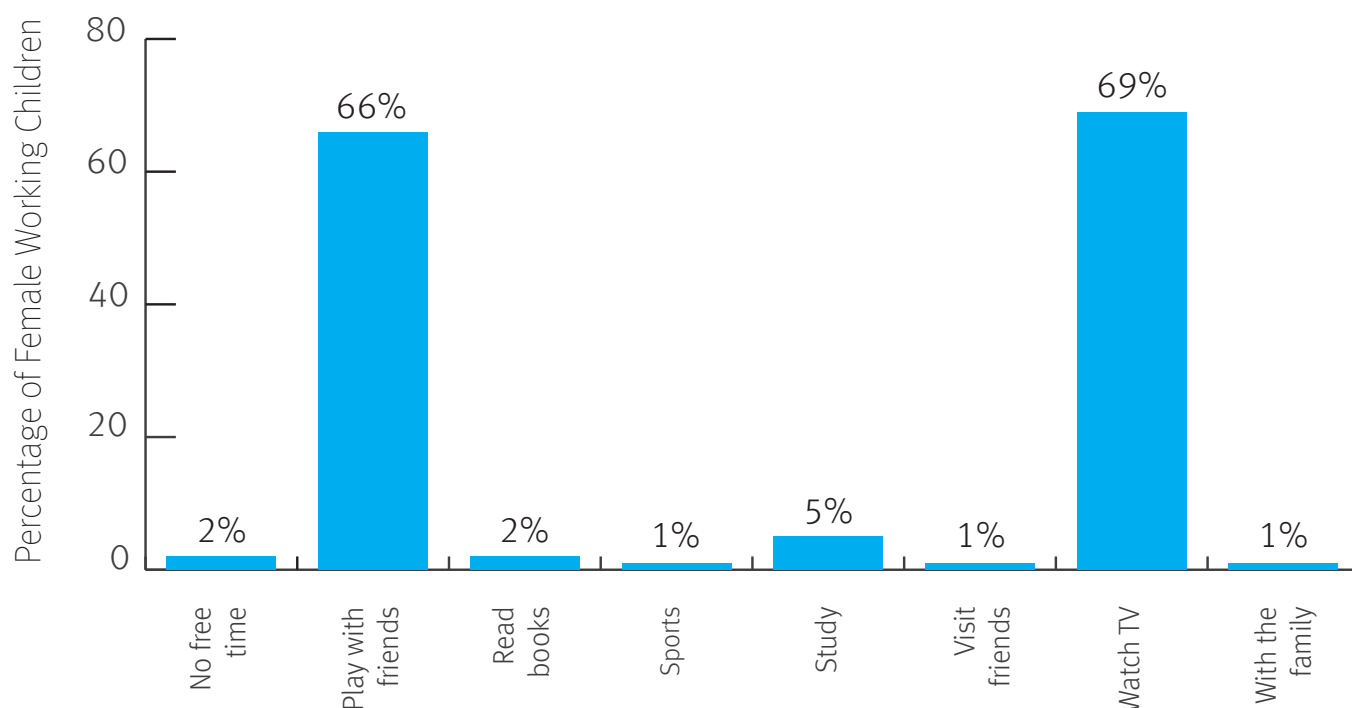


Figure 17: Non-work activities among working female children (children ≥ 4 to ≤ 8 years).

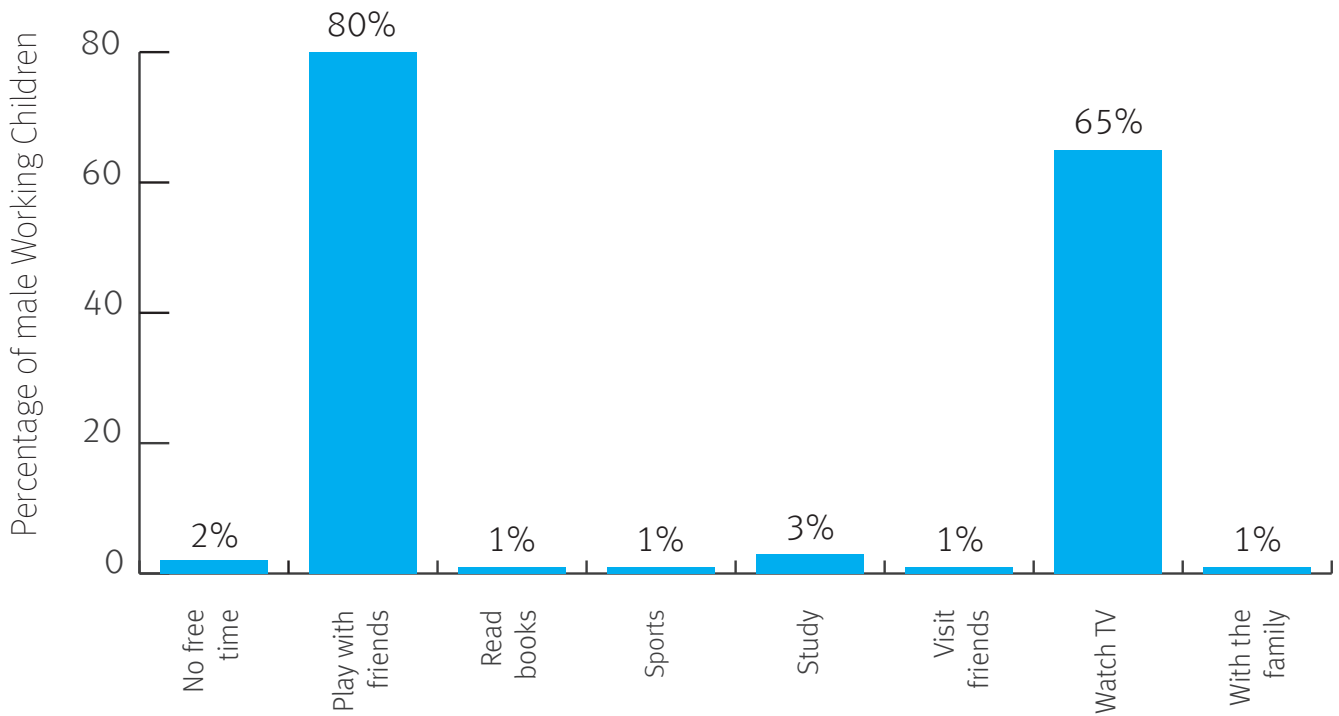


Figure 18: Non-work activities among working male children (children ≥ 4 to ≤ 8 years).

Figures 19 and 20 show the results for activities done outside work for female and male working children aged >8 to ≤ 18 years. Respondents said that the activities they do in their spare time include spending time with friends (80% of females and 89% of males) and watching television (75% females and

78% males). About half of the children said that they spend their free time at home. This suggests that children spent most of their free time indoors and that opportunities for active leisure time were scarce. Only 3% of the females and 14% of the males practiced sports when not working or in school.

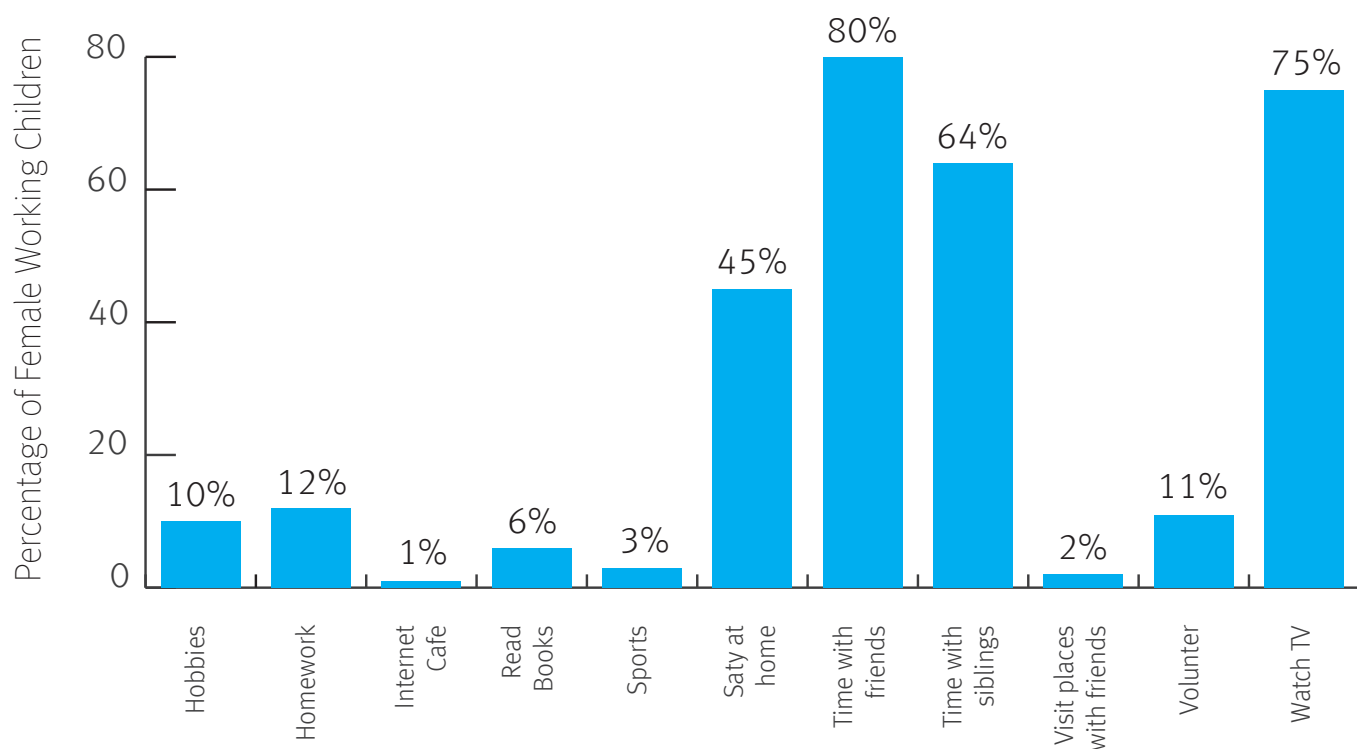


Figure 19: Non-work activities among working female children (>8 to ≤18 years).

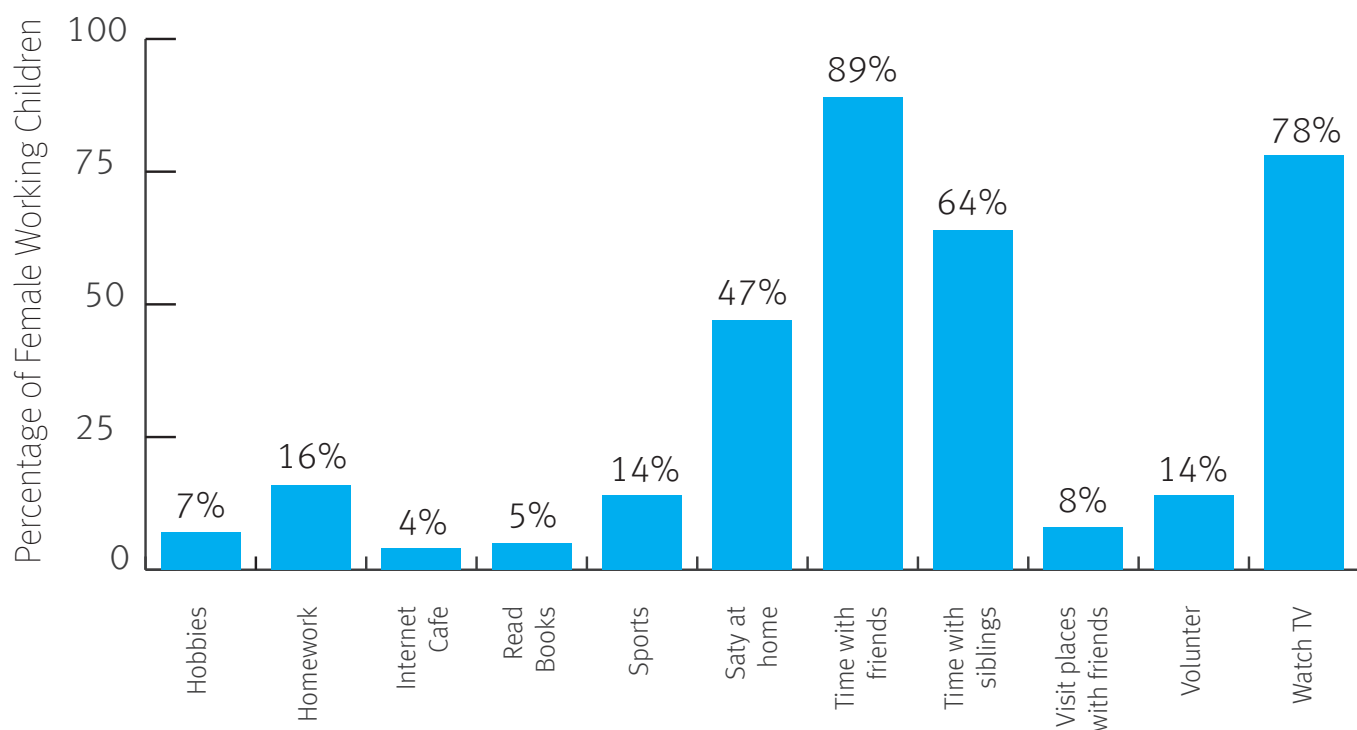


Figure 20: Non-work activities among working male children (>8 to ≤18 years).

The children who participated in the study still found ways to unwind from their stressful lives, although the data highlights how these young people were limited in what they could do during their free time. Figures 21 and 22 report the frequency with which male and female respondents engaged in various non-work activities. Watching television, staying

home, and spending time with friends were the most frequently performed leisure activities. For the most part, these activities are relatively sedentary compared to sports, practicing hobbies, or other activities that may benefit them. However, without the financial resources and access to other activities, the children are left with few options.

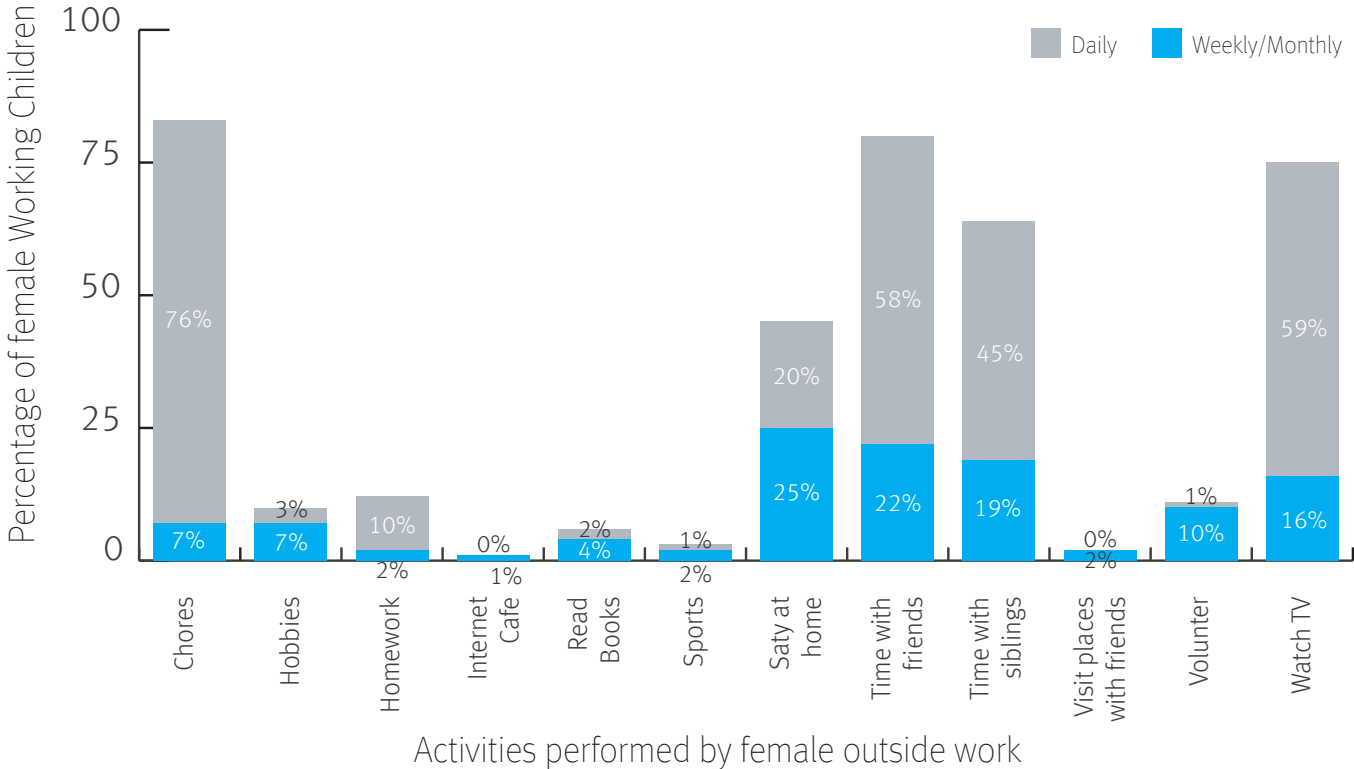


Figure 21: Frequency of performing non-work activities among working female children (>8 to ≤18 years).

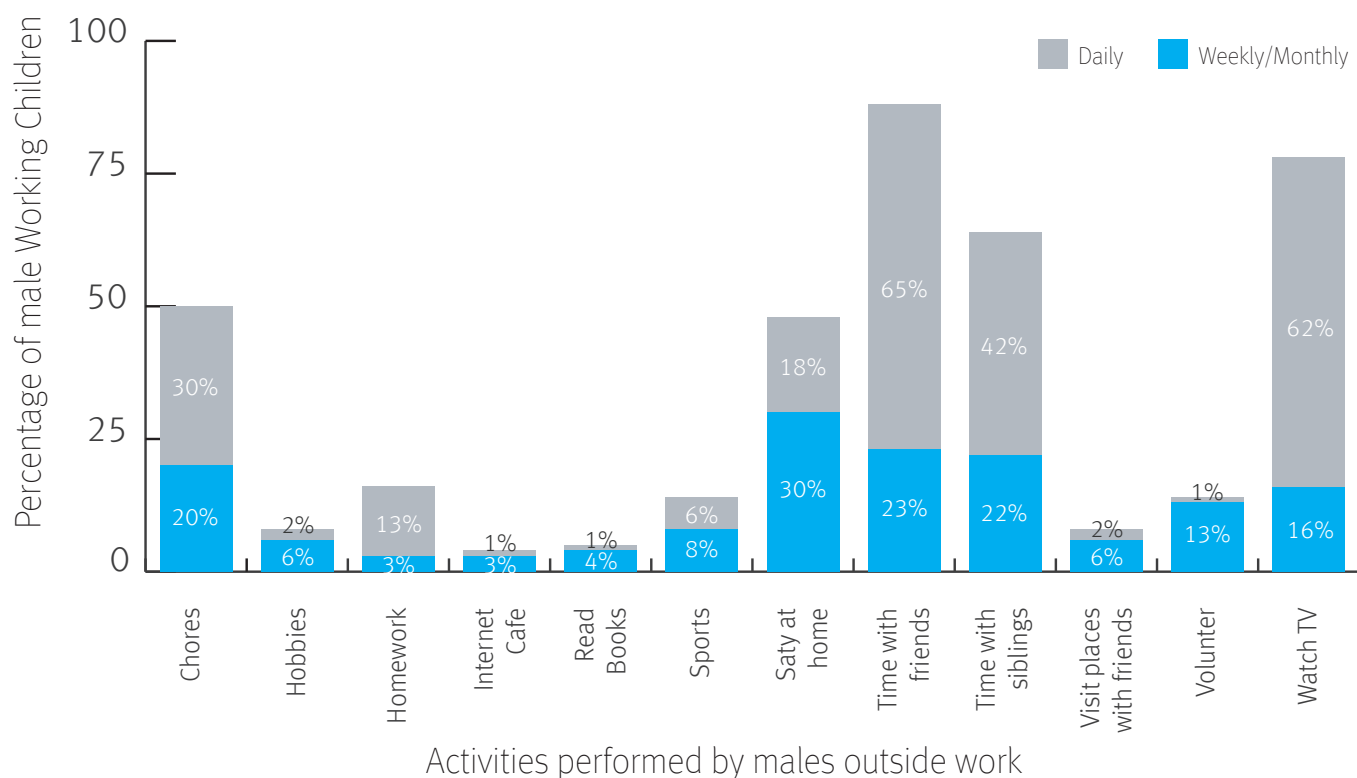


Figure 22: Frequency of performing non-work activities among working male children (>8 to ≤18 years).

Smoking

Self-respondent children were asked about their smoking behavior through the following questions: “How do you identify yourself regarding smoking cigarettes?” and “How do you identify yourself regarding smoking water pipe?” Accordingly, children

were classified as current smokers, ever smokers, or none smokers. The majority of the working children identified themselves as non-cigarette smokers and non-water pipe smokers (96.8% and 96.7% respectively).

Housing

An estimated 200,000 Syrian refugees in Lebanon are living in substandard informal housing (Solidarités International, 2018). As such, survey participants were asked questions about their housing, access to electricity and water supply, water quality and availability, solar power, heating resources, cooking fuel, and other questions related to food preparation.

Respondents were asked to identify the type of wastewater and solid waste disposal they used. Finally, while conducting these interviews, the data collectors were asked to make observational notes on the type and condition of housing; they also asked respondents about household and neighborhood environmental conditions that might affect health.

Housing Type

Among the study population, the majority of households (97.7%) lived in makeshift tents, primarily made of torn fabric or canvas (69.7%), new fabric or canvas (43.7%), wood (52.4%), and nylon (27.2%)²¹. These housing types are not adequately weatherproof to shelter during Bekaa's inhospitable winter season which brings an average of four months of moderate

to heavy rainfall. In fact, tent floods have occurred frequently (Al Arabiya News, 2013; The Syrian Human Rights Committee, 2015; Orient NET, 2016; The Daily Star, 2018) and snow blizzards have caused severe damage to housing, leaving refugees struggling to stay safe and warm (UNHCR, 2015b; BBC, 2016; Danish Refugee Council [DRC], 2016; NRC, 2018).

Density

Housing density was calculated as the number of square meters per person. As presented in Table 11, the average surface area of shelters was 46.9 m², with the largest dwellings in Zahle and the smallest in Baalbek. The mean number of persons per dwelling was 6.7.

An average density of 7.7 m² per person was identified, which is higher than the minimum

humanitarian standard in emergency situations set at 3.5 to 5.5 m²/person (UNHCR, 2015c). Based on these international standards, the housing density levels of the ITSs in Bekaa were acceptable. While the size of ITS units was acceptable, the physical condition of the dwellings and neighborhood environmental conditions were both substandard as described in the following section.

Table 11: Dwelling occupancy, surface area, and density.

| | Baalbek | Hermel | West Bekaa | Zahle | Total |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Persons/dwelling | | | | | |
| Mean | 6 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 6.7 |
| Surface area (m ²) | | | | | |
| Mean | 40.9 | 42.6 | 51.9 | 52.5 | 46.9 |
| Median | 36 | 45 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| m ² /person | | | | | |
| Mean (q1-q2-q3) | 7.6 (4.8 - 6.5 - 9) | 7.1 (5 - 6.3 - 8) | 7.8 (5 - 7 - 9.1) | 7.8 (5.3 - 7 - 9.6) | 7.7 (5 - 6.9 - 9.1) |

²¹ Totals do not add up to 100 because these categories are not mutually exclusive.

■ Electricity and Heating

Respondents were asked whether they received electricity, about their main source of electricity (government, camp generator, owned generator, or other), and the number of hours per day during which they get electrical supply. Furthermore, they reported whether their dwelling was supplied with heating during the winter season and about the main type of energy used for heating. Respondents who lacked a household heating source were asked what they do to keep warm during the cold winter months.

Almost 97% of the shelters received electricity for an average of 20 hours per day in West Bekaa and Zahle, 13.6 hours per day in Baalbek, and 8.6 hours per day in Hermel. Electricity was mainly supplied by the state in all four districts. Another source of electricity

for households in Baalbek, West Bekaa, and Zahle was generators located on the campgrounds (38.8%, 64.8%, and 39%, respectively). Some households used solar power as a source of energy, predominantly in West Bekaa and Zahle (4% and 2.8%, respectively).

Diesel was the most common means of heating in Baalbek, used among 70% of households, followed by charcoal and wood (27%). In the three other districts, wood and charcoal were the primary source of heating (around 60%) and diesel was less common (34.9% in Hermel, 38.7% in West Bekaa, and 37.6% in Zahle). In all four districts, 11.4% of the dwellings were not supplied with heating. In those homes, residents used blankets (26.7%) or wore more clothes (11%) to keep warm in cold weather.

■ Water Sources

Ensuring an adequate supply of clean water for Syrian refugees living in ITSs continued to be a challenge during the study period. Humanitarian aid agencies have resorted to supplying water through truck delivery. This solution has proven unsustainable, largely due to unregulated water supply markets that inflate prices and deplete water sources (Oxfam, 2017). With these dynamics in mind, the survey sought to understand the water sources used for household service, cooking, and drinking water supplies. The main source of service water used for cleaning and

washing was tanker trucks (61.1%) across all districts. Around 78% of the households used service water for cooking, with the highest percentages in Hermel (96%) and Baalbek (95.5%). Almost 81% of the surveyed households used service water for drinking. About 92% of households did not treat service water before use. Studies have found that Lebanese service water is highly contaminated (Habib et al, 2013). Thus, refugee water usage practices compounded by the poor infrastructure may be a source of morbidity.

■ Sewage Water and Solid Waste Management

Household respondents were asked whether the toilet and shower they used were public or private and whether they were connected to a direct water supply. Moreover, information about disposal of solid waste and domestic wastewater were also collected.

The majority of the households used private toilets (70.9%) at the exception of those in West Bekaa, where public toilets were as common. Most toilets were separated from dwellings (69.1%) and not equipped with direct water supply (75.2%). As for showers, 98.2% were private, used exclusively by members of a household. Private showers were located within the shelter 95.2% of the time, but, for the most part, did not receive a direct water supply (61.5%).

Water used for cleaning, doing laundry, and showering was either dumped in the street (44.1%) or channeled in pipes into a pit (40.2%). As for water used for toilet flushing, it was typically dumped in a pit (84%) and only few households used the sewage network (8.8%). About 45% of the households disposed of their garbage in dumpsters. In Hermel, 50% of the households used burning as a method of garbage disposal. The data highlights a general lack of wastewater and solid waste disposal, which likely impacts the prevalence of pest problems and enteric illnesses.

REFUGEE CHILDREN EXPERIENCE HIGH PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS, INFLUENCED BY TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES LIKE LIVING IN A REFUGEE CAMP, PARENTAL SEPARATION, AND OTHER SOCIETAL STRESSORS (BRONSTEIN & MONTGOMERY, 2011). AS SUCH, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR CHILDREN TO HAVE OPPORTUNITIES AND VENUES FOR FUN AND ENTERTAINMENT. THIS WAS NOT ALWAYS POSSIBLE FOR WORKING CHILDREN IN THE STUDY POPULATION.

THE FINDINGS ALSO POINT TO THE POOR QUALITY OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENTS THAT THESE CHILDREN LIVE IN. SUCH POOR PHYSICAL AND INFRASTRUCTURAL CONDITIONS ARE LIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SPREAD OF DISEASES AND HEALTH PROBLEMS AMONG RESIDENTS. MOREOVER, REFUGEES REPORTED USING SERVICE WATER FOR COOKING AND DRINKING WITHOUT EMPLOYING ANY METHOD OF WATER TREATMENT PRIOR TO USE. THIS MIGHT CONSTITUTE AN ADDITIONAL HEALTH RISK FOR THESE CHILDREN.





CHAPTER SIX

Social Support and Educational Opportunities

Key Facts

91.5%

of children (>8 to ≤18 years) believed that they will have a better future.

82.2%

of children (>8 to ≤18 years) turn to a household member for help with personal issues.

About half of the children (>8 to ≤18 years) felt that their parents did not listen to their point of view.

35%

of children (>8 to ≤18 years) did not discuss important personal decisions with their parents.

7.2%

of children (≥14 to ≤18 years) were enrolled in vocational school.

94.5%

of household respondents said that they would encourage family members to participate in vocational training.

76.8%

of household respondents said that children between 15 and 18 years old should receive vocational training.

This chapter is concerned with the types of communities that refugees are able to build while they reside in Lebanon. The networks that individuals maintain and support are instrumental in ensuring their survival during periods of crisis. Furthermore, individual wellbeing is connected to having fulfilling and supportive relationships with friends and family (Davis & Wanninger, 2017). Having lived in Lebanon for several years and in the absence of any indication that repatriation is on the horizon, building social support and capital will be foundational to the persistence of Syrian refugee children and their families. In line with the objectives of this study, this chapter presents results on questions related to children's social support and their relationships with family. Results are also presented on educational opportunities for working children, youth between ≥14 and ≤18 years: enrollment in vocational training, interest in vocational training, and the type of training fields of interest to children.

■ Social support and relationship with parents

Concerned with social support, the study asked child self-respondents (>8 to ≤18 years) to report on the people they confided in. Generally speaking, the participants said if they needed help with a personal problem, they would turn to a relative living with them (82.2%), a friend (35.7%), a relative not living with them (14.9%), or a neighbor (7.5%). While children reported that they sought advice and support from their relatives frequently, fewer said that their parents initiated discussions with them on important personal or family issues. When asked if their parents

discussed family decisions with them, 51% of the females and 48% of the males said that their parents did not. Similarly, 54% of the females and 50% of the males did not talk to their parents about important issues, nor did they discuss important personal decisions with their parents (35% of both females and males). About half of the children felt that their parents did not listen to their point of view (51% females and 48% males). Figure 23 presents the data on child-parent relationships by gender.

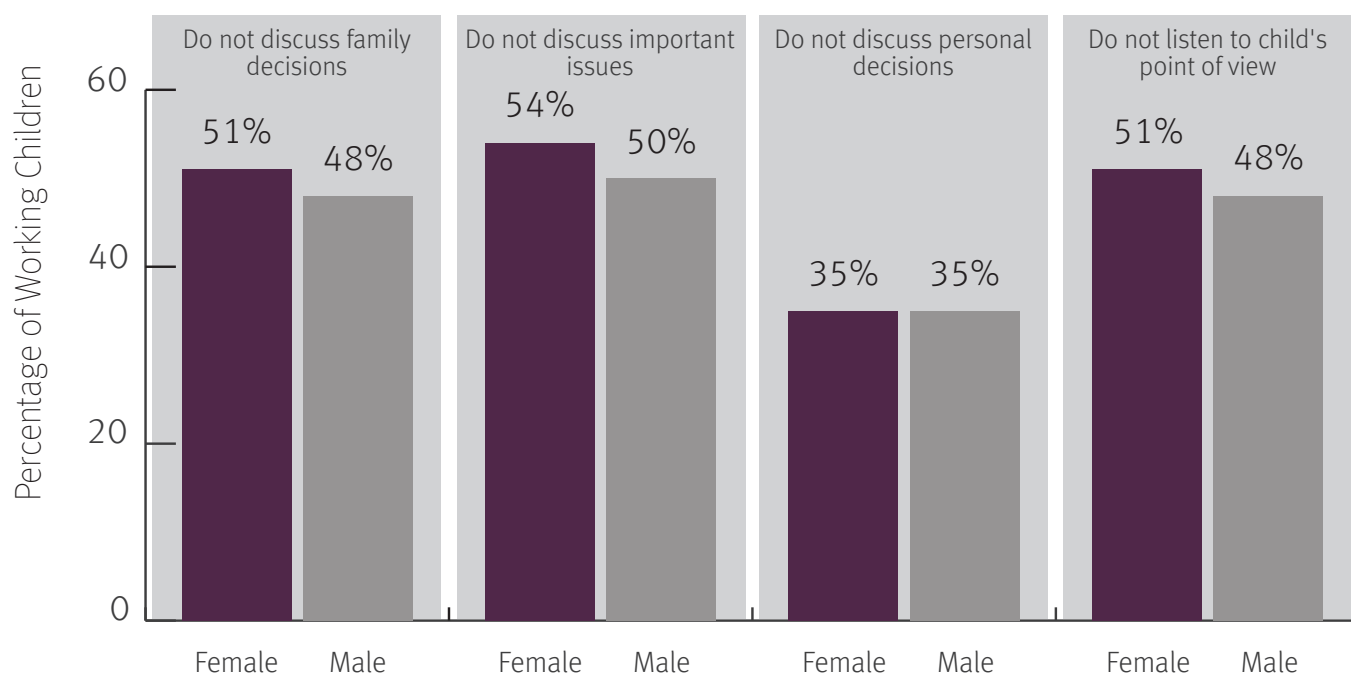


Figure 23: Working children's (>8 to ≤18 years) relationship with parents by gender.

In general, children (>8 to ≤18 years) expressed positive attitudes towards their futures, as 83.5% believed that they will become successful, 56.4% thought that they will receive the degree they want, 81.2% thought that they will learn a craft they like, and 91.5% believed that they will have a better future. Moreover, the working children showed fortitude and resilience. About 50% of children said that they do not get upset easily, 64% found it easy to relax, and 82% confirmed that they usually expect the best in uncertain times. Further, about 70% agreed that they expect more good things than bad things to happen to them.

Social, familial, and personal relations are particularly instrumental to the survival and wellbeing of Syrian refugees. Given the protracted Syrian war, displaced families are forced to live for a long period of time away from their homes and support systems while facing deteriorating economic conditions, an uncertain future, and rising tensions with the host community. The ability of refugees, especially children, to cope with these mounting challenges depends in large part on the availability of adequate and reliable networks of support.

■ Educational Opportunities for Youth

In 2014, the Lebanese Ministry of Education launched the Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) action plan to encourage school enrollment among all children in Lebanon, including Syrian refugees (MoE, 2014). Organizations such as UNICEF and AVSI have been working on providing educational support to school-age Syrian refugees by setting up a number of support programs like remedial teaching, the training of teachers in Lebanese schools, and partnering with the MoE to implement a training course in agriculture for Lebanese and Syrian youth (AVSI, 2016). Despite such efforts, school enrollment²² among Syrian refugee children remains low (Tagliani, 2018).

Given the low rates of school enrollment, many working children may find greater social mobility through vocational schooling. This study sought to explore this population's awareness and interest in this type of professional development. Among working youth between the ages of ≥14 and ≤18 years, only 6.1% said that they had heard about vocational training programs in agriculture (Figure 24). A small percentage of respondents (≥14 to ≤18 years) were enrolled in vocational schooling (7.2%), with the majority learning sewing (40.7%), auto repair (16.1%), agriculture (14.4%), and hair styling (11.9%).

22 According to a 2014 report by the Center for Lebanese Studies (Shuayb et al., 2014), the language barrier by schools teaching in English as opposed to Arabic is a main obstacle for Syrian students' entry into the Lebanese school system.



Figure 24: Working children (≥ 14 to ≤ 18 years) receiving and heard about vocational training (n=1,647).

There were large gender disparities in vocational school enrollment, as a majority of female respondents (80.4%) attended sewing sessions compared to 4.8% of males. Male participation in agricultural training was more prevalent, with 8.9% female enrollment versus 19.4% male. All the children receiving vocational training in auto mechanics were males.

Among youth not receiving any vocational training (n=1,524), 61.8% said that they were interested in receiving training

(63% females and 61% males) (Figure 25). Respondents were interested in the following fields: sewing (40.8%: 77.3% females and 3% males), hairstyling and makeup (13.7%: 21.7% females and 5.4% males), construction (12.2%: 0% females and 24.7% males), agriculture (9.1%: 5.9% females and 12.4% males), and construction painting (7%: 0.2% females and 14.1% males).

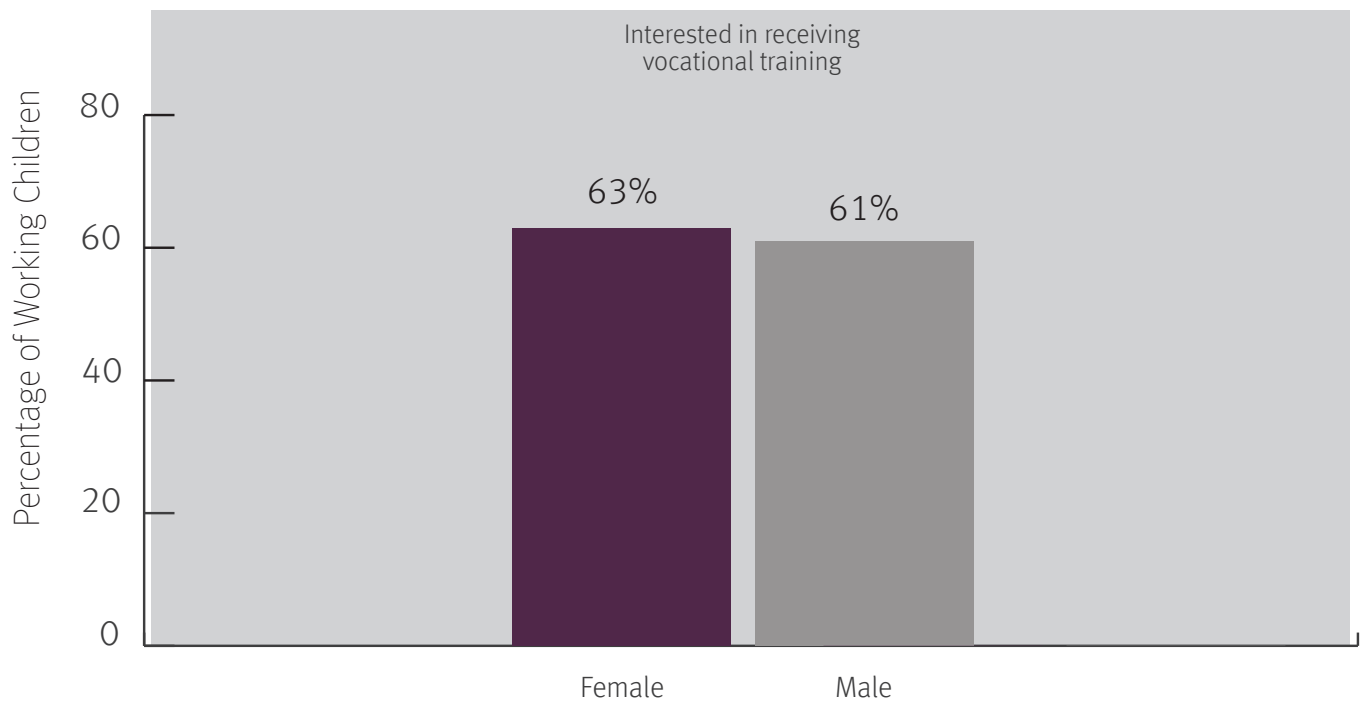


Figure 25: Working children (≥ 14 to ≤ 18 years) interested in receiving vocational training (n=1,524).

Among the 38.2% of youth not interested in vocational training, 59.6% thought it would take too much time, 17.4% said that they could not afford to pay for it, and 11.7% said that they would have to travel too far to get to the training location. Respondents residing in West Bekaa and Zahle were more interested in vocational training (83.5% and 72.1%, respectively) than those residing in Baalbek and Hermel (48.5% and 29.6%, respectively).

Most household respondents reported that they had not heard of vocational training in agriculture (92.6%). These respondents predominantly supported the participation of both male and female children in this type of training (86%), though they largely disagreed on when children should begin this schooling. If made available, 76.8% of the household respondents said that the training should take place between the ages 15 to 18 years, 58.6% said 19 and 21 years, 57.7% said 11 to 14 years, and 7.8% said between the ages of 7 and 8 years.²³

²³ Totals do not add up to 100 because these categories are not mutually exclusive.

CHILDREN EXPRESSED POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR FUTURES, THEY BELIEVED THEY WILL BECOME SUCCESSFUL, AND EXPECTED THE BEST IN UNCERTAIN TIMES. THEIR NETWORKS OF SUPPORT, GUIDANCE, AND HELP IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF RELATIVES.

REGARDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, RESPONDENTS EXPRESSED A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS VOCATIONAL TRAINING; THE MAJORITY OF HOUSEHOLD RESPONDENTS ENCOURAGED VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR CHILDREN AND THE MAJORITY OF CHILDREN WERE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING TRAINING. GIVEN THE OBSTACLES THAT REFUGEE CHILDREN ARE FACING IN ACCESSING LEBANESE SCHOOLS AND ADAPTING TO THE LEBANESE CURRICULUM, VOCATIONAL TRAINING DESIGNED TO INCORPORATE THE CONCEPT OF HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK, MIGHT BE VIEWED AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN SOME EDUCATION AND SKILLS FOR EMPLOYMENT. THIS FORM OF EDUCATION, HOWEVER, IS ONLY ACCESSIBLE TO CHILDREN WHO ARE ≥ 14 YEARS OF AGE AS PER THE LEBANESE LAW.





CHAPTER SEVEN

Key Findings and Recommendations

The aims of this study were to document the working and living conditions of child labourers, document the impact of child labour on education and wellbeing, including physical and mental health, and explore the social capital of the working children and their families. In order to meet these objectives, the study explored a wide spectrum of challenges affecting the lives and livelihoods of Syrian refugee families—and working children in particular. Most salient among these challenges were the lack of financial resources, and support services to ensure basic necessities for the study population. Furthermore, the lack of development and economic infrastructure has led to conditions promoting child labour, especially

exploitative and dangerous labour, giving weight to the concern among many Syrian families that the present generation of working children will indeed become “lost.”

The findings of this research point to complex interdependent economic, political, and social factors that result in the deprivation of these young people of their rights to basic safety, wellness, and happiness. The remainder of this chapter synthesizes the key findings of this report and offers specific policy recommendations that might help improve the lives and futures of Syrian refugee children and their families.

■ Key Findings

The study surveyed 12,708 individuals across 4 districts in the Bekaa Valley. The majority (8,285 children; 65% of the study population) were ≤ 18 years of age and living in nuclear families. On average, households had 7 members with 4 children between the ages of ≥ 4 and ≤ 18 . Most household heads were males, while 29.1% of households were headed by females.

The survey findings regarding household income, expenditures, and food security paint a bleak picture about the precarity of refugee families. Almost all households surveyed experienced some degree of food insecurity, with a majority reporting severe food insecurity. A lack of resources to pay for even basic needs, such as food and healthcare led many families to run through their savings or rely on borrowing to cover monthly shortfalls. These conditions were what pushed the vast majority of children away from schooling and towards work.

The extent of household deprivation was a primary factor in promoting early workforce entry among children. This is exacerbated by a number of factors, including the protracted nature of the conflict that

may have drained families’ assets or savings over time, as well as the reduction in international aid resources since the conflict first began in 2011.

Only 18.3% of the working children were attending some form of schooling at the time of the study. Working children in compulsory school age (≥ 6 to ≤ 15 years) constituted 72.6% (3,178 children) of the total population of working children. Half of the working children did not go to school because they had to work as a consequence of dire familial financial circumstances.

The majority of working children (≥ 4 to ≤ 18 years) in this study worked in the agricultural sector (about 75%). Many of these children were subject to harsh working conditions. Workplace injuries were quite common (30%). When children experienced an accident or injury at work, they or their families usually had to pay for the cost of treatment (86%).

The findings suggest that in addition to household deprivation, food scarcity, and occupational hazards, child health was impacted by household and community environmental conditions. Almost

all households were living in makeshift tents with structural damage to the walls and ceilings (79.9% and 82%, respectively).

These shelters also lacked basic services such as regular energy and heating, potable water, plumbing, and a direct water supply. For a sizable number of residents, water was scarce and what was available was of poor quality. Water safety posed an endemic health problem in refugee communities, as the vast majority of respondents used service water for drinking (81%) and cooking (78%) without taking any precautions such as treating the water first (92%). Consequently, the risk for enteric illnesses and outbreaks may be high in these communities.

Few children between ≥ 14 and ≤ 18 years (7.2%) attended vocational school. Programs in vocational training, however, were not widely known among both working children (93.9%) and their families

(92.6%). Once they learned about vocational training, the majority of household respondents (86%) supported this type of educational pathway for both males and females. In addition 61.8% of the children (between ≥ 14 and ≤ 18 years) expressed their interest in pursuing vocational training. Although the majority of children worked in agriculture (75%), few respondents preferred vocational training in that field (9.1%) compared to other skills and trades such as construction (12.2%) and sewing (40.8%).

Despite the harsh realities of their lives, interest in educational opportunities show an optimism that exists among members of these communities. Most children (91.5%) expressed an optimistic outlook about their future and a resilience in the face of their current situation. Development initiatives should support and build upon this optimism in order to help this generation of young people regain their prospects to a safe, stable, and fulfilling future.

■ Recommendations

As noted earlier in this chapter, the challenges facing refugee families in the Bekaa are multifaceted and interwoven into complex social, political, and economic processes. At this point in the Syrian conflict, repatriation seems to be a slow process. As such, the Lebanese government and international community must take steps to ensure adequate support and infrastructure for these temporary residents. Potential interventions include renewing efforts to enforce Lebanese laws meant to address child labour and protect and support child labourers regardless of nationality. Simultaneously, these types of initiatives must be met with scalable development projects that cultivate social and educational capital among children and financial stability and economic opportunity for households. Below is a list of recommendations to support Syrian child workers in Lebanon:

Legal Frameworks

- Advocate for the implementation of temporary agricultural work permits for adult refugees: As of 2016, the Lebanese government (The Directorate of General Security in coordination with the Ministry of Labour) has offered temporary and seasonal agricultural work permits to Syrian workers and members of their families aged 16 years or older. The work permit is free of charge, renewable, and directly sponsored by the Lebanese Farmers Union. Advocating for the proper implementation of this policy might help keep children who are under 16 years old from working in agricultural fields in Lebanon. This issue can be raised with the Directorate of General Security, the Lebanese Farmers Union, local municipalities, employers, and landowners.

- Facilitate registration of refugees residing in Lebanon with the UNHCR: The government in coordination with the UNHCR might reactivate registration of the Syrian refugees who are already residing in Lebanon and who are not registered with the UNHCR. This step will allow vulnerable Syrian families access to assistance and resources allocated to Syrian refugees.
- Adoption of the revised draft of the Lebanese Labour Law: The government should adopt the revised Labour Law, which includes significant revisions that affect child labour, namely raising the age of compulsory education and the minimum legal age for work to 15 years (Osseiran, 2012).
- The national Decree 8987 (Lebanese Labour Law) which lists the most hazardous and prohibited jobs in Lebanon for those under 16 years old includes agriculture; this decree must be implemented and enforced.
- Advocate for the recruitment of Syrian adults for work in agriculture by stakeholders such as the Lebanese Farmers Union. These recruiters should comply with the legal age for work in agriculture to limit the recruitment of young Syrian children in this sector.
- Establish a policy governing coordination among all stakeholders to assist in the elimination of the worst forms of child labour: A mechanism for information and resource sharing, communication, and coordination between the stakeholders must be established and maintained to increase the efficiency of the relevant actors. Under this policy, the coordination of governmental (MoL, MEHE, MoSA, MoPH, GS) and non-governmental (NGOs and international organizations) actors would be regulated for the planning and interventions related to child labor.

Capacity Building and Workplace Interventions

- Child abuse protection: Employers should receive child sensitivity trainings that promote positive ways of engaging with children. Training sessions could be held to inform employers on the practices that are considered abusive and on the legal age for work and the rights of working children stipulated and protected by the Lebanese Labor Law.
- Organize training sessions for parents, employers, and employees (children and adults) on occupational health and safety standards developed by the ILO (2015b) to establish safe practices in the work environment and minimize work-related health risks and abuse.
- Develop gender sensitive tools for training and raising awareness on the different needs of boys and girls working in agriculture.
- Training and awareness raising campaigns on hazardous work in agriculture and on child safety at work can be planned and delivered through local municipalities and NGOs in collaboration with ILO.²⁴
- Develop mobile occupational health clinics: Relevant local and international agencies might support the establishment of free mobile health clinics in areas where ITSs are set up. The clinics would visit workplaces across the Bekaa region, providing both primary and secondary care.
- Distribute protection equipment to workers to be used for personal protection and first aid kits for treating minor injuries to workplaces. These can be provided through the Ministries of Public Health and Labor, the private sector, NGOs, and local municipal governments.

24 ILO has published guides on: "Child labor in agriculture in Lebanon: A guide for practitioners" (FAO & ILO, 2017) and the "Guide of Decree 8987 on Worst Forms of Child Labour" (MoL & ILO, 2015).

Economic development and financial support

- Develop income-generating projects: NGOs could cooperate with local municipalities to create economic opportunities for the local population and the refugees, such as worker co-operatives where both Lebanese and Syrians can work in safe conditions while receiving fair wages.
- Food security projects: Local government and international agencies could develop a food purchasing scheme that acquires food in bulk from local farms and distributes it to food insecure families—both Lebanese and Syrian—at an affordable cost.
- Better relief outreach to Syrian refugees: organizations offering aid and services to Syrian refugees should have improved outreach and make sure that households and household heads are informed of the kinds of services they are entitled to, where to get these services from, or who to contact for help.

Education

- Practical and accessible educational opportunities: Increase information sharing and encourage families and children to join MEHE regulated non-formal education programs. The MEHE views non-formal education programs as a pathway to formal education. Sharing information about such programs will help families identify options and make important decisions about their children's education. By joining these programs, children can potentially integrate into Lebanese schools and pursue further educational opportunities. Policies to incentivize children's engagement in educational opportunities should be developed accounting for refugees' needs. The MEHE in collaboration with the MoL could identify working children and provide them with adequate support to enable their engagement in educational opportunities.²⁵

- Support the education of refugee children by providing financial assistance to cover education-related costs for formal and regulated non-formal education to those children who are not currently included in the MEHE (2016) subsidization plan.
- Expand vocational trainings: Identify key economic sectors where a skilled workforce might be able to increase profits for Lebanese businesses while securing increased earnings for refugee families. Develop accessible and affordable training initiatives that provide young refugees with the skills to succeed in these careers. Vocational training programs should include training on safe practices at work.

Housing and community services

- Housing repair services: Given the state of their shelters, refugees would benefit from services provided by the shelter sector plan; in particular, weatherproofing and maintenance of tents, fire-fighting kits and training on fire risk management, and kits for protection from harsh weather.
- Campaigns to encourage water improvement in households: International agencies with the help of local municipalities might launch campaigns to encourage water treatment at the level of households, focusing on the importance and means of treating service water used for drinking and cooking.
- Invest in setting up public flush toilets reserved for the use of residents of ITSs: part of the financial aid for refugees could be allocated for creating improved toilet facilities (like public flush toilets that are reconnected to the sewage system) dedicated for the use of residents of each ITS.

²⁵ The Child Labour Monitoring and Referral System (CLMS) could be used to identify these children. The CLMS was developed by the ILO to identify, track, and monitor child labourers to withdraw them from work and offer them viable alternatives (ILO, 2005). The MoL and the ILO have initiated a child labour monitoring system in Lebanon and established child protection centers in different regions of the country (ILO, 2017c).

Social support and child development

- **Mobile hobby and play resources:** Local NGOs might develop a “mobile park” that has games, toys, instruments, and books that children can access on a regular basis. This mobile park could circulate across several ITSs in each region and provide fun activities, including music lessons and animation.
- **Community-based and peer-to-peer support:** NGOs operating in the area could create a project to identify community leaders in each ITS who could be contacted and engaged in a peer-to-peer support program similar to existing programs in Lebanon, Germany, and Canada (Curry, 2017; UNHCR, 2017; Badali et al., 2018). Such programs would promote mental and emotional well-being and empowerment among adult and child refugees.
- **Mobile counseling services and psycho-social support:** Mental health services may be instrumental for safeguarding the wellbeing of refugee working children and helping them process the traumatic experiences they may have had. Mental health counsellors can provide group and individualized therapy and support according to each child’s needs.
- **Rolling celebrations:** Many poor families are unable to afford celebrations and nice meals. Local NGOs in coordination with community members and donors could sponsor celebratory barbecues at ITSs several times a year as a way to provide avenues for relief, fun and entertainment to these refugees.
- **Recreational activities and sports:** As seen in this study, children did not have many opportunities to engage in fun activities, including sports. Local NGOs could create outlets or spaces (like open-air courts) within or nearby camps where children can socialize, play, and practice sports in a safe environment. Educational entertainment can also be provided through tailored programs including theatre performance, creative writing, and playing music.²⁶
- **Organize social gatherings, activities, and events** that bring together members of the Syrian refugee and host populations to encourage interaction, promote solidarity, and help diffuse tensions.

²⁶ An example is the ILO Supporting Child Rights through Education, Arts and the Media (SCREAM) program (ILO, n.d.).

THIS RESEARCH REVEALS DIFFICULT TRUTHS ABOUT THE EXTENT AND IMPACTS OF CHILD LABOUR ON WHAT MAY BECOME SYRIA'S LOST GENERATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN. CHILD LABOURERS ARE EXPERIENCING HARSH AND HAZARDOUS WORK CONDITIONS WITH LITTLE HOPE OF CHANGE ON THE HORIZON. CHALLENGING THE CONDITIONS THAT HAVE PRODUCED CHILD LABOUR AMONG THIS POPULATION WILL TAKE A COORDINATED EFFORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, LOCAL NGOS, EMPLOYERS, FAMILIES, AND THE CHILDREN THEMSELVES. EACH OF THESE STAKEHOLDERS MUST BE A PART OF THE SOLUTION AND SO THEY MUST ALSO BE AT THE TABLE WHEN INTERVENTION STRATEGIES ARE BEING DEVELOPED. WHILE SOLUTIONS SEEM FAR AWAY AND LARGELY INADEQUATE, THERE IS GREAT POTENTIAL FOR SCALABLE EFFORTS THAT CAN PROVIDE SOME FORM OF RELIEF FOR THESE COMMUNITIES AND IMPACTED CHILDREN. EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THESE POPULATIONS SHOULD BE GUIDED BY WHAT WILL PROVIDE THEM THE MOST JOY IN PERSISTING THROUGH TOUGH OBSTACLES AND THE MOST HOPE IN FINDING A PATH TO FUTURE OPPORTUNITY AND SUCCESS.

DEBATE OVER HOW BEST TO SUPPORT REFUGEES HAS CREATED TENSIONS WITHIN AND BETWEEN RECEIVING COUNTRIES. POLICY SOLUTIONS TO ADDRESS THE IMPACTS OF DISPLACEMENT AND MIGRATION ARE EXTREMELY COMPLEX. HOST GOVERNMENTS AND COMMUNITIES MUST GRAPPLE WITH HELPING VULNERABLE MIGRANT POPULATIONS WHILE CONTENDING WITH THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, ETHICAL, AND LEGAL ISSUES THAT CHARACTERIZE THESE PREDICAMENTS. TODAY, WAR REMAINS A PRIMARY CAUSE OF MASSIVE DISPLACEMENT, AS IS THE CASE WITH POPULATIONS FROM SYRIA, SOUTH SUDAN, IRAQ, PALESTINE, AND AFGHANISTAN (UNHCR, 2017). THE MANAGEMENT AND SUPPORT OF PEOPLE DISPLACED BY WAR IS A GROWING GLOBAL CHALLENGE. DISPLACED INDIVIDUALS OFTEN FIND THEMSELVES IN PRECARIOUS SITUATIONS WHERE SURVIVAL AND SUBSISTENCE BECOME THEIR PRIMARY CONCERN, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THIS STUDY. FOR THIS POPULATION OF SYRIAN REFUGEES, CHILD LABOUR WAS A DIRECT RESULT OF FINANCIAL PRECARITY. THE CHILDREN IN THIS COMMUNITY FACE A DISASTROUS REALITY—THEIR PREDICAMENT MIGHT VERY WELL BE ONE OF THE MORE TRAGIC OUTCOMES OF THE WAR IN SYRIA. STILL, THE RESILIENCE OF THESE CHILDREN IN THE FACE OF EVERYDAY CHALLENGES IS EVIDENCED BY THEIR CONTINUED SURVIVAL AND GENERAL OPTIMISM. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ENSURE THEIR DIGNITY AND SUPPORT EFFORTS TO SECURE A FUTURE FOR CHILDREN IMPACTED BY VIOLENT CONFLICTS, DISPLACEMENT, AND TRENCHANT POVERTY.

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APPENDIX

Lebanese Legislation on Child Labour²⁷

National legislation on the work of children is presented in the Lebanese Labour Law (also referred to as Labour Code) of September 1946 and its amendments. Several decrees and amendments were added to the law to comply with the requirements of international and regional conventions on child labour which Lebanon has ratified (e.g.: ILO Convention No. 77, ILO Convention No. 78, ILO Convention No. 182, and the Arab Labour Convention No. 18). Articles 21 to 25 of the Lebanese Labour Law amended by law no. 536/1996 and law no. 91/1999 organize the employment of children (under 18 years of age). They stipulate the following:

- a. The minimum age for working is 14 years.
- b. Working children must undergo a medical examination on a yearly basis to determine their fitness for the job they are performing.
- c. The minimum age for jobs in industrial projects or jobs that are arduous or detrimental to health, is 16 years. And the minimum age for jobs that are dangerous in nature or that are a danger to life, health or morals because of the circumstances under which they are performed, is 17 years.
- d. Persons under 18 years must not be made to work for more than 6 hours/day and they must have a one-hour break at least if they are working for more than 4 consecutive hours/day.
- e. Children must not be made to work between 7 PM and 7 AM and they must be allowed 13 unbroken hours of rest between each 2 working periods.
- f. It is strictly prohibited to put children to extra hours of work or work during daily break periods or the weekend break or during official holidays.
- g. Every child has the right to a fully-paid vacation of 21 days per year, provided that she/he has been employed for a minimum of one year. Two thirds of the yearly vacation must be taken all at once and the remaining days off must be taken during the same year.
- h. Institutions dedicated to vocational training may disregard the above-mentioned provisions on three conditions: (i) that the children are not under 12 years of age, (ii) that the program of such institutions clearly states the type of craft and the hours and conditions of work, (iii) that the program is approved by the Ministry of Labour and Public Health Services.
- i. The employer shall be responsible for checking the age of the children to be employed by asking to see their ID.

In addition, article 30 places partial responsibility of upholding the provisions related to the employment of children and youth upon employers and their agents and parents and guardians of the working children.

²⁷ Lebanese Labour Law of 23/09/1946 and its amendments.

Annex No. (1)

List of the worst forms of child labour²⁸

List of works and activities which are totally prohibited for minor under 18

1. Activities involving physical hazards
 - » Activities requiring handling explosives, wearing weapons, engaging in combats or war, given of course the psychological hazards of these activities as well as their physical hazards;
 - » Working in quarries, caves, mines, and crushing sites, whether underground or not.
 - » Activities that may not be carried out without wearing personal protective and preventive equipment to prevent immediate and direct hazard;
 - » Activities exposing the child to carcinogenic substances or atomic radiations or substances that may cause infertility or birth defect.
2. Activities involving psychological hazards
 - » Any forced labour, including slavery and trafficking of children;
 - » Domestic service;
 - » Work that requires the child to sleep or reside in the workplace or outside the parents' house;
 - » Working in the streets or on the roads;
 - » Working in the preparation of bodies for funerals and burials.
3. Activities involving moral hazards
 - » Any work using or exploiting a child's body for sexual or pornographic purposes or similar acts.
 - » Betting, gambling and horse-races etc...
 - » Any illicit work or activity or any work or activity that violates the criminal laws, such as the transportation, sale, marketing, dealing or use of all kinds of drugs.
4. Activities limiting education
 - » Activities preventing the child from pursuing academic education or statutory vocational training or assistance lessons.

Annex No. (2)

List of the works which, by their nature or the circumstances in which they are carried out, are likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children under 16 years of age and which are allowed for children of more than 16 years of age, provided they are offered full protection for their physical, mental and moral health and provided these minors received a special education or appropriate vocational training in the field of these works, unless the type of work or the hazard is totally prohibited for those under the age of 18 as specified in Annex No. (1).

These works are distributed over two categories, the first tackles occupational hazards and the second some occupations and activities.

1. Works that expose the working child to any of the following occupational hazards:
 - a) Chemical hazards, including dusts and fibers
 - Carcinogenic substances,
Including for example, without being purported to be exhaustive:
Amiante (Asbestos), Benzene, Chromium
 - Substances that cause infertility, congenital or physiological malformation, fetal and newborn growth retardation
 - Substances causing allergies (allergens)
 - Substances harming the neurological system and mental growth
 - Substances causing dangerous diseases in case of exposure to these substances for a long period or causing permanent health symptoms and effects
 - b) Physical Hazards
 - Noise
 - Atomic/ ionic radiations
 - Other radiations (non-atomic and non-ionic) (infra-red or electromagnetic radiations)
 - High atmospheric pressure (during diving for example)
 - Tremors
 - High temperatures
 - Low temperatures

- c) Biological hazards (Viruses, bacteria, parasites, etc...)
 - Directly transmitted through a transmitter like mosquitoes, flies and rodents
 - Transmitted through exposure to biologically contaminated body fluids and others
 - Transmitted by touch or by handling animals, in particular dead animals.
- d) Ergonomic hazards (the compatibility between humans and work equipment and machines)
 - Working in positions that are not adequate for the spinal cord, the joints, and muscles such as squatting, torsion, stretching or contraction for long periods;
 - Using machines and equipment that are unfit for the size of the hand or body in general;
 - Pushing or pulling weights exceeding the child's capacity;
 - Lifting or transporting weights exceeding the child's capacity or capability;
 - Working in places not abiding by the acceptable conditions of lighting, ventilation, humidity and temperature.
- e) Psychological, social and mental hazards and general working conditions
 - Works requiring night shifts (between 07:00 pm and 07:00 am);
 - Works requiring long working hours (more than six hours per day);
 - Works requiring the child to bear a given responsibility requiring significant supervision, care or guidance by an adult;
 - Works exposing the child to verbal or physical abuse.
- f) Safety Hazards
 - Working at an elevation of 2 or more meters above ground
 - Working on roof tops, edges, windows or balconies
 - Working with sharp and mobile machines
 - Working with mobile movable machineries
 - Working with explosives or combustibles
 - Working in closed spaces with low levels of air or oxygen
 - Driving any machinery, bus, human transportation machine, equipment and tools regardless of the means of transportation
 - Working with voltages and electrical supplies
 - Working for more than one consecutive half hour under the sun or in high temperature conditions, provided the total working hours does not exceed 4 hours per day including not less than five rest periods of not less than 10 minutes each with fluids intake.

- Working for more than one consecutive half hour in cold or storming weather, provided the total working hours does not exceed 4 hours per day including not less than five rest period of not less than 10 minutes each in a moderate weather location.

2. Works prohibited to minors

- a) Agricultural activities (including family farms) which require:
 - Driving or operating tractors or agricultural machines;
 - Mixing or transporting or spraying agricultural pesticides
 - Touching or handling poisonous plants (such as tobacco leaves which produce a poisonous nicotine substance)
 - Climbing high trees or ladders
 - Using sharp tools such as the use of the tray to hang tobacco leaves
 - Working for more than 4 hours per day.
- b) Fishing deep in the sea, diving, using fishing guns, explosives or electricity;
- c) Working in animal slaughter houses;
- d) Working with dangerous, wild or poisonous animals;
- e) All kinds of works in factories that manufacture tiles, rocks and the like;
- f) All types of works in production or transformative industries employing more than 20 worker; for example:
 - Food and beverage industry
 - Textile and clothing industry
 - Leather tanning and manufacturing of bags
 - Wood products
 - Paper and paper products
 - Chemical substances
 - Cement, soil and building materials
 - Rubber and plastic products
 - Non-mineral mining products (glass products)
 - Minerals and mineral products
 - Various machines, equipment, vehicles and trailers
 - Furniture
 - Re-manufacturing of all types of waste
- g) All types of work in the supply of electricity, gas, water and steam;
- h) All types of work in building, demolition, excavation, construction, sand-blasting and heights climbing;
- i) Working in commercial, industrial, services small enterprises (of less than 20 workers) with high rate of occupational hazards.

Example of commercial, industrial, services small enterprises (of less than 20 worker) with high rates of occupational hazards

- Mechanical works (maintenance and repair of cars and transportation machines)
 - Smithery
 - Welding
 - Painting
 - Cocking blood, bones or fat
 - Cleaning and tanning animal hides and skins
 - Pottery, glass or crystal crafts
 - Smelting, pouring and painting minerals
 - Dry cleaning
 - Wood sawing and furniture painting
 - Slaughtering of animals and sale of meat
 - Plumbing
 - Preparing and spraying fertilizers and pesticides for houses and others
 - Cutting papers and cartons
 - Printing
 - Production of ice and refrigeration
 - Extracting lead from cars batteries
 - Silver plating mirrors with Mercury
 - Filling cylinders with compressed gases
- j) Working in hotels, restaurants, amusement centers, internet cafes, which may expose the minor to the following:
- Transportation, sale or intake of alcoholic beverages;
 - Transportation or sale of cigarettes and tobacco, including Nargileh delivery;
 - Delivering any purchases to houses, unaccompanied and without any escort or supervision;
 - Being alone with the child in a room, a corner or a secluded area away from any supervision;
 - Use of sharp tools and machines such as the ones in kitchens and others.
- k) Working in any of land, air or marine means of transportation.
- l) Working in places where there is an exchange of currencies, transfer or custody of funds, jewelries and other precious goods.

- m) Working in health and medical centers that may expose the child to the following:
 - The risk of being in close contact with patients, body fluids, medical waste and the risk of transmission of infections;
 - The risk of being exposed to chemical substances, drugs, gases or radiations;
 - The psychological pressure, such as dealing with cases of death or incurable diseases. To the exception of works for public service where the minors are entrusted with works that do not expose them to the abovementioned hazards and where they are supervised by specialists.
- n) Working in social centers with the elderly, the disabled, persons with congenital malformations, or persons suffering psychological or mental diseases or addiction (unless for short intermittent periods and under the direct supervision of specialized social workers or persons familiar with juvenile psychology);
- o) Working in centers for personal security and bodyguard
- p) Working in cleaning services, waste collection and sorting, in sewers or stagnant water channels;
- q) Working in all types of works requiring the protection of third parties against potential hazards, such as a lifeguard at the beach and pools.
- r) Working in the horse racing track and in all activities accompanying horse-races.

