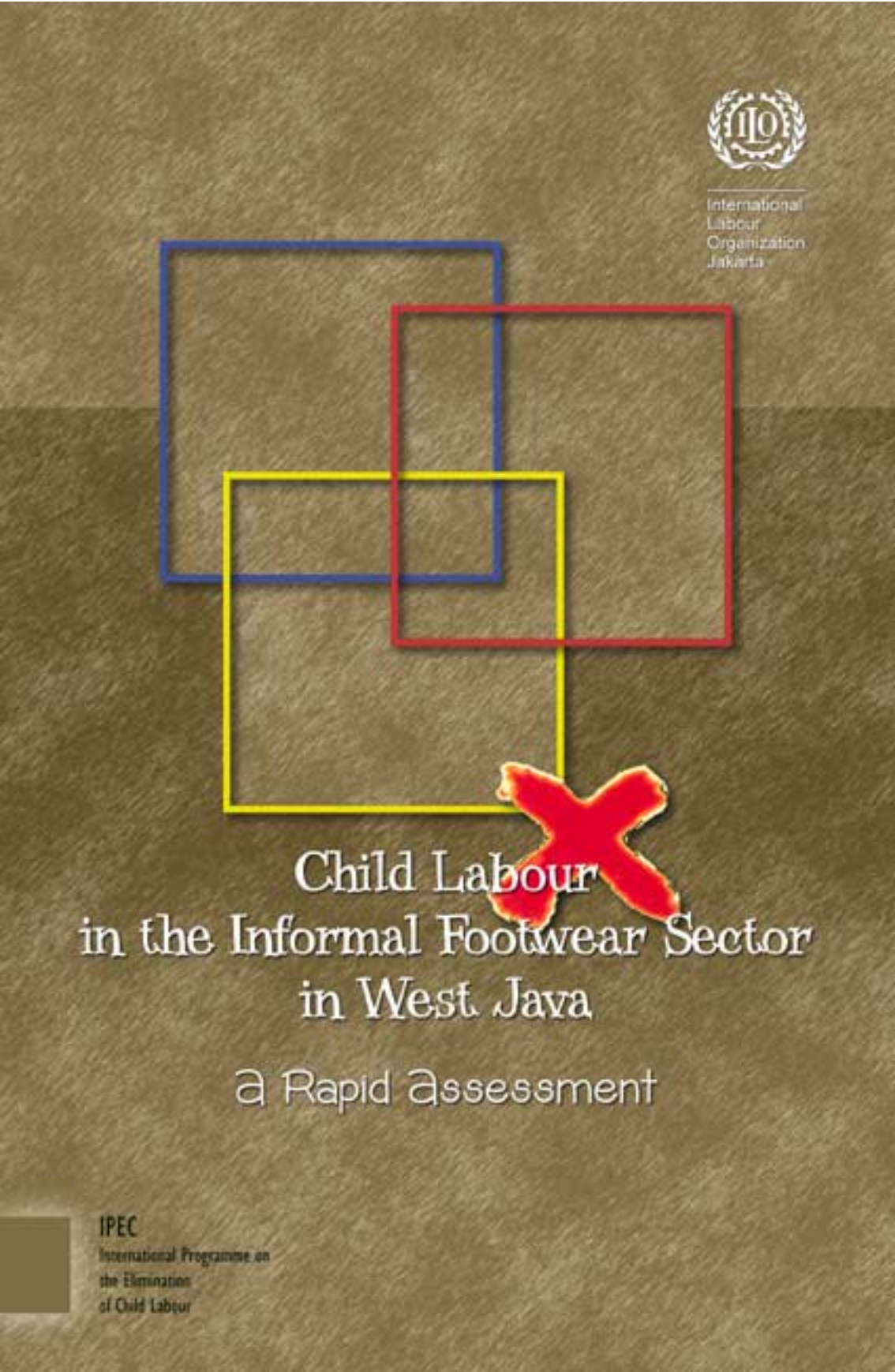

International
Labour
Organization
Jakarta
Child Labour
in the Informal Footwear Sector
in West Java
a Rapid Assessment
IPEC
International Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

CHILD LABOUR IN THE INFORMAL FOOTWEAR SECTOR IN WEST JAVA

A RAPID ASSESSMENT

International Labour Organization

2004

Foreword

The latest ILO global child labour estimates confirm what many have feared for some time: the number of children trapped in the worst forms of child labour is greater than previously assumed. It is now estimated that an alarming 179 million girls and boys under the age of 18 are victims of these types of exploitation. Among them, some 8,4 million are caught in slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, forced recruitment for armed conflicts, prostitution, pornography and other illicit activities.

Severe economic hardship, which has affected Indonesia since 1997, has forced poor families to send underage children to work. According to the 1999 data by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), a total of 1,5 million children between 10 and 14 years of age worked to support their families. At the same time, data from the Ministry of Education shows that 7,5 million or 19,5 percent of the total 38,5 million children aged 7 to 15 were not registered in primary and lower secondary school in 1999. While not all these children are at work, out-of-school children are often in search of employment and at risk of becoming involved in hazardous economic undertakings.

In the face of this, it is truly encouraging that the Government of Indonesia has ratified both the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) by law No. 1/2000 and No. 20/1999 respectively. By ratifying Convention 182, Indonesia made a commitment to "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency."

Pursuant to this, the Government of Indonesia has developed a National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour which is now embodied in a Presidential Decree (No. 59, August 2002). The Plan seeks to eliminate worst forms of child labour during during a twenty year time bound programme. The plan also identifies five forms of child labour as the most urgent to be targeted for elimination in Indonesia within a five-years. These are: children involved in the sale, production and

trafficking of drugs, trafficking of children for prostitution, child labour in the footwear sector; in mining; and in off-shore fishing.

The ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is currently providing support to the Government to implement the National Plan of Action through a support that started in January 2004. The TBP is providing support to develop policies, programmes and projects that have an effective impact on the worst forms of child labour.

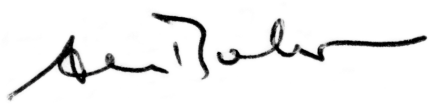
Although there is an increasing volume of information on child labour, there are still gaps in the knowledge and understanding of the various forms and conditions in which children work. The availability of data is crucial in order to ensure a good understanding of the child labour situation and the particular needs of the targeted populations. In order to ensure the availability of such information, ILO-IPEC has undertaken a series of six rapid assessments researching the sectors targeted by the National Plan of Action.

The particular research was undertaken by SKEPO Foundation in Bandung which has ample experiences in social research, training and organization development. Opinions expressed in this publication rest with the author and do not necessary reflect those of the ILO.

The initiative was coordinated by Ms. Arum Ratnawati, who, together with Ms. Anna Engblom, Mr. Pandji Putranto and Mr. Oktav Pasaribu also provided technical backstopping and editorial support. The report was edited by Ms. Karen Emmons. The initiative was made possible through the generous support of the US Department of Labour.

I hope that this rapid assessment will make a meaningful contribution to building the knowledgebase about the worst forms of child labour and in the long run to the elimination of such exploitation in Indonesia.

February 2004



Alan Boulton
Director
ILO Jakarta Area Office

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Figures, Map, and Tables

Acronyms and Terms

BPS	Biro Pusat Statistik (Indonesia Central Board of Statistics)
ILO-IPEC	International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
NPWP	Nomor Pokok Wajib Pajak (tax payer identification number)
Persebo	Persatuan Sepatu Bogor (Bogor Footwear Association)
Pesantren	Traditional Islamic boarding school; *Santri* means pupils in the pesantren
rupiah	Indonesia currency with US$1 equal to 8,700 rupiah (as of April 2003)

Acknowledgements from the Consultant

During the implementation of this Rapid Assessment, the researchers from SKEPO: **Bambang Tribuana Dahana and Asep Kurniawan** received some valuable assistances and supports from field researchers: Kartawijaya, Rahmat, Maria Luhgati, Syamsul Adriansyah, Fauzan, Dadang Rahmat and supports in administration and management from Alvani Sulchantari and Yunus Hadisaputra Lumban Tobing. Supports were also provided by colleagues form ILO-IPEC Footwear Project in Bandung: Abdul Hakim, Rizal Kapita, Ida Savitri and Zainul and from Komunitas Perfilman Intertekstual, Bandung.

This rapid assessment could only be completed by the cooperation and assistances from children, parents, and local resource persons in the two research locations. For all parties mentioned above, we would like to express our most sincere thanks.

Executive Summary

In preparation for a time-bound programme addressing worst forms of child labour in Indonesia, the Bambang Tribuana Dahana Asep Kurniawan with support from International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour office in Jakarta conducted this rapid assessment, focusing on child labour in the informal footwear sector in West Java. To understand the involvement of children in the footwear sector, the rapid assessment researchers interviewed 134 boys and girls and investigated the socio-economic factors and cultural mechanisms that encourage or prevent the involvement of children, male and female younger than 18.

Despite declines in exports following the economic crisis that first hit in 1997, footwear production remains among the main industries in Indonesia with a value of US$1.151 million and accounts for 2.57 per cent of the country's non-oil exports (2002). Footwear producers in Indonesia are roughly categorized into two groups: big and export-oriented subcontracted producers for foreign brand names and small to medium-sized producers that mainly supply the local market. Small-scale producers are found in several cities in the provinces of East Java and West Java.

That child labour is used in the informal footwear sector is nothing new. But what has not been clear is the ways and conditions in which children work. This rapid assessment aimed to provide a broad situation analysis of child labour in the informal home-based footwear sector in one province. Through a review of available documents and field observations, the researchers identified two key locations in West Java with a high number of child labourers: Ciomas with an estimated 5,000 child workers and Tasikmalaya with an estimated 4,000 young workers. From a limited number of interviews, it appeared that the children in Ciomas were younger, ranging in age from 13 to 15; the majority of them worked part time and still attended school. In Tasikmalaya, the child workers ranged in age from 16 to 18; most of them (89 per cent) worked full time without attending school. Adult

participants in the rapid assessment stressed the point that not all children worked full time as many "helped" their parents.

Children in Tasikmalaya worked on average eight hours a day while those in Ciomas worked five hours. But working hours could be longer in peak production seasons. Most workshops were dusty-floor workplaces where children sat in unergonomic postures using hazardous tools, such as large scissors, knives and grinding machines. In addition, the workers were exposed to the dangerous chemical vapour contained in the glue that is used to bind shoe parts together.

The footwear industry in these two locations is a source of pride among the community as the workshops provide job opportunities and livelihood for the villagers. And working at a young age is a culturally and socially acceptable practice. Many children work with their parents. Especially in Ciomas, the majority of young labourers are the children or relatives of the workshop owner. The workshops earn very little for the subcontract work and consequently need cheap, easily recruited labour to keep operating, which children provide. But children also are absorbed into these situations because they have no options due to the limited access to education after graduating from elementary school.

Attention has been directed to the child labour problem in Indonesia for many years, though the Government began to handle the issue more seriously after the 1997 economic crisis. Through laws No. 20/1999 and 1/2000, the Government ratified, respectively, ILO Convention No. 38 on the minimum age for admission to work and Convention No. 182 concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. However, despite those laws forbidding child workers aged 15 and younger in all economic sectors, economic necessities and lack of alternatives, such as schools, continue to force or encourage the employment of children.

Measures should be taken to first reduce the health hazards in footwear workplaces and then to gradually remove working children from the footwear sector. Raising awareness of children's rights, occupational safety and health issues and the worst forms of child labour is a major recommendation. Targeting health care service is needed to address communities' health problems. Easier access to education, both in terms of availability as well as quality of schools, will open more opportunities for children as well. Interventions such as access to financial assistance or credit for workshop owners and craftspeople may work toward helping to remove children from those workplaces.

Introduction

This rapid assessment aimed to gain insight on the child labour situation in the informal footwear sector in two areas in West Java with high concentrations of young labourers in preparation for a time-bound programme for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. To understand the involvement of children in the footwear sector, the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour of the International Labour Organization (ILO-IPEC) commissioned SKEPO to conduct this rapid assessment. The researchers from SKEPO interviewed 134 boys and girls and investigated the socio-economic factors and cultural mechanisms that encourage or prevent the involvement of children, male and female younger than 18. Based on information provided by various other participants in the rapid assessment, the researchers estimate that up to 9,000 young people are involved in the informal footwear production in the two focus areas, though people interviewed stressed that many of them did not work full time and helped their parents.

Background of the rapid assessment

Since the 1997 economic crisis, child labourers have become an easily found phenomenon in many big cities in Indonesia. They work on the streets as scavengers, street singers, shoeshine boys or selling newspapers; they toil in households, almost hidden as domestic helpers. Meanwhile, others are trafficked for purposes of prostitution or other commercial exploitation. In rural areas, it is known that many people younger than 18 are engaged in the agricultural, plantation, fisheries and mining sectors.

While child labour is a big problem, it is not a new problem. During the period of the Dutch control of Indonesia, only children from aristocratic families could attend school. Children from the ordinary ranks worked in the public and domestic sectors to help their family. They were employed in various factories making sugar, cigarettes (tobacco wrapped with dried corn

husk), batik painting, printings, tea, coffee and tiles. Their labour extended between eight and ten hours a day.[1] This situation lasted until the end of the nineteenth century when the Dutch Government opened the market for economic liberalization. Then conditions grew worse. The emergence of private giant plantations increased the involvement of child labour and the exploitation.[2]

Since the Dutch colonial days, there have been some efforts to legislate protection of child labourers:

- State Gazette No. 647/17 December 1925
- Ordinance No. 87/27 February 1926
- State Gazette No. 341/1930

Those laws and regulations, however, contained clauses (*discretion clausule*) that blurred the prohibition on employing child labour. The State Gazette No. 647/17 December 1925, for example, prohibited children from working in fields. Article 2 in Ordinance No. 87 prohibited the employment of children younger than 12 years from working on ships:

> *"…unless the child is put under the supervision of somebody who is an expert in the job the child is doing or the child is put under the supervision of a relative up to the third order of kinship."*

This clause, among others, essentially provided legal permission for employing children during the period of Dutch control.

After Indonesia's independence, State Gazette No. 647/1925 was replaced by Ordinance No. 9/1949. Other important regulation was Employment Act No. 12/1948, which prohibited anyone younger than 14 from working.

The era of economic growth that began in 1970 heralded the return of large numbers of working children. Expanding industrialization in urban areas (and limited opportunities in the countryside) encouraged the exodus of unskilled labourers from villages to cities. In both villages and urban areas, children were forced to work because of their parents' limited income.[3]

The financial crisis that first hit South-East Asia in mid-1997 triggered an increase in the number of child labourers in Indonesia. The impact of

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[1] Daryono, 1999; see also Manning. Participation of children in the work force has been existed in many traditional industries and agriculture well before the Dutch colonized the country.

[2] Geertz, in Koentjaraningrat, 1984

[3] Daryono, 1999

recession severely cut incomes and increased unemployment among adults. Consequently, the incidence of young people needing to help in their family's survival increased, and the number of young people losing the opportunity to enjoy their rights to education and to childhood swelled.

The Indonesian Government began to handle the issue of child labour more seriously after the 1997 economic crisis. In 1990, Indonesia ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), based on the Decision of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 36/1990. The Government also issued a policy on compulsory education with the Instruction of The President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 1/1994 providing children aged 7-15 with the opportunity to receive basic education. Through laws No. 20/1999 and 1/2000, the Government ratified, respectively, ILO Convention No. 38 on the minimum age for admission to work and Convention No. 182 concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

However, despite those laws forbidding child workers aged 15 and younger in all economic sectors, economic necessities and lack of alternatives, such as schools, continue to force or encourage the employment of children. Such practice seems to occur primarily, if not only, in the informal sectors where there is no monitoring of labour practices and where employers prefer child workers because they can pay them lower wages than adults. And many struggling families are greatly helped by the additional income working children bring home. While some of those children are asked by parents to work, many children *want* to help out, particularly when their access to education is limited and they have little else constructive to do with their time.

More recently through Presidential Decree (*Keppres*) No. 59/2002, the Government identified 13 occupations involving child labour that must be addressed immediately in a time-bound programme (TBP). The prohibited jobs are prostitution, mining, pearl diving, construction, offshore fishing (on platforms known as *jermal*), scavenging, the production of and activities that make use of explosives, domestic work, cottage industries, plantations/estates, timbering and those that involve hazardous chemical substances, including the footwear industry.[4] To plan those time-bound programmes, reliable data on each specific situation and needs of the target population are required. The involvement of children in the informal footwear sector is a long-known occurrence that urgently needs wider and more serious action.

[4] Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia, No 59/ 2002

The footwear industry in Indonesia

In 1980, the value of world footwear output was US$42 billion. By 1995, it had grown to around US$60.5 billion. This rapidly expanded industry "highly influenced the changing characteristics of international competitiveness and the relocation strategies implemented by the global companies."[5]

In the footwear industry, international subcontracting is widely practised. As footwear production is labour intensive, labour costs tend to be important for revenues. It is said that the most labour-intensive segments of footwear production create employment in the lowest-wage countries.[6] Subcontracted shoe production was largely found in Japan until it moved in the 1960s to Korea, then to Taiwan in the 1970s. It shifted to China and Indonesia in the 1980s.

In the international low-end footwear market, Indonesia now competes with China, India and Viet Nam, which also have competitive edges in lower labour costs. Suppliers for the middle- to high-end markets are found in Taiwan and Republic of Korea where they use more advanced technology and have better and more diverse raw materials. Italy, which has sophisticated technology, supplies premium-quality production. Italian producers lead in designing and own several world-renowned brand names.

During the early 1990s, the footwear industry became a major contributor to Indonesia's gross national product with the third biggest national earnings, after the wood and textile industries. Some 40 per cent of Indonesia's footwear exports went to the United States market, while 33 per cent went to Europe and the remainder was exported to African, Middle Eastern and South American countries. At its peak in 1996, Indonesia exported 250 million pairs of shoes valued at nearly US$2.19 billion. Since then, as Table 1.1 illustrates, the footwear industry's export volume has been declining.

Table 1.1: Indonesian footwear exports, 1996-2002 (in US$ billion)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002 (est.)
Export value	2.19	1.53	1.20	1.60	1.67	1.50	1.4

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Trade and Industry Department

[5] D'Mello, 2003
[6] ibid.

Since the Asian financial crisis that began in late 1997, many subcontracting footwear factories have closed down. According to the Indonesian Footwear Association, some 100 shoe makers have ceased operations in the past three years. In October 2002, PT Doson Indonesia (employing 6,882 workers), a Korean-Indonesian joint venture making shoes for footwear giant Nike Inc, shut down. Reebok International Ltd. recently shuttered a factory in Bandung, West Java. Foreign buyers have shifted their shoe orders to other low labour-cost countries, such as China, India and Viet Nam. Many of the joint-venture footwear manufacturers that have suspended their operations in Indonesia are believed to have relocated their businesses to the other countries in the region that offer a better investment climate.[7]

Though solid data is not available, there is an indication that the local market cannot save the footwear industry. As Djimanto, the General Secretary of the Indonesian Footwear Association revealed, due to decreasing buying power the local demand for Indonesian footwear has also decreased. In peak periods such as the *Eid-ul-Fitr* (after the fasting period) and New Year's eve, local sales normally increase by 15 per cent. In 2002, sales in those periods rose only by 10 per cent.[8]

Despite the declining trends, the footwear industry still plays an important role in the Indonesian economy. It remains one of its main industries, along with petroleum and natural gas, textiles and apparel, mining, cement, chemical fertilizers, plywood, rubber, food and tourism.[9] In 2001, Indonesia's footwear exports totalled US$1.6 billion, accounting for around 3 per cent of Indonesia's non-oil exports, as shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Indonesian footwear exports, 2000-2002, value and share of export value

	2000	2001 January-December		2002 January-September	
	US$ million	US$ million	Share	US$ million	Share
Footwear and footwear parts	1,672.1	1,505.58	3.45%	1,151.58	2.57%
Non-petroleum & natural gas		43,684.57	100%	44,895.64	100%
Petroleum & natural gas	-na-	12,636.33		12,106.65	
TOTAL	**-na-**	**56,320.90**		**57,002.29**	

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, CEIT-NAFED, Trade and Industry Department

[7] Dhume and Tkacik, 2002

[8] The Jakarta Post, 11 December 2002, *Shoe exporters to suffer another bad year in 2003*.

[9] World Book of Facts, September 2002

In addition to the shrinking export value, another problem faced by footwear producers in Indonesia is the availability of raw materials. Seen from the export/import ratio, the footwear industry heavily depends on imported raw material – up to 60 per cent currently. For sport and high-quality shoes, 100 per cent of the raw material must be imported. Not only is quality a reason for importing, but the availability of locally supplied leather does not meet the demand.[10]

Indonesia's footwear producers can be categorized into two main groups: small and medium-sized producers with or without their own brand names who mostly supply the local market and big and export-oriented subcontracting producers for foreign brand names, such as Nike, Adidas, Reebok, etc. Big footwear factories can be found mostly on Java Island. There are still many factories in Jakarta (the capital of Indonesia) and its suburban areas. Another footwear-making centre is Surabaya (the capital of East Java province) and surrounding areas. Small-scale producers mainly targeting the local market are found in several cities in the provinces of East Java and West Java.

According to the Department of Industry and Trade, small-scale production is defined as employment of 5-19 people and medium scale refers to 20-99 employees. The total contribution of all sectors of small-scale industries to Indonesia's exports value was only 6.9 per cent in 2001 (compared to a decade earlier when it was only 6.1 per cent, there has not been much growth). The competitive advantage of Indonesia's exports is still based on labour-intensive products and natural resources. But it is the big producers who are the main contributors to the country's exports value, at least in the footwear sector; the capability of the small and medium-sized sectors remains too weak.

In terms of manpower, Indonesia was the second largest footwear employer, after China, in 1995. Brazil, the Russian Federation, Romania and Italy followed.[11] As well, prior to the economic crisis, some 700,000 people in 170 member companies of the Indonesia Footwear Association had jobs in the formal footwear industry. Since the crisis, those numbers have dropped to 90 member companies employing 350,000 people.[12] In 1999, Indonesia was the fourth largest exporter of footwear, after China, Viet Nam and Romania, as Table 1.3 shows.

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[10] National Policy and General Strategy for small and medium Scale Enterprises, Ministry of Industry and Trade, 2002.

[11] D'Mello

[12] Suara Pembaruan Minggu, 23 March 2003. *Bagaimana Mempertahankan Industri Sepatu yang Masih Ada*. Interview with Harijanto, Indonesia Footwear Association.

Table 1.3: Value of footwear exports to Europe (in 1,000 Euro)

	1996	1997	1998	1999
China	1,151,262	1,282,483	1,261,782	1,380,557
Viet Nam	544,295	874,444	966,688	1,283,023
Romania	371,426	497,004	565,124	661,004
Indonesia	688,358	761,276	588,151	580,784

Resource: http://europa.eu.int/comm/enterprise/footwear/statistics.htm

Informal producers are not included in the Indonesia Footwear Association; but according to Harijanto of the Indonesia Footwear Association, roughly 50,000 people are estimated to be employed in the informal footwear sector. There is no data available as to what percentage of them is home-based. Also, there is no indication that the formal footwear workers who were laid off during the financial crisis moved to the informal footwear sector.

Child involvement in the home-based footwear industry

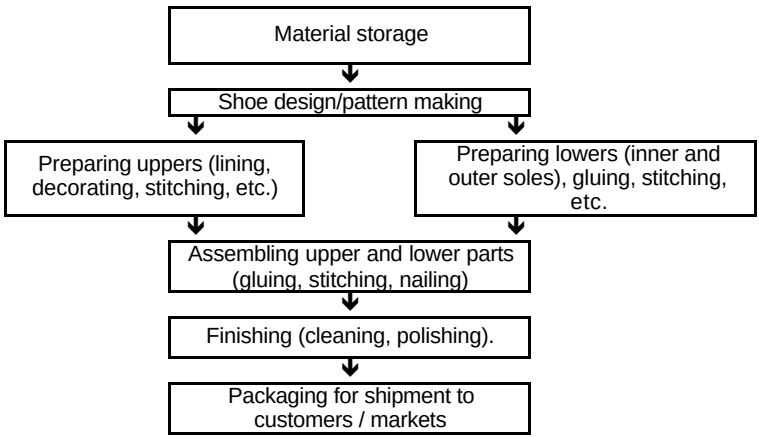
Until now there have been no available data estimating the number of working children in Indonesia's informal footwear sector, though there is no doubt that many mostly home-based producers employ family members and others who are younger than 18. There was one previous baseline study, conducted by ILO-IPEC, that provides the most comprehensive description on child labour in the informal footwear production; but it involves a study carried out in April 1999 in only one area – Cibaduyut, in West Java. Since 1999, the ILO-IPEC Footwear Programme has been closely monitoring the child labour situation in Cibaduyut and can provide very detailed information about the number of children in the footwear sector there.[13]

According to the 1999 rapid assessment in Cibaduyut (an area of eight villages in Bandung district and municipality), there were 1,046 children working in 436 workshops – about 24 per cent of the total workforce in the district. Relying on the monitoring database, ILO-IPEC noted that at the end of September 2002 there were 503 working children. However, that number fell to 256 by March 2003 though the interventions of the ILO-IPEC Footwear Programme. In the Cibaduyut footwear workshops, children were

[13] Up to now, the ILO-IPEC Footwear Programme has developed workplace monitoring (started in August 2000), Social Protection Action Programme monitoring (February 2001) and community-based child labour monitoring (January 2002, started in October 2001 with the organizing of cluster meetings).

involved in almost the entire production process: cutting the leather and sewing, grinding and gluing the sole to the upper part of the shoe as well as selecting, packing and storing of goods (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: The major process steps and tasks in production of footwear in the informal sector in Bandung[14]



Source: Child Labour and Occupational Hazards in the Informal Footwear Sector, Leaflet, ILO-IPEC Footwear Programme

[14] Similar work-flow reported by Thamrin, see: *Workers in Shoe Industry*, Prisma Socio Economic Journal, January 1992.

II The Research

The focus area

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (1996) refers to the following footwear-production areas in West Java, in addition to Cibaduyut:

- Kebarepan village, Cirebon district
- Jomin village, subdistrict of Cikampek, Karawang district
- Nyomplong village, Sukabumi district
- Sukaregang and Sukawening villages, Garut district
- Tasikmalaya district
- Ciomas subdistrict, Bogor district

From preliminary observations in preparation for this assessment, it appeared that the informal footwear sector was shrinking (see Chapter 3 for further description). This study, therefore, targeted the two areas with a high concentration of child labourers: Ciomas and Tasikmalaya.

Conducting the rapid assessment

Several methods were applied to cover and cross-check the three issues this rapid assessment centred upon – child labourers and their families, characteristics of the informal footwear sector and local intervention to handle child labour issues. The assessment followed four steps during a period of seven months:

1. **Preparation.** A review of previous research and published articles regarding the footwear industry in Indonesia preceded the field observation. As well, interviews with key informants were made to gain background information concerning the involvement of child labour in the footwear sector.

The review of the secondary data produced a list of possible footwear production centres in West Java. Based on that information, a preliminary field observation was conducted in nine locations to estimate the number of working children; the areas showing a high concentration were targeted for the assessment. The initial observation revealed that many informal footwear-producing areas had suffered financially and had either few workshops operating or none any longer. Ciomas and Tasikmalaya, which include many villages, appeared to still have a somewhat thriving production activity with large numbers of young people working.

The final preparation involved choosing the assessment method and developing assessment tools, which consisted of guides for interviews (with separate questionnaires for children, parents, village chiefs, local leaders, teachers and footwear operators), workshop observations and conducting focus group discussions (see assessment tools in Annex 4).

2. **Actual data collection.** Twenty trained researchers working in groups of four conducted the field visits during a period of 18 days to collect as much information as possible to produce a qualitative description concerning the local footwear industry, child labour practices and workshop conditions. This was achieved through interviews, observation and discussions with local informants. This step helped refine previous estimates of the number of children working in the two assessment areas.

3. **Data processing and compilation.** All questionnaires were tabulated, coded and inputted into a database program and then processed to obtain a basic profile of working children. In a series of meetings, the research team members discussed their qualitative, non-quantifiable field observations.

4. **Reporting.** The findings were discussed and validated in focus group discussions conducted in both assessment locations in community meetings. The focus groups were used to elicit local issues, opinions concerning the child labour situation and ideas for changing it or how the problems could be handled. The preliminary results was presented and discussed at local validation workshops organized in the assessment sites on 16 and 17 March 2003, a local stakeholder workshop in Bandung on 13 May 2003 and a national stakeholder workshop in Jakarta on 8 July 2003, before being finalized.

Limitations of the methodology

From the initial document review and field observation, we chose the following sampling method:

Interviews with child labourers and parents. From the preliminary field observations of the informal footwear workshops, we estimated approximately 500 child labourers in Ciomas and 200 in Tasikmalaya. Based on this assumption, we set out to interview at least 84 child labourers, and their parents, in Ciomas and at least 34 children, and their parents, in Tasikmalaya.

Considering the limited time available, if the actual numbers found during the data collection period exceeded the initial estimation we would interview a maximum of 100 children and their parents in Ciomas and 50 children and their parents in Tasikmalaya.

Interviews with workshop owners and workshop monitoring. We intended to identify footwear workshops located in the rapid assessment areas and all the children working in them. We set out to interview 40 workshop owners chosen randomly in Ciomas and observe their workshops; in Tasikmalaya, we planned to interview 15 owners and observe their workshops.

Focus group discussions. We planned to follow up the report's findings with two focus group discussions in each of the assessment areas: one with the community and one with the working children only.

However, the actual data collection proved that our earlier estimations of the total number of working children were far under the reality. With larger numbers of child labourers that were unforeseen, we found that to achieve an exhausted list of working young people was too ambitious. Both Ciomas and Tasikmalaya footwear producing areas spread across many villages in three subdistricts.

The underestimation created an insufficient sampling frame. The planned sampling was too small to draw general pictures of child workers in the two assessment areas. Thus, the findings need to be interpreted carefully.

The second methodological limitation of this assessment is the random choosing of workshops assuming that the conditions of all workshops in the two locations would be relatively homogenous – that all would employ children.

A few technical obstacles also affected the data collection. The vastness of Ciomas and Tasikmalaya in terms of land area required us to confine observations and interviews to the main footwear-producing villages. As well, the field work was scheduled during the rainy season, which made some village roads impossible to travel upon. There was also difficulty in obtaining the official secondary data (number of schools, health facilities, etc.) because it

wasn't always available in the village or a subdistrict office. What we did manage to find was too scattered, incomplete or not updated.

Difficulties interviewing young people were anticipated before the process began. Yet, there still was not enough time to establish a good rapport with the child labourers. Sometimes it was impossible to conduct an interview at a workshop as the children and footwear operators were too busy working. Some interviews were conducted at young labourers' homes and at night after working hours. There was also difficulty in interviewing the workshop owners because they were suspicious of strangers. It took extra time to convince them that we were not tax officers or loan collectors.

With these obstacles at hand, the targeted number of interviewees, especially the number of parents, could not be met (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Total number of children, parents and workshop owners interviewed

		Ciomas	Tasikmalaya	Total
Children	Identified	95	66	**164**
	Interviewed	71	63	**134**
Parents	Interviewed	21	12	**33**
Workshop	Identified	135	121	**256**
	Interviewed workshop operators	29	48	**77**
	Observed workshops	39	51	**90**

Conclusions and suggestions on methodology

This assessment paid much attention to the worst elements of child labour, especially the health aspects. The field observation findings confirmed that children working in the informal footwear sector encounter various hazardous conditions. Thus it was also important, though not possible, to study the family and industry context to explain why children have to work in those types of conditions.

From experiences in working with the methodology applied in this assessment, we suggest that future methodology should focus first on gathering all relevant information and analysing the general situation, the characteristics of the informal footwear sector and the social dynamics of the local society before seeking more detailed aspects, such as the worst forms of child labour.

The discussions with the community and child labourers provided rich and detailed information on the social life, problems faced by the craftsmen

and opinions about employing child workers. Discussions with the community proved to be the best source of information. However, in preparing each discussion, deliberate effort was needed to encourage the attendance and the involvement of women (housewives, girls) in the meeting.

III

The Informal Footwear-Producing Area In West Java Province

This assessment focused attention on child labour in the informal footwear sector in West Java, the most populous province in Indonesia. As mentioned previously, data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (1996) identified several informal footwear production centres in West Java. It is worth noting that 1996 was the peak year of the shoe industry's glorious era in Indonesia. The economic recession triggered by the 1997 financial crisis has resulted in shrinking local as well as national market demand while the price of mostly imported raw material has increased, particularly with the plummeting of the rupiah exchange value.

Map 1: West Java province

Capital: Bandung. Area: 44.354,61 sq km. Population: 35,500,611 (2000). Religion: Muslim predominantly. Ethnic: Sundanese. Life expectancy: 64,675. Literacy: 91.87 per cent. Average school enrolment (years): 6,675. Human Development Index: 62.25
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, West Java.

Footwear production centres in West Java

As noted, some of West Java's footwear-producing areas have experienced great declines in business, as the following descriptions, obtained during the preliminary field research, explain:

Kebarepan village, Cirebon.

Located in Plumbon subdistrict, Kebarepan is 8 km from Cirebon town. In the 1950s, Kebarepan villagers started producing sandals made from used tyres in the 1950s and sold them in the local market. Then in 1981, a villager who had worked for a year at a sandal factory in the distant town of Tanggerang returned to Kebarepan with a new idea: He introduced the use of foam rubber sponge as raw material. He set his family to producing a different style of sandal and gradually the concept spread among other Kebarepan villagers who shifted to using sponge and producing a variety of sandal models.

The shift in raw material and the capability of style improvements demanded more sophisticated working tools. Local blacksmiths and workshop owners then experimented successfully with making their own pressing machines. They also made different types of knives. Factories in Tangerang supplied the sponge materials.

With the improved technology, Kebarepan workshop owners started securing bigger-scale sandal orders from Africa and the Middle East. Half of the jobs were subcontracted to craftsmen working at their home where they involved family members, including children, in the production. The other orders were filled by slightly larger workshops operating as mini factories that handled the machine part of production.

The sandals also sold locally, in Batam and other cities in Java such as Bandung, Jakarta, Semarang, Purwokerto, Tegal, Surabaya, Tangerang and Cirebon. Kebarepan villagers experienced a "golden era" and prosperity in 1997.[15] As an indicator of the economic improvement, the number of four-wheel automobiles in the village numbered 250 in 1998.[16]

[15] Number of workshop and workers during Kebarepan "golden years" is not known.
[16] Basic data, Kebarepan village

Then gradually the heyday started to flicker as orders slowed. Many workshops were forced to shut down. By 2001, 35 shops still survived (in that year, the number of four-wheel automobiles decreased to 45, from the 250 threes years earlier). Only ten workshops remained in operation a year later. Those workshops struggled to survive by seeking a new market: they produced slippers for upscale hotels through orders brokered by middle traders who also supplied hotel items such as toothpaste, toothbrushes and soap. More recently, some workshop owners started pursuing a market niche by producing personalized sandals. Orders for them are sought at social gatherings of factory workers, civil servants and whomever else they can find. But it is not a market that can save the dying Kebarepan footwear industry. By December 2002, the ten workshops still remained in business, though barely. Each employed about eight persons, none of them younger than 18.

Jomin village, Cikampek subdistrict, Karawang.

Villagers in Jomin started producing children's footwear around the early 1990s. Now, only one footwear maker, a man named Sarkum, remains in business. The production took off in Jomin when ex-labourers of a shoe factory in Pulogadung, Jakarta returned home and opened workshops. They easily found raw materials in Bandung and Garut and sold their products in markets in nearby cities like Karawang and Purwakarta.

The Jomin footwear production was boosted when subcontracting orders started flowing in from the international brand-name companies of Bata and Suwon, which opened factories in Purwakarta. The factories supplied the subcontractors with raw materials; the workshops crafted only the rough products and then shipped the pieces back to the factories for finishing.

The subcontracting work took place in home-based operations. According to Sarkum, at that time, about 1992, many children were involved in the production process. In the beginning, it was an after-school activity. When the production became more massive, many children dropped out of school to work full time for what then was considered fast and easy money.

Then in 1999 Bata started reducing its orders. The workshop owners found they were not capable of producing footwear outside the subcontract scheme because of the difficulty of marketing the products and the increasing price of raw materials. Local banks encountered problems with non-repayment of loans among villagers. Where the home-based industry once provided jobs for the whole village, it now keeps only one man busy full time. Three to four other craftsmen work seasonally, when there is a large order. The villagers shifted to farming, small trading or sought work in other informal sectors in surrounding cities.

The Government initiated some interventions – the Industry and Trade Department conducted skills training; small-industry loans were made available through the Social Safety Net Programme. But they failed to save the Jomin footwear-producing activity. The loans were not used to improve businesses but to repair houses or buy motorcycles, etc.

Nyomplong, Sukabumi.

Nyomplong is located about 1,500 m from Sukabumi town. The houses, village buildings and public facilities give the impression that Nyomplong residents are of middle and upper income-earning families. Many of them commute to jobs in Jakarta and Bandung, only a two hour-drive away.

Nyomplong is not actually a footwear-producing area, though roughly five shoe/sandal-making workshops operate among other informal small industries. Shoe production in Nyomplong began in 1973 when a M. Dawoed started making and supplying shoes to Indonesia's armed forces, the Tentara Nasional Indonesia. Dawoed's eldest daughter now manages the family-run business, named Rudi Shoes, while other children of Dawoed run their own workshops.

The Nyomplong workshops make army boots as well as policewomen's, football and casual shoes for government orders or for retailers in many cities in Java (Surabaya, Semarang and Tangerang), Sumatera (Riau, Aceh and Pakan Baru) and Bali. The workers use simple manual tools, such as knives, scissors and hammers, and sewing machines. The raw materials of shoe yarn, glue and nails are bought in Sukabumi and the leather and other material for the shoe parts are bought in Cibaduyut Bandung.

A typical workshop in Nyomplong employs about five adult labourers who together produce five pairs of shoes a day. By distributing the job orders to small home-based workshops located around the five main workshops, each can raise the volume of production to about 12 pairs a day, or 250 pairs in 20 days.

The workshops in Nyomplong are clean and contain adequate ventilation for air circulation. The Rudi workshop, which also has its own retail business, is about 6 x 5 sq m in size with three sewing machines, shoe shelves, an administration table and a tile floor covered with plastic carpet where the workers sit. There are no child workers in any of the Nyomplong workshops.

Sukaregang, Garut.

The Sukaregang area is located in the centre of the small town of Garut, which offers many adequate public facilities, such as a hospital, school, mall and market. Though data from the Central Bureau of Statistics indicated Sukaregang is a footwear-producing area, there was very little evidence observed during the preliminary field research to consider it as such. There are seven workshops making *tarompah* (the Sundanese word for rubber-sole sandals) and leather footwear, such as shoes, sandals, football cleats and boots. There are many villagers in Sukaregang who are shoe craftsmen, but they work elsewhere in Cibaduyut and Tasikmalaya.

The story in Sukaregang is similar to what was heard elsewhere: There was a flourishing footwear-producing industry here dating back to 1973. Up to the financial crisis, the Sukaregang shoe industry was still in good condition. It was so good that workshop owners employing children were commonly found, though only when there was plentiful work orders. According to Mrs. Siti Aisyah, the Kota Wetan village secretary in Garut, those children were immediate family members or relatives of workshop owners and worked after school hours until evening. And the children only did light work, such as packing, she said. Children were not used for the actual production because of the importance of maintaining high-quality work. They were paid on a piece-rate basis. As other areas experienced, the financial crisis caused the price of raw materials to increase and the product demands to decrease.

The decline of Sukaregang's footwear industry was most obvious during the last two months of 2002, prior to the Ramadan fasting time. Usually that period is the busiest season with higher-than-usual orders. But in 2002 there was no increase, and the workshop's monthly income fell from 2-3 million rupiah (US$130-$260) to 1-2 million rupiah (US$115-$130).

The most prominent industry in Sukaregang now is leather processing (dating to the 1950s) for sale as raw material for shoe making elsewhere, as well as for jackets, wallets, belts, hats and gloves. In addition, there are many small enterprises producing cassava crackers, tofu and fermented soybean cakes.

The seven remaining footwear-producing workshops in Sukaregang employ four to seven full-time workers who use simple tools like nails, scissors, hammers, yarn, etc. For some tasks, they use simple machines like a grinder, leather cutter and a sewing machine to bind the upper portion of the shoe. Most of the raw materials, rubber, glue, yarn and shoe tongue, come from Cibaduyut, Bandung. The leather is bought locally. The workshops produce up to 300 pairs of shoes and sandals per week (300 is the highest capacity and is achieved only by subcontracting to home-based craftspeople).

There are weeks when orders are smaller than usual and then the shoe production averages about 100 pairs per week.

The Sukaregang-made shoes are sold in a shopping complex built by the local government as well as in markets in Jakarta, Bekasi, Purwokerto and Cilacap, through family networks living in those places.

The Sukaregang workshops, as observed in December 2002, were neat and spacious and well ventilated; the concrete floors were covered with plastic carpet. In some workshops, there were restrooms for labourers and the raw material warehouse was separated from the workshop. The workshops no longer use any child labour because of the need among the adults for jobs due to the declining business. Instead, child labourers are found in the leather processing workshops in southern Sukaregang.

Cibaduyut.

Until now, Cibaduyut in southern Bandung has been the largest and more well-known footwear home-based industry area in West Java. Cibaduyut's shoe-making industry reportedly dates to the 1920s when the area was still largely rice fields. Cibaduyut no longer is an agriculture area and is more aptly described now as a suburb of Bandung; its residents earn income from footwear production and trading.

The industrial area of Cibaduyut covers eight villages: Kebon Lega, Cibaduyut, Mekarwangi, Cibaduyut Wetan, Cibaduyut Kidul, Cangkuang Kulon, Cangkuang Wetan, and Sukamenak, some of which are administratively located in Bandung regency. All have easy access to Bandung's education and health facilities.

There are many shops lining Cibaduyut's main street where shoe craftsmen sell their products. Behind those shops stand dense housing settlements where they live and maintain their workshops.

As previously mentioned, ILO-IPEC initiated a project in Cibaduyut in December 1999 to withdraw children from hazardous workplaces or to eliminate the hazards from the workplaces, making them acceptable situations for children to earn income. Through a complementing action programme, ILO-IPEC and its Indonesian partner established a Children's Creativity Centre and provided services such as health care, non-formal education, scholarships for attending regular school and footwear-designing courses.

That programme included a component for promoting occupational safety and health (OSH) through training and by creating model workshops. An OSH commission, consisting of local people and footwear workers, was established to handle OSH issues, raise community awareness on OSH as well

as encourage footwear workshop owners to improve their working conditions. In addition to the ILO-IPEC action programme, many other parties conducted interventions to improve the situation in Cibaduyut. For instance, the Government's Urban Poverty Alleviation Project provided microfinance and assistance in forming community-based microfinance organizations. ILO-IPEC and its partners also urged the Parliament and provincial government to create regulations on the worst forms of child labour, including the elimination of child trafficking and labour, in particular in the footwear sector and child domestic work. ILO-IPEC and its partners also encouraged provincial and district governments (regency and city) to establish a Provincial and Municipal/Regency Action Committee on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and to provide funds to eliminate child labour through government projects.

Cibaduyut's footwear industry

Typically, Cibaduyut's workshops produce footwear based on orders from buyers, shop owners or a parent workshop. It is a common practice for a shop owner to provide the raw materials, which are paid for later (a similar practice is found in Ciomas). The footwear is sold in Cibaduyut, Bandung as well as in other cities in and outside of Java. Production takes place in designated workshops (either semi-permanent or permanent buildings) and also in people's houses. It commonly happens that workers receive orders and raw materials from a workshop, which they take home and rely on all family members – children and relatives – to help churn out as footwear. Some children are employed at workshops, but most work in home operations helping their parents fill the subcontracted orders. There are also footwear factories in Cibaduyut but they are large enough that they can no longer be considered as informal enterprises.

Child labourers in Cibaduyut

As of 10 March 2003, there were 256 children still active in Cibaduyut's footwear-making industry. Their tasks included cutting leather, gluing and finishing the leather by using a grindstone. Most of the child labourers were boys who worked 9.5 hours per day with an average weekly wage of 35,000 rupiah (US$4).

The conditions the children worked in were usually unsafe and unhealthy. The workshops, with unsafe electric installation and stores of flammable materials, were typically located in the middle of dense housing – an easily combustible area. With stuffy, dirty, dusty and hot working room conditions due to inadequate ventilation, most of the workshops did not meet health and working safety standards. As previously mentioned, the main

hazards in the informal footwear operations are dangerous chemicals, such as solvent-based glues and leather dust (see Chapter 4).

Cibaduyut's declining industry

The economic crisis severely impacted the footwear-producing operations dependent on subcontract orders. The example of Jomin village, for example, illustrates how its shoe-making industry has almost completely died because the subcontracting orders from factories producing the Bata and Suwon brand names disappeared. The dependency on raw materials also has led to many operations closing down, as the crisis precipitated the declining value of the rupiah exchange rate, which then increased the price of leather and glue and thus the decline of orders. The informal footwear industry can no longer afford to produce and sell its products to domestic and foreign markets. To survive, footwear producers and workers, including children, have shifted to other informal sectors.

The decline of business generated tough competition among the remaining shoe producers in winning domestic-market orders. In this competition, three informal footwear-producing areas have sustained: Cibaduyut, Ciomas and Tasikmalaya. Though also affected by the financial crisis, these three areas are still able to stay in business. In addition to the level of technology (i.e. simple, cheap technology) used commonly in each area, the three share another factor that probably accounts for their survivability: They all involve a high concentration of child labour.

The rapid assessment's focus areas

Because ILO-IPEC already studied the Cibaduyut footwear industry, this rapid assessment focused on the remaining two areas still maintaining a somewhat high volume of business.

Introduction to Ciomas footwear production

Ciomas is a semi-urban region with agriculture features. From a regional planning perspective, Ciomas appears to have been developed as a supporting region (for housing and industry) for Bogor city growth. Ciomas experienced rapid development in the past ten years; its housing communities spread along the transportation lines. (In these references, Ciomas refers to a footwear industry area that covers several villages belonging to different subdistricts.)

As Table 3.1 indicates, Ciomas, a subdistrict, contains 11 villages with a total population in 2001 of 96,350.

Table 3.1: Population of Ciomas subdistrict, 2001

Villages	Population
Ciomas	10,494
Kotabatu	15,067
Parakan	6,049
Pagelaran	10,513
Ciapus	6,807
Ciomas Rahayu	7,583
Mekarjaya	5,572
Sukamakmur	7,365
Laladon	*7,497*
Padasuka	*14,574*
Sukaharja	*4,829*
To t a l	**96,350**

Note: Villages in italic have no footwear production

The expansion of the informal footwear-producing operations unfurled from the south-west side of Bogor city to remote villages at the Salak mountain range (see map of Ciomas). Currently, the production activities are found in at least 13 villages in three subdistricts (Table 3.2):[17] Ciomas and Tamansari (which administratively report to the district of Bogor) and South Bogor, which is located in Bogor municipality.

Table 3.2: Villages where production activities were studied for this assessment

Subdistrict	Villages
Ciomas	Mekarjaya Parakan Kotabatu Sukamakmur Ciapus Pagelaran Ciomas Ciomas Rahayu
Tamansari	Pasir Eurih Sukaharja Sirnagalih Sukaresmi
Bogor Selatan	Cikaret

[17] Five main villages were identified in the preliminary field research and five others during the actual data collection. The list grew to 13 after participants in the local validation workshop added the last three villages.

In the 13 identified villages, footwear production is one source of income; generally, villagers in the three subdistricts live mostly from agriculture. People in the villages located along the main road that connects Ciomas with Bogor city are engaged in various livelihoods, including footwear production, raw material processing, barber shops, beauty parlours, food vendoring and VCD rental.

Asphalt roads connect the larger villages to each other; the informal footwear workshops are generally located alongside the main road in villages that are surrounded by rice fields. Some roads are in good condition while others are in poor shape. Smaller villages are connected by rocky dirt roads that turn to slippery mud or flood in the rainy season. Villagers walk, motorcycle or use mini-vans to travel from one village to another. There are two lines of public transportation connecting Ciomas with Bogor city.

Shoe-production history

According to local sources, the footwear industry in this area dates back to the Dutch colonial period (around 1920).[18] In 1948, a cooperative called the Bogor Footwear Association (Persebo) was founded; the existence of such an entity indicates there were many footwear craftsmen then operating in or around Ciomas. Cooperative members also included footwear craftsmen in Bogor regency. Persebo was also known for generating successful businessmen who then opened footwear business in Cibaduyut and other areas.

A few old craftsmen in Parakan and Mekarjaya villages can recall how in the 1950s many Ciomas footwear craftsmen moved from the Persebo cooperative to workshops in Jakarta where their shoe-making skills were well forged. In the mid-1960s, many of them returned to their villages and opened workshops. Several leather shoe-producing workshops opened in Parakan village. As production increased, more villagers left their farming and took up shoe making.

Then in the 1970s, sandals became a rage. Making sandals was easier than making shoes. Meeting the market demand was easy, especially by copying a made-in-Japan model popular at that time. Along with the enthusiasm for sandals, glue had a lot of impact on the mushrooming growth of the informal footwear-producing sector. In the 1970s, factory-made PVC glue, used almost exclusively at big factories owned by Chinese businessmen, became available in the market. The easy access to glue, which hadn't been possible previously, enabled the shoe production volume to increase tremendously.

[18] Earliest known date, at least as informed by a participant in the local validation workshop; there are many versions of history, however.

When imitation raw materials were introduced in the 1980s, which were easier to process and required less skill in crafting footwear, more villagers took up shoe making. More workshops started popping open in Parakan and surrounding villages, especially along the road connecting Parakan to Empang, which then, as now, is the trading centre of raw materials in Bogor city (though it is technically a village, located on the outskirts of the city).

The history of the Ciomas footwear industry also tells the story of how the landscape changed: When villagers shifted from peasant farmers to shoe makers, footwear workshops began to take over much of the local rice fields. Working in a workshop was considered more pleasant than working in fields. A shortage of manpower in the agriculture sector started taking place and land owners began bringing in peasant labour from outside villages.

In the beginning of the financial crisis, footwear orders actually increased in the Ciomas area. Seemingly, it was because consumers were turning to the cheaper home industry-made shoes as a cost-cutting necessity. But as the crisis wore on, the tide turned and orders started to disappear, eventually forcing many craftsmen to close their workshops and look for employment in other surviving workshops.

Footwear production

The largest number of workshops is found in five villages: Parakan, Mekarjaya, Ciomas, Pasir Eurih, Sirnagalih and Kotabatu. The number of big and small workshops in these villages at the time of field research was estimated at around 1,500. When the home-based operations were added in, the total estimated number escalated to between 2,500 and 3,000 operations. Half of them were concentrated in the Ciomas subdistrict. It is difficult to make a rough estimation of the total labour force in these operations. Based on the data of the Ciomas Footwear Craftsmen Union, it was estimated that there were around 5,000 footwear workers in the Ciomas subdistrict only, at the time of this assessment.

The main products of Ciomas are foam-rubber and leather sandals, and they are sold in shops in Bogor, Jakarta and surrounding cities. There is no original design work carried out here; sandals are made based on customers' orders and specifications.

Ciomas craftsmen generally deal with the footwear-making process only. They do not distribute their own products. In fact, external parties control almost all the process, starting from supplying raw material to the marketing. Big workshop owners, known as "nursing fathers", receive orders and subcontract work beyond their own operations to smaller and home-based

workshops. Other players, known as "foster fathers", provide capital and also control access to markets. There is a collector who is a middle trader who buys the products from the workshops. The nursing father, foster father and collector typically have their own warehouses and often own raw-material shops. This set up essentially reduces the footwear craftsmen to labourers selling their manpower.

Most footwear workshops in the villages of Ciomas operate similarly. An interesting exception is Kotabatu. The village is largely a leather (and other raw material) trading centre competing with Empang market in Bogor city. And it is the raw material traders who own most of Kotabatu shoe workshops. They are located in a housing complex and generally employ girls younger than 18 from nearby villages, especially Parakan.

Big workshops in Ciomas employ more than 15 labourers and are able to produce 2,000 pairs a week. The big workshops use better production tools like electric sewing machines and pressing machines and sometimes have their own warehouse. A big workshop usually shares its work load with smaller workshops. These smaller operations employ 5-10 labourers and produce 50-100 scores (1,000-2,000 pairs) per week. The owners of small workshops are usually also the craftsmen. Home-based workshops employ not more than 5 labourers and produce 30-50 scores (600-1,000 pairs) per week. Similar to what is found in Cibaduyut, the home-based operations use a part of the house such as the living room, terrace or a kitchen corner as the workspace.

The workshops generally follow a weekly cycle, though there is also an annual cycle. The production activity increases around *Eid-ul-Fitr* and the Islamic months of *Hijriyah*, *Rajab* and *Sya'ban* (Figure 3.3).

Table 3.3: Weekly calendar of footwear production

Day	Activities
Monday	Pick up orders from customers' shops
Tuesday	Buy materials, on credit
Wednesday	Start production process
Thursday	Production process
Friday	Production process (finishing)
Saturday	Deliver products to shops
Sunday	Take money from shops, pay the debt at the materials shop and pay employees' wages

Source: Interview with A. Suhanda, Ciomas craftman, 30 December 2002

Child labour (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4)

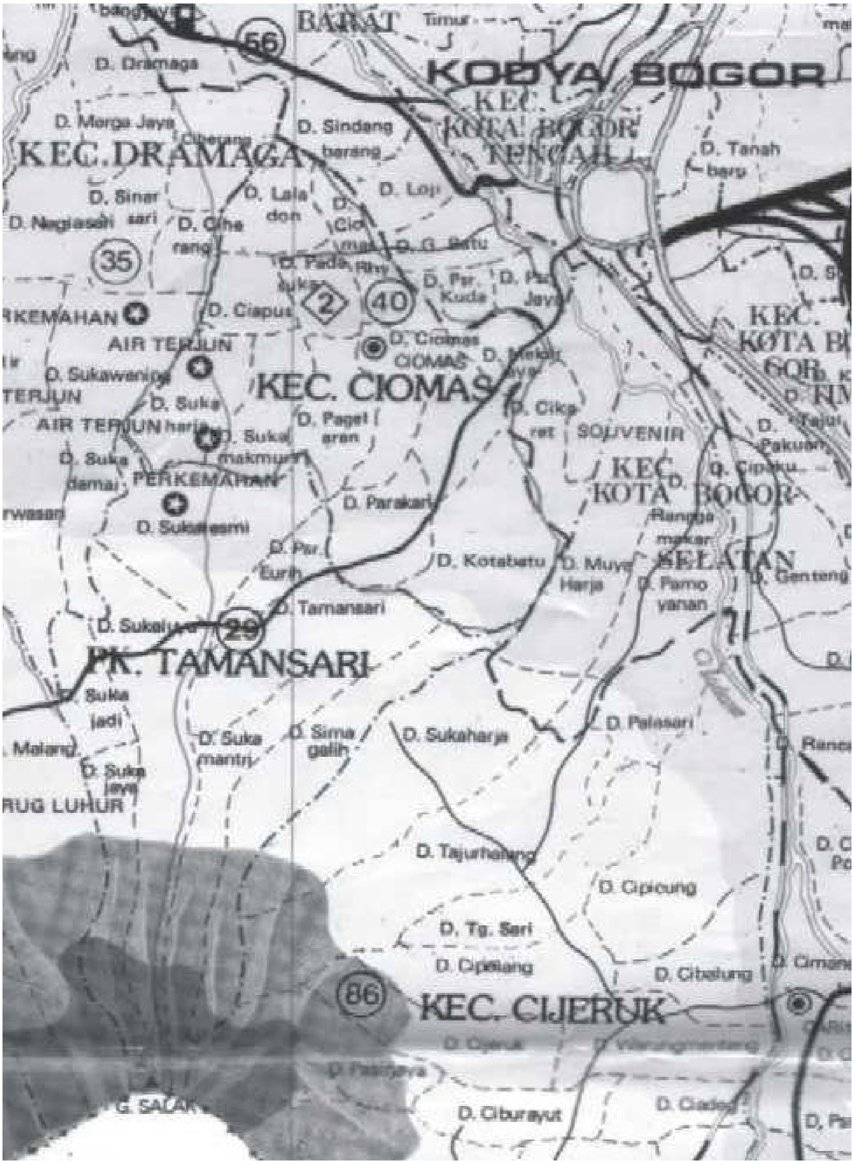
Many people think it very difficult to eliminate child labour because it has prevailed for years and because it is reinforced by poverty, by parents needing their children to "help" and by the inheritance concept that parents who own workshops will pass the tradition to their children.

Working children are mostly found at small and home-based workshops. They work to help their parents. Their involvement starts when they are 9 or 10 years old or at the third or fourth grade of primary school. Most of them are local villagers. An exception occurs at the more advanced workshops in Kotabatu village that employ children from surrounding villages and even areas 60 km away. The number of child labourers estimated, based on the observations and interviews, during the data collection period of this assessment in the three subdistricts was around 5,000. They were concentrated in four villages: Mekarjaya, Parakan, Sirnagalih and Pasir Eurih (see Chapter 4).

Table 3.4: Estimated number of working children in footwear workshops, Ciomas

Workshop type	No. of workers	No. of work-shops	No. of workers	No. of working children	No. of children younger than 15	No. of 15- to 17-year-olds
Home-based	<5	1,000	4,000	2,000	1,250	750
Small	5-15	1,000	6,000	1,500	500	1,000
Big	>15	500	7,000	1,500	500	1,000
Total		**2,500**	**17,000**	**5,000**	**2,250**	**2,750**

Map 2: Ciomas


KODYA BOGOR
KEC. KOTA BOGOR TENGAH
KEC. DRAMAGA
D. Dramaga
D. Marga Jaya
D. Sindang barang
D. Sinar sari
D. Lala don
D. Loji
D. Tanah baru
D. Neglasari
D. Ciha rang
35
2
40
D. Pada suka
D. Psr. Kuda
D. Ciapus
D. Ciomas
CIOMAS
AIR TERJUN
D. Sukawening
KEC. CIOMAS
D. Suka harja
D. Suka makmur
D. Pagel aran
D. Suka damai
PERKEMAHAN
SOUVENIR
KEC. KOTA BOGOR SELATAN
D. Sukaresmi
D. Parakan
D. Psr. Eurih
D. Kotabatu
D. Tamansari
D. Genteng
D. Sukajaya
29
PK. TAMANSARI
Suka jadi
D. Suka mantri
D. Sima galih
D. Sukaharja
D. Palasari
RUG LUHUR
D. Tajurhalang
D. Cipicung
D. Tg. Sari
D. Cipelang
D. Cibalung
86
KEC. CIJERUK
D. Ciburayut
G. SALAK

Introduction to Tasikmalaya footwear production

Tasikmalaya is a fertile mountain area in the eastern part of West Java province. Most of its inhabitants, who are Sundanese and Muslim, earn a living from plantation and agriculture work. There are many Islamic boarding schools located here that attract people from afar who come to study Islam. Some subdistricts are locations for producers of handicrafts, embroidery work, furniture and footwear.

Production of handicrafts made from plaited bamboo, such as fans, are concentrated in the Rajapolah subdistrict, while sandals and shoes are produced in villages in the three subdistricts of Mangkubumi, Tawang and Taman Sari (which is a different subdistrict than the one of the same name located in Ciomas but using a different spelling).

Previously this area was consolidated as one administrative entity known as Tasikmalaya district. In 1975 officials began to prepare the separation of some areas under the Tasikmalaya District to be Tasikmalaya city. On 21 June 2001, Tasikmalaya city was legalized through Legislation No. 10/2001. As an administrative entity, it is thus relatively new.

Tasikmalaya City is a city containing several subdistricts with footwear production found in only three of them. The Tasikmalaya footwear-producing area covers 13 villages (in the three subdistricts), listed in Table 3.5. The highest concentration of operations is found in the villages of Mangkubumi and Gobras.

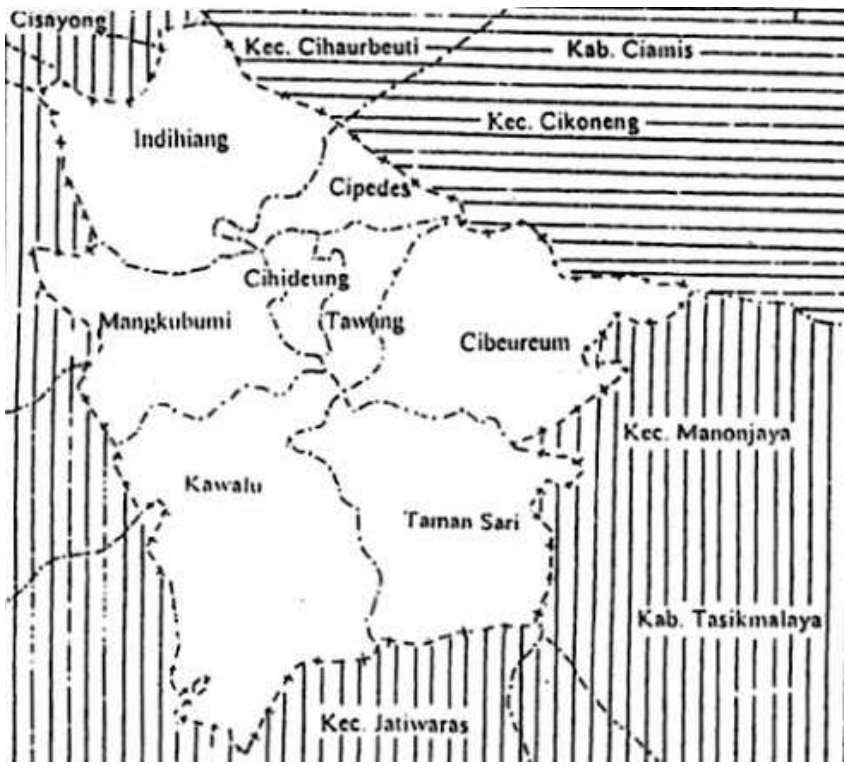
Table 3.5: Footwear producing villages in Tasikmalaya

Subdistrict	Villages
Mangkubumi	Mangkubumi
	Lingga Jaya
	Sambong Pari
	Sambong Jaya
Tawang	Kahuripan
	Tugu Jaya
	Tugu Raya
Taman Sari	Taman Sari
	Taman Jaya
	Setia Mulya
	Suka Hurip
	Mulya Sari
	Gobras

Tawang is located in the trade and service centre of downtown Tasikmalaya, while the other two subdistricts are in its suburbs – Mangkubumi to the west and Taman Sari in the south. In many ways, Mangkubumi and Taman Sari are similar to Ciomas: agrarian villages located on the main roadway. On both sides of the small roads connecting a central village with smaller villages there are shops selling raw materials for making footwear. Mangkubumi village is the centre of the trade activities and local bureaucracy.

Most of Mangkubumi and Taman Sari subdistricts consist of agriculture land. But Mangkubumi inhabitants are mostly landless peasants; those who own something have only a small piece of land. The typical land owners are rich people from other regions. For most villagers, making footwear is their main livelihood; at certain times of the year they return to the fields to plant rice and then later to harvest it as paid labourers.

Map 3: Tasikmalaya



Lingga Jaya and Mangkubumi villages are located by a ring road that connects Tasikmalaya with the surrounding small towns of Singaparna and Garut. Public transportation makes the half-hour trip easy from these two villages to the footwear trade centre in the downtown Cikurubuk market. The other villages cannot be reached by public transport. Villagers move about by public transport, motorcycle or walking.

History of Tasikmalaya's shoe industry

The informal footwear industries in Tasikmalaya date to around 1920. According to local records, 30 sandal craftsmen established the Selamet Cooperative in 1935 to market the footwear products from Tasikmalaya craftsmen. Around the 1940s, the cooperative began producing sandals with its own brand, *Selamet*, which became quite popular. The cooperative at that time employed 70 workers, most of whom came from Sambong and Lingga Jaya villages.

After 1965,[19] most of the labourers, who were members of the Leather Rubber Union, were accused of being communist party members. They were arrested and exiled to Buru Island, in an eastern part of Indonesia. Their banishment paralyzed the production activity of the Selamet Cooperative; the members who were not arrested shifted the work into home-based operations. They still used the Selamet Cooperative, however, to procure raw materials and distribute their sandals. Since then, Sambong and Lingga Jaya villages have become the centre of home-based sandal-making production. Many people go there to learn how to make sandals.

In 1970, sandal production went through a great depression because it had to compete with the international Bata brand, which was being made in big factories. The Tasikmalaya industry did not die, though starting around 1972 many craftsmen left their villages to work in sandal factories in Jakarta because the Bata competition made it impossible for them to keep producing at home. Around 1976, those craftsmen returned to Tasikmalaya and brought with them samples of new models of sandals, which helped revive the local industry. It was at this time, allegedly, that children started being employed in the footwear operations.

As in Ciomas, the availability of glue in the 1980s invigorated the activity of producing sandals more cheaply. More villagers became sandal craftsmen and the Tasikmalaya footwear industry grew rapidly in the 1990s. And just as in Ciomas, sales increased during the financial crisis because the sandals were so cheap. Sales started to decline in 2001; many workshops still

[19] After the political upheaval 1965, the military took power and banned the Indonesia Communist Party.

survive though there is no available estimate as to how many. The heavy increases of orders in preparation for the demand surge during the two months prior to the fasting month of Ramadan sustain the operations.

Footwear production

The main product of Tasikmalaya is leather sandals. There are some workshops in Sambong Pari village that produce "thorn" sandals, or "healthy" sandals (believed to cure rheumatism). These sandals are exported to foreign markets (Japan, Republic of Korea and Eastern Europe). Leather (from Garut) and other raw materials for producing the sandals are easily obtained. There are many raw-material shops in the Tasikmalaya trade centre; several raw-material shops are found on strategic corners of subdistricts, though they are not as big as the ones in Kotabatu, Ciomas.

The shoes (which are predominantly sandals) made in Tasikmalaya are sold in the market in Cikurubuk, a suburb of the city. Middlemen buy from the market and distribute the sandals to other cities in Java and Sumatra.

While there appears to be many similarities in the footwear production between the areas of Ciomas and Tasikmalaya, there are a few obvious differences as well. Ciomas craftsmen are more appropriately called labourers as they are employed in big workshops or by a "capitalist", the owner of a raw-material shop and distributor. Ciomas craftsmen have not developed their own model or brand; they only produce footwear as a capitalist orders them to do. In contrast, the Tasikmalaya workshop owners are more like entrepreneurs seeking capital to keep the business going. They have created, "branded" and produced their own styles as the range of selection in the Cikurubuk market indicates: Geulis (which is Sundanese for "beautiful") and Modena (a club of Italian football league) are two common brands, for example. Anyone can create a brand and test it in the market.

One of the most frequent problems Tasikmalaya workshop owners encounter is payment of goods – they are not typically paid in cash or right away when they sell their sandals in the market. Cikurubuk traders pay in instalments using the "clearing account" system, which creates some difficulties. In this system, the buyer pays with a cheque; but the cheque cannot be directly cashed because of lack of funds. Only when the money is transferred to a bank account, can the cheque receiver then cash it.

Because of not having cash, the craftsmen use the clearing account system to buy their raw materials. The raw-material dealer then charges an additional fee to them for not using cash and thus, the price of raw materials becomes more expensive.

With this complicated scheme of payment and the weekly need to pay wages and buy raw materials, the workshop owners often have cash problems. Having limited capital sometimes causes them to have to stop production activity; and without jobs, their labourers are likely to move to another workshop.

And use of the clearing account transactions requires the craftsmen to have a tax payer identification number (NPWP). To have an NPWP, they are considered as "businessmen" obliged to pay a regular tax and they must maintain a certain bookkeeping system. So even when they have closed operations for months, they are stil obligated to pay taxes and thus are chased by tax officers seeking a payment.

There doesn't seem to be any alternative around the system as the Cikurubuk traders are more advantaged than the craftsmen.[20] Because of their need for cash, the workshop owners are often forced to sell their products at a cheap price, leading to a competition that pushes the price down.[21] This is one of the most critical issues among footwear craftsmen. There is no footwear producer organization/association capable of managing the price and protecting the interest of workshop owners.

Generally, a group of five workers, including child labourers, organized by a workshop owner produce the sandals in Tasikmalaya. They are paid on a piece-rate basis, counted in score units (one score contains 20 pairs). Wages for a score of sandals ranges from 8,000 to 20,000 rupiah. (US$0.92 to $2.30) Child labourers, whose tasks are more as an assistant to adult workers, are paid less, about 5,000 to 6,000 rupiah (US$0.57 to $0.69) per week.

Compared with Ciomas and Cibaduyut, there are not many big workshops in Tasikmalaya; most are small or home-based workshops. Some use almost their entire house, except for the kitchen and bedroom, as the workspace. The "small" workshops often are semi-permanent wooden buildings less than 2 m in height.

[20] There was a time when Tasikmalaya products in the local market had to compete as well with the same quality type of sandal made in China (perhaps smuggled into the country) and this made the bargaining position of Tasikmalaya footwear businessmen weaker.

[21] In Cibaduyut, it is known as "bomb", as in "bombing the market" with cheaper footwear. In Ciomas, it is called "voluntary work" – accepting work with low wages just to keep working.

Child labour (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4)

Child labourers only work as an assistant with tasks to glue pieces together, smooth the finish using a grindstone and clean off the dried-glue remnants on the sandal. The assistants are paid by the craftsman they assist.

Usually the child labourer is the son or daughter of the workshop owner or from one of the surrounding villages. In Sambong Jaya and Mangkubumi, students of the *Pesantren* (Muslim traditional school) are easily recruited. Initially, they worked in their spare time before going to school or in the afternoon before reciting the Koran. But lately, working in a workshop has become more of a routine activity to earn extra money or to pay their school fees. Many young people now skip school because of the amount of available work; some have even dropped out completely.

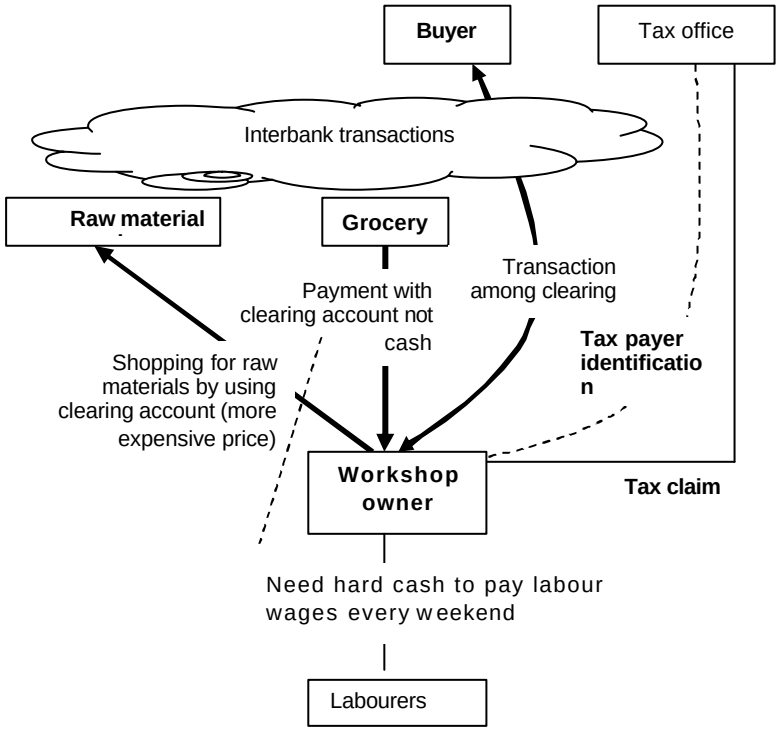
It is difficult to estimate the number of child labourers in Tasikmalaya because the footwear-production spreads across several villages in a wide area. As sandal-making is a livelihood of most of the households, the researchers estimated there were 4,000 child labourers in the three subdistricts (Table 3.6). Of course the number of home-based workshops, and thus the number of child workers, fluctuates according to the seasons. This assessment was conducted when the orders were at an average level – in peak season the orders, thus workers, increase and in the slack season they go lower than the average. The estimation of the number and category of workshops, the number of child labourers and their age was made based on direct observation and on interviews with workshop owners, workers and local government officials.

In addition to tradition, there are a few other factors contributing to the involvement of children in the workshop production: Working full time in a workshop is the only option young people have after graduating elementary school. Children join friends already working in a workshop. Many workshops are also a social place where children can gather and play with friends their age.

Table 3.6: Estimated number of working children in the informal footwear sector, Tasikmalaya

Workshop type	No. of workers	No. of work-shops	No. of workers	No. of working children	No. of children younger than 15	No. of 15- to 17-year-olds
Home-based	<5	1,000	4,000	2,000	1,000	1,000
Small	5-15	500	5,500	1,000	500	500
Big	>15	500	6,000	1,000	500	500
Total		**2,000**	**15,500**	**4,000**	**2,000**	**2,000**

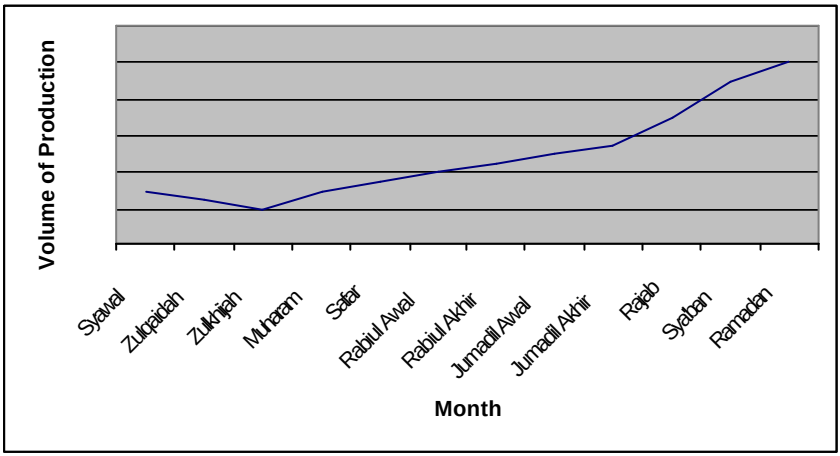
Figure 3.1: Scheme of payment in Tasikmalaya informal footwear sector



Both in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya it is said that the number of working children will increase in peak season, which occurs during the two months before *Eid-ul-Fitr*, the feast celebrating the end of the Ramadan fasting period. Indonesian Muslims usually buy new clothes and shoes to celebrate the feast, which explains the heightened production activity at this time of year. In the Islamic months of *Hijriyah, Rajab* and *Sya'ban)*, the orders of shoes also increase considerably.

Although using hypothetical levels of production, Figure 3.2 reflects the typical fluctuation between seasons.

Figure 3.2: Low season and peak season



Note: The curve shown here is hypothetical and not representative of actual figures but reflects the general trend of activity.

Occupational hazards young workers experience

As noted earlier, the Indonesian Government considers footwear production as one of the worst forms of child labour. The ILO-IPEC previous rapid assessment of children engaged in the informal sector in Cibaduyut indicated that almost all of them worked under conditions hazardous to their safety, health and well-being. They were exposed to biological, chemical, psychological and physical hazards (Table 3.7).

The researchers in the second rapid assessment concluded that the conditions in Cibaduyut basically applied in the two areas of Ciomas and Tasikmalaya in West Java, with a couple exceptions:

- While the workshops in Cibaduyut stand adjacent to each other, in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya there are more vacant spaces around workshops that will allow for better circulation of air. The smell of glue and the dust are more easily released into the open air.
- The rapid assessment did not allow the researchers to build good rapport with the interviewees in the Ciomas and Tasikmalaya to be able to identify and disucss sensitive information such as abuses (verbal or physical) that occur in the workshops. Whether the abuses of any types do occur there is not known.

Table 3.7: Occupational hazards in the informal footwear sector in Cibaduyut

Hazard category	Health and safety effects
▪ **Workplace conditions**	
▪ **Heat.** Lack of natural ventilation, few windows, no fan, crowded workspaces.	▪ Heat cramps, exhaustion.
▪ **Noise.** Noise from some pressing machines. Loud radio and TV.	▪ Hearing impairment, headaches, high blood pressure.
▪ **Humidity.** Humidity: lack of ventilation and wet walls. Mould and mildew.	▪ Respiratory problems, rheumatism, tuberculosis.
▪ **Vibration.** Hand-arm vibration from some pressing machines	▪ Reduced blood flow.
▪ **Awkward Postures**. Squatting or sitting cross-legged on the floor. Uncomfortable seats/ benches, working surfaces. **Forceful tasks.** Frequent flexing and extending arms and wrists. Working higher than elbow level. **Repetitive movements.** Repetitive, tedious work is involved in all processing stages. **Tools and equipment design.** Hard tool handles.	▪ Fatigue and injuries in legs, knees, back, neck and arms. ▪ Strains and sprain in hands, arms, shoulders, legs and knees, tendon-related disorders. Carpal tunnel syndrome. Calluses and blisters.
▪ **Heavy lifting and carrying.** Lifting and carrying heavy items, such as boxes and bulky materials.	▪ Back injuries. Lower back pain.
▪ **Psychosocial hazards**	
▪ **Low income, long working hours, No social security benefits**. Low wages on a piece rate basis. No social security benefits. Irregular employment. Long working hours. High-paced production, isolated work. ▪ Over-simplified work tasks.	▪ Hypertension, headaches, heart diseases, mental health problems: depression, anxiety, suicides. Drug (glue) addiction.
▪ **Abuse.** Verbal and physical abuse: bullying, sexual harassment, violence.	▪ HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases.
▪ **Poor housing and sanitation, lack of health care**. Home-based informal sector workshops are located in slum areas. Poor housing and waste management. Inadequate sanitary facilities. Floods. Malnutrition. No health or child care.	▪ Infectious diseases. Dysentery, tuberculosis.
▪ **Biological hazards**	
▪ **Insects, rodents** . Dirt, bites and stings from mosquitoes, bees, flies, cockroaches, ants, rats, worms, bacteria, fungi, mould.	▪ Diarrhoea. Typhus, malaria, dengue fever, skin irritation. Tetanus, leptospyrosis.
▪ **Accident hazards**	
▪ **Machines.** Caught in between by unguarded moving or in taking parts of machine. Exposure to machines: skivers (material thinning machines), grinders, sole presses, stitching machines, stamp machines.	▪ Death, amputations, broken bones.

▪ **Cutting tools**. Sharps tools such as scissors, knives, nails, needles. Hammers.	▪ Cuts, scratches, wounds in fingers, arms and legs. Needle and nail prick injuries. Splinters in eyes.
▪ **Electricity**. Fire hazard: faulty electrical wiring, frayed or dangling cords. Short circuits. Open flame sometimes used to stretch shoe upper part material over the shoe.	▪ Death, electrocutions.
▪ **Falls/slips, motor vehicles**. Falls from heights: ladders, attics, stairs, shaky staircases and higher floors. Slips and falls on a same level. Falling and moving objects from shelves, etc.	▪ Head and limb injures. Bruises.
▪ **Chemical hazards**	
▪ **Glues**, **primers**. Exposure to solvent-based glues, primers, cleaning agents, paints. Inhalation of chemical vapours and fumes. Skin absorption: glue often spread with bare hands. Ingestion of chemicals if eating, smoking or drinking at work areas where chemicals are handled.	▪ Solvent-based glues affect the central nervous system, lungs, liver, kidneys, blood, skin, eyes, bladder, digestive system, immune system, mucous membranes. Reproductive hazards: spontaneous abortions. ▪ Glue addiction.
▪ **Dust**. Dust inhalation. Leather, rubber and textile dust exposure.	▪ Leather dust linked with nasal cancer.
▪ **Cleaning agents**. Fires and explosions due to flammable footwear chemicals.	▪ Death, serious injury
▪ **Physical hazards**	
▪ **Light**. Lack of natural light. Poor illumination.	▪ Eye strain, impaired vision. Increased accident hazard.

Source: Child Labour and Occupational Hazards in the Informal Footwear Sector, ILO-IPEC.

Hazards young people face while working in Cibaduyut footwear workshops

Cibaduyut working children face the risk of being injured by grindstones, sharp knives and needles. They work in home-based workshops, owned by their parents, a relative or a neighbour, approximately 9.5 hours a day, 5-6 days per week. Children who combine schooling with employment work on average 5 hours per day and 5-6 days per week. The fatigue brought on by the long and irregular working hours (since these home industries are very dependent upon market orders) increases the risk of injury on the job; fatigue and drowsiness lead to poor judgement in performing tasks.

Most of the workshops are poorly lit, dusty, full of leather

waste, have inadequate ventilation and overall are in poor sanitary condition. Many workers are often seen poised in awkward postures, such as squatting or sitting cross-legged on the floor. Their work tasks are often labour intensive, monotonous and carried out in isolation.

The majority of the workshops in Cibaduyut have unsafe electric wiring and unsafe use of electrical equipment in general. Fires are not uncommon, due to many factors, including the use of flammable materials (glue and thinning liquid), poor housekeeping and cleaning practices, faulty electrical equipment and wiring, grounding of machines and other sources of static electricity. Smoking is very common in footwear workshops. They also lack fire extinguishers.

The main hazards are the dangerous chemicals, such as solvent-based glues and leather dust. The majority of the workers are not provided adequate personal protective equipment, such as gloves or masks. The glues that are used contain hazardous organic solvents, such as toluene, methyl ethyl ketone and acetone, which can cause addiction and serious health problems. Long-term exposure to solvents is known to damage the central nervous system, liver, kidneys and immune system. A study conducted by the Ulil Albab Foundation analysed 72 samples of working children's urine, and phenol was found in all. (The liver metabolizes chemicals, such as benzene, toluene and xylene into phenol.)

Solvent-based glues, cleaning agents and other footwear chemicals are hazardous also for adults; however, they are particularly dangerous for children who differ from adults in their anatomic, physiological and psychological characteristics. Children have lower resilience than adults as well as lower threshold for temperature and noise. Differences in metabolic activity, higher ratio to surface area and weight place children at greater risk of negative health effects due to solvent exposure through inhalation, skin absorption and ingestion. Their developing hormone systems are more vulnerable to toxic effects of chemicals. Children are naturally curious and playful, or may try very hard to act like adults, which places them at risk of serious health implications or accidents. The main health hazards in the footwear manufacturing process are toxic solvent vapours, high concentration of leather, rubber and textile dust, various ergonomic risks and noise from machines.

IV Child Labour Findings in the Focus Areas

In terms of ethnicity and religion, there are no differences between Ciomas and Tasikmalaya child labourers: The majority are Sundanese Muslims. This rapid assessment found both similarities and demographic differences between child labourers in the two areas. There were other differences, especially with age, indicating a different pattern of child labour involvement in the two locations.

The following information is based on interviews with 134 boys and girls – 71 children in Ciomas and 63 in Tasikmalaya.

Age and sex distribution

The majority of the child respondents were male. In Tasikmalaya they were 97 per cent male, while only about 65 per cent in Ciomas were male.

Table 4.1: Sex distribution of respondents

	Male		Female		Total
Ciomas	46	65%	25	35%	**71**
Tasikmalaya	61	97%	2	3%	**63**

Child labourers in Ciomas enter footwear production at an earlier age compared with young workers in Tasikmalaya: Ciomas labourers started at elementary school age, while in Tasikmalaya most began at secondary school age. Likewise, the average age of Ciomas child labourers was younger compared to those in Tasikmalaya. The largest number of young people working in Ciomas ranged in age from 13 to 15 years old; in Tasikmalaya, the largest number were aged between 16 and 18 years old. During the data collection in Ciomas, a 9-year-old girl, Aisyah, was seen working in Mekarjaya village.

Table 4.2: Age and sex distribution of respondents

Ciomas

Age	Male		Female		Total	
5-10	0		1	4%	1	1%
11-14	20	43%	16	64%	36	51%
15-17	26	57%	8	32%	34	48%
18						
Total	46		25		71	

Tasikmalaya

Age	Male		Female		Total	
5-10						
11-14	16	25%	0		16	25%
15-17	28	44%	2	100%	30	48%
18	17	27%	0		17	27%
Total	61		2		63	

Education

Approximately 68 per cent of child labourers in Ciomas combined schooling with working. Most of the child labourers in Tasikmalaya (89 per cent) were no longer attending school.

In general, the respondents in Ciomas went to school longer than those in Tasikmalaya. Most of the Tasikmalaya children who were interviewed did not continue their education after graduating from elementary school because of the lack of access to secondary schools. In Ciomas, 60 per cent of the children interviewed had more than a sixth grade education.

Of those interviewed, most said they were unable to afford the school fee and dropped out. Other reasons for leaving school included satisfaction from working and earning money, no interest and following friends who had dropped out and were working in a workshop.

Table 4.3: School enrolment of respondents

Ciomas	Total		Male		Female	
SD 4	3	4%	2	4%	1	4%
SD 5	3	4%	3	7%		
SD 6	23	32%	15	33%	8	32%
SMP 1	4	6%	4	9%		
SMP 2	16	23%	9	20%	7	28%
SMP 3	19	27%	10	22%	9	36%
SMA 2	2	3%	2	4%		
SMA 3	1	1%	1	2%		
Total	**71**		**46**		**25**	
Average school years (year)	**7.41**		**7.33**		**7.56**	

Tasikmalaya	Total		Male		Female	
SD 4	1	2%	1	2%		
SD 6	43	68%	41	67%	2	100%
SMP 1	4	6%	4	7%		
SMP 2	6	10%	6	10%		
SMP 3	8	13%	8	13%		
SMA 3	1	2%	1	2%		
Total	**63**		**61**		**2**	
Average school years (year)	**6.69**		**6.72**		**6.00**	

Note: SD is elementary school; SMP is secondary school; Number besides SMP and SD shows the grade.

Leisure time

Children working in the informal footwear operations found their biggest opportunity to play on Sundays and Mondays. As Saturday afternoon was pay day, Sunday and Monday were spending days. After being paid, many Ciomas child labourers sought out video games at amusement centres. In Nagrog-Mangkubumi subdistrict where the child labourers have a football club, the young workers were seen playing football at noon and after working hours.

Though most children said they play, watch TV or take walks, other activities for leisure time included Koran reciting, helping mothers with housework, taking care of younger siblings, shepherding cattle and cleaning the dormitory by those children who studied at the traditional Muslim boarding school.

Child labour patterns between production areas

The differences between child labour in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya were more clearly seen by looking at the children's relationship with the workshop owner. Ciomas relies more on family relationships in child labour recruitment, and it is very common that a child labourer has some type of family relationship with the workshop owner or a craftsman.

Table 4.4: Relationship of respondent with workshop owner

Respondent	Ciomas		Tasikmalaya	
Workshop owner's child	47	66%	6	10%
Workshop owner's relative	13	18%	14	22%
Neighbour, local villager's child	4	6%	30	48%
Migrant child	7	10%	13	21%
	71		**63**	

As previously mentioned, the involvement of child labour in Ciomas takes place when a craftsman maintains his production in the home where children will work to help their parents. They still attend school and work when they come home. Most of the female child labourers in Ciomas are daughters of workshop owners.

In Tasikmalaya, the children interviewed mostly worked in a small workshop and not at home. And in contrast to Ciomas, the young labourers were not as often related to the owner but either lived next door to the workshop or came from neighbouring villages. Only 14 fathers and one mother of the 57 young people who answered the questionnaire worked in footwear production in Tasikmalaya, compared to Ciomas where 52 fathers and 30 mothers worked in this sector (see Table 4.6). Most (97 per cent) of the young people interviewed in Tasikmalaya reported working full time, while in Ciomas only 63 per cent said they worked full time.

Table 4.5 lists reasons for how the young respondents came to be working in footwear production. Parents factored in more frequently in Ciomas, whether by asking their child or because the child wanted to help. In Tasikmalaya, children were more likely to seek out a job on their own or were encouraged by a craftsman or relatives.

Table 4.5: How did children start working?

Explanation	Ciomas		Tasikmalaya	
	No. of resp.	%	No. of resp.	%
Asked by parents	34	48%	10	16%
Own choice	18	25%	11	17%
Invited by relatives	5	7%	13	21%
Invited by the workshop owner	4	6%	6	10%
Invited by friends	3	4%	7	11%
Invited by craftsman	3	4%	15	24%
Not answering	8	12%	2	4%
	71		**63**	

Children's attitudes

Generally, most of the children interviewed said they would choose to keep working. Their reasons varied from wanting to help their parents to being content with the work to being reluctant to go back to school. The minority, 15 children, (14 in Ciomas and 1 in Tasikmalaya), said that someday they would stop working and continue their studies.

Child respondents in Ciomas, especially those aged between 13 and 14 years, seemed more open to aid and intervention that would let them combine school and work. If it were possible, however, they would prefer just going to

school. Only a small number of children in Tasikmalaya would consider going back to school, taking skills courses related to footwear production or seeking another job.

Gender differences

There are several interesting aspects concerning the involvement of male and female child labourers in the two footwear-producing areas. From the field observation, it was clear that male child labourers worked longer hours than female child labourers. The most eye-catching observation was the near lack of girl workers in Tasikmalaya. Why are there so few girls? The workshop owners thought it was a weird and confusing question. One man, noting that young labourers typically are boys, explained that "it is common sense." The job is hard and inappropriate for girls, he said.

Other owners agreed there is a preference for boys. From the observation made at a workshop in Tasikmalaya, it seems the workshop is more than a workplace – like a play ground, or a club, for boys and male teenagers. They walk around the workshop bare-chested, smoke cigars and get amusement by teasing girls who pass by. The workshop appears as a kind of a place for boys to come of age, absorb certain values and become men.

If the informal footwear industry provides job opportunities mainly for boys, then what do girls do? This assessment did not succeed in obtaining convincing explanations from the girls who were interviewed. In Tasikmalaya girls reportedly were working mostly in agriculture and agricultural-product processing.

In Ciomas, it seems more girls combined school with work (84 per cent of the 27 girls interviewed were still in school, compared to 58 per cent of the 107 boys who combined school with work). Based on the Ciomas data, the female education level was higher than the male's. Interviews with Ciomas teachers revealed that boys indeed spend less time in school; they are expected to leave school earlier than girls to start working. In comparing actual work hours, girls spend less time working in footwear production. But their time is taken up with studying and household jobs.

Another interesting fact in Ciomas concerns the pattern of child involvement in the workshops. Most of the female respondents were daughters or relatives of the owner. It makes sense to estimate that female child labourers are likely to work in family circumstances: Boys are permitted to work at workshops far from home and girls work at home-based operations, in the protection of their parents. Considering that half of the respondents' mothers in Ciomas worked as footwear craftswomen, it is almost

"natural" that their daughters would help them, as if doing housework. Because they were helping their mothers, it was not perceived as labour.

The household

Family background

In both focus areas, most parents (of the young respondents, 76 per cent in Ciomas and 83 per cent in Tasikmalaya had an elementary school education. In terms of occupation, most mothers described themselves as housewives. In Ciomas, the percentage of mothers involved in footwear production was higher than in Tasikmalaya, most likely because there are more home-based operations in Ciomas.

While the majority (74 per cent) of fathers in Ciomas had an occupation related to footwear production (worker or workshop owner), it was only 25 per cent in Tasikmalaya. As well, the percentage of farmers, labourers and other informal sector workers was also high.

Those fathers in Tasikmalaya who worked in the informal sector had jobs in nearby Tasikmalaya City as pedicab drivers, selling things in markets, etc. Apparently, easy access to the city creates more opportunity for villagers in the three subdistricts to work there.

Table 4.6: Occupation of respondents' parents

Ciomas

Father's occupation			Mother's occupation		
Footwear craftsman, workshop owner	52	73%	Housewife	32	45%
Peasant, peasant labourer	9	13%	Footwear craftswoman	30	45%
Labourer, manual labourer	5	7%	Small trader	2	3%
Others (mechanic, trader, cab driver)	4	6%	Labourer	1	2%
No response	1	1%	Peasant	1	2%
			No response	5	7%
No. of responses	**71**		**No. of responses**	**71**	

Tasikmalaya

Father's occupation			Mother's occupation		
Sandal craftsman, workshop owner	14	22%	Housewife	46	73%
Peasant, peasant labourer	12	19%	Peasant, peasant labourer	6	10%
Others (mechanic, trader, cab driver)	11	17%	Factory labourer, servant	4	6%
Manual labourer	13	21%	Small trader (foot)	3	5%
Labourer (factory, handicraft industry)	7	11%	Others (footwear seamstress)	1	2%
No response	6	10%	No response	3	5%
No. of responses	**63**		**No. of responses**	**63**	

The average number of children per family of the respondents in Ciomas was 3.46, while in Tasikmalaya it was 3.77.

Table 4.7: Number of children in respondents' family

Number of children	Ciomas		Tasikmalaya	
1	4	6%	4	6%
2	12	17%	8	12.5%
3	24	34%	18	29%
4	11	15%	15	24%
5	7	10%	10	16%
6	3	4%	3	5%
7	4	6%	1	1.5%
8			2	3%
9			1	1.5%
No response	6	8%	1	1.5%
No. of responses	**71**		**63**	

It was rather difficult to get information on family income. Many parents were reluctant or embarrassed to mention their income. From what was revealed, the average monthly income of a family in Ciomas was 459,000 rupiah (US$53); in Tasikmalaya it was 467,000 rupiah (US$54).

Parental perceptions

Almost all parents of the respondents agreed to let their children, boy or girl, work. They believed that working is much better than being unemployed or spending time aimlessly. Their income also helped reduce the family's economic burdens. Working, especially in the home operations, also served as a kind of watchdog, helping parents keep track of their children and keep them away from bad social influences. And they believed that the work the children did was not "hard" because the more difficult tasks were done by adult labourers. As previously noted, some acknowledged that footwear-production is more suitable for boys than for girls. For instance, it is not perceived as acceptable for a girl to work until late in the evening, which some workshops required. Generally though, as the workshop owner is usually a relative of the young labourer, then the girls are given lighter tasks, as already noted.

Many workshop owners rejected the opinion that they exploit children. They believe that they have provided an "opportunity" to children. As well, after graduating from elementary school, children are considered teenagers about to become adults and thus they should work part time to learn a trade.

Parents in the two focus areas did not consider the footwear-producing jobs as hazardous for children. The only threat is an injury caused by a knife. And injuries can be avoided if adults are supervising and teaching the working children.

At the same time, parents in both Ciomas and Tasikmalaya want their children to graduate from secondary school, as they want their children to have a better life. At least 60 per cent of parents would happily welcome programmes that help their children. There were some parents in Tasikmalaya who hesitated on wanting their children to return to school because they were pleased to have them working in footwear workshop.

Working conditions

Workplace characteristics

A variety of workshops operate in Ciomas: big, small and home-based. The workshops in Tasikmalaya are either small or home-based operations.

The big workshops in Ciomas sit on 300-3,000 sq m of land; some have a warehouse. Some provide restroom facilities for the workers, which is noted because so few of the workshops have them. The big operations have a more advanced layout, production arrangement and tools compared with other types of workshops. A variety of machines are used (sewing machine using electric dynamo, pressing machine and grindstone). Unlike the smaller workshops, manpower recruitment does not rely on family relationships. Typically employing no more than 15 workers, the big workshops produce more than 100 scores (2,000 pairs) of shoes per week of various styles. Safety seems doubtful in the observed workshops due to the lack of fire-extinguishing equipment.

The small workshops in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya range between 15 and 100 sq m in size with 5-10 employees who are most likely related to the owner. Production ranges from 50 to 100 scores per week. There are far fewer machines, if any, and tools. The workshop owners are often involved in the production activities.

The small working space greatly limits workers' mobility. Though there is an effort to set up a permanent working position for each task, there is not an obvious separation of work functions. Apparently this situation is purposely created so if there is a change in the orders (for instance, from sponge sandals to leather sandals), then the workers can adjust quickly.

Figure 4.1: Footwear workshop

Some small workshops have good ventilation, but most do not. Hazards noted during the observation of the workshops included the prevalence of flammable things, the use of a kerosene stove to "bake together" the upper and the lower materials of a shoe and poor electrical wiring.

In the case of the home-based operations, which have the same technology level as small enterprises, the workshop is likely to be beside or behind the house. In the room called "the workshop", the main piece of equipment is a sewing machine. Other tasks involving scissors or sewing tools may take place in other parts of the house (terrace, living room, family room or near the kitchen). The production capacity is 30-50 scores (600-1,000 pairs) per week. The workshop owner is the craftsman relying on his family in the production process.

All the child labourers interviewed for this assessment worked in either small or home-based workshops. The bigger places also employ children, but it was difficult to access those workplaces for this assessment.

When children work, they sit on the dusty concrete floor in a small space surrounded by the tools and mounds of raw material – this is the typical working environment in small and home-based workplaces.

Working hours.

Children in Tasikmalaya worked longer hours each day (eight hours on average) than those in Ciomas (five hours on average), which is another illustration of how more children in Ciomas combined school and work.

Most of the child labourers in Ciomas started working at 12-1 p.m., when they had finished school. Some admitted to working late, between 10 p.m. and 11 p.m. The respondents in Tasikmalaya began their work day at 7-8 a.m. and finished at 4 p.m.

Table 4.8: Average working hours of respondents

Ciomas	**5.10**	**Tasikmalaya**	**8.02**
Male	6.01	Male	8.02
Female	3.36	Female	8.25

Children's tasks.

There are no meaningful job description differences between adults and child labourers who had worked longer than two years. Children do all jobs, such as imprinting patterns on the raw material (imitation leather, sponge), cutting the material, working on the upper and the lower parts of the footwear, sewing, grinding and cleaning to finish, and then packing the finished shoes.

In some workshops, the children of the owners usually do only the finishing part, collect the sandals, imprint the brand name and label number and then sack them up. Differences in tasks carried out depended on a child's work experience: Those with experience typically had the job of uniting upper and lower parts of the sandals and those without it assisted the other workers.

Exposures to hazards

The more common injuries described in the interviews were cuts caused by cutting tools. One death was reported – a boy in Tasikmalaya died from an electrical shock caused by a grinding machine.

Table 4.9: Types of working accidents experienced by respondents

Ciomas	**No. of responses**
Injury caused by knife or cutter	15
Injury caused by scissors	11
Stabbing injury (needle)	4
Sewing of a finger	2
Burn injury caused by stove	1
Tasikmalaya	
Injury caused by knife or cutter	20
Burn injury caused by stove	3

Note: Each person could give more than one answer.

Children are also exposed to chemical hazards from the glue and liquid solvent used in making shoes. Gasoline is used as a thinning agent in some workshops as well. The glue packages do not contain any information about the chemical contents so it was hard to determine the extent of the hazards. In both focus areas, the young labourers admitted feeling dizzy when they first started working with the glue; the dizziness gradually disappeared as they got used to the smell. There is a widespread belief, false as it is, that the dizziness can be cured by drinking lots of soda.

The child labourers also sit in unergonomic cross-legged positions when they make patterns or cut material. Though they can take breaks and move about, they still have to work in these unhealthy positions for long hours. Some children were observed lugging large heavy sacks containing materials or sandals. Injuries from burns when using the kerosene stove to bake the upper and lower portions of a shoe together, as is done in Tasikmalaya, also occur.

Leading the list of the most common health complaints (Table 4.10) among the children interviewed were hand strain, frequent headaches and weariness. Ai Hidayat, the public health officer in Mangkubumi, Tasikmalaya echoed this listing when asked about health issues related to footwear workers. According to him, some 70 per cent of breathing complaints come from 20- to 30-year-old employees in the footwear workshops. They also complain of headaches and a stiff pivot base (a hip ailment). Ai Hidayat believes that long-term exposure to the glue vapour and dust has lowered the immune systems of workshop labourers. In a focus group discussion, there was a report of a Mekarjaya villager dying from pleurisy; an X-ray photo showed that the villager's lungs were filled with sponge dust.

Table 4.10: The five most common health complaints

Ciomas	Male	Female	Total	Tasikmalaya	Male	Female	Total
Strain in hand	27	11	38	Strain in hand	24	2	26
Frequent headache	23	15	38	Cough	20	2	22
Tired easily	21	8	29	Tired easily	17	2	19
Cough	17	9	26	Respiratory	16	1	17
Skin irritation; itchiness	17	5	22	Frequent headache	11	1	12

Note: Each person could give more than one answer.

In both focus areas, there is a common opinion that the hazards caused by glue can be reduced with good ventilation. In reality, however, very few workshops have any ventilation system, most even lack windows or have windows that cannot be opened. In addition, many workshops are located in the middle of dense housing settlements. Where the workshops are located

near rice fields and are structured in an open-room fashion, such as in a few places in Ciomas, then the vapour from the chemical materials melts away into the air.

The hazards faced by child labourers in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya are believed to be similar to those in Cibaduyut, which were described in Table 3.7. However, the researchers noted that in Cibaduyut the workshops stand closely adjacent to each other while workshops in Ciomas and Tasikmalaya have more vacant spaces around them, which allows for some ventilation and for the toxic glue odours and the dust to escape more easily into the air.

From the field observation, it seems certain that children working in the informal footwear sector are exposed to various health hazards (see Table 3.7):

- Children have been injured sewing the upper parts of shoes together. This answer was mentioned rarely during the interviews because it is considered something normal; there were only two incidents reported by respondents. But it was raised in the focus group discussion with children following the initial assessment interviewing.
- The narrow and stuffy workplaces with poor ventilation intensify the amount of dust and vapours inhaled, not only for those workers grinding or gluing directly but everyone is susceptible to the dust and vapours emitted.
- Unsanitary conditions outside the workshops cause problems. Waste, leftover material cuttings, sponge dust powder and cans of glue and solvent are usually left mounting on the roadsides, buried or thrown into a river. During the field research, the custom of burning foam rubber sponge waste at night in Ciomas was observed. This not only contaminates the soil but also the air and water. Also in Ciomas, there were complaints of the workshops' garbage contaminating the water canals and rice fields.

Figure 4.2: All-purpose glue widely used in Ciomas

Interactions with others

Interaction among labourers is possible in the small workshops in Ciomas. Yet, from the field observation, it seems that some children who work in a neighbour's workshop take material to work on at home, where it may be more comfortable than in the small workshop. These children work alone at home or are accompanied by their siblings or parents.

In Tasikmalaya, because children are socially encouraged to work they have little or no time for playing with friends. So it is in the workshop where they can joke and talk with others and interact with friends. It is their source of socializing. In exchange it teaches them a skill and pays them a wage.

The community infrastructure

Ciomas

The informal footwear industry in Ciomas spreads across developed villages in South Bogor subdistrict to village clusters in the mountainous Taman Sari subdistrict. Some areas in South Bogor district have a drinking water supply service from the state-owned water supply enterprise. However, most of the footwear-producing villages do not receive that service. Around 59 per cent of the Bogor regency population does not have access to safe water. Local villagers use well water for drinking and washing. The local Public Health Centre's records list many cases of diarrhoea, gastroenteritis, tuberculosis, skin rash and cough. The village midwife staff at the Parakan Public Health Centre related these ailments to eating patterns and unhealthy lifestyles among the footwear workshop labourers. As well, their houses usually are not equipped with proper toilet facilities. They mostly use water from ponds for bathing and drinking.

In the three subdistricts where footwear production takes place, there are 11 public health centres. Five of them are located in the main footwear-producing villages: Ciomas, Kotabatu, Sukaresmi, Sirnagalih and South Bogor. Through a midwife programme from the Ministry of Health, midwives are available in most villages. In Ciomas, there are a total of 12 general practitioners, 19 midwives and 37 traditional healing practitioners.

Around 85 per cent of the population in Bogor regency has access to health service and coverage is classified as "good". However, the health programme of the public health centres is still too general and is not customized to local problems yet. This includes no special programme for handling the health hazards of the workshop workers. As the head of Kotabatu Public Health Centre explained, the paramedic staffs have been busy

with other issues and there is no available staff to carry out an intervention programme, such as outreach activities addressed to the footwear industry.

In terms of education, access to schools is limited, except for villages in South Bogor that have more facilities available than in the other subdistricts. The biggest complaint of parents interviewed was that the expensive transportation and school fees do not allow them to send their children to school, especially to secondary school. Aside from the limited access, there are also parents for whom education is not always a priority. Sopiah, a Parakan Elementary School teacher, noted that children often left school at the third to sixth year because their parents asked them to work or let them work.[22] As well, if going to school means living away from the family, many people are inclined to believe that the best interest of the child is better served by staying home.

As Table 4.11 indicates, basic and secondary education facilities are available in almost the whole of the Ciomas footwear industry area. There are 42 primary schools, 6 secondary schools and 4 senior high schools.

Table 4.11: Number of schools, Ciomas
(No information available for Tasikmalaya)

Villages	Kinder-garten	Elemen-tary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school
1. Ciomas	1	2	-	-
2. Parakan	-	2	-	
3. Kotabatu	4	4	1	1
4. Ciapus	-	3	-	-
5. Ciomas Rahayu	1	4	1	-
6. Laladon	1	4	1	1
7. Mekarjaya	-	2	-	-
8. Padasuka	2	4	2	1
9. Pagelaran	2	4	-	1
10. Sukaharja	-	2	-	
11. Sukamakmur	-	4	1	
Total	**11**	**42**	**6**	**4**

Source: Basic Data, Ciomas subdistrict offices

Many parents cannot afford to send their children to senior high school because the transportation fee is expensive. Sirnagalih villagers in Ciomas prefer to send their children to private senior high school in Kotabatu village because it is easier to reach and cheaper. The good quality high schools are only available in Bogor city.

[22] Especially in high season, one Parakan elementary teacher, Sopiah, said she usually finds children sleeping in the classroom because they are tired from working.

Table 4.12 provides a comparison of school enrolment of three villages in the Ciomas focus area of this assessment. These three villages have different physical characteristics: Parakan is a rural village, Ciomas has semi-urban features and Kotabatu is more like a small town. Almost twice as many students graduated from primary school in Ciomas than in Parakan, though the number of drop-outs in Ciomas is also quite high. (Ciomas is four times bigger than Parakan and so naturally will have larger numbers of children.) Nevertheless, the education participation at secondary schools and senior high schools tends to be equal. Kotabatu is a village with easy access to transportation and has more schools, which may explain why more young people graduate from primary school than in the other two villages.

There is some assistance available for young people to encourage them to stay in school, but it is not common. The Karya Pakuan secondary school (a private school) for example, gives scholarships for outstanding students. To help children who cannot afford to attend secondary school, the Ciherang 1 State Primary School provides skills training in footwear production with local craftsmen as the trainers. This kind of training is useful, according to the Education Office officer in Ciomas, who added that it needs to be replicated in other schools.

Table 4.12: School enrolment in three villages, Ciomas, 2001
(No information available for Tasikmalaya)

	Parakan (rural)		Kotabatu (urban)		Ciomas (rural-urban)	
Not graduated from primary school	1,800	59%	157	1%	2,303	28%
Graduated from primary school	803	26%	5,374	48%	1,885	23%
Graduated from secondary school	207	7%	3,725	33%	3,224	39%
Graduated from senior high school	212	7%	1,661	15%	887	11%
Graduated from university	18	1%	239	2%	0	0%
Total population	**3,040**	**100%**	**1,1156**	**100%**	**8,299**	**100%**

Source: Adapted from basic data, Ciomas village (2001), Parakan village (2000), Kotabatu village (2001)

The awareness of the worst forms of child labour, related legal framework and issues on occupational safety and health are low among people in the two focus sites of the assessment. The issue of employment of young people, however, were considered less relevant and less important than the safety and cleanliness of the environment and workshop waste. During the

assessment research, some efforts to address the discarding of waste into rice fields were discussed with workshop owners.

Local communities have also addressed the environmental and other health issues that affect their quality of life: among them are initiatives to solve the workshop-waste problem, supply safe water, control malaria through distribution of mosquito nets, clean the rivers and overcome the waste contamination of the rice fields.

So far, the government programmes created to handle child labour problems have not been recognized by the villagers. The central government initiatives active in the assessment's focus area are the nine-year compulsory education (Ministry of National Education), national immunization (Ministry of Health) and the scholarships offered through the Social Safety Net programme.

For business development, financial resources are made available through the Social Safety Net, the Farmer Business Cooperative (KUT), the Nursing Parents and skills training programmes. However, the craftsmen have had such bad experiences they are hesitant to rely on government and other development programmes. Many programmes have promised capital that never materialized. Other financial assistance activities, such as from Krakatau Steel and from government banks (Bank Mandiri, BRI), failed due to mismanagement. Financial aid given by the KUT local cooperative failed as a programme because of mismanagement and corruption. The cooperative was left with 2.6 billion rupiah in non-performing loans. The craftsmen believe a rumour going around that the Government no longer trusts Ciomas businessmen.

Table 4.13: Bogor regency, Human Development Index, 1999

	Life expectancy (years)	**Adult literacy rate**	**Mean years of schooling** (years)	**HDI**
Female	67.1	91.8 %	7.5	66.6
Male	63.2	95.8 %	8.5	

Source: Human Development Report 2001; BPS, Bappenas, United Nations Development Programme

Tasikmalaya

Most of the workshops in Tasikmalaya are located in the middle of a dense housing settlement in poor sanitary condition. Inhabitants rely on wells and a water fountain for their water supply, though there are many who use pond water for bathing and washing clothes. Nearly 81 per cent of the population in Tasikmalaya district is without access to safe drinking water.

In the three subdistricts observed for this assessment, there are at least seven public health centres (Tawang, Kahuripan, Cihideung, Cilembang, Kawalu, Mangkubumi, and Tamansari). For villagers in living near the main roadway with easy access to transportation, accessing health services from a public health centre or private doctors is not difficult. People in the subdistricts of Tawang and Tamansari, which are close to downtown Tasikmalaya, have easier access to the state general hospital. People living in cluster villagers have very limited access to health care services, with no nearby facilities.

One of the most critical development issues in Tasikmalaya regency is the high number of primary school or education drop-outs. In 2002, there were 23,000 primary school and Islamic primary school graduates and only half of them continued on to secondary school. Although there is a national compulsory policy, there remains a severe shortage of schools to accommodate students. There is also urgency to reduce the school fee so that more people can afford it.

Compared with villages in surrounding subdistricts, children from Mangkubumi, Tawang and Taman Sari have easier access to basic education facilities. When interviewed, parents acknowledged that primary school availability is not a problem – there is an elementary school and madrasah in every village, and there is a small number of secondary schools overall – what is difficult is the school fee. They want their children to attend primary school and ultimately graduate the secondary level, but the school fee makes their dreams too expensive. Secondary schools are even more expensive than primary schools.

An alternative for them is to send their children to Islamic school or Islamic boarding school. Usually, a local religious leader manages the Islamic boarding school (venerated school teacher of Islam), which survives with donations from the local community. There are small Islamic boarding schools offering traditional education in studying and reciting the Koran in many village clusters. Parents tend to encourage their children to study at the Islamic boarding school to learn religion and Koran recital.

Just as in Ciomas, the awareness of the worst forms of child labour and related legal framework and issues on occupational safety and health are low among villagers. Accident hazards are not considered an important problem. Employing children is not considered bad; children are even encouraged to work. According to comments during the focus group discussions, the communities' biggest concern is economic and business development in the area, rather than stopping or reducing the involvement of children in footwear production.

Table 4.14: Tasikmalaya regency, Human Development Index (1999)

	Life expectancy (years)	Adult literacy rate	Mean years of schooling (years)	HDI
Female	67.4	95.0	6.0	65.3
Male	63.6	97.5	6.6	

Source: Human Development Report 2001; BPS, Bappenas, United Nations Development Programme

There have been several intervention programmes taking place in the two focus areas. The villagers are aware of the central Government's nine-year compulsory school policy, though they are unclear about its enforcement, as school fees continue to be charged. There also is the Empowerment of Regional Community and Regional Government Programme, known as P2MPD, which is funded by the Asian Development Bank and the Government that provides financial assistance to villages to build physical infrastructure, such as roads, irrigation systems, etc.

Two or three years ago, academics from Siliwangi University in Tasikmalaya helped establish a craftsmen's cooperative in Gobras village and provided production management training. But it was a small programme and its impact was not significant; the cooperative no longer operates.

When asked about interventions to address child labour, many people instead expressed disappointment that the communities were being ignored by the Government.[23] The craftsmen think that the footwear industry has brought many job opportunities and helped the local economy. But there has never been any programme to help support the producers or the industry. Instead, the Government is seen as only interested in taking taxes (business tax, building and land tax) but not in solving problems faced by craftsmen and their families.

Although several Government initiatives have taken place according to government officials, workshops owners perceive that the Government has done very little to help them.

Contextual indicators/external factors encouraging child labour

In addition to household issues that encourage child labour in the informal footwear sector, there are external factors also involved. In the two

[23] This disappointment also surfaced in the focus group discussions and local validation workshop.

focus locations, children working has become a custom and is not considered a problem. It is even considered a "good thing" or as an obligation to the family.

Another issue is the little opportunity children have to go to school, despite the national policy on compulsory education, which requires that children aged 7 to 15 be educated. The national policy has yet to translate to local policy, which should increase people's access to education. But there is the lack of schools in some areas and overall, the school fees that continue to be charged make education prohibitive. With limited education opportunities, there is little else for children to do but work. In the focus areas of the assessment, informal footwear production has been the closest-to-reach option for young people because the skills can be quickly learned.

As already described, footwear craftsmen have a weak bargaining position. The craftsmen are reduced to being essentially subsistence labourers taking orders from material suppliers and shop owners. They do not have control over the raw material price or the market. The price competition among small footwear businessmen in Tasikmalaya shows their weak bargaining position. Production workshops in the two focus areas of this assessment survive by keeping their costs as low as possible, which means employing family members and most especially, young people.

There have been no strong civil society groups addressing the interest of footwear craftsmen or protection for child labourers. Among the shoe makers, there is much dissatisfaction with local government, which they perceive as ignoring problematic issues in the footwear sector. In addition to improving the local economy, workshop owners believe their sector is to credit for the low incidence of crime in the area.

In Tasikmalaya at least, there have been a few local government initiatives to encourage small industry, though they centred more on the embroidery and handicraft industries. Nowadays, the local government in that area is concerned more with internal administrative issues in the ongoing establishment of Tasikmalaya as a city, which started two years ago. City officials continue to concentrate on establishing coordination among city administrators with those in subdistricts and villages. They are perceived as too busy with that priority to issue legislation (and enforcement) and special programmes to support the local footwear industry and to raise the protection of child labourers.

As well, the involvement of children in the local footwear industry is enabled by the labour inspector who implicitly permits it – there appears to be no role for the local labour inspector to prohibit child labour. Officials in village and subdistrict administration certainly are aware that children work. From interviews for the assessment, the officials seem far less aware of

Indonesia's law concerning the minimum age for starting employment. What is needed is public information campaigns about child labour issues coupled with commitment toward a programme on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

Gender

Footwear production in these two focus areas of the assessment is clearly an important source of livelihood that many families engage in. The footwear industry has influenced the type of development, in terms of shops selling footwear, shopping centres and housing areas, and social life of villages. Consequently, it is important to check the role of both sexes in making decisions that influence the life of the community.

In Tasikmalaya, the owners and managers of workshops are men. As well, men take responsibility for all matters concerning footwear craftsmen and the industry. Consequently, there were difficulties drawing women into the focus group discussions. Even though women family members are involved in footwear production, their role in decision making is typically very small. Many footwear cooperatives established in the assessment's two focus locations are essentially male clubs. Government programmes encouraging small industry only involve men, such as the Farmer Business Credit and financial assistance activities in Ciomas and also the P2MPD in Tasikmalaya. For example, credit was given to the head of household, which are commonly considered the man, in the Farmer Business credit programme. The P2MPD assistance was used to build physical infrastructures determined by men, and usually involving only male workers in the projects, thus benefiting males more than females.

The male club atmosphere in the informal footwear activity is heavy. The Government initiated a programme in Ciomas called a rather gender-insensitive term, "Foster Father". It is a scheme in which big shoe-makers (the "Foster Father") help the small footwear industry.

V

Young People's Stories

Nining, female, 17 years old
Sambong Jaya village, Tasikmalaya

My name is Nining. Now I am 17 years old and two months pregnant. My husband is Endang, 21, working as a shopkeeper. I started making sandals in 1999, when I was 15 years old. My father passed away in the same year and my mother started working full time at a workshop to take care of me and my two brothers. In order to work faster and earn enough money, my mother asked me to help her. I was her assistant for two years.

I worked from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon. In 2001, I became a craftswoman. I also got married. My wage is approximately 80,000 rupiah (US$9.20) a week. Even when combined with my husband's income, it is not enough to fulfil our daily needs. I save a little money but sometimes I also give my brothers some pocket money. I save a little because I started thinking about needing money just to deliver the baby. Although I am not really sure that our savings is enough, people say the birthing fee is very expensive – not to mention the baby's needs.

My husband and I live with my mother. I want to rent a house so I can have my own living place, but I cannot afford it. Someday as a family, I want to be independent, have a house and educate my children well. Those dreams are still far from my reality.

Besides being independent, I also want to be prosperous, to be able to afford my children's education fees and take care of my family's needs. We don't earn enough together now, and if my brothers or my mother get sick, we have to spend our savings. When I have enough money, I want to attend a sewing course so I can work on sandals at home, sewing the upper part. By working at home, I can take care of my children at the same time.

Working at the workshop makes me dizzy, especially the smell of the glue. Now with my pregnancy I often feel dizzy and sick. Perhaps it is not the glue but the pregnancy. I wish I could work at home. Working at home is comfortable because I can do a lot of other things there.

Yet, if I were able to sew then I would have a new problem – I would have to buy a sewing machine. When it comes to mind, I get confused about where I can get money for attending the course and buying the sewing machine. When I get confused then I just accept the things as they are. Hopefully in the future there will be enough income to fulfil my desire in building a family, a decent family economically.

Pandi, male, 13 years old
Parakan village, Ciomas, Bogor

Unlike his other friends, Pandi does not seem embarrassed to admit he works as an assistant in a footwear workshop. Pandi started working in June 2001, when he was around 11 years old. He is the third of four children and is enrolled in the fifth grade at Parakan State Elementary School. His father works as a labourer in a footwear workshop also.

The workshop where Pandi works is not far from his home. He usually goes there after school. There are no regular working hours. "This is slack season," explains Pandi. "That is why I only work until Ashar (Muslim afternoon prayer, around 4 p.m.), then I play with my friends." He usually works from 1 p.m. until 4:30 p.m., he says. Sometimes he works late into the evening.

At the workshop, Pandi assists his brother, who pays him 5,000 rupiah (US$.57) a week for the help. The owner is a distant uncle. In Ciomas, the wage of an assistant is the responsibility of the craftsman. "I work on the base part of the shoe, gluing and putting latex," Pindi says. He says he can finish about four scores (80 pieces) of base parts a week, which is considered a lot. He spends 2,000 rupiah from his earnings each week and saves the rest. "Now I have 12,000 rupiah in my *celengan,*"* he boasts.

Pandi is a one of 39 students in his grade at school. When he was in the first grade there were 56 students in his class. Of the 39 students, 12 are children of workshop owners who also work to help their parents. There are only five students who have no relative making shoes.

Pandi says he's determined to stay in school, at least until the sixth grade of elementary school. Probably because he is still a child, his parents don't force him to work full time. "I don't want to continue my study to secondary school," he admits. "I just want to work to get some money."

*A sort of small-change container made of clay.

Yayah, female, 15 years old
Lingga Jaya village, Tasikmalaya

Yayah is the fifth of eight children. Her father owns a workshop, which Yayah's eldest brother now manages. Two other siblings also work in the workshop; the others still go to school. Yayah is in her second year of secondary school and is intent on being a doctor; she dreams of studying at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta.* She is good at sewing, a skill she learned at school. She wishes she could study computers and play on one the way her friends do.

Though she goes to school, Yayah helps out in the family business and has since she was 13. But she works at home, which is the storehouse, and not in the workshop; her tasks are with the finishing part, making the tie lashes of mountain sandals or packing them. The storage room is a 4x4-m space with mounds of sandals, among which Yayah sits, putting each pair into a box.

Yayah works alone for six hours after school, from 12 p.m. to 6 p.m., for which she earns 20,000 rupiah (US$2.30) a week. She spends 3,600 rupiah of her weekly wages for her school transportation and saves 5,000 rupiah. The rest she spends for food at school or school books.

Because she works in a family business, Yayah has no quotas or demands she must fill. If her friends stop by, she'll spend time with them. On Saturdays and Sundays she's free to run off with her friends to play football or ride bicycles. At home, she likes watching telelvison and doing homework. On the days before her tri-monthly school exams, Yayah is free from working in order to study.

Yayah expects that someday she can work in an office or do some other job that spares her the difficult life her father experienced in his business. In her view, the work she does now, which she describes as light, is something positive because the "practice of work" allows her to become independent gradually. Yayah has no interest in making shoes for much longer – she helps out now because she knows her contribution to the production helps her parents earn the money she needs for her school fees. The same has been the

case for her older siblings who have now been able to continue their studies at the university.

Her father also believes that children helping their parents is a positive experience. By helping their parents, children learn to be diligent, he says.

* One of the best universities in Indonesia.

Neti, female, 17 years old
Parakan village, Ciomas subdistrict, Bogor district

Neti was married four months ago, when she was 16. Her husband, Open is 20. They live with Open's parents, among a settlement of home-based footwear operators. "Here, I am not a native person...my parents live far away, near Ciomas [village]," says Neti, pointing to the horizon.

Living among shoe makers is not new for Neti. Her parents in Ciomas also produce footwear. But for the first time Neti assists, although, she is quick to learn, it is her husband who is the craftsman. "I just help my husband," she says, shyly lowering her face. The newlyweds work for Open's uncle.

But Neti and her husband don't work in his workshop, which is quite small. Open brings home the jobs, which is usually gluing upper and lower sandal pieces together. They work outside on their front porch or in the family room. Most shoe makers in Parakan village work at their home. "At the workshop there are only craftsmen working on the upper parts. All the lower-part jobs are worked on here," Neti says.

When she first was married and living in Open's family house, Neti only watched her husband work. But with little else to do, she gradually became interested to take part. "I do it just to spend my spare time," Neti explains. She works on 10 scores (200 pairs) a week for which she earns 20,000 rupiah.

Neti helps her husband from 9 a.m. until 1 p.m. Then she cooks and makes coffee for her husband and his parents. They often work until 6 or 7 p.m., especially as the *Eid-ul-Fitr* fasting month approaches.

The work is not difficult, acknowledges Neti, though the glue irritates her hands, making them terribly itchy. "Sometimes my skin is badly irritated," she says. But a good washing promptly relieves the irritation.

When Neti is asked about her husband, a young man sitting nearby who not been introduced shouts, "No, no interview," and abruptly leaves the porch. He disappears behind the house but a few minutes later the

Cranberries* come screaming out the windows at high volume as if to say, "It is time for you to go."

Because Neti dropped out of school after graduating junior secondary level, she was expected culturally to marry. And being married at such an age, she was registered administratively as 18 years old. Also, in being married, she was no longer perceived as being a child.

*A British pop-rock band

Surya, male, 14 years old
Ciomas village, Bogor

Surya is a "daily worker". It's the term used for "underage" workers like him who are employed in a workshop with around five other daily workers. The owners of the workshop differentiate between adult employees, whom they call permanent workers, and the daily workers. The difference is based more on hours worked, though that in itself is based on age. Young people are not encouraged to work long hours – all the daily workers in the workshop where Surya works are allowed to finish around 5 p.m. However, they, including Surya, who starts after he finishes school, often work until 7 p.m., especially if he doesn't feel like going home or there is a lot of work to be done.

Surya is in his second year of secondary school and plans to graduate. "I want to become clever so I can get a better job," he says. His goal is to get a bachelor's degree; he doesn't say in what subject and the expression is used generally to connote an interest in studying as high a level as possible.

He is the second child of Maman, 47, a footwear craftsman, and Yati, 42, who sells food in a street stall. This is not his first shoe-making job; he used to work for a woman in another village but resented the irregular and often long hours.

Surya says he frequently was scolded by his teacher because he comes late to school or fell asleep in class.

The workshop is near Surya's house and his father works there as well. But Surya balks at being called his father's assistant because the owner pays him directly. He earns 60,000 rupiah (US$6.90) each week. He uses the money to buy books, writing notebooks, snacks and sweets and saves what remains. Surya says it's sufficient for what he needs and his parents still give him 1,000 rupiah each day for pocket money. His parents pay his monthly school fee. (Elementary school fee in Ciomas areas range from 7,500 to 10,000 rupiah, or US$.90 to $1.15).

Surya doesn't mind the shoe making; his job is handling the lower parts. He admits that ever since he first started working his skin has been itchy, his body stiff and he is easily tired. "Aaah, everyone at the workshop has those symptoms," he shouts. "They will vanish gradually."

Beben, male, 15 years old
Pasireurih village, Tamansari, Bogor

Beben is one of many migrant workers at footwear workshops in Bogor. He is the second of three children. His parents are farmers working a small piece of land in his home village in Sukabumi district, about 60 km away.

Beben says he has been working only two weeks. He found the job in the workshop after dropping out of school; his niece had suggested he would find work there.

Last year he finished his junior secondary school. But he left school because his parents couldn't afford to send him to a higher education level because the fee was too expensive. "School only put more burden on my parents' shoulders," he says.

Still a new worker, Beben has not mastered any of the sandal-making skills yet. His job entails moving 20-kg sacks of newly pressed rubber from the pressing section to the production area. The other young people who started at the same time as Beben now are allowed to work on lower parts and the finishing tasks.

Although the distance between the two workspaces is only 7 m, it requires moving from one building to another. Beben is short but muscular but it is still tiring, he says. And on rainy days the sacks become heavier as they get wet. He lifts about 15 sacks a day. The little production work he is given involves assembling the upper parts of the shoes.

Beben works full time, from 8 a.m. until around 5 p.m. with one rest time for lunch. Sometimes he buys an extra meal on credit from a nearby food stall owned by the workshop owner's family and pays his bill after pay day. The workshop owner provides breakfast and lunch for Beben. He is paid 20,000 rupiah (US$2.30) a week, which the workshop boss saves for him. "I can withdraw it if I want to go home," says Beben while using the rain to wash rubber dust from his face.

His boss lets Beben and the other child workers sleep at the workshop. Beben says he has many friends from his village, about 60 km away, which made adjusting to living away from home much easier.

Beben says he doesn't have the nerve to ask for a different task. He says he's luck and thanks God for having this job, although it is hard work.

"It's up to the boss," he shrugs, when asked whether he wanted to shift to another job.

Eki, male, 13 years old
Sambong Pari village, Tasikmalaya

Eki graduated elementary school a year ago but couldn't afford to continue his studies at the secondary level. He finished the sixth grade only because of a government scholarship.

The son of a shopkeeper and housewife, Eki used to dream of graduating secondary school and possibly going to university. In August 2002 he took a job as an assistant in Nandang's footwear workshop and has since lost his desire to further his education – even if someone offered to pay the expenses. He prefers to work because he can help his parents and it gives him and his brother pocket money. He earns 20,000 rupiah (US$2.30) a week, half of which he gives to his parents.

Every Friday and Saturday nights, Eki and his brother play in a tambourine group, known as At Taqwa, at their Muslim boarding school where only Islam is studied. The tambourine group of nine boys, with Eki as their leader, often performs a show at the Koran Recital Agendas. Eki now dreams of owning a Muslim traditional boarding school when he grows up and creating a tambourine group for children just like his now.

Eki and his brother recite the Koran each day from dusk up to 10 p.m. It gives him an opportunity for fun time with his friends and they talk about their tambourine performances. Eki delights in performing and showing his musical skill to others. Now that he works in shoe making, Eki expects himself to master that skill as well and become a sandal craftsman. He hopes to build his own sandal workshop someday.

Eki begins working at 7 a.m. and finishes around 3 p.m. and finds the employment "decent", especially if there are many orders. Several of his friends have been injured by the knives or by fire from the stove, but Eki says as an assistant he's not had any accident. He admits that it took a while to adjust to the conditions – he often felt dizzy after smelling the glue and his

body was stiff at the end of the day. Now he no longer feels those symptoms, though sometimes he tires easily. There are breaks from the work during the day; on Saturdays he works a half day and takes off on Sunday.

Note : All names are not the real names

VI Conclusions and Recommendations

The previous two chapters describe the nature, cause and consequences of children's involvement in the informal footwear sector in West Java. The following summarizes the main issues and suggests solutions for inclusion in the next time-bound programme to address the child labour issue in the informal footwear sector.

Child labour in the informal footwear sector

This assessment identified two large areas of informal footwear industry in West Java with a high concentration of child labour:

- **Ciomas.** Footwear is produced in three subdistricts and workshops are mainly found in these villages: Mekar Jaya, Parakan, Sirnagalih and Pasir Eurih. Based on observations and other data collected during this rapid assessment, an estimated 5,000 children are involved in footwear production in the Ciomas area.
- **Tasikmalaya.** Footwear is produced also in three subdistricts and workshops are mainly found in Lingga Jaya, Mangkubumi, Sambong Jaya and Sambong Pari villages. Again, based on observations and other data collected during this rapid assessment, an estimated 4,000 children are involved in footwear production in Tasikmalaya area.

In both locations, children worked in formal, informal and home-based workshops managed by their parents, relatives or non-family members.

Why do children work?

Various factors lead to children's involvement in the footwear production. One of the leading issues is the demand side: intense competition, expensive raw materials and the unsteady level of orders have reduced most workshops to a state subsistence. To survive, the owners and managers need to keep costs low and do this by hiring children, whose wages are less than adults'. Another central factor is that parents allow or ask their children to

work. Socially, boys are expected to leave school sooner than girls and work to help the family. The child labour practice has been a tradition for years and perceived as common and acceptable. The limited access to education – few schools in some places and the expensive school fee – leaves few options for children and without schooling they resort to working.

Footwear production as one of the worst forms of child labour

Conditions seem more rigorous in Tasikmalaya where generally children work full time, approximately eight hours a day. In peak production months, the hours are extended, up to 12 hours a day. For young labourers in both areas, the hazards are associated with the tools, glue and other solvents used and the unhealthy condition of the workshop.

Recommendations

The magnitude of child labour found through this rapid assessment makes clear that its elimination cannot be reached in a short time. Based on the observations and interviews with the different parties involved, the following recommendations were drawn up to i) reduce and eliminate the hazards in the footwear workshops and ii) to gradually reduce child labour in the footwear sector:

- **Raise awareness.** Awareness raising of the negative implications of child labour and of possible alternatives is a major recommendation of this assessment. For communities in the two focus areas, child labour has been a common practice for many years and is not perceived as a problem. Awareness raising on children's rights and the worst forms of child labour needs to be conducted among the general public and specifically among craftsmen's families, village administrators, labour inspectors and government and district-level legislators and officials. Without discussion of the harmful nature of child labour and thus a reason for change, it will be impossible to establish community initiatives on child labour problems (improving the workshop condition and reducing child labour involvement, etc.) and protection.
- **Waste handling and footwear workshop improvement.** The awareness of health hazards within the workshops is very low. And many workshops maintain bad conditions for the health of all workers and need improvement. In several communities, however, there is not only awareness of the hazards associated with the waste material produced by the workshops, but attempts have begun to resolve the problems. Those attempts present an open window for addressing other improvements. It is

important to connect the need for improvement of the workshop conditions with environmental health issues and problems in the local community.

- **Customized health programme**. This recommendation is aimed at public health centres within the Ciomas and Tasikmalaya footwear-production areas. Although it needs more advanced health examination, there is an indication that the shoe-making community has specific health problems. That is why local public health centres need to build their capacities and improve customized programmes for specific health problems in footwear-producing villages. The local public health centres also need to improve public-information activities and health services in handling illness related to footwear production.
- **Occupational safety and health education**. This recommendation is aimed at elementary schools in the two assessment areas. Because many of the children observed and interviewed began working when they were in elementary school, it is clear that education materials on health impacts and the dangers of chemicals and tools used in the trade should target the young workers or young people before they begin working. Occupational safety and health promotion should aim to address every level of worker involved, but the entry level seems especially critical.
- **Access to education.** The compulsory education programme needs more real support to facilitate people's access to education. Many parents can afford to send their children only to elementary school, and not always to graduation, because of the expensive school fees. Because of the fees or lack of secondary school, thus no options, many children seek workshop employment after graduating from elementary school. Making access to education easier will enable more young people to stay in school for as long as possible or at the least, will allow them to combine school and work.
- **Support for the informal footwear sector**. This recommendation is aimed at the local and regional governments. As poverty is one of the motivations for workshop owners or craftsmen to involve their children, intervention is needed to help this informal industry to produce incomes to cover a family's daily needs and thus reduce or eliminate the necessity for children to help out. Intervention is also needed to address the situation experienced in Tasikmalaya where workshop owners struggle to keep their businesses going and thus rely on cheap child labour. The real problems for shoe makers are that the price of raw material is expensive and rare and the market value of their products is low. We recommend that the local and regional governments attempt to lower the price of raw material and maintain its continuing supply to these areas.

- **Organization for footwear workers.** In line with the previous recommendations, community empowerment is needed so that villagers can help themselves. This assessment noted that the weak union among the craftsmen makes their bargaining position weak. Local craftsmen need to be encouraged to establish organizations that advocate for their interests, improve their business and solve their problems.
- **Policy making on child protection**. There is no locally followed legislation or policy currently on protection of child rights. Many efforts that could be effective include awareness raising campaigns and discussion of the child labour situation among the communities and local legislators to encourage the formulation of policies. As well, there is an urgent need for labour inspectors at the district level to take seriously and implement all regulations regarding the employment of children.
- **Programme design in overcoming the worst forms of child labour**. Any programme to address footwear production as one of the worst forms of child labour needs to consider two challenges: First, the footwear-production workshops cover a vast area. Second, as previously noted, the awareness of child rights and of child labour as a problem is quite low among villagers. Initial efforts will work more effectively by beginning in a few select villages where footwear production is the main source of livelihood. Include within these activities emphasis on existing initiatives to address problems, such as waste handling, as well as community discussions on workshop improvements and occupational safety and health issues. It is important to gather experiences from the best local practices and expand on them. Gradually these first-village efforts can be spread to other villages.

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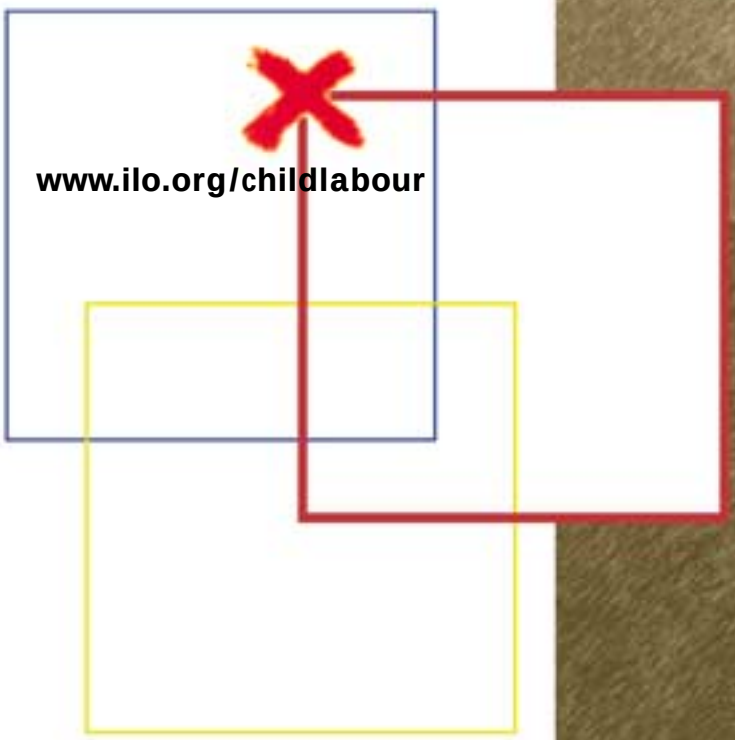

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