

Addressing the Exploitation of Children in Scavenging (Waste Picking): a Thematic Evaluation of Action on Child Labour

A Thematic Evaluation



Addressing the Exploitation of Children in Scavenging (Waste Picking): a Thematic Evaluation on Action on Child Labour

A global report for the ILO

Geneva, October 2004

A Thematic evaluation by independent Evaluators

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ISBN softcover: 92-2-116661-9

ISBN PDF: 92-2-116662-7 (web version)

First published 2004

Cover photograph: J. Anshütz

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Printed by the International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland

P R E F A C E

This report is part of a series of thematic evaluations that ILO/IPEC, often in collaboration with other ILO departments, are carrying out as part of building the knowledge base on action against child labour, particular on the type of action that works and why.

The intention is for the outcome of this report to be used for further development of programming guidelines, strategies and models of intervention, particular on how child labour can be an integral issue in small scale mining programmes and projects.

This report is prepared by independent evaluators¹ based on Terms of Reference developed by ILO/IPEC. It has been reviewed by outside stakeholders concerned with the issue.

The opinions and recommendations included in this report are those of the authors of the report, although the views of the stakeholders involved in the review are reflected. In general the content of the report does not necessarily reflect the views of ILO or any other organization involved in the project.

The thematic evaluation process was managed by the Hazardous Work unit of ILO/IPEC and ILO/SEED (InFocus Programme on Boosting Employment Through Small Enterprise Development) with support by ILO-IPEC's Design, Evaluation and Documentation Section (DED) on evaluation methodology.

Funding for this thematic evaluation was provided by the United States Department of Labor. This report does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of labor nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

¹ Justine Anschutz, Anne Scheinberg and Arnold van de Klundert

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FOREWORD BY INDEPENDENT EVALUATORS

Last May the International Labour Organisation (ILO) asked WASTE, Advisers on Urban Environment and Development, to carry out an evaluation of ILO and non-ILO projects working on child labour and scavenging (waste picking).² The results of this Thematic Evaluation are presented in this document.

WASTE is a Dutch not-for-profit organisation with a background in waste management, working with low-income groups, micro and small-scale enterprises and improvement of the urban environment since 1982. WASTE has managed a number of international projects in waste management and sanitation, supporting and promoting integrated sustainable waste management, community participation, capacity building, South-South technology transfer and exchange of experiences.

For this assignment WASTE collaborated with a number of researchers in the field, without whom we could not have accomplished it. Therefore we would like to acknowledge here the work of Anselm Rosario and his team from Mythri in India, Noemi Stanev, Ralph Veraart and Ciprian Popovici in Romania, Marjan Duursma in Tanzania, Hossam Aziz in Egypt, and Margreet Barkhof in Thailand.

We would also like to thank Chea Pyden from the Vulnerable Children Assistance Organisation in Cambodia, Frans van Dijk from Regional Office for South East Asia of Terre des Hommes, Menno Gibson from Terre des Hommes Netherlands, Jolande Dekker and Eva de Groot from CORDAID for providing information on their respective projects on child labour and scavenging (waste picking). Regarding the Philippines, the assistance of Albin Salamat and Dolora Cardeno from ERDA-SABANA as well as Nida Lavador from the ILO Office in Manila has added valuable insights. Special thanks go to Dr. Christine Furedy from York University, Toronto, Canada, Dr. Laila Iskander from Community and Institutional Development in Egypt, and Cecilia Castro from IPES, Peru for information provided and for their critical review of this report.

We are very grateful for all the people, including but not limited to waste pickers, child waste pickers, project staff, resource persons, local governments, private companies, who have been so kind to answer our questions or the questions of our local partners.

Finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to the staff of ILO, in particular Susan Gunn, Florencio Gudino, Peter Wichmand, Kees van der Ree, Phan Thuy, Frans Roselaers, Caspar Merkle and their colleagues for their constructive criticism during the process of carrying out the Thematic Evaluation and developing this report.

² It is one of the suggestions of this report that the term “waste picking” rather than “scavenging” is to be used. These two terms are therefore either used interchangeably or meant to refer to the other when used.

ACRONYMS

AGCCD	Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
APE	Association for the Protection of the Environment
CID	Community and Institutional Development
CORDAID	Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development AID
DFID	Department for International Development
ERDA-SABANA	Educational Research and Development Assistance Foundation
EQI	Environmental Quality International
FSCC	Foundation for Slum Child Care
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Assistance)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO)
IPES	Promoción del Desarrollo Sostenible
ISWM	Integrated Sustainable Waste Management
MSE	Micro and Small-scale enterprise
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
SEED	Small Enterprise Employment Development (ILO)
SWM	Solid Waste Management
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASTE	Advisers on Urban Environment and Development
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
VCAO	Vulnerable Children Assistance Organisation

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this document

Stark images of children rummaging in garbage heaps around the world have always touched the hearts of people who see it. Quite a few development organisations are therefore somehow involved in relieving or reducing child labour in scavenging. These efforts meet with varying degrees of success. This report is concerned with the efforts of development organisations to reduce child labour in scavenging and their effects.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is worldwide a major player in addressing child labour issues, including child labour in scavenging. They have implemented a range of projects that attempt to reduce child labour in scavenging in countries in Latin America, Africa and especially Asia. In 2002 the ILO was financing and supporting 19 projects directly focusing on child scavengers and 50 projects dealing with broader groups of child workers including child scavengers (ILO, 2002).

In May 2004, the ILO asked WASTE, Advisers on Urban Environment and Development to evaluate the effect of projects that address child labour in scavenging as part of building the knowledge base on what works and identifying the models of intervention. This would be based on an extensive desk review carried out by ILO/IPEC³, which suggested to ILO staff that the existing approaches and interventions to address child labour in scavenging need readjustment.

The purpose of this Evaluation is to provide guidance to the ILO, especially the collaborating departments and constituents, on how best to address the exploitation of children in this sector. The Thematic Evaluation is designed to critically assess what has been learned about scavenging and about various approaches to addressing the problem of child labour in relation to scavenging. In this way lessons learnt and potential good practices that can be replicated elsewhere could be identified. The Thematic Evaluation was carried out in the period June–September 2004. In parallel with this Evaluation, IPES in Peru carried out a regional thematic evaluation of projects on child labour and scavenging in Latin America.

1.2 Partners, countries and cities involved in the assessment

This Thematic Evaluation includes studies in nine countries in four different continents: Latin America, Africa, Asia and (Eastern) Europe.

The information was drawn from various projects carried out in this sector by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) of the ILO, as well as from similar efforts of other agencies, institutions, and the governments. Fourteen projects in nine countries have been included in the Thematic Evaluation. An in-depth assessment was done in five countries, including field visits. These countries were: Egypt, India, Tanzania, Romania and Thailand. A further four projects in other countries were studied more in-depth via email and phone interviews as well as review of secondary resources. These were projects in the Philippines, Cambodia, Indonesia and Kenya. Out of the total of 14 projects, the ILO had supported three projects at some stage (Philippines, Kenya and Tanzania).⁴

³ International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

⁴ Tables 3 and 4 in Chapter 2 provide basic details on these projects.

The preliminary results of the Thematic Evaluation in Latin America by IPES, Peru have been included as much as possible into this final synthesis report. Further information and desk studies were collected from a range of other countries and included in the overall assessment.

The five evaluative studies or country/regional reports that served as background reports for this report, and which was specifically done as part of this thematic evaluation, are available on the ILO website (www.ilo.org/childlabour).⁵

1.3 Structure of the report

The report has the following structure:

After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 describes the methodological and theoretical framework, including a number of definitions and common approaches used to address child labour and scavenging. It also explains the concept and assessment methodology of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM), a concept developed by WASTE. Finally it describes the research methods used.

Chapter 3 gives a description of the research context: the cities where the projects are located, the position of scavengers in these cities, and the situation of child labour in scavenging in these particular locations. It also pays attention to the effect of solid waste management policies and economic developments on scavenging and child labour. The implications for projects addressing child labour in scavenging are highlighted.

Chapter 4 explores the role waste pickers and their children play in projects that are designed for them. It looks at target groups, their position as stakeholders and their participation in projects addressing child labour in scavenging. In addition, cooperation with other agencies and stakeholders and funding issues will be dealt with.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the objectives, interventions and results of the projects studied. It looks for the ideal approach.

Chapter 6 analyses specific interventions and identifies successful and less successful practices in these interventions. It also looks at the conditions under which certain interventions work.

Finally Chapter 7 summarises the conclusions and recommendations.

The Annexes provide references, the analytical framework used for the Thematic Evaluation, a list with contacts of projects and resource persons and tables comparing the projects.⁶

⁵ Also available on WASTE website www.waste.nl

⁶ On a separate CD-rom a range of photographs is collected of the various projects and scavenging children in general.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological and theoretical framework of the Thematic Evaluation. It considers:

- ◆ Definitions
- ◆ Approaches used by development organisations to address the issue of child labour and scavenging
- ◆ Concept of ISWM
- ◆ Research methods and fieldwork

2.2 Definitions used

Since terms and definitions vary from country to country and organisation to organisation, it is useful to define how terms are used in this report. They are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitions used

Term	Definition
<i>Child</i>	A person of 0-18 year old
<i>Youth</i>	A person of 12-18 year old
<i>Child labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Any economic activities undertaken by children up till 12 years ◆ Any work by children of 12 to 15 years that is not considered 'light' and takes more than a few hours a week ◆ Any work by children of 15 to 18 years old that is classified as hazardous⁷
<i>Scavenging (waste picking)</i>	Manual sorting and picking of recyclable/reusable materials from mixed wastes at legal and illegal landfills, dumpsites, street bins and piles, transfer points, as well as waste collection trucks
<i>Formal education</i>	Education in officially registered and recognised schools either public or privately owned, using an established curriculum.
<i>Non-formal education</i>	Interventions to enable older children to 'catch' up with their peers who began their schooling at the appropriate age. It includes for example literacy and numeric skills. The idea is often to prepare children to go to 'normal schools' (formal education) later on.
<i>Vocational training</i>	Training providing practical, technical skills for older children, usually 12-18 years old, who have already acquired functional literacy and numeric skills.
<i>Participatory</i>	Target groups have a say in decisions taken in the project, and/or they work as paid staff for the organisation and/or the organisation's activities are grown out of actions of the local community.
<i>Semi-participatory</i>	Target groups work as volunteers in the project, often on a temporary basis, and/or they have minor influence on the decision-making in the project.
<i>Non-participatory</i>	Target groups are not consulted or only consulted, but not given any feedback on the results of the consultations, and/or they do not have influence on the decision-making in the project.

⁷ Definition used by the ILO

2.3 Approaches to child labour

Development projects and programmes that attempt to address child labour in scavenging use various approaches, related to their objectives and to their view of child labour and of scavenging. Three kinds of approaches to reducing child labour in general can be distinguished:

- ◆ Welfare-based approach
- ◆ Development-oriented approach
- ◆ Rights-based approach

In the context of waste management it is useful to add one additional approach to improve the conditions of scavengers and to indirectly address child labour: the system-oriented approach.

2.3.1 *Welfare-based approach*

The welfare-based approach is oriented towards improving the working and living conditions of the scavengers and relieving their daily needs and problems. In this approach the general perception of scavengers and their children is that they poor people who need to be helped. This approach does not include changing the status quo.

Examples of interventions related to a ‘welfare-based’ approach are:

- ◆ Providing sanitary, washing and healthcare facilities
- ◆ Provision of protective gear
- ◆ Organising recreational activities for children
- ◆ Provision of housing for families

2.3.2 *Development-oriented approach*

The development-oriented approach is directed towards developing the future potential of individuals and to give them the necessary physical and financial means as well as educational opportunities. In the development-oriented approach the general perception of scavengers and their children is that they are poor people whose capacities need to be strengthened and who should get a chance to develop themselves.

Examples of interventions related to a ‘development-oriented’ approach are:

- ◆ Provision of day care facilities
- ◆ Informal/formal education and vocational training
- ◆ Alternative employment, credit provision and income generation

2.3.3 *The rights-based approach*

The rights-based approach aims at creating more political room for the scavengers and at changing and strengthening their position as a group in society. A first step in this is giving them a voice and making them visible. In the rights-based approach scavengers (or the poor) are perceived as people whose existence should be acknowledged and who have a right to a better life.

Examples of interventions related to a ‘rights-based’ approach are:

- ◆ Organisation, lobby and stimulating political participation, for example organisation of scavengers into cooperatives to reduce the influence of middlemen and improve their income
- ◆ Awareness raising on child labour in communities
- ◆ Legal reform and improved enforcement of labour legislation

Legal reform could refer to labour conditions such as: working hours, minimum age, minimum wage, occupational health (noise, safety), health insurance, and the like.

2.3.4 *The system-oriented approach*

Based on the Thematic Evaluation and the analysis made by IPES for Latin America, WASTE proposes that a fourth approach should be added regarding child labour and scavenging, i.e. an approach focusing on scavenging as part of the solid waste management (SWM) system, summarised as the ‘system-oriented approach’.

The objective of the system-oriented approach is to change the solid waste management system in such a way as to incorporate waste pickers, usually through formalising their activities and by linking them up with other (formal) stakeholders such as the local government or the private sector.

Examples of interventions related to a ‘system-based’ approach are:

- ◆ Set up separation at source and selective collection systems and involve waste pickers in these systems
- ◆ Establish separate sorting areas at landfills where waste pickers can collect materials without the risk of being overrun by trucks
- ◆ Involving waste pickers in the formulation of municipal and national SWM policies

This ‘system-oriented’ approach usually has an indirect effect on child labour, in the sense that interventions aimed at incorporating scavengers in the SWM system means enhancing the income of scavenger families and thus creating more favourable conditions for sending their children to school.

It has to be added that many projects combine elements of these approaches. Therefore they could also be called ‘themes’ or ‘strands’. However, usually a project has an emphasis on one of these approaches.

2.4 **The approaches used by the ILO**

The current mix of approaches of the ILO to child labour can be summarised as follows:⁸

- ◆ **Prevention** strategies include efforts aimed at strengthening legislation and enforcement, improving educational opportunities and carrying out other enhancements to make the education system accessible and attractive to all boys and girls, raising household income, and increasing awareness of the consequences of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL).

⁸ Based on the content of Time Bound Programmes to eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour, www.ilo.org.

- ◆ **Rehabilitation** includes, principally, the provision of health and counselling services as well as gender-sensitive educational and skills training opportunities for children withdrawn from child labour.
- ◆ **Protection** from exploitation and hazardous work involves legislation and enforcement of labour standards and improvements in working conditions.

Broadly speaking, the measures can be grouped under two categories: “upstream” measures aimed at creating an enabling environment for the elimination of the WFCL, and “downstream” direct interventions targeted at population groups or economic sectors where WFCL are prevalent.

This is the ideal approach mix of the ILO. As the ILO Desk review of child labour and scavenging projects (ILO, 2002) shows, in practice many projects focus on a more limited set of interventions.

2.5 The concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management

Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM) is a concept developed by WASTE in cooperation with its partners in the South over the years since 1995. The ISWM concept promotes the understanding that waste management encompasses a complex system of actors and activities with different interests and priorities that require proper management and coordination and an integrated approach at all levels. A model of the concept is shown in Figure 1.

The reason why the ISWM concept is introduced here is that at the beginning of the Thematic Evaluation the research team had the impression that the approaches used in projects addressing child labour in scavenging were limited to certain types of interventions and were not connected with the solid waste management system at large. Therefore it was proposed to use the ISWM concept as a framework for the Thematic Evaluation. Analytical questions related to the ISWM concept were included in the analytical framework (see Annex 2).

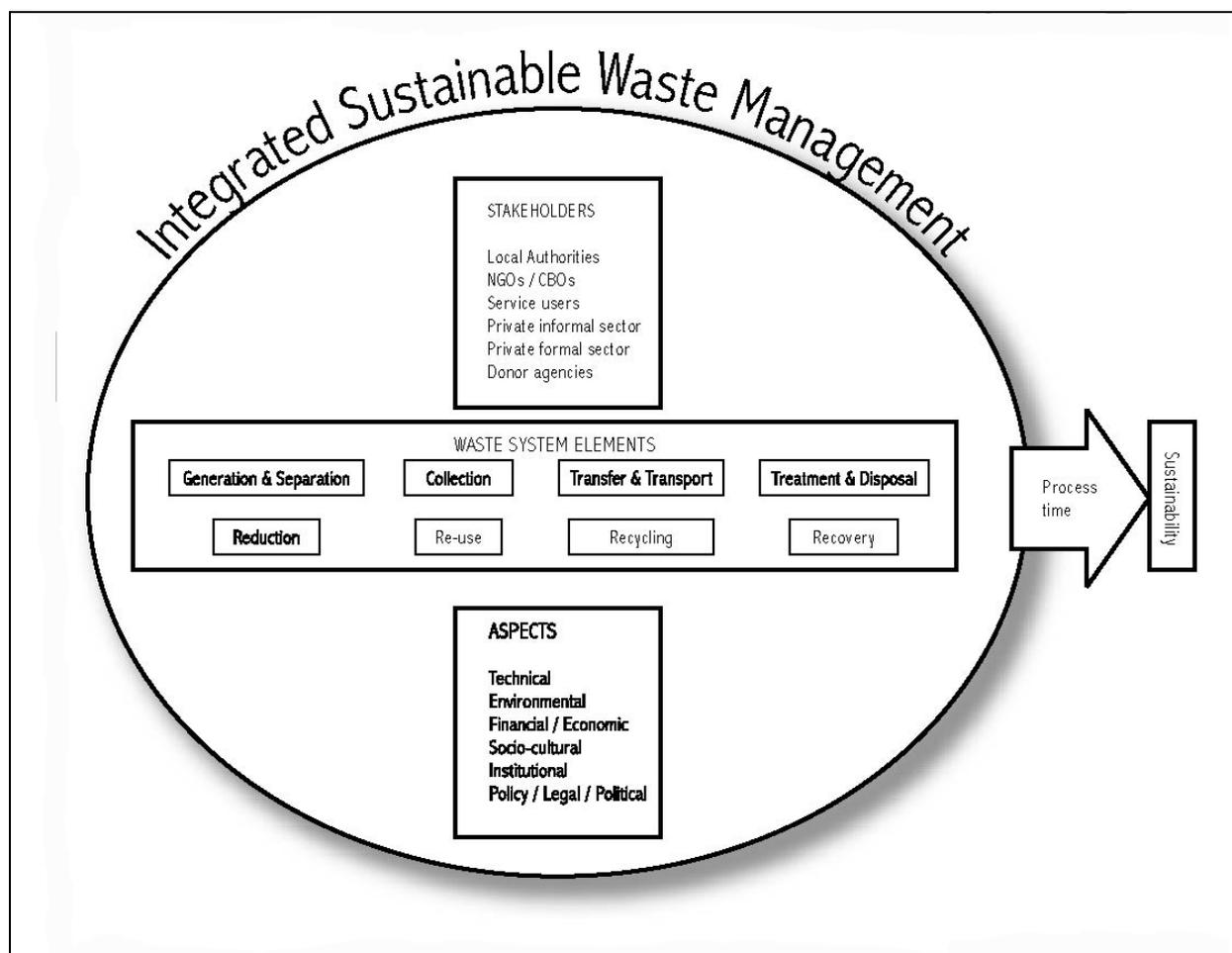
The ISWM concept recognises three important dimensions in waste management: stakeholders, waste system elements and sustainability aspects.

2.5.1 Stakeholders, the first ISWM dimension

ISWM is, first and foremost, about participation of stakeholders. A stakeholder is a person or organisation that has a stake, an interest in - in this case- waste management. A number of key stakeholders are listed in Figure 1. The municipality, with its general responsibility for urban cleanliness and the citizens who use the system, are (almost) always stakeholders in waste management. But other stakeholders differ in each city, so they need to be identified in the local context and often also grouped according to their interests. Stakeholders by definition have different roles and interests in relation to waste management; the challenge of the ISWM process is to get them to agree to co-operate for a common purpose, that of improving the waste system. In addition, the stakeholders in a particular city or region share a common social and geographic context and may be bound together by other systems in addition to solid waste⁹.

⁹ For example: clan, caste, ethnicity, professional affiliation, religion, school or university background, commercial relationship, kinship, sport.

Figure 1: The Concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management



Source: van de Klundert & Anschütz, 2001

2.5.2 Waste system elements, the second ISWM dimension

The waste system elements are sometimes referred to as the technical components of waste management. Most waste system elements are also stages in the (back end of the) life cycle of materials. This life cycling or flow of materials begins with extraction of natural resources and continues through processing, production and consumption stage towards final treatment and disposal.

Waste system elements refer to how solid waste is handled and where it ends up. Particularly this last has important environmental implications and for this reason a number of national environmental ministries have taken the idea of a **waste management hierarchy** as an operational policy guideline. The hierarchy is also a cornerstone of the ISWM approach and gives priority to waste prevention, minimisation, recycling and other forms of recovery of materials. Only when this is not possible is 'pure' disposal allowed.

It makes a difference whether local governments use the waste management hierarchy as a point of departure or not. If they do not use it, they usually consider a 'clean city' the main

target of their solid waste management policy¹⁰. Scavengers are in this context nuisances that hamper waste collection and disposal. However, if they take the waste management hierarchy as a point of departure for their policies, they will more easily consider waste a resource and they will be more inclined to support initiatives and actors that are involved in reuse, recycling and recovery, including scavengers.

2.5.3 *The third dimension: ISWM aspects*

Within ISWM the third dimension consists of six **sustainability aspects**, or lenses, through which the existing waste system can be assessed and with which a new or expanded system can be planned. The sustainability aspects, ranging from political-legal, to social-cultural, institutional-organisational, technical-performance, environmental-health and financial-economic, cover the range of factors influencing solid waste activities and, taken together, predict or influence the sustainability of the entire system.

To date, ISWM is a flexible concept, which is both descriptive and normative. On the one hand, the three ISWM dimensions, stakeholders, waste elements, and sustainability aspects describe the basic parameters of any waste management system. Thus ISWM can be used as a descriptive or analytic lens through which to organise urban waste information and with which to describe urban waste systems. On the other hand, ISWM is a normative framework for planning, assessment, and implementation.

Based on experience collected and documented over the last few years, it shows that only a process which recognises and respects all of the dimensions of ISWM can truly be integrated, sustainable, and, ultimately, successful.

2.5.4 *Linking ISWM to the four approaches towards child labour in scavenging*

The four approaches to reducing child labour in scavenging can be linked to the aspects of the ISWM concept.

In its extreme form the welfare approach mainly focuses on social aspects (e.g. counselling, drop-in centre) and, to a limited extent, health issues (e.g. providing healthcare and improving working conditions). The development approach is concerned with social and economic interventions such as education, credit and income generation. The rights-based approach addresses political and institutional aspects of child labour in scavenging (forming of organisations and lobbying), while the system-oriented approach usually incorporates technical, environmental, political and institutional aspects: it tries to change the equipment and operation of the collection and sorting system (technical aspect), to increase the recycling rate (environmental aspect), and to improve the position of waste pickers by giving them a formal role as a cooperative or individual entrepreneur (political and institutional aspects).

Thus the system approach comprises the largest variety of ISWM aspects. Table 2 summarises the relation between ISWM aspects and the four approaches.

¹⁰ In practice this often means clean streets in the higher income areas and the business district.

Table 2. The relation between ISWM aspects and approaches towards child labour in scavenging

<i>Approach/ISWM aspects</i>	<i>Socio-cultural</i>	<i>Health</i>	<i>Financial-economic</i>	<i>Institutional</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Environmental</i>	<i>Technical</i>
Welfare							
Development							
Rights							
System							

As mentioned in 2.3.4, individual projects can be composed of a mix of interventions, incorporating various aspects.

2.6 Research methods and field work

In total 14 projects were studied in detail in three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe. Besides, the results of the Thematic Evaluation on child labour and scavenging prepared by IPES for Latin America in June/July 2004 were included in this analysis (Price & Castro, 2004).

2.6.1 Development of analytical framework and selection of projects

As a start the research team at WASTE developed an analytical framework, This analytical framework was reviewed by a number of local researchers and resource persons as well as the ILO/IPEC. The analytical framework was developed to guide the Thematic Evaluation and the fieldwork in the five countries.

Regarding the selection of projects, the ILO suggested to include the (formerly) ILO-funded projects in the Philippines and Tanzania.

Based on its professional contacts and an Internet search, WASTE identified a number of non-ILO projects, from which 11 projects were selected in Egypt, Romania, Thailand, India, Cambodia, and Indonesia. An additional IPEC-funded project in Kenya was included as WASTE had personal contacts with the implementing agency (Undugu Society). Criteria used for selecting these projects were:

- ◆ Directly linked to child labour and scavenging
- ◆ Availability of (sufficient) written information
- ◆ Access to contact persons
- ◆ Covering a variety of experiences and interventions as well as regions

The five countries selected for fieldwork were Tanzania, Egypt, Romania, Thailand, and India. They were selected based on:

- ◆ Availability of local researchers
- ◆ Access to the projects and their contact persons

Table 3 gives a list of the projects with some details. The project acronyms are used in tables later in this report. The projects studied in the Latin America study are listed in Table 4.

2.6.2 *Collection of data*

The research methods used included desk study and review of secondary resources as well as fieldwork, using a range of Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) methods. Secondary resources included annual reports and other project documents, scientific articles and reports, articles in the press, project evaluations, etc.

The fieldwork comprised the following methods:

- ◆ Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with resource persons, local government, staff of private landfill companies, project staff, scavengers, and children
- ◆ Observation
- ◆ Review of secondary resources

Resource persons included NGO practitioners, researchers in universities, and consultants. Scavengers and children involved in the projects were interviewed as well as some who did not participate.

In consultation with WASTE a number of local researchers carried out the field work, based on the analytical framework.

In addition, semi-structured email and telephone interviews were conducted with contact persons in the projects in the Philippines, Kenya and Cambodia.

The Regional Thematic Evaluation in Latin America carried out by IPES used a combination of review of secondary resources, email and telephone interviews.

2.6.3 *Analysis, review and reporting*

The local researchers produced evaluative field studies based on the fieldwork, which were reviewed by WASTE and revised accordingly.

The information collected through various means was then summarised in tables to obtain insight into the relations between the data, emerging issues and trends.

The results of the desk review on IPEC interventions with child scavengers carried out by the ILO in 2002 were also included in the analysis.

Preliminary results were presented to and discussed with the ILO beginning of August 2004.

ILO staff, the local researchers and a number of resource persons knowledgeable about waste picking reviewed the draft report. An e-meeting was also organised to exchange views on some crucial issues and to review conclusions and recommendations presented in the synthesis report.

Table 3. Projects in Asia, Africa and Europe studied in detail for this Thematic Evaluation

	Project acronym	Location	Name of organisation managing the project	Main funding sources	Year of start project	Current Status	Budget¹¹
1.	PHIL	Quezon city, Philippines	SABANA-ERDA	ILO/IPEC; Vlaams International Centre (Belgium); Japanese and French NGOs, UNESCO, Save the Children; Private sector	1989 ILO support: 1989-1992	Ongoing	US\$ 200,000 (1989-1993) Partly self-financing
2.	TANZ	Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania	Solid Waste Management Programme (SWMP) Employment Creation in Municipal Service Delivery in Eastern Africa	UNDP ILO DfID-UK	1998-2001 (SWMP) 2001-2003 (SWMP) 2004 ¹²	Completed Ongoing	US\$ 221,000 (1998-2001) US\$ 60,000 (2001-2003) US\$ 1,4 million ¹³ (2003-2006)
3.	EGYP 1	Cairo, Egypt	APE, CID	DANIDA; Kema (Finland); Comité Catholique contre la Faim; Les Amis de Soeur Emanuelle; Private sector; Various charities	1988 (rag recycling) 1994 (paper recycling)	Ongoing Ongoing	Self-financing Self-financing
4.	EGYP 2	Cairo, Egypt	AGCCD, CID, EQI	Ford Foundation; Oxfam (UK); Les Amis de Soeur Emanuelle; UNESCO; Private sector	2000	Ongoing	Partly self-financing
5.	ROMA 1	Cluj Napoca, Romania	Cluj County School Inspectorate	Médecins sans Frontières; Open Society Foundation; Wassdas Foundation	1996	Ongoing	US\$ 89,500 (1995-present)
6.	ROMA 2	Cluj Napoca, Romania	Cluj County Commission for the Protection of Children's Rights	EU, provincial government	2002	Ongoing	€179,000 (2003-2007)
7.	ROMA 3	Cluj Napoca, Romania	Foundation for Helping Families	US and Dutch NGOs	1997	Ongoing	€57,000 (since 1997) and several one-time donations
8.	THAI 1	Bangkok, Thailand	FSCC	Private donations; Royal family; Government; Bernard van Leer Foundation (Netherlands)	1993	Ongoing	NA

¹¹ Budget information is only indicative: usually several (complementing) projects are financed by various donors at different moments in time, which makes it difficult to provide a full overview.

¹² Employment Creation in Municipal Service Delivery in Eastern Africa

¹³ For several cities in 3 countries: Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya

	Project acronym	Location	Name of organisation managing the project	Main funding sources	Year of start project	Current Status	Budget¹¹
9.	THAI 2	Baan Donyong in Ubon Ratchatani, Thailand	Community Committee of Baan Donyong	Government; Private sector; Private donations	1998	Ongoing	NA
10.	INDIA 1	Bangalore, India	Mythri	Child Relief and You (national NGO)	1998	Ongoing	NA
11.	INDIA 2	Kolkatta, India	Tiljala Shed (FOCUS)	Misereor (Germany)	1998	Ongoing	NA
12.	CAMB	Phnom Penh, Cambodia	VCAO	Terre des Hommes (Germany/Netherlands) ; ASSIST Japan	1994 TdH support: since 2000	Ongoing	€72,114 (2001-2003) €65,790 (2003-2005)
13.	INDO	Jakarta, Indonesia	Institut Sosial Jakarta, Bureau for Waste picker Advocacy	CORDAID (Netherlands)	1974 CORDAID support: 1992-2003	Completed	€164,815 (2000-2003)
14.	KENY	Nairobi, Kenya	Undugu Society Kenya, IPEC	IPEC/ILO	1979 IPEC support: 2001-2005	Ongoing	US\$ 71,275 (2001-2003) US\$ 80,000 (2003-2005)

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documentation, 2004

Table 4. Projects in Latin America included in the Thematic Evaluation by IPES

	Country	City	Name of the project	Funding	Year of start project	Current Status	Budget
	Argentina	Rosario	Sorting programme and waste picker cooperatives	GTZ, Municipality of Rosario	2000	Ongoing	NA
		Buenos Aires	Urban waste pickers and recyclers programme (PRU)	Municipality of Bs. Aires	2002	Ongoing	Self-financing
	Brazil	Sao Bernardo do Campo	Social promotion of waste pickers in the disposal site of Alvarenga	UNICEF, Municipality of Sao Bernardo	1998	Ongoing	Partly self-financing
		Belo Horizonte	ASMARE cooperative	Pastoral da Rua, Caritas, LIFE, Municipality of Belo Horizonte	1988	Ongoing	Partly self-financing
		Sao Paulo	COOPAMARE (paper pickers cooperative)	Organización de Auxilio	1986	Ongoing	Self-financing

	Country	City	Name of the project	Funding	Year of start project	Current Status	Budget
				Fraterno, Municipality of Sao Paulo			
1.		Porto Alegre	Association of recyclers in the disposal site in Porto Alegre	Municipality of Porto Alegre	1991	Ongoing	Self-financing
2.		National	Campaign 'Lixo e cidadanía' (Waste and citizenship)	UNICEF, Ministerio de Medio Ambiente, CAIXA, FUNASA, Missao Criança, SEDU, SEAS Ministerio Público Federal	1998	Ongoing	Partly self-financing
3.	Colombia	Meddelín	RECUPERAR (cooperative)	Empresas Varias de Medellín,	1983	Ongoing	Self-financing
4.		National (ANR)	ANR (National association of recyclers)	Fundación Social, NOVIB, Red de Solidaridad Social, Fondo para la Acción Ambiental, Embajada Holandesa	1986	Ongoing	Partly self-financing
5.	Ecuador	Sto. Domingo de los Colorados	Elimination of child labour in the disposal site of Sto. Domingo de los Colorados	ILO/IPEC	2001-2002	Completed	US\$ 115,000
6.	El Salvador	Santa Ana	Elimination of child labour in the disposal site of Camones	ILO/IPEC	2000-2001	Completed	US\$ 111,100
7.	Mexico	Mexico DF	Waste sorting and recycling plants in the metropolitan zone of Mexico Valley	GTZ, Secretaria de Ecología del Estado de Mexico	1997	Ongoing	NA

	Country	City	Name of the project	Funding	Year of start project	Current Status	Budget
8.	Nicaragua	Managua	Elimination of child labour in La Chureca/Acahualinca	ILO/IPEC	2001-2004	Completed	US\$ 1,133,830
9.	Peru	Lima	Waste picker cooperatives in El Zapallal	MISEREOR, Municipality of Lima	1989-1993	Completed	18,000
10.	Uruguay	Montevideo	Labour education agreements and SWM micro SWM enterprises, San Vicente organisation	IDB, Municipality of Montevideo	1999	Ongoing	Partly self-financing

Source: Regional Thematic Evaluation of Child Labour and Waste picking Projects, commissioned by ILO, carried out by J. Price and C. Castro, 2004.

2.7 Summary and conclusions

Four main approaches to address the issue of child labour and scavenging can be distinguished: the welfare, development, rights-based and system-oriented approach.

The concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management, developed by WASTE through its years of experience with waste management provides the theoretical framework for this evaluation.

A range of research methods was used, combining fieldwork and desk study.

CHAPTER 3 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research context: i.e. the cities where the projects are located, the position of scavengers in these cities, and the situation of child labour in scavenging in these particular locations. It also pays attention to the effect of solid waste management policies and economic developments on scavenging and child labour. The implications for projects addressing child labour in scavenging are highlighted.

3.2 Characteristics of the cities

Table 5 shows the general characteristics of the cities included in the Thematic Evaluation. The data are derived from the evaluative field studies, resource persons and project documentation.

Table 5. Characteristics of cities and numbers of scavengers

Country	Project	City	Number of inhabitants (in 2004, often estimates)	Character of the city	Number of scavengers (estimate)	Number of scavenging children (estimate)
Philippines	PHIL	Quezon city	2,2 million	Capital city	13,000 on dumpsite only	1500 on dumpsite only
Tanzania	TANZ	Dar Es Salaam	2,5 million	Capital city	600-700	50-100
Egypt	EGYP 1 and 2	Cairo	18 million	Capital city	30-70,000 of which 5000 street pickers	Unknown, 2500 street pickers
Romania	ROMA 1, 2 and 3	Cluj Napoca	330,000	Medium-sized city	800 dump pickers, 1000 street pickers	150-200
Thailand	THAI 1	Bangkok	>10 million	Capital city	NA	NA
	THAI 2	Baan Donyong in Ubon Ratchatani	-	Village	NA	NA
India	INDIA 1	Bangalore	6 million	Large city, capital city of State of Karnataka	12,000	NA
	INDIA 2	Kolkatta	15 million	Large city, capital city of State of West Bengal	50,000	NA
Cambodia	CAMB	Phnom Penh	1.2 million	Capital city	330 on dumpsite only	246 on dumpsite only
Indonesia	INDO	Jakarta	8 million	Capital city	NA	NA
Kenya	KENY	Nairobi	3 million	Capital city	NA	NA

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documents, 2004

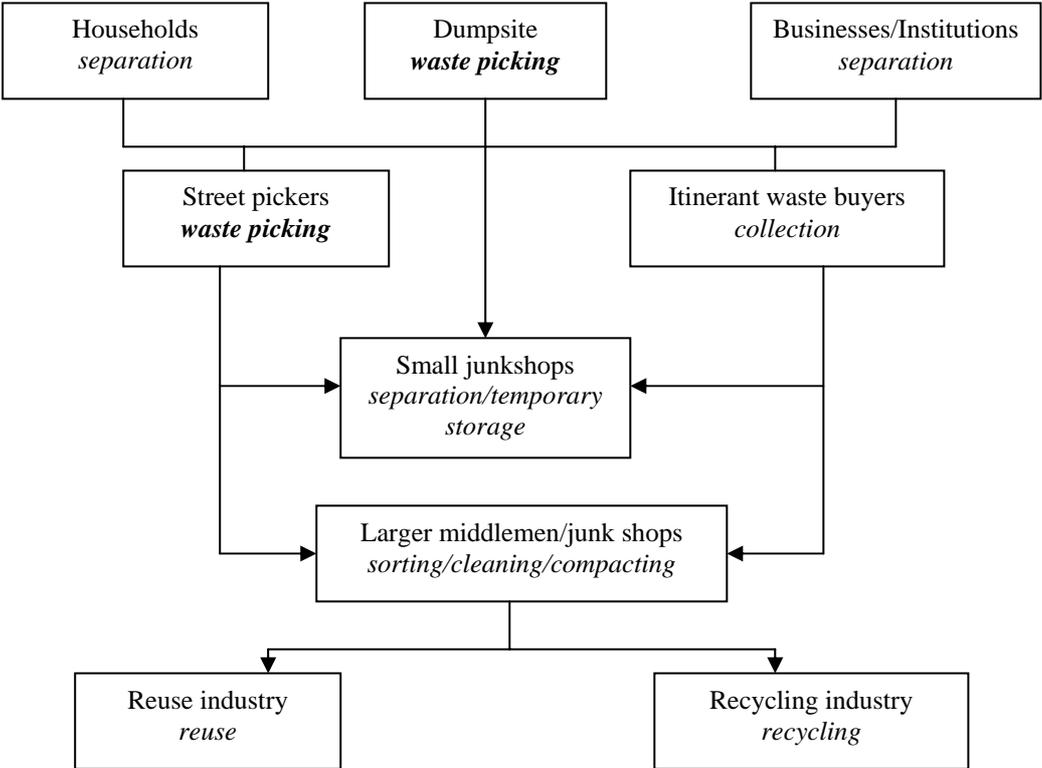
Cities where the interventions took place differ in size and character, but most are capital cities. It is clear that much is unknown regarding numbers of scavengers and scavenging children.

3.3 The background of scavengers

Scavengers play an important, but usually unrecognised role in many SWM systems in cities in the South, especially in recycling, as formal separation at source and selective waste collection are seldom well developed. Scavengers recover recyclable materials from street bins, containers, communal collection sites, vacant lots, and final disposal sites. They sell these to dealers and thus indirectly provide local industries with recycled feedstock.

The position of scavenging in the waste chain in an average city in the South is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The informal waste sector in an average city in the South



Source: Adapted from Marchand, 1998

Large-scale waste picking is a phenomenon that arises from the conjunction of absolute poverty with free (or very low cost) resources. Waste picking can be easily learnt and does not require literacy; pickers are often actively recruited by waste traders who offer them loans or even accommodation (Furedy, 1997).

Most waste pickers are poor, although they are not the poorest in the waste system and can earn up to three times the minimum wage (see among others CID, 2001).

They often suffer from bad labour conditions, especially when they work on landfills and dumpsites. They face various risks and hazards, varying from occupational accidents to chemical risks due to toxic substances at dumpsites, ergonomic and psychological problems (van Eerd, 1996).

They live in very poor conditions, and suffer stigmatisation and exploitation because handling waste materials is disdained by society at large (Furedy, 1997). Repression and harassment are the most common official attitudes.

3.3.1 Migrants, Minorities, Foreigners, Low Castes, Refugees

From the Thematic Evaluation and the field studies it emerged that in most countries the scavengers were migrants who had come from other cities or areas, which they fled because of droughts, floods, losing husband or wife, etc. Other studies confirm this. Very often one finds that an increase in the entry of poor rural migrants to cities is associated with an increase in numbers of waste pickers (Furedy, 1997).

In many countries scavengers belong to minority groups. These can be religious minorities: for example in Egypt the Coptic Christians used to make up the majority of waste collectors and waste pickers, but this is now changing. They comprise now roughly half of the waste collectors and pickers. In Kolkatta, India, the Muslim minority is over represented.

Also ethnic-cultural minorities can be found in the scavenging sector: in the whole of India the 'dalit' (casteless) people are often involved in picking waste and emptying latrines. In Romania and most of Eastern Europe the Rroma (gypsies) are the main group.

Sometimes they even belong to a different nationality: in Lebanon many scavengers are Syrians and Palestinians. In Delhi, India, many scavengers come from Bangladesh, while in Pakistan the proportion of Afghan refugees among scavengers was high.

A different nationality can pose problems like not speaking the main language, having no access to social security or governmental jobs, etc.

3.3.2 Implications for projects

Because of their background as migrants many local governments see scavengers as temporary residents and are not inclined to invest in them (or their children). As migrants or foreigners, they are often unregistered or undocumented, and so do not have access to local governmental allowances like social assistance or child support.

A recurring problem among scavengers is the fact that they do not have identity cards or birth certificates. This makes it difficult for them to find regular employment, receive assistance from the state, to vote, to buy and sell properties, etc. and for their children to enrol in (formal) schools.

A number of the projects studied addressed these particular needs of the scavengers by helping them with registration and obtaining birth certificates. These seemed useful interventions.

3.4 Child labour and scavenging

What does the involvement of children in waste picking look like?

Actually children are involved in various stages of the picking process. The most well-known involvement is in picking on dumpsites, with their families or in groups with a leader or recruited by a middleman. They can also be found picking in the streets, individually or in groups. The most invisible involvement of children in this sector is in homes. While their parents pick waste in the streets or collect it from households, children (and women) often sort the mixed waste at home so that it can be sold.

Detailed information on numbers, age and gender of scavenging children was not available in most cases, unless a comprehensive survey had been done, as was the case in some ILO projects. Estimates of the numbers of scavenging for the cities in the review are shown in Table 5.

Both boys and girls can be found scavenging, but girls are much less involved in street picking. In Tanzania teenage boys clearly dominated dump and street picking (88%), and this appears to be true in Kenya as well. The age of child scavengers ranges from 4-5 years to 18 years.

3.4.1 *Earnings and share of family income*

Scavenging children can contribute a considerable share of the family income. Their income varies from 10 to 50% of an adult's income, which makes it difficult to convince their parents to let the children go to school. When they grow older, the children often increase the number of hours they work and they tend to collect more valuable items; thus their income increases accordingly.

Some examples from the field studies are shown in Box 1.

Box 1 Examples of income share of child scavengers

Kolkatta:	Children earn 30-40% of family income
Cambodia:	Children can earn 50% of an adult's income (USD 1/day).
Egypt:	Children can earn 30-50% of an adult's income (1euro/day) or provide unpaid labour, which saves the family the cost of hiring someone from outside (girls mainly).
Philippines:	Children can earn more at scavenging than do neighbourhood adult factory workers working a ten-hour shift (Gunn & Ostos, 1992).
Tanzania:	Younger children (6-12 years) earn 10-25%, while older children (13-16 years) can earn half of an adult's income

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documents, 2004

3.4.2 *Reasons why children are scavenging*

There are various reasons why children work, and this is also the case with children working as scavengers. The field studies mentioned the following reasons:

- ◆ poverty/family needs the additional income or needs the labour to reduce the use of paid labour;
- ◆ parents are not able to provide for income (because of a background of violence, gambling, alcoholism, disabilities);
- ◆ lack of skills/low education;
- ◆ lack of other income opportunities;
- ◆ lack of available and accessible schools;
- ◆ costs of school fees and/or school supplies such as uniforms, school materials, meals
- ◆ education is not relevant, of low quality, school is not a joyful and attractive place of learning ;
- ◆ education is not considered important in the culture of the parents;
- ◆ scavenging is a way of life/Landfill is the medium of life/Lack of vision of an alternative future;
- ◆ children are expected to participate in the work performed by the family;
- ◆ children are expected to contribute to family income/Feeling of responsibility towards the family;
- ◆ acceptance of child labour, especially with children who are older than 15;
- ◆ children are very fast in picking waste/Agility to sort through waste; or
- ◆ day care is expensive/parents do not have another place to leave their children/absence of safety nets in communities.

3.4.3 *Implications for project interventions*

Because children have different reasons to engage in scavenging, interventions should be adapted to these locally defined reasons. In the Philippines the ERDA-SABANA project (PHIL) was consultative, and as a result of the consultation, the project staff designed to address all arguments used by parents and their children not to send their children to school. This made the choices easier for the parents to understand.

3.5 **Economic development and scavenging**

General developments in the economy can have a vital impact on scavenging and, indirectly, on child labour. In a number of areas studied it was mentioned that poverty and unemployment in other sectors had direct consequences for the number of people scavenging. Argentina is a very strong case in point. With the economic crisis there in 2001 many more people turned to scavenging than before, even from middle class families. Children, who used to go to school full time and enjoy their childhood, started scavenging with their parents during the evening and night. The same thing happened in all of Eastern Europe with the fall of state socialism in 1989: social safety net systems that had provided special workplaces and guaranteed salaries for Roma ("gypsies") were dismantled, and so many turned to scavenging in combination with other seasonal labour.

The reasons why adults were scavenging mentioned in the field studies included:

- ◆ cannot find alternative employment (due to low level of education and/or discrimination based on their cultural/ethnic background);
- ◆ high income, sometimes supplemental income to provide for immediate costs of living; or
- ◆ relative freedom in determining working hours, working places, etc.

Although scavenging is the lowest paid work in the waste chain, all field studies confirmed the fact that many scavengers earn more than the minimum wage, up to three times as much in Latin America. Scavenging can thus be a way out of poverty for some poor families. It can also provide women a chance to earn an independent income.

3.5.1 Implications for projects

Because incomes in scavenging are high and alternative employment difficult to find, projects should pay attention to creating alternative sources of income and improving the economic opportunities for scavengers. In addition, these activities should provide either more income than scavenging or have other related benefits, like higher prestige, better working conditions, etc.

Projects aiming to reduce child labour will always have to cope with external factors that increase poverty and migration and thus increase the number of children becoming involved in scavenging, almost immediately replacing the exiting children with new ones. Those factors are difficult to influence as a project or local organisation. However, donors need to be made aware of this aspect too and not focus exclusively on the numbers of scavenging children as a measure for success.

3.6 Solid waste management policies and scavenging

In almost all projects studied the attitude of the government towards scavengers is one of neglect and/or repression. The government and the general public generally treat scavengers as criminals and outcasts, or they are seen as a social problem that other government departments should deal with. The role of scavengers in resource recovery or as solid waste managers is seldom recognised, and when this occurs, it is almost always as a consequence of an international project-related intervention.

Consequently, scavenging is not generally recognised as being integrated in the formal SWM system at all, even when it diverts substantial quantities of materials to recovery. It remains an invisible and unrecognised activity. The economic value of scavenging to the SWM system (amount of materials recycled, etc.) is also not known -- or even studied -- in most areas studied.

Only in some Latin American cities and in India were scavengers considered stakeholders in the SWM system, for example in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. This acknowledgement has usually had a clear positive effect on both their incomes and on the position of child labour. ILO/IPEC projects do not pay much attention to this aspect of improving the position of scavengers and integrating them more into the SWM system. Only in Tanzania (TANZ) and the Philippines (PHIL) were there limited attempts made in this direction.

In some areas studied local governments started to perceive waste more and more as a resource and SWM not purely as a cleaning exercise. The importance of the waste management hierarchy in SWM policies seemed also on the increase. However, this did not

always lead to an improved position of the scavengers. Local governments in the study areas tended to look at Europe and North America and copy their systems. A common response to this phase of the modernisation process is to close the dump or upgrade it to become a sanitary landfill. Rather than creating a new role for the scavengers in the modernised SWM system, they are usually prohibited from having access, harassed, arrested, or driven out, with the result that they are dispersed and start picking in the streets, and usually lose important sources of income.

One way of understanding this trend is that until solid waste systems are modernised and attention paid to the waste management hierarchy, waste is a common property resource, to which anyone, including the poorest of the poor, can have access if they take the time and use their own physical resources. One side-effect of the modernisation process is that the public sector tends to claim the waste and define it as being the responsibility -- and property -- of either public sector or private sector actors. This means that the legal status of the waste changes, and it is no longer so available. Governments or private companies who now have the responsibility or the access then enforce this new status, barring scavengers from taking something which used to be open to anyone.

Participation of the national or international private sector was a clear trend perceived in the areas studied. Usually privatisation meant lower incomes for scavengers, as the private operators tend to "skim" the valuable materials from what has become "their" waste. For example in Bangkok, Thailand, a private company received a concession to manage the landfill and officially closed its access to scavengers. In practice, however, they were let in and forced to sell their recovered materials to the private company who resold them for a large profit. The incomes of the scavengers decreased since this private company took over (THAI 1). Such practices have significant effects on child labour too, because when the livelihoods of scavengers are in danger, they cannot afford to send their children to school.

3.6.1 Implications for projects

How can projects deal with these changes in official SWM policies? Most projects, including the ILO/IPEC ones, did not know much about the SWM policies of the government. Their activities seemed to be isolated from these policies. This means that project activities can be disrupted suddenly, like in Indonesia where the government decided to 'clean up the dumpsite' and dispersed the scavengers. The NGO had to stop altogether its activities with scavengers, because they did not know where they went (INDO).

Therefore, as a general principle, it is important for projects addressing scavenging and child labour in scavenging to build relations with the local, provincial and national government and to attempt to influence their policies. This needs much effort in the field of dialogue and negotiation. Smaller organisations have to cooperate with other, larger ones to make this strategy work. Bangalore, India is a good example of how this can have positive effects for waste pickers (and their children) (INDIA 1). Projects with waste pickers as selective waste collectors were upscaled from localised experiments to city-wide large scale employment within a private contract system through intensive work with the local government.

However, organisations that do not focus on waste pickers alone, but work with broader target groups are at a disadvantage here. They are less inclined to keep track of governmental SWM policies as they deal with many different types of child labour.

The ILO could play an important role using its capacity and framework to raise awareness of the government on the relation with child labour and to build government capacity and influence SWM related policies among government at different levels (local, provincial and national). They could probably make this an explicit part of their projects or a project in itself.

3.7 Research and monitoring

Research and monitoring are not common among the projects studied, and this makes both evaluation and targeted interventions challenging and less effective. For example, the Desk review of the ILO (2002) indicates that only 11 out of the 69 projects (16%) have research and monitoring as listed activities.

In some cases the projects did not have data on numbers, ages and sex of scavengers, making it impossible to draw inferences about family structure or the participation of children. A few projects did not have any information on the background or reasons for children to be involved in scavenging.

Reliable information was available when extensive surveys were conducted, which was sometimes the case with ILO/IPEC projects that are carried out in the context of support to broader, integrated Time Bound Programmes. The disadvantage of surveys is that they are expensive and they only provide a snapshot. Also there was not sufficient information about the survey methodology to evaluate the extent to which the methods and approaches biased the responses, a general danger with surveys of poor people, and an especially large risk when the target groups are informal or have a semi-legal status. A good alternative seems to be to cooperate with an NGO that works in the field, especially when this has a drop-in centre at the disposal site and keeps dossiers of waste pickers.

3.8 Conclusion

Information about the background and characteristics of (child) scavengers and reasons why they scavenge is needed, which requires more efforts in research and monitoring. Reasons for engaging in scavenging and not sending children to school need to be carefully studied. Parents may have different reasons than children.

Projects (and their donors) need to keep track of economic developments and SWM policies and should be aware of their effects on scavenging.

CHAPTER 4 TARGET GROUPS AND STAKEHOLDERS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the role waste pickers and their children play in projects that are designed for them. It looks at target groups, their position as stakeholders and their participation in projects addressing child labour in scavenging. In addition, cooperation with other agencies and stakeholders and funding issues will be dealt with.

4.2 Target groups

The size of the target groups of the projects studied was highly variable and ranged from 60 children to 500 families (see Table 6).

Table 6. Target groups of the projects studied in Asia/Africa/Europe

Country	Project	No. of adults, children, families targeted
Philippines	PHIL	500 children and their families
Tanzania	TANZ	230 waste pickers
Egypt	EGYP 1	70-80 girls and women a year
	EGYP 2	60 boys a year
Romania	ROMA 1	60 children a year
	ROMA 2	45 children
	ROMA 3	127 families (ca. 400 waste pickers)
Thailand	THAI 1	55-60 children, 368 families
	THAI 2	NA
India	INDIA 1	159 child workers 211 street children
	INDIA 2	200 families
Cambodia	CAMB	80 children and families

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documents, 2004

For comparison, Table 7 provides the same figures for Latin America. Here especially the national level initiatives in Brazil and Colombia target much high numbers of scavengers and their children.

Table 7. Target groups of the projects studied in Latin America

Country	City	Target group
Argentina	Rosario	245 waste pickers
	Buenos Aires	7,200 waste pickers
Brazil	Sao Bernardo do Campo	92 families, 176 children, 160 street pickers
	Belo Horizonte (ASMARE)	383 waste pickers
	Sao Paulo (COOPAMARE)	413 waste pickers
	Porto Alegre (North dumpsite)	300 waste pickers and their families
	National (UNICEF)	46,742 children
Colombia	Medellín (RECUPERAR)	1,412
	National (ANR)	5,135 waste pickers
Ecuador	Sto. Domingo de los Colorados	106 children
El Salvador	Santa Ana	99 children and 16 families
Mexico	Mexico DF	Not available
Nicaragua	Managua	2,977 (Sept. 2003)
Peru	Lima (cooperatives in El Zapallal)	150 waste pickers
Uruguay	Montevideo	35 waste pickers

Source: Price & Castro, 2004

Target groups also diverged among the projects, but almost all projects studied in Asia, Africa and Europe (13 out of 14) had a focus on children. They either targeted waste picking children (7 projects, 50%) and/or a broader category such as street children, children of the urban poor, children of abused women, etc. (9 projects, 64%).

The majority of the projects (9 out of 14 or 64%) targeted adults only when they were parents of the children. Activities for parents in these projects usually did not relate to their productive role or their economic activities, but only to their role as parents. This was also true for the ILO/IPEC projects.

In a few cases (5 out of 14, 36%) there were separate activities set up for adults, usually credit and income generation or building and strengthening an association of waste pickers. By contrast, in the Latin American cases interventions for adults were much more common.

4.2.1 Implications for projects

Children -- in contrast to teenagers -- are not independent stakeholders or social or economic actors. They cannot decide to go to school in defiance of the wishes of parents or other older relatives (or even older siblings). Interventions for children alone cannot be expected to be effective, and especially when they leave the parents out and do not change their attitudes towards education nor improve their economic opportunities.

At the same time, adults are only part of the solution, and interventions aimed at children also have to deal with the children as direct stakeholders (even if they are not independent). Interventions for adults alone do not always have a positive effect on child labour, as improving income alone does not guarantee that parents will send their children to school. Therefore a combination of interventions for adults and children seems most appropriate. Children are more open to change, but if the income situation for the parents does not change structurally, little long-term effect on child labour can be expected.

4.3 Differentiating between target groups

Projects targeting only dump picking children (e.g. PHIL, ROMA1, 2 and 3, CAMB) or children living in a particular picking community (EGYP1 and 2) seem more focused and therefore more successful than projects targeting broad categories (e.g. street children, children of the urban poor). For the latter it is also difficult to follow and influence SWM policies of the government.

Street pickers and dump pickers need a different treatment. Child street pickers are usually addressed together with other street children, as they share many characteristics; they are highly mobile and difficult to gain access to. They need shelter and integration with their families. Dump pickers on the other hand, are living in a relatively stable environment, usually carry out the work with their parents, and are very much absorbed in that way of life. Dump picking children are relatively easier to work with than street picking children.

Most projects targeted both boys and girls at the same time. Only a few projects focused specifically on boys or girls, for example, the two projects in Egypt. They could adapt their interventions to the specific conditions of the boys and the girls and made it therefore easier for the children and the parents to send their children to training and education.

In other cases it is not necessary to differentiate according to gender. For example in Romania there seemed to be a more or less equal number of boys and girls, men and women were involved in waste picking and their tasks were similar (Stanev, 2004).

4.3.1 Implications for projects

The definition of target groups and their needs should be based on information about the local context, collected in a participatory way.

Based on this information, target groups can, for example, be differentiated according to:

- ◆ Type of work (e.g. street pickers versus dump pickers)
- ◆ Sex of the child
- ◆ Sex and age of the head of household
- ◆ Age and social grouping of the children

What seems to work well is that one NGO specialises in one category of children (e.g. street pickers together with other street children) and another in working with the dumpsite community and they refer children to each other, for example orphans on the dumpsite.

Depending on the local context, scavenging boys and girls may need different approaches, as they often have different tasks in scavenging and at home. Boys tend to be more involved in scavenging and derive more income from it, while girls tend to help more in the household. They also face different work-related dangers. For example girls face more often the risk of sexual abuse, in particular when they are street pickers. Especially for youth (12-18 year olds) it seems important to address gender differences.

In the same way interventions for parents often need different approaches for men and women, and for families headed by men or women, focusing on their respective needs. If only men are targeted or projects pretend to be gender-neutral, the risk is high that women are disenfranchised and lose confidence in the project.

4.4 Participation of target groups in projects

4.4.1 ILO's perception of scavengers

The ILO/IPEC tend to use the term 'scavenger' or 'rag picker' to refer to people sorting and selling waste at dumpsites and from street bins. A number of field studies indicated that the term 'scavenger' is considered derogatory. The term 'rag picker' is also inappropriate, as rags have limited economic value for most waste pickers in the South.

The ILO staff involved in working with scavenging do not seem to be particularly immune to the general social attitude towards poor people living in dirty environments and working with waste. The staff persons may share general social or ethnic prejudices, and this will tend to lead them to focus on welfare aspects, rather than using a system analysis and treating the scavengers as professional recyclers. Also many of these staff persons are sociologists, with a limited knowledge of the urban environmental context, and thus, no tools to understand the place of scavengers within it or the interactions between the activity of scavenging and the global trade in secondary materials.

Some of the work to be done is needed within the ILO -- or its subcontractors -- itself. For example, it is recommended that staff persons working with scavengers have the opportunity to attend special trainings, focused both on solid waste in general, and on informal recycling, and the roles of scavengers within it.

Moreover, it is recommended that the ILO/IPEC coach its staff and consultants to use a more neutral term such as 'waste picker'. Why is this relevant for child labour in scavenging? This is not just a side issue, since the way the parents are addressed and perceived has an impact on the projects' results. In many cases the parents are key in determining whether or not their children can go to school or attend a training course. If parents are proud of their trade and feel appreciated, they will be more open to change, more inclined to improve their circumstances and give their children other opportunities.

4.4.2 Level of participation

All kinds of interventions with poor people benefit from the active participation of the "target groups" and "beneficiaries." There is no clearer way to determine what someone's needs are than to ask them directly. Yet consultation with scavengers was, surprisingly, not always or even often associated with the projects studied. To assess the level of participation in the projects studied, a distinction was made between participatory, semi-participatory and non-participatory, linked to a more active or more passive role of the scavengers.

Participation of target groups in a consultative role or on a temporary voluntary basis ('semi-participatory' methodology) was the most common methodology among the projects studied, also among ILO/IPEC projects. Examples are the involvement of scavengers, adults or children, in carrying out health awareness raising or running a school committee. Like with all volunteer activities, the level of success of recruiting and keeping volunteers depends on personal interests and incentives offered. Adults were less inclined to participate than children. Recognition of volunteers was important in the form of certificates, public recognition during events, training opportunities, etc.

Most projects did not include scavengers and scavenging children in decision-making in the design, implementation or monitoring stage. Few staffed their projects with former scavengers; in fact this only occurred in the Philippines (PHIL), Bangalore (INDIA 1), Cambodia (CAMB) and Egypt (EGYP 1 and 2).

The level of participation seemed to be linked to the approach taken. Projects using rights-based and system-based approaches had a more clear focus on participation of target groups than the other types of projects.

Often the argument was used that the target group –children- were too little to give them a say in the project. However, in these cases even their parents had little influence on the contents of the project's activities. In Eastern Europe the general social perception that Roma people are less than human and that their standard response to any question is either to lie or to tell the listener what they want to hear is frequently used as a justification for not bothering to ask.

A non-participatory approach, which is often found with welfare-based projects, often encourages a paternalistic attitude of the help-givers and a charity mentality among the scavengers, making them apathetic and dependent upon outside help. A lack of participation

of target groups in design, implementation and monitoring/evaluation can kill a project's efforts, as for example became clear in the evaluative field study of Romania. Scavengers just stood by and watched the NGO doing everything by itself. Later on the structures (in this case latrines) were not maintained and slowly fell into disrepair. Maybe the latrines had the wrong design, maybe the scavengers were not convinced of their need or maybe they did not like the NGO. It is hard to know the reason, because the scavengers were not consulted.

4.4.3 Implications for projects

It appears from the projects studied that if (child) scavengers are considered and treated as stakeholders in the project, projects tend to be more successful.

The involvement of ex-scavenging children and youth in the project as (paid) staff turned out to be very beneficial. They have extensive knowledge of area and the needs of the children, they speak the language and the community usually trusts them. In addition, they can serve as role models and show alternative careers to the child scavengers. The projects in Egypt (EGYP 1 and 2), Philippines (PHIL) and Cambodia (CAMB) are clear examples of this.

The ILO and IPEC should pay more attention to this aspect of participation of target groups.

4.5 Cooperation with other agencies

In most projects the main stakeholders were the child waste pickers themselves and CBOs/NGOs assisting them. Other important stakeholders were: waste pickers' organisations, local governments, schools and private companies.

All projects studied were initiatives of local NGOs. Cooperation with other organisations and programmes in the same field (child labour and scavenging) or related fields (education, environment, health, urban development) occurred in a number of the projects studied, but much less than expected. Most common was the cooperation with other NGOs. In some cases, such as the Philippines (PHIL) and Cambodia (CAMB), regular joint meetings were held and cooperation was even formalised in a council. Sometimes cooperation existed between NGOs referring children or adults to each other's respective programmes. For example in Cambodia VCAO, the local NGO, collaborates with other NGOs (Krousar Thmey, Friends, World Vision International) to help orphaned and high at risk children and to provide the skill training and credit to the parents of waste picking children.

It was striking that formal schools were often not involved as stakeholders in the project, although some projects aimed at increasing the attendance of scavenger children at these schools. Very few projects indicated to have any activities such as training or coaching of teachers in formal schools or improvement of the curriculum in the formal schools. Most were small initiatives outside the regular system. Where it was tried, like in Romania (ROMA 1), the NGO initially met with a lot of resistance from the local government, formal school and parents. Eventually, however, it managed to set up a special curriculum and learning trajectory inside the school for scavenging children that proved to be successful. In Egypt (EGYP 1 and 2) the local NGOs APE and AGCCD receive visits by children from formal schools to learn about 'clean' recycling.

The role of the local government was also limited; in only six out of 14 projects they were clear stakeholders. More often than not, NGOs and local governments seemed to be in disagreement because of differences in culture and approach, the latter being very formal and

attached to the rules and the existing system, while the NGOs tend to be more informal and attempt to change the existing situation.

Cooperation between UN agencies working in the field of child labour and scavenging (or even in SWM) was limited. There are at least two UN organisations that are heavily involved in the issue of child labour and scavenging: the ILO and UNICEF, while UN Habitat, UNIDO and UNESCO are involved to a lesser extent. However, information exchange between these organisations is very limited. Even the headquarters do not always know exactly what is happening in the field. The evaluative field study for Tanzania indicated that the three ILO programmes in Tanzania focusing on gender, SWM and child labour were integrated only to a very limited extent.

4.5.1 Implications for projects

It appears that cooperation with other NGOs and the direct involvement of local government educational and governance institutions greatly increases the rate of success of interventions. The advantages of more cooperation cannot be underestimated:

- ◆ Official SWM policies can be influenced..
- ◆ Children can be referred to other projects that cater to their specific needs (e.g. street pickers to a project for street children).
- ◆ Adults can be referred to credit schemes with other NGOs.
- ◆ Sometimes funding for projects can be found with governmental agencies.
- ◆ Projects can be replicated at a larger scale.

When cooperation is lacking, as was the case in Romania, initiatives remain isolated and have limited effect. In Cluj Napoca, three initiatives in the same dumpsite community existed that hardly knew of each other's existence (ROMA 1, 2 and 3). Often personal problems or bad experiences in the past are behind this lack of cooperation.

More cooperation is needed, especially with formal schools, for example on changing teaching practices and curricula to make them more attractive and relevant, training teachers in dealing with ex-child scavengers.

Also more cooperation with local governments is desirable to change their perception of scavengers and work on their integration in the formal SWM system. In a few cases where local or provincial governments were involved the effects were noticeably larger. As the study for India indicates, NGOs can only work as catalysts and provide alternative examples, but they can never work at the scale of a government.

More cooperation between UN agencies, especially UNICEF and ILO, is a must. Cooperation in the design stage seems useful, especially when they operate in the same country or region.

Also cooperation with international NGOs such as Terre des Hommes, Médecins sans Frontières, Bernard van Leer Foundation, CORDAID, Oxfam, appears to be useful. They are funding some of the projects included in this Thematic Evaluation. Exchange between practitioners would be highly beneficial to all, as their approaches and interventions are different.

Cooperation with international investment banks (e.g. World Bank, Asian Development Bank) but also agencies like GTZ and DFID-UK that work in the field of SWM seems necessary, as these tend to have extensive influence on SWM policies and practices of national and local governments, and thus on scavengers.

4.6 Failing institutional memories

In general there was a considerable lack of detailed information that came out of the projects. Many experiences, teaching methodologies and daily practices are not written down. In some cases staff has changed and thus institutional memory fails. In addition very little exchange of experiences exists between the ILO/IPEC projects in various countries. The reasons are that there is no structure for this kind of exchange and no budget lines in the project for documentation, for knowledge management, or for peer exchange, and there are certainly no provisions for crossing possible language barriers. ILO/IPEC does have a Programme Database that provides core elements of such an infrastructure and a good practice approach with guidelines that could support this process, but it will require specific follow-up and activities that will call for resources. The consequence is that very often the wheel is reinvented, the same mistakes are repeated, and sometimes within the same scavenger community.

It also appeared difficult to obtain information about what went wrong in the various projects and how obstacles were dealt with. These are sensitive issues, because it touches upon the pride of the project staff and it bears the risk of losing donors. This is an important point, since the clearest lessons are usually those about the (initial) failures and bottlenecks and how the projects managed to overcome them. An interesting exception is the ILO/IPEC project in the Philippines (PHIL) that has produced loads of written information and also an interesting article about the evolution of the project and how it developed through trial and error (Gunn & Ostos, 1992).

4.6.1 Implications for projects

Here too, it is possible that the generally low status of scavengers somehow "sticks" to the project staff of scavenger-related interventions, so that they receive a low level of institutional support and have themselves low status within their respective institutions and UN agencies. It is difficult to explain the lack of analysis, documentation, data, and knowledge management on this issue -- even within the ILO itself -- in any other way.

The implications for projects include providing management and internal support to these types of projects, profiling them within the institutions, supporting staff to publish the results, and training all staff about their importance. Project staff should be encouraged to write down their methodologies and experiences. An alternative is that the ILO/IPEC hire external consultants or evaluators every two-three years to visit the projects, talk to the practitioners and summarise their methodologies and experiences, and then to provide feedback to new initiatives or the formulation of new projects. The ILO could also use this knowledge base to make a connection with government policies and influence these to achieve a long-term and structural impact on child labour that goes beyond the scope of individual projects (e.g. a pilot project could be used to develop standards for a larger program).

To encourage the sharing of experiences a network of practitioners could be set up or at least regional meetings could be organised.

4.7 Funding

Regarding funding a very high dependence on international donor funding was noticed. International NGOs, UN organisations, EU, etc. seemed to provide the bulk of the financing. In a few cases, however, interesting experiences of funding or sponsoring by the private sector were found (e.g. Philippines, Romania, Egypt). For example in EGYPT 1 the local NGO, APE, obtained textile cut-offs from factories directly, without any payment, and used these for their rag recycling projects. In EGYPT 2 the local supporting organisation, CID, organised the support from shampoo factories to finance the recycling of their bottles, to avoid brand fraud. Other companies sponsored recycling equipment and the interior of classrooms.

In Romania the Open Society Foundation is involved in ROMA 1. This foundation is part of a series of foundations established by the businessman-philanthropist George Soros and focuses its activities among others on the Roma population in Central and Eastern Europe. 80% of waste pickers in Romania are of Roma ethnicity (Stanev et al., 2004).

Moreover, a number of projects were partly subsidised by the local or provincial government, for example by donating land or financing specific activities (e.g. India, Thailand, Romania).

Finally, a very small minority of NGOs had self-financing activities next to the donor support they received for particular activities. For example APE in Egypt runs a composting plant and benefits from the sales of recycled items (textile and paper). It also operates a unit for manufacturing equipment for plastic recycling (EGYPT 1). The Undugu Society in Kenya has economic activities that sponsor their social programmes (KENYA). These activities definitely increase the sustainability of the implementing organisation as such.

4.7.1 *Implications for projects*

Creative fund raising and income generation should be part of project design. Self-financing increases financial sustainability of the initiative. Non-traditional sources of funding like cooperation with the private sector should be explored much more than is currently done. When the system approach is used, and the result of the intervention is to increase the prices paid for recyclables, some of this money could also go to support the projects themselves.

4.8 Conclusion

The conclusions from this chapter are that differentiating between target groups is important to address specific needs. Participation of target groups is essential to identify local needs and to sustain efforts. A second line of conclusions involves supporting, educating, and connecting the staff of these projects within and outside of the ILO, so that the status of scavenging-related projects gets raised. Cooperation with other agencies and exchanging experiences avoids replicating the same mistakes and reinventing the wheel. Finally, funding should be diversified and oriented towards non-traditional sources.

CHAPTER 5 OBJECTIVES, INTERVENTIONS AND RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the objectives of the projects with their interventions and results. It also attempts to answer the question:

- ◆ Are the projects studied successful?
- ◆ Is there one model approach?

5.2 Objectives and focus of the projects

The objectives and focus of the projects were rather diverse. They ranged from establishing and strengthening associations of waste pickers to create alternative learning opportunities for scavenging children.

Broadly, the objectives of the projects can be grouped into four categories. Projects aiming to:

- ◆ Provide alternative opportunities for disadvantaged working children, including scavenging children
- ◆ Reducing child labour in scavenging
- ◆ Improving the working and living conditions of scavengers
- ◆ Improving solid waste management

Examples of each category are given below. Most ILO projects fall in the first two categories.

5.2.1 *Reducing child labour in general*

These projects are not explicitly focused on reducing child labour *in scavenging*. Instead, they focus on child labour *in general*, but their target groups, usually working children from low-income communities or street children, include scavenging children.

The two projects in Thailand (THAI 1 and 2), the ILO/IPEC project in Kenya (KENY), and the project in Kolkatta, India (INDIA 2) are examples of projects with this objective. Two projects in Romania (ROMA 1 and ROMA 2) fall also in this category as they target children of Rroma background, including waste picking children.

5.2.2 *Reducing child labour in scavenging*

These projects are explicitly focused on reducing child labour in scavenging, either by trying to eliminate the practice altogether or by providing – in the case of ILO/IPEC projects as a transitory measure - the children with different opportunities in the field of education and income generation ('learn and earn' approach). They include the Sabana/ERDA project in the Philippines (PHIL), the project of Mythri in Bangalore, India (INDIA 1), the project in Cambodia (CAMB), the two projects in Romania (ROMA 1 and ROMA 2), as well as the two projects in Egypt (EGYP 1 and 2). The projects of UNICEF in Brazil can be added as well.

5.2.3 *Improving the working and living conditions of scavengers*

Other projects aim at improving the working and living conditions of the scavengers as a group: they target whole families with activities such as water and sanitation facilities, housing, helping them to establish associations or cooperatives, or providing them with healthcare and health education. The project of the Foundation for Helping Families in Romania (ROMA 3), the two projects in India (INDIA 1 and 2), and the project in Indonesia (INDO) are examples. They sometimes include specific activities for children and sometimes they do not. Many projects in Latin America can also be found in this category.

5.2.4 *Improving solid waste management*

The ILO funded SWMP project in Tanzania (TANZ) is an example. It is focused on improving the waste collection system in Dar Es Salaam, but it has a sub-component for assisting scavengers.

5.3 Interventions

Using the categories developed for the Regional Thematic Evaluation on Latin America (ILO, 2004: Table 11, page 52), the interventions used in the various projects studied (excluding Latin America) are grouped into nine categories:

1. Health, social services and nutrition
2. Formal and non-formal education
3. Income generation and alternative employment
4. Raising the status of the work of scavengers
5. Awareness-raising of the general public
6. Integrating the scavengers with the formal solid waste management system
7. Improving links with the private sector
8. Institutionalisation and formalisation
9. Cooperation with other policies, funds and organisations

Table 8 shows the interventions and how often they occur among the projects studied (their 'score'). The categories of interventions in italics are added to the original Latin America table.

The interventions are grouped according to the type of approach they relate to: whether welfare, development, rights or system-oriented. The last category (Cooperation with other policies, funds and organisations) could also be welfare, development or system-oriented depending on the approach taken by the other programmes or organisations.

Table 8. Interventions to reduce child labour – for projects studied (excluding Latin America)

Intervention	Score
Health, social services and nutrition (WELFARE)	39 (26%)
Provision of food, food vouchers, <i>medicine, clothes, relief in times of crisis</i>	4
Improve working conditions (equipment/tools, rest area, uniforms, sanitary and washing facilities <i>at dumpsite</i> , etc.)	3
<i>Provide a drop-in centre, counselling</i>	5
<i>Providing shelter for street children</i>	2
<i>Reintegration of street children with parents</i>	1
Improving access to health services, provide vaccinations and first aid kits	9
<i>Health awareness raising for children and adults (e.g. on personal and environmental hygiene, vaccinations, nutrition, family planning, prevention of AIDS)</i>	6
<i>Training on health and safety for waste pickers</i>	3
<i>Health check-ups and monitoring of children's and adults' health</i>	3
<i>Provide drinking water and sanitation facilities in schools or houses</i>	2
<i>Provide veterinary care and collection service for 'garbage of the garbage'</i>	1
Access to pension schemes	0
Formal and non-formal education (DEVELOPMENT)	57 (38%)
<i>Awareness-raising for parents on child development</i>	1
Day-care centres and <i>pre-school</i> for children	6
<i>Awareness-raising of parents and children of the need for education and training of children</i>	10
<i>Monitoring of dropout rates and follow-up on these cases</i>	4
Literacy and <i>non-formal</i> education for adults	1
Literacy and <i>non-formal</i> education for children and youth, <i>life skill education</i>	9
Promotion of obligatory attendance at school of children and youth	0
Scholarships or subsidies for families that send their children to school, free provision of school materials to children	7
Assistance with homework for children, <i>provide a space/building for homework assistance</i>	3
Awareness-raising and capacity building for teachers to support the work with children	2
General vocational training for youth	4
Training in the sorting, <i>pre-processing and recycling</i> of waste materials or repair of used items for adults and youth	4
Workshops for children <i>or adults</i> to make objects from recyclables (<i>e.g. toys</i>)	2
Recreational activities for children, <i>trips to the countryside and beach, sports events, youth camps, etc.</i>	4

Income generation and alternative employment (DEVELOPMENT)	14 (9%)
Improve income through sales of clean(er)materials, in larger quantities, avoid middlemen	1
<i>Manufacturing and sales of products made from recyclable materials for adults or youth</i>	4
Provide cleaning services to the municipality, a public or private enterprise	0
Management of environmental services, gardening, offering manual labour	0
Provision of <i>individual</i> credit for diverse economic activities <i>for adults and/or youth, often combined with business training</i>	4
<i>Setting up credit and savings cooperatives for adults</i>	3
<i>Training and job placement parents</i>	1
<i>Setting up community day care centres as income generating activity</i>	1
Raising the status of the work of waste pickers (RIGHTS)	7 (5%)
Recognise the rights of waste pickers: registration, identification (provision of IDs <i>and birth certificates</i>), make sorting/waste picking recognised work	3
Public campaigns to dignify the work of waste pickers and gain public recognition	0
<i>Lobby campaigns to defend the interests of waste pickers</i>	2
National law to support waste pickers and their work, linked to local waste management policies	0
Increasing the visibility of the work of waste pickers at national and international level	1
<i>Calculate and publicise the value of waste picking to the national and local economy and SWM system</i>	1
Awareness-raising (RIGHTS)	10 (7%)
Waste pickers become environmental promoters at schools	1
Mobilisation of the media about the working conditions of waste pickers	0
Environmental education about separation at source and selective collection	2
Mobilisation of the media to show the issue of child labour in waste management	3
<i>Awareness raising on child labour and children's rights among government, employers, etc.</i>	4
Institutionalisation and formalisation (RIGHTS)	11 (7%)
Development <i>and strengthening</i> of cooperatives or associations of waste pickers and MSEs	1
<i>Development and strengthening of associations of child waste pickers, children's clubs</i>	2
<i>Organising people in the community, training community volunteers</i>	5
<i>Development and strengthening of parents' committees or associations, school committees, etc.</i>	2
Agreements and programmes for waste pickers and their families	0
Specific programmes (local and national) for the elimination of child labour	0
Agreements between local governments and NGOs on capacity building and contracting of waste pickers	0
Stakeholder platforms and round tables for negotiation and consultation	1
Organise groups of waste pickers at regional and national level	0

Integrating the waste pickers with the formal solid waste management system (SYSTEM)	5 (3%)
Temporary contracts for providing cleaning and collection services for waste pickers	0
Regulating waste picking and waste recovery in the city, <i>control access to disposal sites</i> , closing the dumpsites and opening of sanitary landfills	1
<i>Prepare separate sorting areas at landfills or disposal sites and give waste pickers concessions</i>	0
Establish selective collection systems and promotion of separation at source with a role for waste pickers	2
Waste pickers' associations exist next to the municipal SWM system and link up gradually with key stakeholders (e.g. municipality)	1
Development of a solid waste management system that includes waste pickers (cooperatives, MSEs, other organisational forms)	1
Involving waste pickers' associations in the formulation of municipal and national SWM policies	0
Improving links with the private sector (SYSTEM)	2 (1%)
Financial support for waste pickers (<i>e.g. equipment</i>) in exchange for publicity	0
Agreements to supply recyclables to waste pickers	2
Coordinate with private enterprises to improve marketing conditions for waste pickers (via dialogue/round tables)	0
Cooperation with other policies, funds and organisations (WELFARE/DEVELOPMENT/RIGHTS/SYSTEM)	6 (4%)
Cooperate with child labour programmes of other NGOs	1
Basic linkages with SWM policies and programmes	2
Linkages with municipal health, education, citizen participation and decentralisation policies and programmes	0
Promotion of access to national funds for the elimination of child labour (ILO funds)	1
Promotion of access to national funds for environmental improvement of cities or for SWM	0
Establish a national programme for waste pickers with funds earmarked for them	0
Access to funds for social housing to construct housing for waste pickers	2
TOTAL	151 (100%)

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documents, 2004

Table 8 clearly shows that the majority of the projects studied (excluding Latin America) focus on development (47%) and, to a lesser extent, welfare type activities (27%). This is in contrast with most projects studied in Latin America, which tended to focus more on adult scavengers and thus have a different set of interventions, using more rights- and system-based approaches.

5.4 Approaches used in the projects studied

The four approaches to reducing child labour in scavenging as mentioned in Chapter 2 were: welfare-based, development-oriented, rights-based and system-oriented approach.

Table 9 provides a summary of interventions and approaches used by the various projects studied. In the last column the main emphasis of the interventions is indicated. This emphasis or dominant approach is not only based on the number of interventions, but also on a qualitative evaluation of the weight of interventions. The full table with all interventions per project is provided in Annex 4 (Table A7).

Table 9. Approaches taken by the projects studied

Project	Type and number of interventions					Total number of interventions	Emphasis/Dominant approach
	Welfare	Development	Rights	System	Other		
PHIL	4	7	5	-	1	17	Rights
TANZ	3	2	1	2	2	10	System
EGYP 1	2	6	3	2	-	13	Development
EGYP 2	5	5	-	1	1	12	Development
ROMA 1	1	6	-	-	-	7	Development
ROMA 2	-	1	-	-	-	1	Development
ROMA 3	5	2	-	-	1	8	Welfare
THAI 1	4	7	2	-	-	13	Development
THAI 2	1	5	2	-	-	8	Development
INDIA 1	5	4	9	2	-	20	Rights
INDIA 2	1	6	-	-	-	7	Development
CAMB	3	6	2	-	1	12	Development
INDO	3	9	3	-	-	15	Rights
KENY	2	5	1	-	-	8	Development
TOTAL	39	71	28	7	6	151	

Source: Evaluative field studies and project documents, 2004

Most projects studied had a clear development-oriented approach (10 out of 14 projects). Although almost all projects included welfare type of activities, only one project had this as their main approach. The rights-based and system-based approaches were much less popular with only three projects having a rights-based approach as their main approach (PHIL, INDIA 1, INDO) and one having a system-oriented approach (TANZ). Nine of the 14 projects had some kind of rights-based activities, such as organising waste pickers, advocacy and the like, with most focusing on awareness-raising on children's rights.

The reason why rights-based and system-oriented interventions are less popular is probably that rights-based activities are much more difficult and politically sensitive than welfare and development-oriented activities. In addition, system-oriented activities require institutional and technical changes at government level.

Often an evolution was noticed within organisations, starting with welfare and then developing more towards development and (sometimes) rights-based approaches. For example in Bangkok, Thailand, the local NGO (FSCC) started with establishing a health clinic), but moved to the introduction of day care centres as this proved to be an important need in the scavenger community (THAI 1). In Romania (ROMA 3), the Foundation for Helping Families began with typical charity activities such as providing food, medicines and clothing, but later on started with literacy classes and health awareness-raising.

However, religious organisations tended to keep a focus on welfare-related activities (providing drop-in centres, water and sanitation, healthcare etc.).

5.4.1 Approaches and interventions in ILO/IPEC projects

The ILO/IPEC projects with child scavengers have a similar emphasis on welfare and development approaches, as the other projects studied. As Table 10 indicates, non-formal education, vocational training, recreation and counselling, health and nutrition and awareness raising are the most common interventions in ILO/IPEC projects, both in projects specifically targeting child scavengers (called ‘specific projects’ in the Table 10) and projects targeting broader groups such as street children or urban poor (called ‘broad projects’ in Table 10).

Interventions targeting adults, like credit and institution building, are clearly limited in the ILO/IPEC projects. Rights-based interventions are used very little, while system-based interventions seem to be absent.

Table 10 shows the interventions used in ILO/IPEC projects with child scavengers based on the ILO Desk review of 2002.

Table 10. Interventions of ILO/IPEC projects with child scavengers

Intervention	‘Specific’ projects		‘Broad’ projects	
	Number	%	Number	%
Health and nutrition	7	12%	19	10%
Recreation and counselling	12	20%	28	14%
Formal education	2	3%	18	9%
Non-formal education	13	22%	25	13%
Vocational training	8	14%	28	14%
Credit and stipends	6	11%	10	5%
Awareness-raising	4	7%	24	12%
Training for parents	2	3%	10	5%
Inspection and Monitoring	1	2%	6	3%
Research and survey	2	3%	11	7%
Institutional capacity building	2	3%	16	8%
TOTAL	59	100%	195	100%

Source: Based on Desk review ILO/IPEC projects with child scavengers, 2002

5.5 Results

Measuring results differs from measuring efforts.¹⁴ Results are the longer-term effects of a project, while efforts directly relate to the inputs to and outputs of the project. For example a project that provides healthcare to scavengers will mention in their reports how many first aid

¹⁴ Or process.

kits were distributed and how many health awareness meetings held ('efforts'). They may also mention the results or longer-term effects, like a reduction in prevalence of certain diseases.

Results are more difficult to measure and more subject to external influences than efforts. It takes time before the longer-term impact is clear. Therefore many projects tend to use more effort-based indicators.

Examples of effort-based monitoring related to reducing child labour in scavenging are:

- ◆ Number of children enrolled in formal, non-formal education and vocational training
- ◆ Number of enterprises that received credit through the project
- ◆ Number of scavenging children visiting the healthcare centre of the project
- ◆ Number of meetings held for the waste pickers' association

Examples of results-based monitoring related to reducing child labour in scavenging are:

- ◆ Number of children involved in scavenging fulltime or part time
- ◆ Number of children who dropped out from formal and non-formal education
- ◆ Number of youth who found decent work after they received vocational training
- ◆ Income of scavenging families after the project
- ◆ Sustainable organisation of waste pickers that can support itself
- ◆ Replication of the intervention elsewhere

Many ILO/IPEC projects last two or three years. Experiences with projects working on reducing child labour in waste picking show that this is too short a period to achieve meaningful results. Results as mentioned by the projects are mentioned in Table 11.

Table 11. Objectives and results of projects studied

Project	Objectives	Results
PHIL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Empower the community, parents, youth and children through capacity building and organisation of activities ◆ Ensure financial sustainability of the project through income generating activities ◆ Make parents aware of their responsibilities and recognise children's rights ◆ Build effective partnerships among agencies concerned with child labour ◆ Train community leaders and workers who will serve as implementers of the project and advocate children's rights ◆ Advocate policies that will protect children from working ◆ Provide educational assistance that will facilitate the formal schooling of children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 3-7% drop out from schools, against 10-20% similar agencies in Smokey Mountain ◆ 50-60% of the children are honour students ◆ ERDA-SABANA and their ex-waste picking students have political influence at national and local level ◆ They serve as model for other organisations ◆ Slow learners from outside the Smokey Mountain community join the education programme ◆ Waste pickers cooperative increased from 58 at start to 78 members (2003), its share capital increased five times from P37,500 to P190,000 ◆ 25% of job placements is successful
TANZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Improve working conditions of waste pickers ◆ Facilitate links of waste pickers with CBOs/NGOs and local government ◆ Give waste pickers better leverage with middlemen and improve their linkages to markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ UTADA association grew from 26 (1992) to 207 members (2001), but became less active when dumpsite was moved ◆ JITUME association is functioning (83 members) ◆ Group sales give them better prices ◆ Number of child waste pickers increased during project period
EGYP 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increase capabilities and provide alternative learning and income generating opportunities for waste picking girls and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ New generation of community leaders, some stopped working as waste pickers/sorters ◆ 700 girls and women graduated over 15 years of the project with average earnings of LE 250/month in 2004 (= salary of a government employee) ◆ 100 girls and women received micro credit to install a loom or sewing machine
EGYP 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Create alternative learning opportunities for waste picking boys ◆ Prepare them for integration in the new waste management system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 60 boys graduated in 2003 ◆ 30 boys earn an average monthly income of LE 200 in 2004
ROMA 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Encourage waste pickers to go to school and to complete school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increase of children enrolled in school from 0 in 1996 to 63 in 2004 ◆ Some school-going children stop with waste picking, some spend less time on waste picking
ROMA 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Set up day-care centre and preschool for children of waste pickers to prepare them for school and to provide them with new perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 14 children enrolled in 2003
ROMA 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Improve the living conditions of the waste pickers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Physical improvements for waste pickers like washing facilities

Project	Objectives	Results
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increased literacy among adult waste pickers
THAI 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Provide day-care facilities for children from working low income families ◆ Build and strengthen parent-child relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Dropout rates from school are very low. ◆ Parents changed their attitude towards education. ◆ Life in the community changed: more safety and sense of community.
THAI 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Address the problems of disadvantaged children in the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Several success stories of children in formal education ◆ 17 children were registered and obtained birth certificates. ◆ Children still call for counselling.
INDIA 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Improve the position of children in waste picking communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 40 children removed from exploitative work places
INDIA 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Promote economic development of waste picking families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Led to 20% increase in income for 28% of the families, no change for 72% of the families. ◆ The majority of enterprises set up with help from the NGO are performing moderately to well.
CAMB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Provide education and build hope and healthy dreams for the future of waste picking children- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ 355 children have received formal education (1997-2004), 17% dropout rate ◆ 92% of the youth who received vocational training found a job or started a small business ◆ Child labour in waste picking on the dumpsite decreased from 330 (2000) to 246 (2004)

Source: Evaluative field studies, project documents and personal communication, 2004

5.6 Are the projects studied successful?

This is a difficult question to answer, as Table 10 shows that the objectives of the projects studied are very different from each other, as are their results. Some projects use efforts-based, others results-based indicators. Few mention the results after five years, most focus on immediate results.

However, it is clear that:

- ◆ dropout rates of scavenging children from schools are high, especially from formal schools, 20-25% dropout being normal;
- ◆ many children keep on scavenging part time, even if they are enrolled in schools; and
- ◆ when the economic situation worsens, new children enter the scavenging business, replacing the children that have exited (or reduced their participation in) scavenging and entered school or other livelihood activities.

Changes in attitudes and structures seem to be the most interesting and sustainable results of the projects. These are reported as including:

- ◆ the emergence of new community leaders and role models related to projects' efforts and interventions;
- ◆ scavengers gaining a new role in the municipal SWM system;
- ◆ changes in attitudes of parents towards child labour; and
- ◆ the creation, strengthening, or broadening of organisations of scavengers that achieve some measure of institutional and financial sustainability.

It is recommended that the ILO/IPEC projects design its projects to achieve this type of structural and attitude changes and not focus too much on counting the number of children on the disposal site.

5.7 Is there one model approach?

Is there one approach, which is more successful than others? Is there one model approach to reducing child labour in scavenging?

The projects studied were successful to different degrees and in different ways, because they addressed different issues. Welfare-based interventions seem to provide a good entry point into a scavenger community, because they offer a non-threatening, low-entry benefit to individual children (and parents). This approach enables many projects to gain the trust of the children, to get to know them and their families better, to become familiar with their problems and needs, to make personal acquaintance and connections between staff and families, and the like. It seems that these activities are an essential ingredient of a project that tries to reduce child labour in scavenging. However, a welfare-based approach is not sufficient on its own, because it only relieves daily needs.

Development-oriented approaches were the most popular among the projects studied. It seems natural to provide educational opportunities to child scavengers, because it changes their future perspectives. Development-oriented approaches are clearly very important elements of projects that try to reduce child labour. However, they are vulnerable. On one hand, they depend on the willingness of parents to send their children to school, which will be less the older the child becomes. On the other hand, they are highly dependent on external

factors over which the projects themselves have little influence or control, such as economic conditions, governmental policies, or private-sector actions. Measures like closing a dumpsite, eviction of dump communities, privatising the solid waste collection and disposal system, relaxing import restrictions on recycled materials, or changing the energy supply system all have an impact on the livelihood of scavengers and thus indirectly on child labour.

The most was achieved with rights- and system-based interventions, especially those focusing on adults. These interventions have indirect but long-term effects on child labour. Organising scavengers in associations or cooperatives can increase their autonomy, social status and direct income (because of larger quantities traded, more leverage with junk shops) and thus make education for their children more affordable. It also enables them to defend their interests and encourage changes in the SWM system that are favourable to them.

Rights-based interventions for (ex-)child scavengers can accompany this kind of long lasting change. Examples are children's associations and study clubs, work as environmental promoters, lobby among their peers to go to school, strengthen their self-esteem as well as their political and social skills.

How does this relate to the ISWM aspects? If more ISWM aspects are taken into account, are projects then more successful? When projects include both social (welfare), economic (development) and political/institutional (rights) aspects, they clearly have more impact. A system-based approach, which gives scavengers opportunities within the formal solid waste or urban environmental system, has even wider effects on the whole SWM system in the city.

5.8 Conclusion

Most projects dealing with child labour in scavenging have a development and/or welfare approach, which makes them vulnerable and limits their impact. There is not one model approach, but a combination of interventions addressing short term and long term needs, addressing different aspects and improving the position of scavengers within the SWM system appeared most successful. Projects should measure efforts and results. Projects should be designed to achieve structural changes and last for at least five years.

CHAPTER 6 IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE GOOD PRACTICES

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses experiences with specific interventions and identifies good practices in these interventions in terms of what has worked as well as some of the constraints and limitations.

The interventions analysed are organised as in Section 6.3:

- ◆ Health, social services and nutrition
- ◆ Formal and non-formal education
- ◆ Income generation and alternative employment
- ◆ Raising the status of the work of waste pickers
- ◆ Awareness-raising of the general public
- ◆ Institutionalisation and formalisation
- ◆ Integrating the waste pickers with the formal solid waste management system
- ◆ Improving links with the private sector

Attention is also paid to the conditions, under which certain interventions function well. Which target groups, gender, age group should these interventions target preferably?

6.2 Health, social services and nutrition for adult waste pickers and children

6.2.1 *Healthcare, shelter and counselling*

Health care services provided by projects aiming at reducing child labour in scavenging are often based on voluntary work and rather basic. Often these are governmental doctors or nurses or medical students visiting an NGO weekly. However, this makes them low-cost and therefore relatively sustainable. Many initiatives from religious organisations exist in this field, as they traditionally have a focus on welfare interventions. Services with the most impact seemed to be those targeting preventive healthcare among women and children, for example prenatal and postnatal care for women, health check ups and vaccinations for children less than five years. Curative care in a drop-in centre can be helpful, but is less sustainable, because it depends on the resources of the drop-in centre.

Awareness raising related to health issues (vaccination, nutrition, HIV/AIDS, etc.) is usually successful, when the issues are relevant for the community, the advice is applicable in the local context, a mixture of methods is used, and simple but attractive messages are utilised.

Detailed studies of (occupational and environmental) health hazards are not common among the projects studied. Universities often carry out this kind of studies, but unfortunately their outcomes and recommendations are not used by projects. To be reliable, these studies should use a range of different methods (interviews, physical checkups, blood analysis etc.) and a rigorous scientific approach supplemented by participatory and consultative interactions, which put the rest into context. The role of these studies could be:

- ◆ to establish a baseline on health, to use as an indicator on results of the project later on
- ◆ to identify health needs of the target groups
- ◆ to use the information for awareness raising, in a simplified form, e.g. cartoons

Counselling in the form of a drop-in centre where children can play, chat, have a shower, get a plaster for a wound, have a meal, seem a very good means of gaining the trust of the children and obtain more insight in their daily problems and needs and well as their reasons for waste picking and not going to school. A shelter for street children can have a similar function. Skilled social workers, preferably from the community itself, are essential to make counselling work.

6.2.2 Provision of protective gear

The effect of the provision of protective gear among (adult) waste pickers combined with awareness raising on health and safety can be considered doubtful. Many do not like gloves for example, because they cannot pick as quickly as without them. The protective gear is sometimes not adapted to the climate. Structural changes to the work place seem more useful, like preparing a separate sorting area where waste pickers can sort and bulldozers and compacting equipment do not come.

Improving working conditions for adults can be starting point of reducing child labour: parents who are healthier will have more income (because they depend on daily earnings) and thus less reason to let their children work.

6.3 Formal or non-formal education of adult and child waste pickers

6.3.1 Day-care and pre-school

Affordable day care and pre-school facilities for the 0-6 year age group appeared to be quite effective strategies used by some organisations to prepare children for schools, as one of the projects in Thailand (THAI) show. Children learn social skills, learning attitudes, discipline, respect for adults, etc. These facilities are often accompanied by education of parents on child development and the need for education of their children. Day care and pre-school facilities also offer opportunities for parents to look for other work.

6.3.2 Formal education

Many projects, including ILO/IPEC projects, use scholarships or subsidies to make going to school more affordable for families. Examples are scholarships to cover school fees, uniforms, books, meals, etc. This makes it indeed easier for many parents to send their children to school, but it is a costly measure, which sometimes limits its impact. Ways to make these interventions more sustainable and less dependent on donor funding should be explored, e.g. cooperation with municipal or national subsidy programmes for school-related expenses of low-income families, like in Belo Horizonte, Brazil (Dias, 2000). The ILO and other UN agencies could play a role in these, by influencing governments to set up this sort of subsidy programmes.

A successful additional strategy that was used in a few projects is assistance with homework for school-going children and providing a safe, clean place for homework. This encourages them to stay away from waste picking the rest of the day.

Encouraging access to formal education seems most successful with primary school age children (6-12 years old). The older group (13-18 years) has been out of school for too long to catch up in many cases and is usually more attached to the waste picking way of life.

6.3.3 *Non-formal education*

Non-formal education includes the teaching of skills such as literacy, numeracy, accounting, problem solving skills, teamwork, computer skills, etc. Special teaching methods that were used for example in Egypt (EGYP 1 and 2) and the Philippines (PHIL) include kinaesthetic, visual and auditory teaching methods. The curriculum is based on daily experiences of waste picking children and linked to direct benefit. For example in one project in Egypt the boys learnt how to calculate the amount of money they were supposed to earn (EGYP 2). The fun aspect in education should not be forgotten. Girls in another project learnt how to weave their name with a loom in a rug made from rags (EGYP 1).

Clear rules for behaviour, cleanliness, punctuality, etc. are usually enforced to show a clear break with the relatively undisciplined and dirty waste picking work.

In some projects non-formal education was combined with vocational training and income generation ('learn and earn projects'). This seems a good approach for youthful waste pickers (13-18 year olds), as they are often too far behind with formal school and too much used to the income from waste picking, which gives them a feeling of relative independence.

Non-formal education is often combined with cultural and recreational activities to develop the life and social skills of the waste picking children and to get them in contact with other environments and children who go to school. This sometimes provides peer pressure to enter school (again).

6.3.4 *Vocational training*

Vocational training takes the shape of training for technical professions. Successful approaches seemed to be:

- ◆ A combination of theory and practice, on-the-job and classroom training
- ◆ Linking with a limited number of relevant subjects (hygiene/health, family planning, business development, etc.)
- ◆ Incorporating arts and recreational activities to develop work and social skills (e.g. being punctual, team work)

Some projects teach skills directly related to the waste sector, for example recycling techniques or the planning of collection routes. The advantage is that the youth know the sector and are usually interested in it (e.g. EGYPT 2).

It is often mentioned that vocational training should be gender-sensitive. However, there is a risk of enlisting boys and girls in stereotypical income generation activities, which was noticeable in the projects studied. For example activities for girls almost always focused on knitting and sewing, while boys learnt metals works and car mechanics. Projects should study market conditions and opportunities and offer vocational training in various market-related areas to both girls and boys.

6.4 Income generation and alternative employment

Economic interventions such as income generation, credit, and vocational training appeared to be among the most difficult because of changing market conditions. Often NGOs are rigid in

their approach to economic interventions: they start with one type of training and continue, whether trainees find jobs or not.

Most projects focus on setting up new enterprises and thus encourage self-employment of waste pickers. A few have tried to place workers with existing enterprises or workshops, e.g. the ILO project in the Philippines, but these attempts have not been very successful. Credit to set up their own enterprise seems to fit waste pickers more because of their individualistic attitude.

A key problem with many of these projects is that there is no real demand for the products, and that there is no market study or exploration which identifies the market niches. This runs the risk that the items produced will not, in fact, produce any income. Also, the cost-benefit ratio may not be important to the (socially focused) NGO project sponsor, and the activities may simply not seem economically interesting to the scavengers. Because waste picking is such a lucrative business, the new income-producing activities need to provide something extra, either in monetary or non-monetary terms (e.g. prestige, recognition).

The target group for credit are usually adults. In very few cases youth were provided with credit after receiving vocational training, but these efforts were not very successful. The youth did not have enough experience or network to establish themselves. They were better off working as apprentices for some time with older professionals.

Credit is given either to groups, for example to waste picker associations or women's groups, or as individual credit. Both can be successful, if combined with business training and market research. It depends on the cultural context (cooperative culture, practice of savings groups, role of women) what is most appropriate.

Because of the changing market conditions, continuous market research and market development are needed to generate new original ideas for training and business development.

The impact of income generating on child labour is mixed. In Egypt and Philippines where 'learn and earn' projects exist, the youth spent less time sorting and picking waste than before and sometimes they completely quit waste picking.

In the case of credit provided to parents the effect on child labour is positive if two conditions are fulfilled:

- ◆ The business for which the credit is used provides a sustainable income which is at least the same as waste picking or gives non-monetary benefits
- ◆ The parents consider education important enough for their children to send them to school

So credit on its own does not change child labour. It needs to be combined at least with business training, market research, as well as awareness raising of parents and children on the need for education.

6.5 Raising the status of the work of waste pickers

Measures to dignify the work of waste pickers and change their status such as registration, provision of IDs and birth certificates, badges, uniforms, has several advantages for waste

pickers and can have positive effects on child labour. It increases access of street collectors and itinerant waste buyers (IWBs) to wealthy areas, which usually means an increase in income. It makes it also possible to control entry to transfer stations or landfills, for example limiting entry to adults or members of a waste pickers' association. Birth certificates are often a condition for children to be enrolled in schools. Therefore assistance with obtaining birth certificates can be very helpful to encourage school enrolment.

Public campaigns to gain recognition for waste pickers, lobby campaigns, marches and the like can protect and defend livelihoods of parents and thus improve the chances that they will send their children to school. These are also important in that they can reach the teachers and school staff on the one hand, and the non-waste-picker children and their parents on the other, so that the waste picker children are not treated with such scorn when they do appear at school. One further benefit is that it can open the way for better contacts between household and business waste generators and waste pickers or buyers, which can also provide more and better separated materials that produce higher income.

6.6 Awareness-raising of the general public

It is doubtful what kind of effect awareness raising has, if it focuses on the general public and on issues such as the working conditions of waste pickers or child labour in waste picking. People who will receive the messages will feel pity for them and will start with welfare-type of interventions.

It seems more useful to focus awareness-raising on local and national governments and policy makers: to change their perception of waste pickers, by convincing them of the value of waste picking to the economy, and to encourage them to perceive waste pickers and stakeholders and incorporate them into the SWM system.

Awareness-raising of employers takes a special turn with child waste pickers, because their employers are often their parents. There are some cases where middlemen 'employ' groups of waste picking children. In other cases they work in groups and pay part of their proceeds to the group leader.

Awareness-raising of parents should focus on issues such as the importance of education, the capabilities of children, the importance of registration, and the like. The projects studied did not provide cues on how to work with middlemen who 'employ' waste picking children and group leaders. More detailed research is needed to explore methods, messages, frequency, duration, etc. of these types of awareness-raising.

Using (child) waste pickers as environmental promoters can work in a powerful way: it improves the self-esteem of the waste pickers and it can change the perception of the public of waste pickers. However, it should be linked with feasible behaviour options for the public and be preferably linked to a functioning system of separation at source and selective collection.

6.7 Institutionalisation and formalisation

Institutionalisation of waste pickers and their children can take different shapes. In terms of purely social organising, adults can be organised in parents' associations, community development committees, school committees, etc., while children can be involved in children's clubs that combine learning and fun, neighbourhood children's associations, peer groups to raise awareness on child labour, etc.

In terms of organising the economic activities, the most common and successful intervention is organising a sellers' co-operative under the control of the scavengers themselves, that gives them an alternative to selling small quantities to a junk shop or middleman.

Organising people is not easy; it requires a lot of time and grassroots community work with skilled workers. It helps if there is a concrete issue to work on that directly influences the life of the waste pickers (e.g. a threat of eviction, competition from imported recyclables or international companies).

Associations or cooperatives can be made more attractive by linking them with benefits for individual members. Examples are:

- ◆ providing an intermediate level of purchase, aggregation, and storage for materials;
- ◆ collective purchase of vehicles allowing access to more stable, higher-value markets that pay better prices;
- ◆ reducing dependence on the landfill operator or local monopolistic private sector activities;
- ◆ providing safe and appropriate workspace for sorting and packaging activities, which have toilet and shower facilities, sun protection, and equipment to reduce physical stress;
- ◆ combining these activities with group savings and credit;
- ◆ providing storage space and the opportunity to buy and sell waste materials in bigger quantities, thus fetching higher prices;
- ◆ controlling access to sorting areas; or
- ◆ protecting them from intimidation, e.g. by junk shop owners or monopolistic waste companies.

However, there are also major obstacles an organisation can encounter when establishing organisations of waste pickers:

- ◆ ethnic/cultural differences and resulting clashes of interests;
- ◆ under-representation of waste pickers and over-representation of outsiders on decision-making bodies like a board; or
- ◆ lack of financial transparency and risk of theft and fraud.

Institutionalisation efforts seem most successful with adults and youth.

6.8 Integrating waste pickers with the formal solid waste management system in the city

6.8.1 Control access to landfills

A number of technical, environmental and institutional measures exist that can contribute to reducing child labour in waste picking.

A popular measure among local governments wanting to improve their SWM is to close open dumpsites and build sanitary landfills. These sanitary landfills usually are fenced and have

strict access control. Private companies often manage them. This measure can have two different results:

- ◆ waste pickers disappear into the city and become street pickers or turn to begging or other less honourable activities; or
- ◆ waste pickers are exploited by the private company who runs the landfill through monopolistic practices or restriction of their access and the conditions of work, which are usually less favourable to them.

This is not necessarily negative. Street picking is actually preferable to dump picking—these pickers have access to materials before they are greatly damaged and contaminated, and they are subject to less risk from SWM vehicles and biomedical and toxic wastes. However, it leads to more littering in the streets, so municipalities do usually not prefer it.

Experiences in Tanzania have shown that controlling access to transfer stations and landfills can have a potential positive effect on reducing child labour, if the organisation in charge is a waste pickers' association, which provides access only to its (adult) members (TANZ). In this case the organisation has an economic, not only a social, interest in controlling access. These types of measures should always be accompanied by awareness raising.

6.8.2 *Organising the materials sorting functions of scavenging*

More sustainable measures that local governments can take and that provide waste pickers with more income are:

- ◆ arranging for separate sorting areas at landfills and provide concessions to waste pickers or their associations
- ◆ establishing selective collection and separation at source systems and provide waste pickers with service contracts

In the latter example waste pickers actually cease being pickers, because they gain access to waste that is separated at source, and not mixed waste. This has several advantages for their occupational health and working conditions as well as for their income, as clean recyclables have more value than soiled waste. Service contracts could include clauses specifying the exclusion of child labour.

Many examples exist in Latin America of waste picker cooperatives who expanded their activities from a base or core business related to collection of recyclables into office cleaning, gardening, and other services. The effect on child labour is indirect and mainly relies on the increase in income.

6.8.3 *Involving waste pickers in the formulation of SWM policies*

Involving waste pickers in the formulation of SWM policies is a step, which reaches further. Representatives of waste pickers' associations can be invited to serve as a member in a multi-stakeholder platform, in SWM working groups, and the like with local governments, NGOs etc. The purpose of membership in these groups is to influence SWM policies, national laws, programmes and the use of national funds for projects aimed at waste pickers and eradication of child labour. This has occurred in some cities in Brazil, under influence of the 'Waste and citizenship' programme, among others in Belo Horizonte (Dias, 2000). However, this generally requires either an extremely progressive "spark plug" public official who is highly

placed in the local authority, or a major change in government thinking. It works when the government authorities believe and support the ideas: a) that planning should be participatory; and b) that informal or unrecognised groups such as waste pickers can have a role in planning. The effect on child labour is not clear, but probably it will lead to changes in the SWM system that are favourable to the waste pickers and increase their income. In that case it may have a positive effect on child labour.

6.9 Linking with the private sector

The most common example of relations between waste pickers and the private sector are those between waste pickers and recycling industries. Recycling industries can provide financial support to waste pickers to buy collection equipment, but a much more common variant is that they simply give balers or other equipment to the waste pickers, on the condition that they have exclusive buying rights. This occurs in countries as different from each other as Tanzania and Canada. Providing equipment or financing its purchase is useful to waste pickers and increases both their extraction of materials and their ability to transport them efficiently and sell them for a reasonable price. It benefits the end-user industries by increasing their supply of feedstock materials, avoiding intermediates; stabilising prices; and, importantly, reducing transaction costs and uncertainty. In some cases they can also get social recognition and free publicity if they put their name and logo on the equipment.

Other relations with the formal private sector include financing of project activities, sponsoring recycling equipment, and the like for charity reasons or based on a policy of corporate social responsibility (EGYP 2, PHIL, THAI 2).

Establishment of relationships between waste pickers and a private waste collection company or contractor are usually not positive, as was argued in section 3.6, as they tend to compete for recyclables, with the waste pickers usually losing this competition.

Examples of relations between waste pickers and factories producing waste are relatively rare. The country report for Egypt provides two examples. In EGYPT 1 textile factories have an agreement with the local NGO, APE, to provide them with rag leftovers to be used by waste pickers in the rag recycling project. In EGYPT 2 the local NGO, AGCCD, made a deal with shampoo producing companies to pay waste pickers to collect and shred shampoo containers. In the past these were refilled with fake shampoo and sold as the original brands.

With the increasing importance of private sector participation in SWM and the influence of concepts such as corporate social responsibility, it is expected that relationships with formal private companies will become more and more important for projects dealing with waste pickers. The challenge is to create win-win situations that are not purely based on charity, which is not reliable in the future, but on corporate and waste picker interests.

However, not all private companies are favourable towards waste pickers. Relations with the private sector mean negotiation and entering the political arena. Conditions for waste pickers to play such a role is:

- ◆ initial protection from the government or an NGO that serves as intermediary
- ◆ improvement of their position and building their negotiating skills

6.10 Conclusion

The above sections have shown that not all interventions work in all situations. More attention should be paid to age and gender differences. The right combination of interventions, which fits the local situation, need to be found through participation of target groups in the design of projects.

Some interventions have a higher degree of failure than others, notably credit and income generation, so they require more intensive preparation.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusions

The main conclusion of the Thematic Evaluation is that most projects dealing with child labour in waste picking, including the ones funded by ILO/IPEC, focus on social and economic development of their target groups and have too few linkages with the SWM system, which makes them vulnerable and limits their impact. There is not one model approach to the issue of child labour in waste picking, but some ingredients for such a model could be derived from the projects studied:

- ◆ using a combination of interventions addressing short term and long term needs and improving the position of waste pickers within the SWM system
- ◆ addressing children in their context of family and/or community
- ◆ basing activities on the local context and on the needs of the children and their families
- ◆ using a participatory approach in identification of needs and priorities, design of activities, implementation, monitoring and evaluation
- ◆ differentiation between target groups based on the local context
- ◆ involvement of ex-waste picking children in project implementation
- ◆ involvement of the local government
- ◆ co-operation with other NGOs, other UN organisations, international agencies and international investment banks that are involved in waste picking, solid waste management and/or child labour
- ◆ keeping track of economic developments and SWM policies and their effect on waste picking
- ◆ linking experiences of the project to influencing/formulation of policies and programs of the government
- ◆ creative fund raising and a diversified funding base
- ◆ not only measure short-term efforts, but also focus on long-term results such as changes in attitudes and structures
- ◆ project duration of at least five years
- ◆ allowing a trial and error approach to arrive at the most appropriate combination of interventions
- ◆ adequate research and monitoring to understand background, characteristics and causes of child labour in waste picking.

Projects covered in this study, including those funded by the ILO/IPEC addressing the issue of child labour in waste picking, suffer from the following shortcomings:

- ◆ They are too much focused on social and economic aspects; they have an approach that is too limited.
- ◆ Their activities are not well integrated with the solid waste management system and efforts to improve that.
- ◆ They focus mainly on the children and too little on the parents.
- ◆ They do not distinguish enough between different age groups and gender, and they are not always well adapted to the cultural context and market conditions.
- ◆ Their approach is not participatory (enough).

- ◆ They have too short a duration to achieve significant change.
- ◆ They include too little research to understand background, characteristics and causes of child labour in waste picking.
- ◆ They tend to reinvent the wheel, as there is little exchange of information and coordination between projects and organisations.

7.2 Recommendations

Recommendations for the ILO (but also of value for others) include:

- ◆ Design more integrated projects, which address various aspects of the problem, include activities for adults and for children and distinguish between various age groups and gender.
- ◆ Adapt the project's activities to the existing cultural context; e.g. do not expect youth to go fulltime to school. Take the community context into account and not just the nuclear family. Include market research and market development in project design, in case of income generating activities.
- ◆ Establish links with the SWM system and major stakeholders like local governments from the start and try to influence governmental SWM policies, i.e. through cooperation with SWM projects, setting up multi-stakeholder platforms. Engage in policy dialogues whenever possible. The ILO could use its influence at national level to give waste pickers an improved role in SWM.
- ◆ Enable the participation of target groups in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects.
- ◆ Design longer-lasting projects (minimum 5 years); monitor them for results rather than effort; and pay attention to sustainability issues before and during implementation.
- ◆ Cooperate with universities, local NGOs and governments in research on child labour in waste picking.
- ◆ Build moments of reflection in the projects, for example by organising national, regional or international meetings at regular intervals or by setting up interactive discussion groups on the ILO website.
- ◆ Cooperate with other organisations working with waste pickers, SWM and child labour in the same country and region, whereby cooperation between ILO projects in the same country should be a priority. Activities should evolve around developing a common agenda and lobbying with the government. Establishing ties with organisations advocating rights of the minority groups that waste pickers belong to, is also recommended.

In Time Bound Programmes and other child labour and SWM interventions of the ILO much attention should be paid to participatory approaches that include waste pickers in the design stage of projects. The ILO needs to realise that this may cause conflicts when local or national governments are driving the design of these programmes, as they tend not to recognise them as stakeholders.

These recommendations could be worked out in programme guidelines to assist the design and management of projects dealing with solid waste management, waste picking and child labour.

7.3 Issues for further analysis

Further in-depth analysis is needed of good experiences and practices related to the various interventions. In particular, successful practices in formalising the role of waste pickers in the SWM system and their effect on child labour need more in-depth analysis, as this effect is not always clear or measured.

Another issue concerns developments in the solid waste management sector at large. Privatisation will proceed apace, since municipal departments so often fail to do a basically competent job of collecting waste. Also, as countries develop, they are bound to move to more controlled dumpsites. These developments usually have negative repercussions for (child) waste pickers. How can it be ensured that waste pickers will not lose their livelihood and can take a different role in solid waste management? How can child labour be reduced at the same time?

An international meeting of practitioners could be organised to identify and discuss good practices and exchange experiences. UNICEF might be interested in co-funding such an event. A network of practitioners in child labour and waste picking could thus be built which the ILO could use for review of project proposals, monitoring and evaluation. A more interactive discussion forum on the ILO website could encourage exchange of experiences within this network.

Above all, the ILO needs to work on its own internal environment, educating its staff and contractors in solid waste management; checking whether the low status of waste pickers in society is influencing the institutional support for projects; introducing its staff and consultants to consultative and participatory methods, and, specifically, changing its terminology for 'scavenging' to 'waste picking'.

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ANNEX 2 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Analytic framework of the Thematic Evaluation on child labour in scavenging, Experiences in Africa, Asia and Europe (version 2, 16 June 2004)

Introduction

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is carrying out a Thematic Evaluation of child labour in scavenging. The purpose of this Evaluation is to provide guidance to the ILO, especially the collaborating departments and constituents, on how best to address the exploitation of children in this sector. Lessons learnt and potential good practices that can be replicated elsewhere will be identified. The Thematic Evaluation will critically assess what has been learned about scavenging and about various approaches to addressing the problem of child labour in relation to scavenging. This information will be drawn from the various projects carried out in this sector by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), as well as from similar efforts of other agencies, institutions, or the governments.

This thematic evaluation includes studies in different continents: one in Latin America, and one including experiences in Africa, Asia and Europe. This analytic framework refers to the latest assessment.

The in-depth assessment will take place in six countries, while further information and desk studies are being collected from a range of other countries to be included in the overall assessment.

Objectives of this analytical framework

The overall objectives of this analytical framework are:

- ◆ To provide a theoretical and methodological framework for the complete Thematic evaluation
- ◆ To provide guidance for the local assessment teams on content and methodology of the evaluative studies

After the general introductory texts analytical questions are added which will be the basis of the Thematic evaluation.

This note on the analytical framework is structured as follows:

1. Definitions
2. Child labour and the ILO
3. Background about scavenging
4. Common interventions to reduce child labour
5. The concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management
6. Scavenging and ISWM
7. Research methods

Definitions

Definitions of both child labour and scavenging seem important at this stage. The ILO defines child labour as:

- ◆ Any economic activities undertaken by children up till 12 years
- ◆ Any work by children of 12 to 15 years that is not considered ‘light’ and takes more than a few hours a week.
- ◆ Any work by children of 15 to 18 years old that is classified as hazardous.

Scavenging is defined as ‘manual sorting and picking of waste at landfills, dumpsites, and street bins in order to sell reusable materials’.

The ILO considers all scavenging activities are considered hazardous. The ILO definition of child labour therefore implies that scavenging by children who are less than 18 years old should be eliminated where possible.

Child labour and the ILO

Child labour is an immense problem in many countries around the world. Recent ILO estimates put the number of child labourers aged 5 to 17 worldwide at 256 million, of which some 171 million work in hazardous situations. 110 million are below the age of 12 (www.ilo.org/childlabour).

The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is a programme of the ILO that aims at the progressive elimination of child labour worldwide by strengthening national capacities to address child labour problems, and by creating a worldwide movement to combat it. Eradication of the worst forms of child labour is an urgent priority. IPEC began its operations in 1992 and it uses a range of measures from policy reform, to concrete measures to end child labour as well as awareness raising and mobilisation to change social attitudes.

Relevant ILO conventions concerning child labour are :

- ◆ Convention No. 138 (1973) on the minimum age for admission to employment and associated Recommendation No. 146.
- ◆ Convention No. 182 (1999) on the worst forms of child labour and associated Recommendation No. 190.

Child labour is a rather complex problem. This has to do with the fact that there are various reasons why children work. One of them is the overall issue of poverty in the South: parents cannot afford to send their children to school. Just removing children from work and putting them in school, does often not work, because the parents will lose necessary family income. Even if schools are free, there are additional costs such as uniforms, school materials, meals that need to be covered.

Other reasons that children work are cultural factors and the acceptance of child labour, the (low) quality of the educational system which makes that parents do not see the use of sending children to school, and absence of safety nets in communities (parents do not have another place to leave their children).

In addition, programmes to reduce child labour are sometimes ineffective when the amount of money the child earns is very high, as with certain illegal activities such as drug trafficking, prostitution, etc.

Background on scavenging

Scavenging is a livelihood activity that has to be considered in the context of the overall socio-economic conditions in cities in the South. There are thousands of scavengers in most major cities in developing countries, including hundreds of children. For example Pune, India counts 10,000 scavengers (Chapin, 1995 in Medina, 1997), while estimates for Calcutta range from 20,000 to 25,000 (Trettin, 1996). In Cairo, Egypt 70,000 people are involved in the collection and sorting of waste (Sawiris, 2000). In the whole of Brazil 45,000 children are involved in scavenging (www.unicef.org). In Bangalore, India scavenging is the single largest job occupying 24% of the street children (Huysman, 1994 in Medina, 1997).

Analytical questions: How many scavengers can be found in the cities under study? How many of these scavengers are children under 18 years old? How many are boys, how many girls? What is the proportion of the age groups (less than 12 years, 12-15 years, 15-18 years)?

General economic and demographic developments in Southern cities of the past 10-20 years have been encouraging scavenging. Migration from rural areas to cities has increased in numerous cities. Many of these rural migrants end up in jobs with low entry such as scavenging. Waste is a common property resource: it is considered for free and abundantly available. Deteriorating economic situations have also sometimes led to an increase in the number of scavengers.

Analytical questions: What have been the general economic and demographic developments in the past 10-20 years in the cities and countries under study? What effect has this had on scavengers?

Specific developments in the solid waste management sector have taken place that have had an impact on scavenging. For example, in many cities in the South solid waste is now the number one priority. It is also commonly considered an indicator of good governance. There is much more awareness of its harmful environmental effects, and sometimes official policies are focused on promoting a clean city at all cost, instead of perceiving waste as a resource and recognising the role of scavengers in this respect.

Analytical questions: What have been the developments in the solid waste management sector in the past 10-20 years in the cities and countries under study? What effect has this had on scavengers?

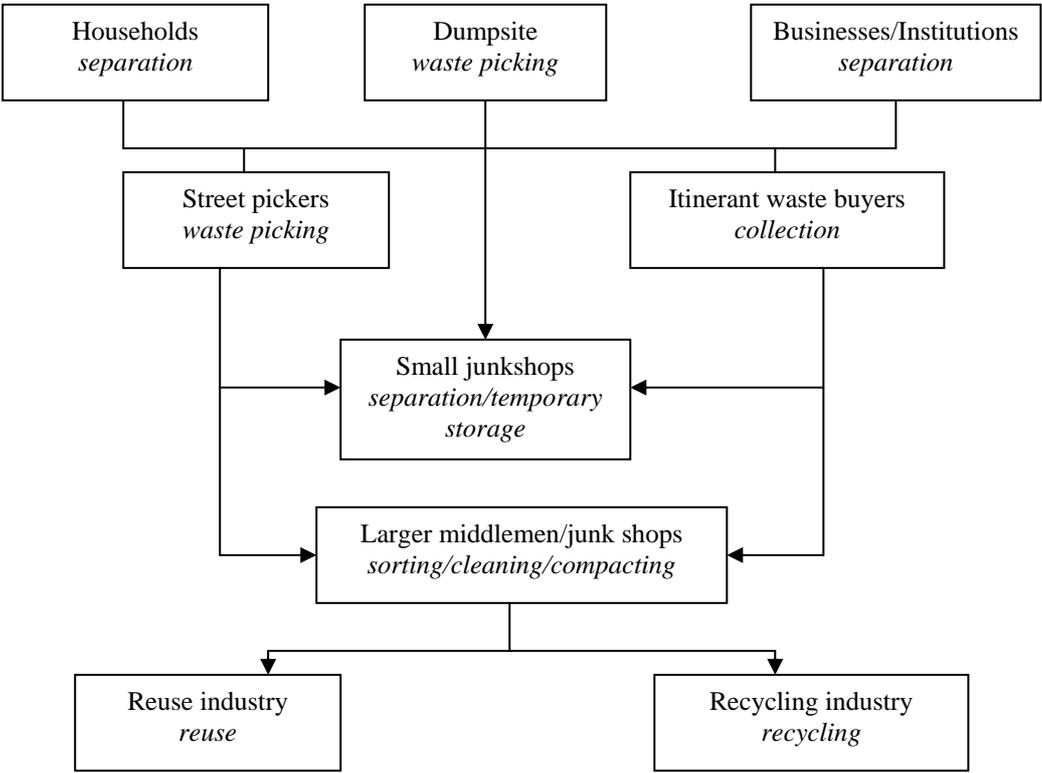
Official policies towards scavengers range from repression through neglect to stimulation. Repression and harassment are the most common official attitudes. Scavenging is seen as inhuman, a symbol of backwardness and a source of embarrassment and shame for the city or country. Based on this scavenging has been declared illegal and punished in many cities. Dumpsites have been fenced, preventing scavenging, or given to private companies to operate, which consider scavengers as competitors. In other cases, authorities simply ignore scavengers and their operations, leaving them alone, without persecuting or helping them. This is the case in many African cities. Government officials sometimes develop relationships

of exploitation and of mutual profit and mutual assistance with scavengers, i.e. relationships of political clientelism. These include the ‘sale’ of collection routes in wealthy areas, payment of bribes to government officials, political support during election time, and the like. In a few limited cases there is a policy of stimulation that actively supports their activities, which may include formation of cooperatives, provision of loans to buy collection, preprocessing and recycling equipment, training and integration into formal activities as waste collectors or recyclers and introduction of duties on imported waste materials (Medina, 1997).

Analytical questions: What is the official policy towards scavenging in the cities and countries under study? Is this one of repression, neglect, collusion or active support? Do the projects under study try to change official policies?

Scavengers are given all sorts of local names in different countries. The position of scavenging in the waste chain is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 3 Informal waste sector in an average Southern city



Source: Adapted from Marchand, 1998

A common myth is that scavenging is the lowest paid work in the waste chain. Actually it is not. Many scavengers earn more than the minimum wage, up to three times (see for example CID, 2001). Often waste loaders and street sweepers earn less. Scavenging can be a way out of poverty for some poor families. It can provide women a chance to earn an independent income.

The reason that people engage in scavenging is often, because it is a job with low entry, as limited skills and hardly any capital are required. Some consider it a secure and predictable

job, as waste is available year round, unlike work opportunities in farming. Some examples of reasons that children are involved in scavenging are already mentioned under 1.4: poverty/need for additional family income, low perceived value of education, high costs of education, absence of safety nets in communities, cultural factors and acceptance of child labour. Other reasons could prevail, depending on the local situation.

Analytical questions: Why are people involved in scavenging in the cities and countries under study? Why are children scavenging?

In many countries scavengers belong to minority groups. For example in Egypt the Coptic Christians make up the majority of waste collectors and waste pickers, while in Calcutta, India, the Muslim minority is over represented and in the whole of India the 'dalit' (casteless) people are often involved in picking waste and emptying latrines. In Eastern Europe the Roma (gypsies) are the main group, while in Lebanon Palestinians and Syrians are over represented among waste pickers and dealers. Both men and women, boys and girls can be found in scavenging, from the age of 5 years on. Each can have their specialty, for example men are responsible for transportation and selling the materials, while women do the sorting.

Analytical question: Are there any specific ethnic, cultural or religious groups (minorities) involved in scavenging in the countries under study?

Scavengers often suffer from bad labour conditions, especially when they work on landfills and dumpsites. They face various risks and hazards, which can be classified as follows (van Eerd, 1996):

- ◆ Occupational accidents, e.g. injuries like cuts and pin pricks
- ◆ Physical risks, caused by working outside under all sorts of weather conditions, exemplified by general weakness and colds, collapsing and exploding waste mountains (Manila, Istanbul)
- ◆ Chemical risks, for example if toxic substances are present at dumpsites
- ◆ Ergonomic risks, exemplified by heavy lifting and chronic backache
- ◆ Psychological risks, e.g. low self esteem, hallucinations, and sexual harassment of female waste pickers
- ◆ Biological risks: many waste pickers suffer from intestinal protozoa, helminths, eye infections, skin diseases and diarrhoea, HIV/AIDS (health care waste)
- ◆ Others: many waste pickers suffer from bites from dogs, rats, snakes and scorpions, violence between different groups or with lorry drivers, syndicate bosses etc.

Strategies can be devised and measures can be taken to lower these risks. However, as the ILO considers scavenging a worst form of child labour, these can only be seen as transitional measures towards the complete elimination of child labour.

Analytical question: What strategies have been devised and measures taken to lower the work risks of scavengers/scavenging children in the projects under study?

Often scavenging is a fulltime activity. Sometimes it is combined with other part-time work. Or it is seasonal, for example when combined with seasonal work in agriculture or public or religious holidays producing extra (food) waste (e.g. end of Ramadan, Christmas).

Children scavenge sometimes alone, sometimes along with their parents, sometimes in groups with a leader.

Analytical questions: Which groups of scavenging children are targeted by the projects under study? Is a different approach needed for children working on their own, with their parents or in groups?

Common interventions to reduce child labour in scavenging

Interventions by projects or programmes to reduce child labour in scavenging vary according to the approach taken. They could be more oriented towards relieving temporarily the ills of the work (welfare approach), developing the future potential of individuals (development approach) or creating more political room for manoeuvring (rights-based approach).

Examples of the ‘welfare’ approach are:

- ◆ Providing sanitary, washing and healthcare facilities
- ◆ Provision of protective gear
- ◆ Organising recreational activities for children
- ◆ Provision of housing for families

Examples of the ‘development’ approach are:

- ◆ Provision of day care facilities for children
- ◆ Informal/formal education and vocational training for children
- ◆ Alternative employment, credit provision and income generation for parents and/or children

Examples of the ‘rights-based’ approach:

- ◆ Organisation, lobby and stimulating political participation, for example organisation of scavengers into cooperatives to reduce the influence of middlemen and improve their income
- ◆ Awareness raising on child labour in communities
- ◆ Legal reform and improved enforcement of labour legislation

However, depending on the local context, other interventions are used. Often a combination of measures is taken to reduce child labour, for example education of children, income generation for parents, awareness raising in communities, enforcement of labour legislation, and child labour monitoring systems.

Some projects provide alternative employment to substitute for the hazardous work. For example scavengers are encouraged to become door-to-door waste collectors or conveyor belt sorters, while protective gear is provided. However, these opportunities are usually offered to adult scavengers and not to children.

For the ILO welfare-based interventions alone would not be sufficient to eliminate child labour; they are only perceived as transitional measures.

Analytical questions: What combination of interventions is used to reduce child labour in scavenging used in the projects under study?

In this context it is useful to explain the three basic types of education and training that have been used in the fight against child labour:

- ◆ Non-formal education
- ◆ Vocational education and training
- ◆ Formal education

Non-formal education

Non-formal education refers to interventions to enable former child workers to ‘catch’ up with their peers who began their schooling at the appropriate age. It includes for example literacy and numeric skills. The idea is often to prepare children to go to ‘normal schools’ (formal education) later on.

Analytical questions: Is informal education part of the measures taken in the projects under study? Is this outside work time (before or after work)? Does it encourage them to go to formal schools?

Vocational training

Vocational training provides practical skills for older children who have already acquired functional literacy and numeric skills. Vocational training usually better meets the requirements of the labour market than traditional education in many South countries, because the latter tends to prepare adolescents for white collar jobs that are only available in very limited numbers.

Analytical questions: Is vocational training part of the measures taken in the projects under study? Does it help in getting children into other work?

Formal education

Encouraging entry of former child workers into formal education can be one of the measures promoted. Often this is linked with family income support programmes. Substituting a working child’s contribution to the household income with an allowance conditional on his or her school attendance can make the crucial difference for many poor families as to whether they can afford for their children not to work. Also other services like school meals, school-based health care and stipends for parents encourage the parents to send children to school.

Analytical questions: Is encouraging children to go to formal schools part of the measures taken in the projects under study? Is this accompanied by a family income support programme?

The disadvantage of the described approaches is that they focus on the child and child labour as such, without taking much of the context into account. As a comparison, it is quite possible to repair a leaking roof by buying an umbrella but that does not solve the leakage problem in a structural way. Structural problems may be lack of skills to repair the roof, unaffordable materials, construction faults, building regulations, low budget for maintenance, etc. A more integral and context oriented approach seems needed. The concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM) has been developed as a more comprehensive and integral

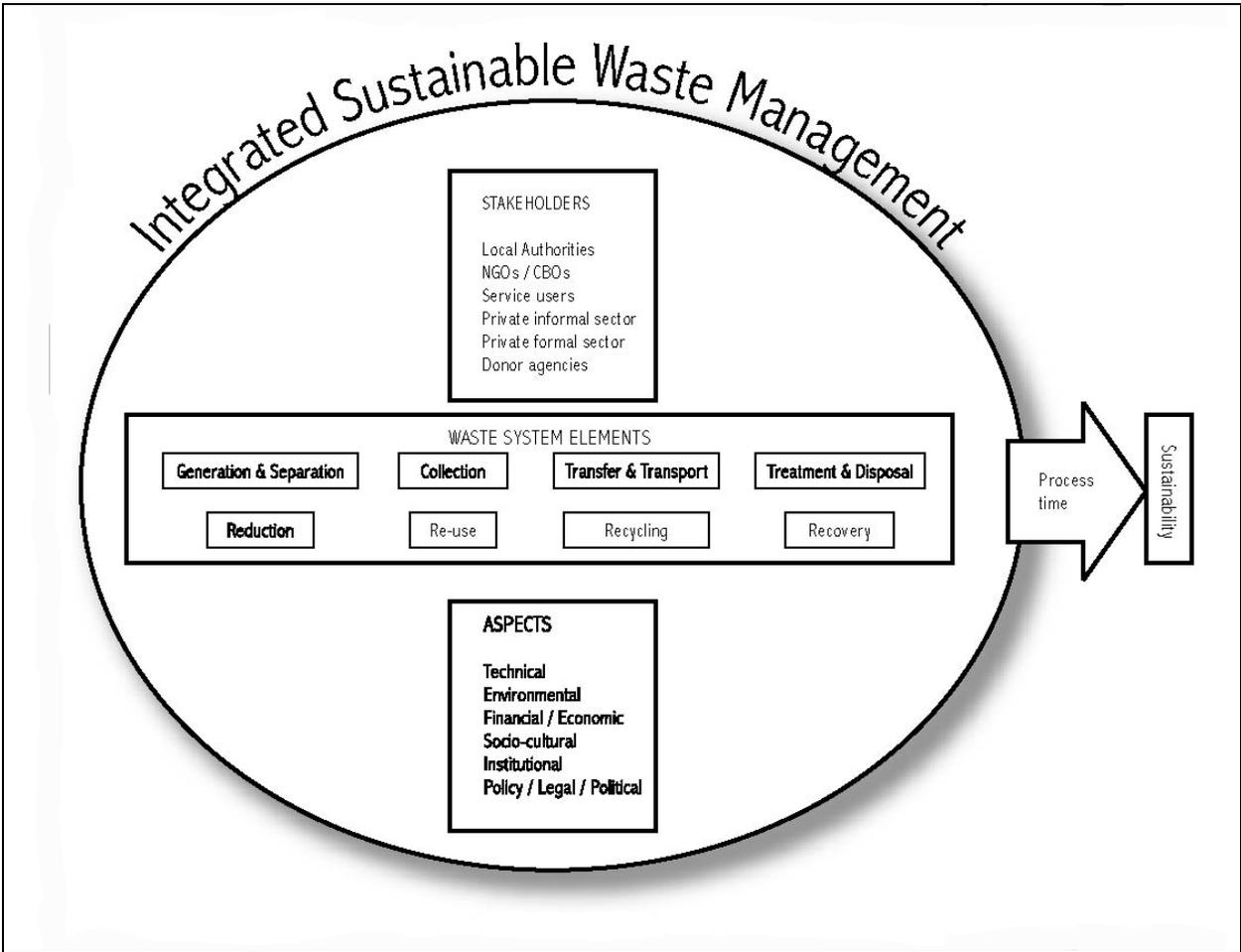
approach to waste management that tries to take many 'context' aspects into account. Therefore it will be used for this evaluation.

The concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management

Integrated Sustainable Waste Management (ISWM) is a concept developed by WASTE in cooperation with its partners in the South over the last few years since 1995. A model of the concept is shown in Figure 1. ISWM promotes the understanding that waste management encompasses a complex system of actors and activities with different interests and priorities that require proper management and coordination and an integrated approach at all levels

The ISWM concept recognises three important dimensions in waste management: stakeholders, waste system elements and sustainability aspects.

Figure 4 The Concept of Integrated Sustainable Waste Management



Source: van de Klundert & Anschutz, 2001

Stakeholders, the first ISWM dimension

ISWM is, first and foremost, about participation of stakeholders. A stakeholder is a person or organisation that has a stake, an interest in - in this case- waste management. A number of key stakeholders are listed in Figure 2. The municipality, with its general responsibility for urban cleanliness and the citizens who use the system, are (almost) always stakeholders in waste management. But other stakeholders differ in each city, so they need to be identified in the local context and often also grouped according to their interests. Stakeholders by definition

have different roles and interests in relation to waste management; the challenge of the ISWM process is to get them to agree to co-operate for a common purpose, that of improving the waste system. In addition, the stakeholders in a particular city or region share a common social and geographic context and may be bound together by other systems in addition to solid waste¹⁵.

Waste system elements, the second ISWM dimension

The waste system elements are sometimes referred to as the technical components of waste management. Most waste system elements are also stages in the (back end of the) life cycle of materials. This life cycling or flow of materials begins with extraction of natural resources and continues through processing, production and consumption stage towards final treatment and disposal.

Waste system elements refer to how solid waste is handled and where it ends up. Particularly this last has important environmental implications and for this reason a number of national environmental ministries have taken the idea of a **waste management hierarchy** as an operational policy guideline. The hierarchy is also a cornerstone of the ISWM approach and gives priority to waste prevention, minimisation, recycling and other forms of recovery of materials. Only when this is not possible is 'pure' disposal allowed.

It makes a difference whether local governments use the waste management hierarchy as a point of departure or not. If they do not use it, they usually consider a 'clean city' the main target of their solid waste management policy¹⁶. Scavengers are in this context nuisances that hamper waste collection and disposal. However, if they take the waste management hierarchy as a point of departure for their policies, they will more easily consider waste a resource and they will be more inclined to support initiatives and actors that are involved in reuse, recycling and recovery, including scavengers.

The third dimension: ISWM aspects

Within ISWM the third dimension consists of six **sustainability aspects**, or lenses, through which the existing waste system can be assessed and with which a new or expanded system can be planned. The sustainability aspects, ranging from political-legal, to social-cultural, institutional-organisational, technical-performance, environmental-health and financial-economic, cover the range of factors influencing solid waste activities and, taken together, predict or influence the sustainability of the entire system.

To date, ISWM is a flexible concept, which is both descriptive and normative. On the one hand, the three ISWM dimensions, stakeholders, waste elements, and sustainability aspects describe the basic parameters of any waste management system. Thus ISWM can be used as a descriptive or analytic lens through which to organise urban waste information and with which to describe urban waste systems. On the other hand, ISWM is a normative framework for planning, assessment, and implementation.

¹⁵ For example: clan, caste, ethnicity, professional affiliation, religion, school or university background, commercial relationship, kinship, sport.

¹⁶ In practice this often means clean streets in the higher income areas and the business district.

Based on experience collected and documented over the last few years, it shows that only a process which recognises and respects all of the dimensions of ISWM can truly be integrated, sustainable, and, ultimately, successful.

Scavenging and ISWM

When applying ISWM on this topic of scavenging and child labour a number of key issues arise and subsequently a great number of questions can be formulated from the point of view of the three dimensions of the ISWM concept. The following is a list of questions which should be used as a point of departure for the Thematic Evaluation. It is essential to keep in mind the overall goal of the Thematic Evaluation: to identify lessons learnt and potential good practices that could be replicated elsewhere. These are added as two general questions in the end, but should also form the background of the other questions.

Stakeholders

Important stakeholders in this Thematic Evaluation are scavengers in general, local government, organisations managing projects to reduce scavenging (managers/staff), parents of (formerly) scavenging children, and the children themselves. Analytical questions related to stakeholders are:

- ◆ ***Are scavengers considered stakeholders by the local government? Are they recognised 'players'? Do they have a say in the development of waste management systems?***
- ◆ ***Are scavengers and scavenging children considered stakeholders by the projects under study? Do/Did they have a say in the design, preparation, implementation and monitoring of the projects under study?***

Waste system elements

- ◆ ***Are the activities of scavengers seen as part of the waste management system of the city? Are their activities taken into account when preparing policies?***
- ◆ ***Is waste considered a resource by decision-makers?***
- ◆ ***Is the waste management hierarchy accepted and followed in policy and legislation in the countries and cities under study?***

Aspects

The aspects of the ISWM model refer to various measures that promote or inhibit sustainability and success. Some approaches or interventions are more comprehensive than others. For example an approach purely based on welfare would concentrate mainly on the social and environmental aspects of the problem, while development approaches include also financial-economic aspects. The rights-based approach has a more political way of intervening.

Below factors are listed that are expected to be of influence on the success or failure of projects to reduce child labour in scavenging, based on literature. They are classified according to ISWM aspect. It is a preliminary list that during the course of the Thematic Evaluation will be further refined and modified. It will lead to a list of factors of success and failure that will be included in the final report of the Thematic Evaluation.

Social-cultural aspect:

- ◆ *Has the total number of children involved in scavenging in the project intervention area decreased during the past years?*
- ◆ *What proportion of the (formerly) scavenging children under 12 years attends school? How much was this 10 years ago?*
- ◆ *Can training and educational curricula for (formerly) scavenging children be considered culturally and gender sensitive? Is skill training based on existing skills that scavenging children already possess, for example tactile skills?*

Financial-economic aspect:

- ◆ *What is the general income level of the scavengers' families? Do they need the income generated by the children? What share of the families' incomes is generated by the children?*
- ◆ *How do projects compensate the parents of formerly scavenging children for the loss of income from child labour?*
- ◆ *Are the income generating activities chosen by the projects sustainable, long term solutions?*
- ◆ *Do adolescents (12-18 year old) learn skills for alternative employment in the projects under study? Do they have access to credit?*

Environmental aspect:

- ◆ *Are any measures taken by the project to make the working conditions of the scavengers less hazardous?¹⁷*

Political, policy and legal aspect:

- ◆ *Does the official solid waste management policy and legislation take into account the existence and role of scavengers?*
- ◆ *What measures does the government take to reduce scavenging and child labour in scavenging (if any)?*

Technical aspect:

- ◆ *Are scavenging activities integrated in the overall solid waste management system in the cities under study?*

Institutional aspect:

- ◆ *In what ways do other projects and programmes intervene to reduce scavenging and child labour in scavenging (if any)?*
- ◆ *Which organisation has been responsible for the project's activities since the beginning? Which organisation will be responsible when the project ends? Has this organisation the capability to finance the activities in the future?*
- ◆ *Are project interventions coordinated with other programmes and policies aimed at combating poverty and social exclusion?*
- ◆ *Are systems of evaluation and monitoring in place to track the children and their families?*

¹⁷ Again, as was stressed under 1.5, these can only be seen as transitional measures towards the complete elimination of child labour.

General:

- ◆ *What are the most important lessons learnt (negative and positive) from the experiences of the projects under study?*
- ◆ *What are good practices that could be followed elsewhere?*

Research methods

Actual field assessments should use a range of methods to ensure triangulation and cross-checking of previous findings. Methods will include, but are not limited to: study of reports, documents and external evaluations, direct observation, as well as individual and group interviews of scavengers and (formerly) scavenging children, projects staff and local resource persons/key informants whenever relevant. In this way it is expected that a critical, balanced, and fairly objective view of the level of success of the various interventions can be obtained.

Scavengers: scavengers that are interviewed, should preferably be parents of (formerly) scavenging children. A mix of men and women should be interviewed.

(Formerly) scavenging children: a mix of boys and girls should be interviewed.

Resource persons and key informants can be for example consultants, project staff, researchers, university professors, community activists and the like. Again, attention should be paid to gender and at least one male and one female resource person should be interviewed.

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www.unicef.org

www.ilo.org/childlabour

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ANNEX 4 TABLES COMPARING PROJECTS

Table A-1 Target group children

Project	Dump pickers	Street pickers	Dump and street pickers	Street children	Other	Boys	Girls	Both boys and girls
PHIL	1							1
TANZ								
EGYP 1					1		1	
EGYP 2					1	1		
ROMA 1	1				1			1
ROMA 2	1				1			1
ROMA 3	1							1
THAI 1			1		1			1
THAI 2		1			1			1
INDIA 1			1	1				1
INDIA 2					1			
CAMB	1				1			1
INDO			1	1	1			1
KENY				1	1			1
TOTAL	5	1	3	3	10	1	1	10

Other:

EGYP 1: Girls sorting waste

EGYP 2: Boys collecting waste

ROMA 1 and 2: Roma children in general

THAI 1: Children of parents working in the waste sector and other disadvantaged children of the slum community

THAI 2: Disadvantaged children

INDIA 2: Working children

CAMB: Child prostitutes and child domestic workers

INDO: Urban poor (factory workers, becak drivers, etc.)

KENY: Slum children

Table A-2 Target group children

Project	0-6 year old (pre-school age)	6-12 year old (primary school age)	12-18 year old (middle and secondary school age)
PHIL	1	1	1
TANZ			
EGYP 1			1
EGYP 2			1
ROMA 1		1	1
ROMA 2	1		
ROMA 3		1	
THAI 1	1	1	
THAI 2		1	
INDIA 1	1	1	1
INDIA 2		1	1
CAMB	1	1	1
INDO		1	1
KENY		1	1
TOTAL	5	10	10

Table A3 Target group adults

Project	Dump pickers	Street pickers	Dump and street pickers	Other	Men	Women	Men and women as individuals	Men and women as parents
PHIL								1
TANZ	1			1			1	
EGYP 1						1		1
EGYP 2								1
ROMA 1	1							1
ROMA 2	1							1
THAI 1							1	1
THAI 2								1
INDIA 1				1			1	1
INDIA 2		1		1			1	1
CAMB				1				1
INDO			1	1			1	1
KENY								
TOTAL	3	1	1	5	0	1	5	11

Other:

TANZ: CBOs and MSEs involved in waste collection

INDIA 1: Pregnant women

INDIA 2: Urban poor

CAMB: Abused women

INDO: Urban poor

Table A4 Methodology

Project	Methodology		
	Participatory	Semi-participatory	Non-participatory
PHIL	1		
TANZ		1	
EGYP 1	1		
EGYP 2		1	
ROMA 1			1
ROMA 2			1
ROMA 3			1
THAI 1		1	
THAI 2	1		
INDIA 1		1	
INDIA 2			1
CAMB	1		
INDO	1		
KENY		1	
TOTAL	5	5	4

Table A5 Main stakeholders

Project	Adult waste pickers	Child waste pickers	Waste pickers' org.	Local govt.	NGO/CBO	Formal school	Other
PHIL		1	1		1	1	
TANZ			1	1			1
EGYP 1		1			1		1
EGYP 2		1	1		1		1
ROMA 1		1		1	1	1	
ROMA 2		1		1	1		1
ROMA 3	1				1		
THAI 1	1	1			1		
THAI 2		1			1	1	1
INDIA 1	1	1		1	1	1	
INDIA 2	1	1			1	1	
CAMB		1		1	1		
INDO	1	1			1		
KENY					1		
TOTAL	5	11	3	5	13	5	5

Other:

TANZ: CBOs and MSEs involved in waste collection

ROMA 2: Provincial government

THAI 2: Provincial government

EGYP 1: Consultancy firm

EGYP 2: Consultancy firm and private sector

Table A6 Funding

Project	Nat. or prov. govt.	Local govt.	NGO	Intern. Org.	Private companies	Other
PHIL				1	1	
TANZ				1		
EGYP 1				1	1	1
EGYP 2				1	1	
ROMA 1			1	1		
ROMA 2	1			1		
ROMA 3				1		
THAI 1	1	1		1		1
THAI 2	1		1	1	1	1
INDIA 1			1	1		
INDIA 2	1			1		
CAMB				1		
INDO				1		
KENY				1		1
TOTAL	4	1	3	14	4	4

Other:

THAI 1: Local private donations (donation boxes in shops), the royal family

THAI 2: Community committee (phone calls, transport, food)

EGYP 1: Self-financing activities (compost plant, paper and rag recycling)

KENY: Self-financing activities (income generation unit)

Table A7 Interventions

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Health, social services and nutrition															39
Provision of food, food vouchers, medicine, clothes, relief in times of crisis	1		1				1			1					4
Improve working conditions (equipment/tools, rest area, uniforms, sanitary and washing facilities at dumpsite, etc.)		1					1					1			3
<i>Provide a drop-in centre, counselling</i>	1						1	1	1			1			5
<i>Providing shelter for street children</i>											1		1		2
<i>Reintegration of street children with parents</i>														1	1
Improving access to health services, provide vaccinations, first aid kits	1	1		1			1	1		1		1	1	1	9
<i>Health awareness raising for children and adults (e.g. on personal and environmental hygiene, vaccinations, nutrition, family planning, prevention of AIDS)</i>	1			1	1		1	1		1					6
<i>Training on health and safety for waste pickers</i>		1	1	1											3
<i>Health check-ups and monitoring of children's and adults' health</i>				1				1		1					3
<i>Provide drinking water and sanitation facilities in schools or houses</i>										1			1		2

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
<i>Provide veterinary care and collection service for 'garbage of the garbage'</i>				1											1
Access to pension schemes															0
Formal and non-formal education															57
<i>Awareness-raising for parents on child development</i>								1							1
Day-care centres and pre-school for children	1		1			1		1		1		1			6
<i>Awareness-raising of parents and children of the need for education and training of children</i>			1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
<i>Monitoring of dropout rates and follow-up on these cases</i>					1			1	1			1			4
Literacy and non-formal education for adults							1								1
Literacy and non-formal education for children and youth, life skill education	1		1	1	1					1	1	1	1	1	9
Promotion of obligatory attendance at school of children and youth															0
Scholarships or subsidies for families that send their children to school, free provision of school materials to children	1				1				1		1	1	1	1	7
Assistance with homework for children, provide a space/building for homework assistance					1						1		1		3
Awareness-raising and capacity building for teachers to support the work with children					1						1				2
General vocational training for youth										1		1	1	1	4

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Training in the sorting, preprocessing and recycling of waste materials or repair of used items for adults and youth	1		1	1									1		4
Workshops for children or adults to make objects from recyclables (e.g. toys)								1	1						2
Recreational activities for children, trips to the countryside and beach, sports events, youth camps, etc.							1	1	1				1		4
Income generation and alternative employment															14
Improve income through sales of clean(er)materials, in larger quantities, avoid middlemen		1													1
<i>Manufacturing and sales of products made from recyclable materials for adults or youth</i>	1		1	1									1		4
Provide cleaning services to the municipality, a public or private enterprise															0
Management of environmental services, gardening, offering manual labour															0
Provision of individualcredit for diverse economic activities for adults and/or yout, often combined with business training			1	1							1			1	4

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
<i>Setting up credit and savings cooperatives for adults</i>	1	1											1		3
<i>Training and job placement parents</i>	1														1
<i>Setting up daycare branches as income gen activ</i>								1							1
Raising the status of the work of waste pickers															7
Recognise the rights of waste pickers: registration, identification (provision of IDs and birth certificates), make sorting/waste picking recognised work								1	1	1					3
Public campaigns to dignify the work of waste pickers and gain public recognition															0
<i>Lobby campaigns to defend the interests of waste pickers</i>										1			1		2
National law to support waste pickers and their work, linked to local waste management policies															0
Increasing the visibility of the work of waste pickers at national and international level													1		1
<i>Calculate and publicise the value of waste picking to the national and local economy and SWM system</i>			1												1
Awareness-raising															10
Waste pickers become environmental promoters at schools			1												1

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Mobilisation of the media about the working conditions of waste pickers															0
Environmental education about separation at source and selective collection			1							1					2
Mobilisation of the media to show the issue of child labour in waste management	1									1		1			3
<i>Awareness raising on child labour and children's rights among government, employers, etc.</i>	1									1		1		1	4
Institutionalisation and formalisation															11
Development and strengthening of cooperatives or associations of waste pickers and MSEs		1													1
<i>Development and strengthening of associations of child waste pickers, children's clubs</i>	1									1					2
<i>Organising people in the community, training community volunteers</i>	1							1	1	1			1		5
<i>Development and strengthening of parents' committees or associations, school committees, etc.</i>	1									1					2
Agreements and programmes for waste pickers and their families															0

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Specific programmes (local and national) for the elimination of child labour															0
Agreements between local governments and NGOs on capacity building and contracting of waste pickers															0
Stakeholder platforms and round tables for negotiation and consultation										1					1
Organise groups of waste pickers at regional and national level															0
Integrating the waste pickers with the formal SWM system															5
Temporary contracts for providing cleaning and collection services for waste pickers															0
Regulating waste picking and waste recovery in the city, control access to disposal sites, closing the dumpsites and opening of sanitary landfills		1													1
<i>Prepare a separate sorting area at landfills or disposal sites</i>															0
Establish selective collection systems and promotion of separation at source with a role for waste pickers			1							1					2

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Waste pickers' associations exist next to the municipal SWM system and link up gradually with key stakeholders (e.g. municipality)		1													1
Development of a solid waste management system that includes waste pickers (cooperatives, MSEs, other organisational forms)										1					1
Involving waste pickers' associations in the formulation of municipal and national SWM policies															0
Improving links with the private sector															2
Financial support for waste pickers (e.g. equipment) in exchange for publicity															0
Agreements to supply recyclables to waste pickers			1	1											2
Coordinate with private enterprises to improve marketing conditions for waste pickers (via dialogue/round tables)															0

Intervention	PHIL	TANZ	EGYP1	EGYP2	ROMA1	ROMA2	ROMA3	THAI1	THAI2	INDIA1	INDIA2	CAMB	INDO	KENY	TOTAL
Coordination with other policies, funds and organisations															6
Cooperate with child labour programmes of other NGOs												1			1
Basic linkages with SWM policies and programmes		1		1											2
Linkages with municipal health, education, citizen participation and decentralisation policies and programmes															0
Promotion of access to national funds for the elimination of child labour (ILO funds)		1													1
Promotion of access to national funds for environmental improvement of cities or for SWM															0
Establish a national programme for waste pickers with funds earmarked for them															0
Access to funds for social housing to construct housing for waste pickers	1						1								2
TOTAL															151

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

IPEC's aim is the progressive elimination of child labour worldwide, emphasizing the eradication of its worst forms as rapidly as possible. It works to achieve this in several ways: through country-based programmes which promote policy reform and put in place concrete measures to eradicate child labour; and through international and national campaigns intended to change social attitudes and promote the ratification and effective implementation of ILO Conventions on child labour. Complementing these efforts are in-depth research, legal expertise, policy analysis and programme evaluation carried out in the field and at the regional and international levels.

Evaluation in IPEC

Evaluation in IPEC is seen as contributing to building the knowledge base through identifying good practices to be used in action against child labour. It demonstrates accountability through showing how IPEC and its partners constantly learn more about the most effective and relevant action. Evaluations in IPEC are done as evaluations of global programmes, including IPEC as a whole; as thematic evaluations for interventions across IPEC within a specific theme; as country programme evaluations for all interventions in a given country; and as project specific evaluations, including the components of a project implemented by an individual implementing partner through an action programme. Ex-post evaluations of specific projects and broader impact assessments provide further knowledge on sustainability and fundamental changes. A combination of evaluations by independent experts and IPEC staff members and partners are used to balance the need to provide external verification of achievement and lessons learned with the need to ensure that lessons from evaluations can be used immediately by other parts of IPEC and its partners.

Further information on IPEC evaluation can be found at <http://www.ilo.org/childlabour>

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ISBN 92-2-116661-9