

Master Thesis

LISTENING TO PEOPLE: LOCAL PERSPECTIVES
ON MINING CHILD LABOUR AND COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT IN CERRO RICO – BOLIVIA

CLAUDIA NORAH POZO LEAÑO

The master thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as such. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Supervisor:

Hanne Sortevik Haaland

The University of Agder, Kristiansand
December 2012

Master Thesis in Development Management

Centre for Development Studies Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences

University of Agder

Claudia Norah Pozo Leño: Listening to people: Local perspectives on mining child labour and community development in Cerro Rico – Bolivia



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Norway License.

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/no/deed.en_US

© December 2012

Abstract

This study explores community development from below in Cerro Rico mining community taking child labour as a start point for analysis. The investigation aims to generate knowledge about the potential of the community to generate a socially inclusive, equitable, and sustainable process of development from within the community. At the same time, it seeks to refine the understanding of child labour in this context.

Development trends have paid more attention to the local cultures and indigenous knowledge in recent decades. Alternative development conceives the social forces as the main drivers for development where the community is the central agent for development. From this perspective, the view of the local people on their own realities becomes essential points for approaching community development processes. Cultural characteristics and local perceptions are also considered to give shape to complex local problems like child labour. Regarding this topic, debates have questioned whether child labour should be banned or regulated. The divergent positions towards these discussions have been considered to be pegged to the understanding of childhood, and the role of children in the society. In addition to this, the burden between harmless and harmful work has been deemed a quite subjective culturally embedded estimation that complicates the arrival to a neat definition of child labour.

The empirical investigation of this research is based on a case study of Cerro Rico mining community in Potosí. I have adopted a people-centred approach, as the local perceptions of the community have guided my analysis. This departs from investigating the social attitudes and views on child labour and thereafter it contrasts those with the social and economic context of the mining community. The analysis includes numerous arguments on community development issues that have been raised by the local people.

Considering the negative returns of the mining activity in terms of human development, the empirical findings have shown that for a bottom-up development to take place, synergies between the local people and key stakeholders are needed. This entails self-awareness and reflexivity from the NGOs that are part of the collective actions towards the eradication of mining child labour. Equally, my research shows that there is need for a comprehensive approach towards the drivers of child labour, that includes the identification of the structural factors which causes this type of work, yet with sensitivity towards the local context. Finally, development policies rendered by the government with goal of regulating the mining exploitation in Cerro Rico have been found essential, both for tackling child labour, and for improving the social and economic conditions of the community.

Acknowledgments

My gratitude goes to the women and men living and working in Cerro Rico, in particular to the children, for your confidence and extremely valuable contributions to this work.

I would like to thank my supervisor Hanne Sortevik Haaland, for your helpful comments and continuous encouragement. My appreciation also goes to all my professors and classmates in the master program for these two intensive and rewarding years.

I also want to express my gratitude to the staff in the institutions and NGOs in Potosí, for sharing your views and experiences with me.

I'm also grateful to my parents Norah and Teodoro, and sisters Carla, Andrea, and Paola for your endless belief in me.

Finally, a special thanks to Benjamin, for your infinite support and encouragement.

Declaration by candidate

I hereby declare that the thesis:

Listening to people: Local perspectives on mining child labour and community development in Cerro Rico - Bolivia

has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder for any type of academic degree.

Claudia Norah Pozo
Leaño

13th December 2012

Date

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Overview	1
1.2	Brief Contextual Overview	2
1.3	Research Objectives	3
1.4	Methodology in brief	3
1.5	Clarification of Spanish terminology	4
1.6	Thesis Outline	4
2	Research area	6
2.1	Plurinational State of Bolivia	6
2.1.1	Country facts	6
2.1.2	Bolivian political and historical overview	6
2.2	Potosi and the mining sector	7
2.2.1	Overview of the Bolivian mining history (1500 - at present)	8
2.2.2	Economic and environmental considerations	11
2.2.3	Mining legal and institutional aspects	12
2.2.4	Small-scale mining	13
2.2.5	Cultural and religious practises of mining	15
2.3	An introduction to child labour	16
2.3.1	Child labour in Latin America	16
2.3.2	Child labour in Bolivia	17
3	Literature review and theoretical framework	19
3.1	Framing up the developmental field	19
3.1.1	Community development	20
3.1.2	Social perceptions	22
3.2	Alternative development at the community level	22
3.2.1	Endogenous development	22
3.2.2	Indigenous knowledge and culture	23
3.2.3	Agency	25
3.2.4	Synergy	26
3.2.5	Relations of power and development cooperation	26
3.3	Literature review on child labour	28
3.3.1	The debate on child labour	28
3.3.2	An interpretative framework on the socioeconomic aspects of child labour	31
4	Methodology	35
4.1	Research strategy	35
4.1.1	Qualitative research	35
4.2	Research design: case study	36
4.3	Sampling	37

4.4	Data collection	38
4.4.1	Qualitative methods for data collection	39
4.5	Interpretation of data	42
4.6	Ethical considerations	43
4.7	Limitations and challenges	44
5	Empirical findings and analysis	46
5.1	Socio-economic context	46
5.1.1	Mining production	46
5.1.2	Gender issues in the mining setting	54
5.1.3	Attainment and productiveness of education	62
5.1.4	Governmental divisions and local-based NGOs	64
5.1.5	Summary	69
5.2	Central tenets in the local discourse	70
5.2.1	How is child labour seen by the different members of the community	70
5.2.2	Drivers to child labour: culture vs. poverty	78
5.2.3	Community development challenges as identified by the local people	80
5.2.4	Keynotes on the proposed alternatives and solutions to child labour	83
5.2.5	Summary	84
5.3	Assessing child labour and community development	86
5.3.1	Community development from below	86
5.3.2	Endogenous development and global alternatives	92
6	Conclusions	95
6.1	The problem of mining child labour in Cerro Rico	96
6.2	Bottom-up local development	98
6.3	Recommendations	100
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	102

List of Figures

Figure 1	Map of Bolivia	6	
Figure 2	Cerro Rico panoramic	8	
Figure 3	Location of Cerro Rico	9	
Figure 4	Functional and Organisational Chart - Mining Cooperatives		14
Figure 5	Mineral and capital flows in Cerro Rico	47	
Figure 6	Everyday life in Cerro Rico	49	
Figure 7	Mineral Prices	57	
Figure 8	Views from Cerro Rico	68	
Figure 9	People around the mines	72	

List of Tables

Table 1	Research methods	38	
Table 2	Summary of types of work done by children		54
Table 3	Pailliris association	56	
Table 4	Child labour as seen by children	71	
Table 5	Children on why children do work	73	
Table 6	Youths perceptions on Child Labour	75	
Table 7	Women and men on Child Labour	75	
Table 8	Voces Libres views of Child Labour	77	
Table 9	Local NGOs interacting with the community		88
Table 10	Social values of the mining cooperative system		90

List of Appendices

1. Child labour assessment by local stakeholders 107
2. Research methods and data gathered 109
3. Worst forms of Child Labour in Bolivia 110
4. Conceptual frame for child labour 112
5. Interview Guide 114
6. Observation Guide 116
7. Estimation of workforce in Cerro Rico 118

Acronyms

CEPROMIN	Centro de Promoción Minera
CEPTI	Comisión para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil
CNNA	Código Niño, Niña, Adolescente
COB	Central Obrera Boliviana
COMIBOL	Corporación Minera Boliviana
DMNA	Defensorías Municipales de la Niñez y Adolescencia
EPTI	Sub-Comisión Departamental para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil en Minería
FEDECOMIN	Federación Departamental de Cooperativas Mineras
FENCOMIN	Federación Nacional de Cooperativas Mineras
FSTMB	Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
MMM	Ministry of Mining and Metallurgic
MOL	Ministry of Labour
MUSOL	Mujeres Solidarias
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PETIM	Proyecto para la Erradicación del Trabajo Infantil en Minería
PNEPTI	Plan Nacional para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil
RA	Rapid Assessment
UN	United Nations

Introduction

1.1 Overview

Alternative development has arose in line with human-oriented approaches that seek to refute the mainstream economic-led development, which dominated the world before the 1950s. The focal point of alternative thinking is that development becomes more socially inclusive, equitable and sustainable (Pieterse, 2010:6). It therefore underlines the importance of community development and the social forces within this that can generate bottom-up changes. In today's globalised world, however, it is highly unlikely that development is a strictly endogenous process. Alternative development thus bridges community interests with global alternatives. From this perspective, the role of the state as well as the strategies of the civil society organisations have gained momentum in the overall development processes. In this context, it has become challenging to integrate a people-centred approach that shields local culture and identity, with a growing tendency to connect the communities and its social problems into the frames of a "world society" (Pieterse, 2010:52). This is in particular a theoretical position that affects child labour.

Concern about child labour arose in industrialised countries following the industrial revolution but efforts for globally address this problem started in 1999 (Lieten, 2010). Child labour has been defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) as *"the work that deprives girls and boys of their childhood and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development"* (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:115). A lot of debates have been raised in this regard, stressing childhood as being differently perceived, as it is a concept which is culturally embedded. Depending on the ethic position taken, one can argue for child labour to be completely abolished, or to be regulated in order to restrict exploitative work (Lieten, 2010), which in conceptual terms, sets a divide between child labour and child work. In either way, the boundary between these two concepts remains blurry since the burden of work is quite a subjective estimation. Moreover, terms that describe child labour are often difficult to translate into local languages in the way that they convey exactly the same meaning that the English terminology sets (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:99).

Child labour is therefore a difficult problem to target. For instance, Latin America has a relatively high incidence of child labour with relation to countries with a much lower GDP (Lieten, 2010). In the region, child labour has been seen as a

survival strategy taken by impoverished households, and have thus been defended by many scholars, and by working children themselves, as a basic human right.

In addition to this, the understanding of childhood and the role of children in the society has pointed out the need of designing different strategies to tackle child labour. In many regions in Latin America, including Bolivia, children tend to be regarded as “*social subjects with rights and responsibilities*” (Cussianovich et al., 2001:62) instead of “*helpless victims, dependent on protection and rescue by adults*”, which is rather considered a western urban, middle class notion of childhood (Myers 1999:31 in Lieten, 2010).

Bolivia has a long tradition of child labour, moreover in the rural agrarian communities. Participation of the entire family in harvesting activities is considered the basis of numbers of social, political, and symbolic relations among the members of a community (Layme and Valdivia, 2002). Unconditional and hazardous forms of child labour, including the mining work, are nevertheless banned. Though, national regulations have been proven difficult to enforce and child labour persists.

Given these conflicts for approaching child labour, the literature on this topic suggests that considerations of economic, social, cultural, and political factors at individual, family and local levels are essential. A critical examination of the most commonly accepted explanations to child labour it also needed. This research has attempted to do both. The purpose has been to explore the paths for the community to engage on a self-reliant development process, placing child labour as a start point for analysis.

The mining community in Cerro Rico has been the case study for these purposes. I have guided my analysis on the basis of a people-centred position, meaning that the local discourse on child labour and community development issues has guided my investigation. The local perceptions on child labour, although highly valuable, cannot be considered on isolation, because they tend to select and suppress information according to people’s beliefs (Korten, 1990). Perceptions and reality can therefore be different. Because of this, I have elaborated an in-depth presentation of the social and economic context of child labour in the Cerro Rico community, and I have gradually contrasted perceptions of people and the local circumstances surrounding these perceptions. In addition to this, on the basis on the theoretical guidelines of the alternative development trend, I have tackled the paths that could possibly guide development from below in the Cerro Rico mining community, targeting issues on agency, synergies, bargaining of power, decision making, and participation.

1.2 Brief Contextual Overview

The Bolivian economy is based on its natural resources. One of the main challenges for the country is thus the exploitation of those resources and sustainable development to evolve in tandem. The proliferation of the mining activities along

with the new discovery of further mineralogical deposits have posted obstacles for the optimal management of the economic and social outcomes resulting from these activities. In addition, mining is among the most ancient economic practices in the country, and it is therefore much more than merely an economic activity. Rather, strong traditions are embedded in mining and social attitudes and practices are very hard to undermine. This clearly is the case in Cerro Rico, which for long has been the epicenter of the mining exploitation, but at high human and social costs. Occupational hazards, poor working conditions, pollution and environmental degradation, gender disparity, and child labour are among the social constraints deriving from the current system of mining exploitation.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the paths towards community development from below in a mining community. It departs from the issue of child labour to analyse the overall social structures and dynamics of the community. The problem is approached from a people-centred basis, since the perceptions of the community members on their own circumstances and problems guide the overall study. The empirical research is based on a case study of the mining community in Cerro Rico, located in Potosí department.

These objectives are translated into the following research questions:

- 1) What characterises the **social and economic context** where child labour occurs?
- 2) What are the community's prevailing **social attitudes and perceptions** towards child labour?
- 3) **How** is **child labour** currently being tackled by the community members and the local **stakeholders**?
- 4) To what extent can the **community** deal with child labour and promote its own **development**? Which agents and mechanisms are of importance in this process and why?

1.4 Methodology in brief

This research has been approached from a qualitative standpoint for the data gathering. My primary concern was on the understanding of child labour in mining from the perceptions of the local community where it takes place. The qualitative format has thus been regarded suitable for approaching a sensitive context and a topic involving child well being, which would be more difficult to target through quantitative methods.

Primary data was collected over a period of three months of fieldwork, from December 2011 to February 2012. This was carried out in the Cerro Rico mining

centres in Potosí, Bolivia. The research design is a case study. The main research methods conducted have been qualitative interviews, focus groups, participant observation, together with document analysis. Ethical considerations of importance when conducting research related to children have been carefully followed.

1.5 Clarification of Spanish terminology

Carreo Mining work that consists on loading the minerals from the mine entrance to the trucks.

Ch'alla Consists on spending a time with the deity of the mine, while offering and sharing coca leaves, alcohol, and cigarettes.

Cooperativista A miner who is a member of a mining cooperative.

Cuadrilla Form of organisation of *Peones* for the extraction of minerals in underground mining.

Guarda Women who work as the guardian of the entrance of the mine shaft.

Ingenio Processing plant where the minerals are slightly refined.

Palleo Mining work that consists on carry the minerals from the inside of the mine to the surface.

Palliri Women miner who work outside the mine shaft.

Paraje A particular place inside the mine shaft where the vein of the mineral is located.

Picha Work performed by Palliris, it consists on sorting through debris looking for rest of minerals.

Peón Unskilled workers that supply most of the manpower for the work that is done inside the mine shafts. Also called first hand workers.

Tío Deity of the mine. It is located in every entrance to the mine shafts.

1.6 Thesis Outline

- **Chapter 1** gives an introduction to the thesis and outlines the main objectives.
- **Chapter 2** offers a contextual overview of the research area. It provides a political and historical profile of Bolivia. It touches upon characteristics of the mining sector in Potosí, underlining on the economic, environmental, legal, and human factors. It also presents and describes the stakeholders in Cerro Rico. It ends with a brief introduction to the topic of child labour.

- **Chapter 3** presents the literature review on the revised theoretical foundations for this investigation. It explores the grounds of the alternative development thinking, main strands within community development issues, and it touches upon the reflections on child labour from socioeconomic perspectives.
- **Chapter 4** describes the methodology employed and outlines the overall research process. It explains the the rationale of the chosen research strategy, design, sample, and data collection methods. It also presents the limitations that have been encountered, and the ethical considerations that have been followed.
- **Chapter 5** presents the empirical findings and analysis under the frame of the theoretical guidelines defined in chapter 3. It consists on three main parts. The first focuses on the characteristics of the social and economic context of child labour. The second deals with the central tenets in the discourse that supports child labour within the community and the stakeholders. The last section provides reflections that critically approach child labour and the paths for Cerro Rico community self-reliant development.
- **Chapter 6** provides concluding remarks and offers recommendations for further research.

Research area

2.1 Plurinational State of Bolivia

2.1.1 Country facts

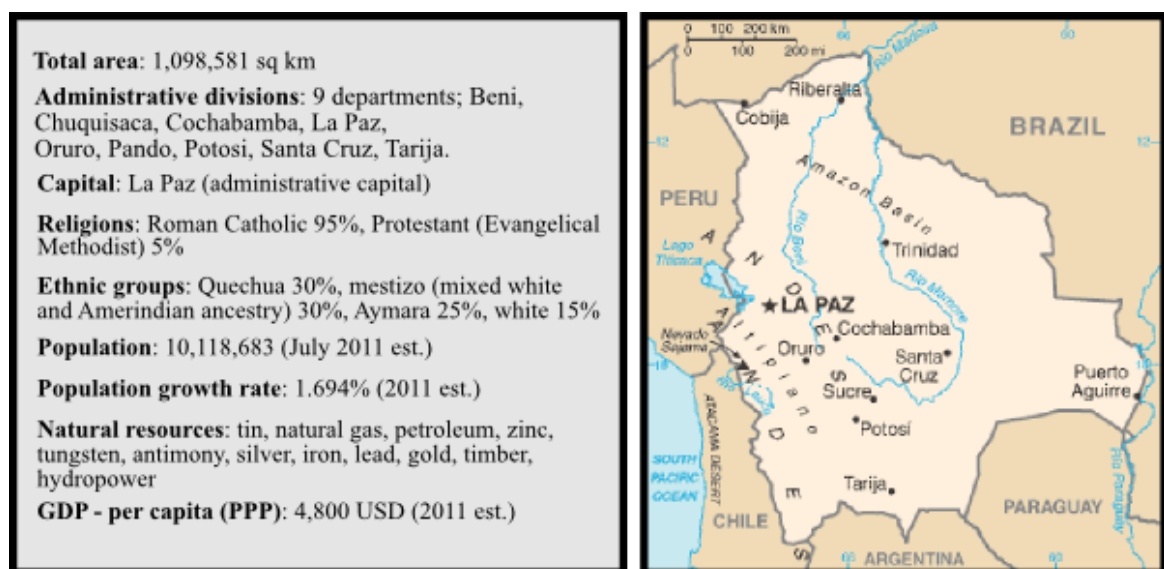


Figure 1: Map of Bolivia. Source: [CIA, 2012](#).

2.1.2 Bolivian political and historical overview

During the prehispanic period, the territory known as Bolivia was occupied by sedentary cultures settled mainly in the Altiplano region. The Tiwanaku culture, whose influence was expanded throughout the Andean region, is the symbol of the cultural and political peak in this period (De Mesa et al., 2003:22). Along with the extinction of Tiwanaku, the Inca Empire dominated the region until the arrival of the Spaniards in 1532 (De Mesa et al., 2003:101). Despite attempts of rebellion, the conquerors succeeded in oppressing the indigenous people, and promptly started exploiting the natural resources. The discovery and subsequent exploitation of the Cerro Rico mountain in Potosí in 1545, counts among the most relevant events in the colonial period. Bolivia gained its independence in 1825, being the first region that became a republic in South America.

In the following Republican period, the majority of the population in the country was indigenous, yet severe social inequality existed in the societal structure. This situation deepened the already existent political and economic instability of the country. Furthermore, three border conflicts took place during this period with Chile (Litoral War 1879), Brazil (Rubber conflict 1903), and Paraguay (Chaco War 1932) (De Mesa et al., 2003:455,523,574), all in detriment for Bolivia. Arguably, the most devastating outcome of these conflicts has been the loss of the coastline of the Pacific Ocean, leading Bolivia to be a landlocked country since 1904.

Constant social unrest led to the called National Revolution in 1952, which enabled for important social and economic reforms, including the nationalisation of the larger tin mines, the agrarian reform in favour of peasants, the universal vote for citizens, and educative reforms (De Mesa et al., 2003:657-662). Social movements began playing a lead role in the political arena. Yet, military regimes followed the decades comprised between 1964 and 1982, a period which also included the defeat of the guerrilla lead by Ernesto Che Guevera in 1967 (De Mesa et al., 2003:677,682,710). After the recovery of the democracy, the political orientation in the central government has been constantly ranging between left and right political parties. In the economic domain, this period has been characterised by the enforcement of a number of neoliberal reforms, with the aim of boosting economic growth in the country (Kennedy, 2011:111). However, between 1999 and 2003 conflicts emerged with regard to management of natural resources: the Water Wars in response to the privatisation of the central water supplier company in Cochabamba, which ownership has been passed to the North American private corporation Betchel; and the Gas Wars as rejection to the increasing taxes to gas consumption, and the governmental decision of exporting natural gas through Chile (Haarstad and Andersson 2009:18 in Kennedy, 2011:111).

In 2005, the indigenous leader Evo Morales was elected president. The current government has been characterised by seeking to reshape the traditional political trends and national identity, through an alternative vision of development based on the Andean spiritual world; a vision which stresses on the sustainable use of natural resources and enhancement of indigenous rights (Klugman et al., 2011:55,87). However, the outcomes of the policies applied have been proved debatable, as there has been once again social unrest in the country during recent years. National development indicators have nevertheless shown a positive turn through an increased literacy rate, gender equity, and reduced multidimensional poverty (Klugman et al., 2011:159,140,50).

2.2 Potosi and the mining sector

The department of Potosí is located in southwestern Bolivia, and has an extension of 118,218 km². It is divided into 16 provinces and 38 municipalities (PDP, 2009:26). The census population in 2001 registered 709,013 inhabitants (INE, 2005:28). The capital of the department (city) also named Potosi, is located in Tomas Frias



Figure 2: Cerro Rico panoramic.

Source: Author.

province, in the northern area, at an average elevation of 4.070 m.a.s.l. (PDP, 2009:25). The physiography of Potosí determines extreme weather conditions characterised by low temperatures and recurrent hailstorms and icing seasons (PDP, 2009:26).

The Cerro Rico mountain is located in southeastern Potosí, at an elevation of 4.500 m.a.s.l. (PDP, 2009:26), the high altitude provides dry and cold weather conditions, particularly during the winter season (June to August). After nearly 500 years of exploitation few colonial mine shafts in Cerro Rico remain active at present, considered dangerous due to their rugged and ancient infrastructure. During time, deficient control and planning for exploitation has led to a current state of deterioration of ancient mines, and deficient infrastructure conditions. It is estimated for instance that 31 per cent of active mine shafts lacked electricity and 40 per cent did not have availability of sewer and drinking water by 2008 (FXI, 2008:16,17).

The city of Potosí has grown up as consequence of the proliferation of disordered mining settlements which followed the discovery of Cerro Rico (De Mesa et al., 2003:118). The city was organised as an industrial mining complex, which comprised the Cerro Rico, artificial lakes, refineries, and the Mint. Convents and churches are today an important architectural legacy, added to the historical importance of Cerro Rico. Potosí has been thus declared World Heritage in 1987 (UNESCO, 2012).

2.2.1 Overview of the Bolivian mining history (1500 - at present)

The history of Bolivia has from its beginning been linked to mining activities. Although there were mines already being exploited at the arrival of the Spaniards, the discovering of Cerro Rico in the 16th century has set the beginning for larger scale exploitation in the country. For instance, silver production in Potosí reached its highest peak between 1581 and 1600, accounting for 42 per cent of the world production (Espinoza, 2010:32). Colonial mining has not however been a wide stream of regional development, because profits were not equally distributed among the population, neither reinvested in mining for creating industries for lasting over time (MMSD, 2002:138). Moreover, deficient working and living conditions deepened poverty and health problems among the population. For these reasons, there was a need for a renewed vision of the mining exploitation after the

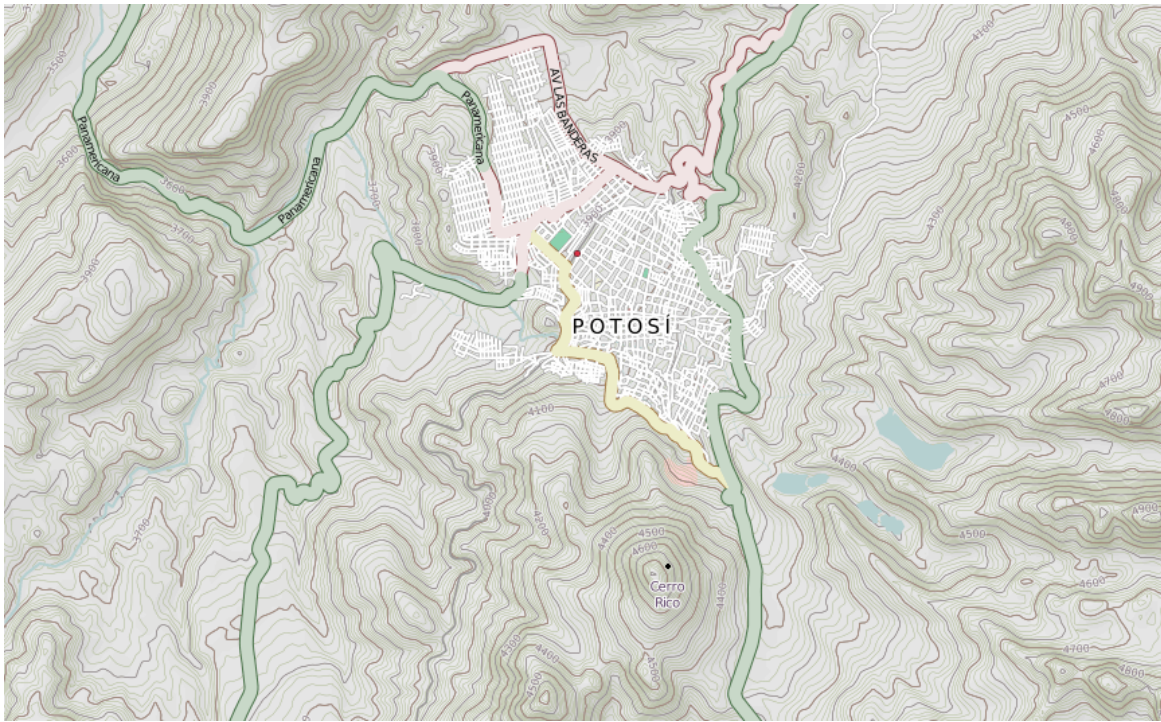


Figure 3: Geographic Location of Cerro Rico.

Source: OpenStreetMap

country was established as an independent republic in the 19th century. Therefore during this period the newly government made efforts for reorganising and systematising the operations, searching for international capital for investment, and inserting new production techniques (De Mesa et al., 2003:411). Most tin and silver mines became however privately owned, and labour rights were not included in the reform agenda.

At the beginning of the 20th century, devaluation of silver and increased price and demand of tin in the international market, due to the growing European industry (Espinoza, 2010:65), led to the called *Tin Period*, which lasted from 1900 to 1940. This period coincided with a moment of great social inequity in the country. Tin production mainly benefited to three private entrepreneurs, Patiño, Hoschild and Aramayo, who reached control of around 80 per cent of tin national exports (Espinoza, 2010:68). Along with increasing production, significant technological innovations were introduced, mainly for exportation transport means. However, after 1935 big mining enterprises gradually reduced their investments and over-exploited tin mines (Espinoza, 2010:107). Also, trans-nationalisation of mining industry was prioritised in detriment of national development, meaning that lack of investment in health or industrial safety for workers prevented the improvement of living conditions for miners (MMSD, 2002:139), most of whom were returning from Chaco War and found few working options other than mining. This social landscape caused increasing protests of miners during the first decades of the 20th century, for instance those held in Uncia (1923) and Catavi - Siglo XX (1942), which resulted in the creation of the *Bolivian Mineworkers Union Federation* – *Federación*

Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB) in 1944. The demands of this sector included the improvement of working conditions, increase of wages, and end of various kinds of abuses committed by the administrators of the Patiño industry. The use of the military forces against miners during strikes and protesting marches, resulted in confrontations that left several dead and wounded. Persistent social and political unrest continued for the next years in the mining sector.

In 1952 the National Revolution took place, radically changing the role of the State in the mining production. Tin mines nationalisation and the creation of the *Bolivian Mining Corporation* – *Corporación Minera Boliviana* (COMIBOL) established the new institutional system for the national mining industry. The administrative transition focused on COMIBOL as governmental entity charged of the control of exploration, exploitation and exportation of minerals and its products (Ramirez, 2011:3).

The mining social organisations played an important role in the social revolution by defeating the military army. After the success of the revolution, all labourers joined in the creation of the *Bolivian Labour Union* – *Central Obrera Boliviana* (COB) in 1952, and miners created the *Bolivian National Federation of Mining Cooperatives* – *Federación Nacional de Cooperativas Mineras* (FENCOMIN) in 1968 (Espinoza, 2010:234). Although improvement in working conditions and social benefits for miners was achieved in the following years, mining presented unfavourable conditions for national production caused by reduction of reserves, deeper underground work needed, lack of investment, and obsolete technology (Espinoza, 2010:107). This situation set the basis for the generalised economic and social crisis, which ended in the military coup of 1964, starting two decades of military dictatorships.

The period between 1970 and 1980 has been characterised by high and fluctuating inflation rates, debts resulting from deficient administration of COMIBOL; severe drops on international tin prices, consumption and demand; added with the emergence of tin deposits with much lower production costs outside the country (Espinoza, 2010:167, MMSD, 2002:101). In 1985 COMIBOL was forced to close several mines and stopped most of its operations, which resulted in about 25.000 miners losing their jobs (Espinoza, 2010:170). During the following decade, COMIBOL ceased the administration of mines and started signing leases and joint ventures contracts with private companies (Espinoza, 2010:176). Privatisation of most mining companies took place, including Vinto, owned by the Swiss Glencore since 1999 until 2007. This led to increase the number of private enterprises organised into mining cooperatives, as well as small-scale mining activities. At the end of 1990 most mining industries were privately owned and numbers of cooperatives moved from small-scale to medium-size mining. Foreign investment boosted production and introduced technological improvements, leading to medium-size mining to reached 78 per cent of national mining production in 2002 (Espinoza, 2010:231). A characteristic that is worth noting is the difference between small and medium size mining, which although blurry in terms of size, differs extensively in terms of scale and type of operations (Espinoza, 2010:116). Smaller mining op-

erations demand more labour force and greater time for production than medium sized operations, due to lack of adequate technology.

The period which followed 2006, has been characterised by implementation of policies which aimed for recovering State's management and control over national mining industry. An example is the re-nationalisation of the company Vinto, which is the most important metallurgic industry in the country. Also, efforts to increase investments for boosting industrialisation has been made, at the time that new natural resources in the country have been discovered, such as Lithium in Uyuni (the province of Potosí), and iron in Mutun (the province of Santa Cruz).

2.2.2 Economic and environmental considerations

Bolivia is a mining country in the sense that mining has for hundreds of years been the most important economic activity. The mining production has been however relatively small, as for example in 2008 the national production under global parameters has only reached to 0,2 per cent of the world production (Espinoza, 2010:263). Mining has neither been a significant source of employment at national scales, nor has contributed significantly to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as by 2006 it employed to only 1,5 per cent of the population, and contributed 4,3 per cent to the GDP the same year (MMMB, 2009b:24,32). In spite of this, the importance of mining for the national economy relies on mineral exports as significant sources for the generation of royalties and taxes. These for instance represented in 2000, 32 per cent of the total national exports (MMSD, 2002:145). In addition to this, mining is considered to be a key factor for the economic and social incoming course of the country because it amasses great potential, based on the estimation that only the 10 per cent of the mining capacity of the country has been exploited so far (MMSD, 2002:203).

Zinc, tin, gold, and silver are the major minerals exported at the national level, comprising 89 per cent of the mining exports during 1980 - 2000 (MMMB, 2009b:81,90). The global commodity prices benefited the value of these minerals since 2003, aspect that boosted the national exports which reached a peak in 2008 (MMMB, 2009b:100,264). In addition to this, both public and private investment on the mining industry grew steadily after 2000: public investment reached 38 million USD in 2008, although being notably lower than private investment which reached 304 million USD in 2007, it is the highest investment amount registered since 1980 (MMMB, 2009b:29,30).

Mining is in general a potentially hazardous activity for the environment. Bolivia has for many years experienced the introduction of new technologies for industrialisation without considering its impacts on the population and the environment (MMSD, 2002:31), and has also for long suffered from the poor implementation of environmental policies. In addition to this, foreign and renewed harmless-technologies and improved environmental management procedures common to the 80s, did not outspread in Bolivia in the same extent as in other countries of

the region, because the highest peak of production and industrialisation in the country took place before 1950, and after this period environmental management has not been effectively renewed (MMSD, 2002:77).

Data on specific environmental impacts at the national level are scarce and are not systematically organised, it is however estimated that (i) consumption of scarce and non renewable resources, (ii) transformation of landscape, and (iii) contamination of water; are among the main environmental problems arising from mining at a national scale (MMSD, 2002:165). In Potosí, water contamination due to minewater discharge is placed at the core of environmental problems, in addition to erosion and deforestation, and lack of landfills for solid waste disposal (PDP, 2009:31).

2.2.3 Mining legal and institutional aspects

Mining policies under Morales government have been oriented to take over ownership of national mineralogical resources, by (i) increasing its role throughout the mining production chain, (ii) taking responsibility for regulating, controlling, and monitoring mining activities, (iii) encouraging and promoting exploration and exploitation, and (iv) developing a new Mining Law (MMMB, 2011b). The Ministry of Mining and Metallurgic (MMM) is the head of public institutions governing the mining sector. Its main function is the establishment of norms, formulation, and implementation of policies for private and public activities, and the achievement of sustainable development for the mining sector (MMMB, 2011b).

The National Mining Law and Mining Code have been modified several times to create an appropriate legal framework for mining development. In January 2011 the preliminary new Mining Law draft was released. It introduced changes concerning exploitation, which aimed at regulating the small-scale production by implementing the mining contracts system instead of the mining concession system¹ (MMSD, 2007:197). But most importantly, it introduced modifications with remark on the social function that the mining cooperatives should be accountable for, including the delivery of labour and social benefits to the miners, prohibiting child labour, and gender labour discrimination (MMMB, 2011a:3).

The need of regulating legal conditions for the small scale mining production sector comes from the increased informal hiring of workers by the mining cooperatives. This occurs with major incidence in areas where workers do not have other labour alternatives, and therefore they continue to work as miners, even in periods when mines have closed or the prices of minerals have dropped, perceiving very low incomes and thus subsidising the production with their unpaid or partially paid work (MMSD, 2007:238).

The legislation on environmental management, based on Law No. 1333 of 27 April 1992, establishes that instruments for environmental planning, must be incorpor-

¹ *The mining concession system grant rights of exploitation and exploration to the investors, letting them decide how and when carry out the production. (MMMB, 2011a:22)*

ated in formulation of plans, programs and projects at national, departmental, and local levels; with the aim for ensuring preservation, conservation, improvement, and restoration of environmental resources (MMMB, 2006:322,323). Articles 70, 71, and 72 go deeper into norms for the exploitation of mineral resources by regulating: (i) the integral use of raw materials, safe disposal of tailing, efficient use of energy, and processing of waste materials (ii) recovery of harvested areas to reduce and control erosion, and protect water resources; and (iii) technical standards for determining the permissible limits for the different actions and effects of mining activities (MMMB, 2006:332).

2.2.4 Small-scale mining

Most of the mining extraction in Cerro Rico is undertaken under the form of small-scale production. This mode of production, also called *artisanal*, employed in 2002 82 per cent of national mining workers (MMSD, 2002:72). The exploitation procedure under the small-scale category is characterised by rudimentary and manual operations, lack of proper infrastructure, and for being hazardous for workers. These characteristics have undermined its productivity, which has reached to only 35 per cent of the total mining production in 2002 (MMSD, 2002:71). Small-scale mining has been however gradually growing in size, and by 2009 FENCOMIN gathered 454 cooperatives and about 60.000 members (MMMB, 2009a:1). Regionally, Potosi holds the majority of active cooperatives reaching 87 per cent in 2008. An aspect worth noting is that 81 per cent of these cooperatives declare not having refineries for processing the ore (FXI, 2008:13,14), selling of crude minerals thus prevails and frequently cooperatives face disadvantageous trading conditions for exporting minerals.

Small-scale mining is organised under the cooperative system, which has its origins before 1985, but has significantly increased after this year. As Michard notes (2008:11), the organisation under cooperatives remained as unique legal option for mining exploitation, taken by those workers who returned to mining activities in response to lack of further labour options in other fields. Since then, mining cooperatives represent an important source of employment in the Altiplano region.

The Cooperative system in Bolivia is based on the General Law of Cooperative Societies of 13 September 1958, which establishes an institutional framework ruled by values and universal principles of cooperation, mutual aid, solidarity, and democratic control (Espinoza, 2010:235). Potosí Cooperatives do not follow a single model of organisation but have varying compositions and dynamic processes, which depend on a number of factors such as (i) the size of the cooperative, (ii) the productive capacity, (iii) the prices fluctuations for minerals in the international market, (iv) the capacity of accumulation and investment of capital, and (v) the degree of control over the stages of production (Michard, 2008:58).

Figure 4 illustrates the organisational scheme of the mining cooperatives. It shows that first hand workers, also called *Peones*, are usually hired as unskilled workers

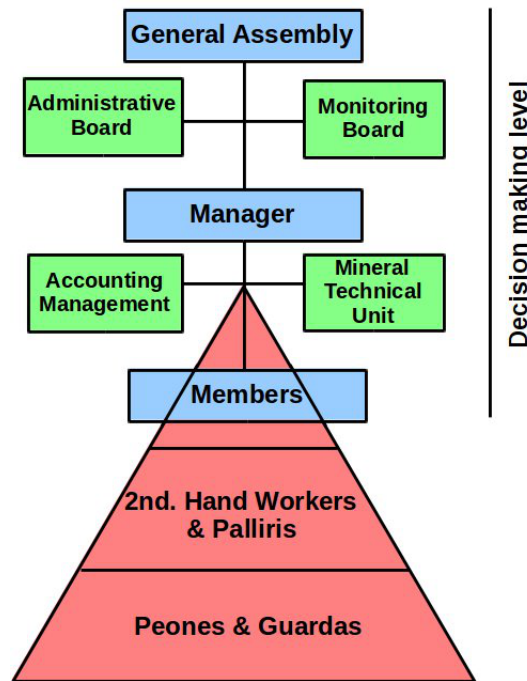


Figure 4: Functional and Organisational Chart - Mining Cooperatives.

Source: Adapted from MMMB, 2009a

and they supply most of the manpower for the work that is done inside the mine shafts. A great majority of these workers are peasants migrants from the rural areas of the highlands. Michard estimates that they represent about the half or two thirds of workers in some cooperatives of Cerro Rico (2008:14). Usually, they organise their work in *cuadrillas*, which are groups comprised by 4 to 8 miners who work jointly. This form of organisation is not compulsory and eventually *Peones* prefer working alone (Michard, 2008:18). *Guardas* also belong to the same category as *Peones*. They work 24 hours a day and receive very low salaries from the cooperatives. A second category, called 2nd hand workers, are in between *Peones* and members of the cooperatives, both because of the number of hours they dedicate to work and for the revenues they earn. They are more experienced workers and therefore they have major responsibilities at the fieldwork and receive more benefits in return. *Palliris* are included in this group of workers, because the revenue they earn surpass those of *Peones* and *Guardas*. Finally, at the top of the pyramid are the members of the mining cooperatives, called *miner cooperativista*, who rarely perform physical tasks², but are rather focused on administrative issues and commercialisation procedures (Michard, 2008:15).

This structure is rooted in the ways of organising the work and has as most visible outcome the inequitable division of workload and economic revenues. The ascent from the bottom of the pyramid up to the top decision-making level is possible, it can be achieved by becoming a member of the cooperative. Requirements to

² This depends on whether the size of the cooperative is small, meaning that there is lack of manpower, or if the cooperative is rather big and a lot of workers are currently working in there or are willing to join.

become a member vary among cooperatives. Economic surveys have revealed that the economic amount that should be invested in a cooperative in Oruro and Potosí based cooperatives, varied between 100 Bs. (31 per cent of the cooperatives) and 80.000 Bs. (10 per cent of the cooperatives) in 2008 (FXI, 2008:24). It has been sustained however that there is a general lack of interest of *Peones* to become members of cooperatives (Michard, 2008:15), as they prefer to have a weekly income source rather than a monthly salary. Moreover, membership would also require more obligations to be met. Another issue of the cooperative system is the lack of State policies for regulating this sector, not only in terms of regulating the inner organisation, but for protecting the interests of cooperatives facing the disadvantageous trading conditions for exporting minerals to which they are frequently subjected to (Michard, 2008:60).

For a small group of people, mining in Cerro Rico provides one of the most profitable economic income means in the region, yet it is a source of a number of social problems affecting to the rest of peoples whose livelihood relies on this economic activity. Some of these problems are for instance excessive alcohol consumption, child labour, domestic violence, gender disparity, and nutritional problems for children. It can therefore be sustained that the economic and environmental outcomes of small-scale mining are diverse, but a cross-cutting issue is the wide range of negative impacts over the society.

2.2.5 Cultural and religious practises of mining

Cultural practises in mining are expressions of the religious sincretism that has resulted from the combination of the Andean culture and spiritual practises, with the western Roman Catholic religious beliefs introduced by the Spaniards in the 16th century.

The dual cosmogony which dominates the Andean world has prevailed in the spread and lasting-over-time of cultural practises in the mining context. This is evidenced for example in the distinction of the deities from the *inside* and the *outside* world. A feature of the traditional practises in mining derives from this distinction, which relates to the guardian of the mine, the *Tio* who governs the underworld, the territory underneath the earth's surface where the minerals are removed and extracted from. The offering to the *Tio*, called *ch'alla* or *ch'allacu*, is mostly made out of coca leaves, alcohol, and cigarettes. The entrance to every mine shaft has an image of the *Tio*, the *ch'alla* consists on spending a time with this image and sharing the coca leaves, alcohol, and cigarettes that the miner takes himself and offers to the deity. This is done every friday of the week, with more incidence the last friday of the month. In August and for the anniversary of every mine, a variation of the *ch'alla*, called *k'oachada* takes place. During this ritual, a bigger offer is made, usually the sacrifice of a *llama*³. After the blood of the animal has been spread along the entrance of the mine as offering to the *Tio*, the

³ *An Andean camelid specie*

community gathers together and women collectively cook the meat of the animal and prepare meals, this is called *apthaphi*.

Tata c'ajcu is the deity of the earth's surface, namely the equivalent to the Roman Catholic God. In February, at the end of the holy week and prior to carnival, the festivity of the *Tata c'ajcu* takes place. Miners make a procession from the Cerro Rico to the Calvario Church where the statue of *Tata c'ajcu* relies. They make this route dancing and drinking alcohol.

2.3 An introduction to child labour

Concern on child labour emerged in Western Europe following the industrial revolution, but it was until 1999 that international standards for its regulation were declared (Lieten, 2010). At global scale ILO is the entity that has taken the lead on the eradication on child labour. Two conventions declared by ILO serve as benchmark for the regulation of child labour:

The Minimum Age Convention 138 of 1973 which dictates (art.3): *“The minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years”*. It furthermore prescribes that authorisation for work at the age of 16 could be given by the national laws *“on condition that the health, safety and morals of the young persons concerned are fully protected and that the young persons have received adequate specific instruction or vocational training in the relevant branch of activity”* (ILO, 2012).

Secondly, the Convention 182 of 1999 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention that identifies two forms of child labour based on the characteristics of the work performed by the children: the unconditional worst forms, and the hazardous worst forms. The former are those that violate children's human rights in unacceptable environments, such as slavery and armed conflicts (ILO, 1999b). The latter are divided into two: (i) those that are dangerous for children due to the nature of work performed, and (ii) those that are damaging because of the conditions under which the work is carried out (ILO, 1999a). Mining child labour in Bolivia belongs to the hazardous worst form category, and takes place in the traditional small-scale mining in the informal sector economy.

2.3.1 Child labour in Latin America

Latin America has a relatively high incidence of child labour with relation to countries in Africa and South Asia which have a much lower GDP (Lieten, 2010). By contrast, ILO is positive on the reduction of the magnitude of child labour as it has been in Latin America where a positive trend have been more noticeable *“from 17.4 million economically active children in 2000 to 10 million children working in 2008”* (Lieten, 2010). The issue of child labour has nevertheless been seen from a critical

eye in many Latin American regions (Lieten, 2010) where ILO's child labour categorisations and conceptualisations have been depicted as not complying with the reality of the working children.

Mining child labour, domestic work, and harvesting are among the most recurrent types of work performed by children in Latin America. Some countries in the region have opted for tackling child labour by enhancing education and have succeed in doing so, such is the case of Brazil. Perhaps a more descriptive aspect on child labour is the raise of the working children's movements in the region "out of an activist tradition focused on mobilizing the poor" as described by ILO (ILO, 2006:60,71). I will further discuss this topic in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1.

2.3.2 Child labour in Bolivia

Bolivia is an ILO member state, and has adopted both the 182 and the 138 conventions. The most important national law pegged to the regulation of child labour is the *Bolivian Children and Adolescents Code* – Código Niño, Niña, Adolescente (CNNA), approved by Law 2026 on 27 October 1999. This establishes that "a human being is considered a child until the age of 12, and an adolescent until the age of 18" (art.2), also, the minimum working age is set at 14 (art.126) (OAS, 2011). However, Baas (2008) explains that "this regulation is not applicable for mining as children's participation in this sector is internationally defined as a worst form of child labour, which means that people below 18 cannot work in it".

The CNNA comprises 34 articles that describe the rights and duties of children and adolescents. Articles 133, 134, 135 refer that children should be protected from working in hazardous, illegal, disgraceful, and unhealthy working conditions. Also, working children "should be provided with social benefits and rights" (art.140), "the daily working shift should not exceed 8 hours a day, 5 days a week" (art.142), "night work is prohibited" (art.147), and in case of accident or disease, "the employer is responsible for provide working children with assistance" (art.141) (OAS, 2011).

The agricultural and the mining sectors in Bolivia present the highest rates of child labour (5 to 17 years), a total of 53,40 per cent of the working children. These sectors generate two of the 22 worst forms of child labour identified in the country⁴: sugar cane harvesting, and mining (INE and ILO, 2008). An aspect of relevance for understanding the scope of child labour in Bolivia is that statistics on how many children are engaged in an hazardous activity are not precise as many of these activities take place in a hidden form. The general amount of miners working in Cerro Rico is also difficult to define⁵. It is know that this increases along with the international prices of the minerals (Figure 7 on page 57), and it

⁴ For a list of the 22 worst forms of child labour in Bolivia refer to appendix 3 on page 110

⁵ For example the work of Guarda women is not included in the national statistics of mining workers, because the guardian work is not particular to mining, as it is found in many other fields such as the construction industry.

tends to drop after the rainy season (December to February) due to the agricultural harvesting time, as nearly 50 per cent of miners are peasants migrants from the rural areas. It is estimated that an average of 15.000 miners are currently working in approximately 250 active shafts (Ferrufino et al., 2011:157)⁶. The specific number of working children in this setting is therefore difficult to estimate, the 2005 report by ILO and UNICEF calculates that at national scale 3.800 children and adolescents were engaged in traditional mining by 2004, which represented 10 per cent of the miners involved in this activity.

⁶ An estimation on the number of mining workers by 2010 based on the amount of production in Cerro Rico, can be found in appendix 7 on page 118.

Literature review and theoretical framework

3.1 Framing up the developmental field

The view that income and wealth are not ends in themselves but instruments for other purposes goes back to ancient times in the history of human thought (Todaro and Smith, 2012). Increased attention has been paid to this line of argument after the Second World War, moment when it became evident that economic-oriented focus of development did not suffice for addressing global social issues. The path towards a redefinition of development has taken varied turns and diverse human-oriented approaches have gradually emerged. The dependency theory, which emerged in Latin America, and the critical development theory, are examples of orientations that largely contributed to a new paradigm of development (Tucker, 1992). Alternative development therefore has arose as one of the mainstream critiques of classical development in the 1970s. Since then, the distinction between alternative development and mainstream development have been gradually changing. This happened due to mainstream development itself having gradually moved towards a comprehensive view of human development. Indicators of human development such as the Human Development Index (HDI) that are widely used and accepted nowadays are the prove of development including much more variables than economic growth. Therefore, much of the rhetoric of alternative development of the 70s overlaps the tendencies of mainstream development at present. Some authors argue that alternative development should be distinct and separate from mainstream development, whereas others propose that continuity between both is desirable (Pieterse, 2010:105). In either way, the rationale of alternative development still differs from human development in that it focuses on alternative practises but also on strategic needs. This means that it seeks for the profound redistribution of resources within societies and worldwide, aiming to “*the total overhaul of development*” (Moser 1991:89 in Grant and Newland, 1991).

The purpose of the alternative line of thinking is therefore that development becomes more socially inclusive, equitable, and sustainable. For this, it looks at development from the point of view of the disempowered, from bottom-up, and along a vertical axis (Friedmann 1992 in Pieterse, 2010:123). Two implications derive from this point of view of development. First, development is a society-driven process where the social forces are conceived as the main drivers for change (Pieterse, 2010:17). Secondly, the vertical axis of alternative development sheds light over the role of the State in development, in the way that “*a strong civil society needs a*

strong State", which points out that the nation remains the central domain of development (Friedmann 1992 in Pieterse, 2010:123). However, Pieterse argues that "Gradually development is becoming a multilevel, multiscalar series of efforts, simultaneously taking place at levels lower than the nation, at the national level and at levels beyond the nation" (2010:13). Concerning the local levels, alternative development has seek to emphasise on community development by providing a renewed focus on this, which departs from the old-fashioned modernisation perspective of community development, and adopts the local culture and knowledge as the epistemology of the alternative thinking (Pieterse, 2010:16,99).

Development, nevertheless, is increasingly a matter of global perspectives. For example, the emergence of the Non Governmental Organization (NGO) in the 70s and 80s has demonstrated the increased influence of international development cooperation and the global civil society, over regional and local development. Development processes, actors, institutions, and frameworks beyond the nation levels are thus in need of being incorporated into development underpinnings (Carmen, 1996:44). On this regard, alternative development has widen its radius and has attempted to combine global alternatives to development with the interests and needs of the disempowered. This has been, in many ways, challenging because it has generated frictions between endogenous development and global alternatives (Pieterse, 2010:91). This for instance is concerned with the debate touching upon foreign aid and development assistance, which is based on the dilemma of "how to balance power and emancipation, or how to sustain advanced countries' privileges while promoting or endorsing social justice" (Pieterse, 2010:216). Alternative development on this regard has tended to serve as a bridge for animate local development at the same time that it has guided NGO strategies and informs on global alternatives (Pieterse, 2010:91).

Alternative development is a rather disperse and holistic view of development. As mentioned earlier, the theoretical basis of this overlaps with other tendencies in development. The reason for this characteristics of the theoretical body of alternative development is that it is more concerned with practise than with the generation of theory (Pieterse, 2010:91). The positions of alternative development cannot therefore be considered in isolation, and neither they can be regarded as entirely distinctive of alternative development.

3.1.1 Community development

Literature about community development is extensive and perspectives on how it takes place are several. In spite of mainstream theoretical guidelines established, each community development process is considered to be unique to each community settings (Dorius, 2011:1). It is clear though that development of a community is a broader process than simply economic development, modernisation, improved service delivery, and other developments in the community, which was the initial approach to community development during the 50s and 60s (Carmen, 1996:45).

Defining community development is challenging. Theodori proposes the following definition, that can be considered to comply with the characteristics of my research and with some alternative development concepts:

“Community development is a process establishing, fostering, and maintaining processes in the community that encourage communication and co-operation between and among individuals, informal groups, and formal organisations. Development of community involves purposive, positive, structure oriented efforts by people in a locality to articulate and sustain a community field” (Theodori, 2005:666).

Regarding the issue on how to approach the community development, this depends on the type of community in focus. There are for instance communities conceived as a place, as relationships, or as collective political power; and for all these types of communities there exist a process for improving the quality of the community life (Chavis and Wandersman, 1990:56). Worth noting, the existence of geographic and human life dimensions do not always equal a community, but the interactive process of deliberation and actions towards common interests, is what culminates in its emergence (Brennan, 2008:58). Under these considerations, the Cerro Rico mining community approach will be territory-based (Theodori, 2005:662), which implies that its boundaries will be defined by the share of the territory, the common life, the mutual identity, and the collective actions towards the community development.

Equally, the gap between the individual and the collective has also been considered to define the approach that is given to the community development process. The transition from an individual to a collective approach in community development is based on the rationale that community processes are built up over personal and subjective conditions of people who are members of a social group, this means, that the individual is seen in terms of its interactions in a relational context which constitutes its embeddedness in the social network (Ho 1998 in Jones et al., 2010:16).

The discussion of the individual and the collective domains is important for this research, because of how they operate when addressing the perceptions of people on child labour. Given that perceptions are individual cognitive processes that have the potential to be transformed into collective actions (Bandura, 1998:72), I have consequently approached the community development as an holistic process into which the individual actions are less significant for the betterment of the community than the collective actions. This implies that the individuality of the perceptions of individuals are considered starting points for understanding collective actions. This focus complies with the approach previously defined by Theodori, as this also stresses on collective action for the community development to occur.

3.1.2 Social perceptions

Even before development began to be theorised as such, people's perceptions and behaviours were largely recognised as definitive factors for the course of societies (Larrison, 2000:68). Perceptions are considered a very basic starting point for any community development process, as it is through the perceptions related to the control over local problems that people can identify their needs and begin any process of social change (Lord and Hutchison, 1993:3). There are varieties of types of perceptions and behaviours alleged to increase people's well being. The goal of community development would be to create these types of community-oriented behaviours and perceptions in individuals, the processes used to generate them can differ based on the top-down or bottom-up models for development (Larrison, 2000:68). Appraisal of social perceptions also differs from one model to another. It is for the bottom-up model that people are considered the essence of the community development process, and therefore their perceptions on their social reality are of utmost importance.

Social perceptions are the result of a set of social values, attitudes, and institutions, that compound the circumstances under which people subsist, and rule their understanding and rationalisation of the social order (Edwards and Sen, 2000:607). Said differently, perceptions tend to select and suppress information according to people's beliefs (Korten, 1990:139). Perceptions can therefore vary greatly among people living in a given context, time, and place. This entails that perceptions are valuable sources of information but they need to be highly contextualised. Neither the reality nor the perceptions in isolation are measures that should be thought of in isolation as silver bullets for approaching development processes. However, whereas the social and economic context of development have been given wide attention, the perceptions of people have been relatively undervalued out of the alternative development frame. On this ground, Wallman highlights the importance of perceptions as a significant problem for analysis, *"because it is essential that the values, aspirations, and perceptions of people subjected to the processes of economic development or non-economic be taken seriously"* (1977:3)

3.2 Alternative development at the community level

3.2.1 Endogenous development

Endogenous refers to the social, cultural, and symbolic space where development occurs (Pieterse, 2010:96). For the alternative development, the value of development is that it is generated from within a social group. This has commonly been referred to as the bottom-up model for development.

The bottom-up model of community development argues for the people in communities to initiate and pursue their own development, on the basis of the use of

their natural resources and human skills (Stohr 1981 in Chung, 1986:205). The most distinctive characteristic of this model is people's participation in the process of decision making and execution, meaning that they are likely to identify problems by themselves and find the solutions in the same way (Chung, 1986:206). Some of the strategies for boosting people's capacities to generate change in their communities include: *"comprehensive community participation, motivations of local communities, expansion of learning opportunities, improvement of local resource management, replication of human development, and increased communication and interchange"* (Blanchard 1988 in Larrison, 2000:68). In the bottom-up model, self reliance becomes the means of development rather than the end, and this is based on the belief that one has skills necessary to influence political systems, rather than the political system as responsible for the efforts to change (Zimmerman, 1995:729).

It can also be said that the notion of endogenous development is a refutation of development as modernisation and westernisation (Todaro and Smith, 2012). In this sense, a topic for debate in the community development terrain is the issue of modernisation. There are two forms to approach modernisation from the endogenous perspective. It can be the import of foreign models, where the destruction of existing social and cultural capital occurs. Secondly and most important for endogenous development, it can also refer to the modernisation of the traditions where local and popular energies take the lead of a bottom-up generation of modernity (Pieterse, 2010:96). The outcomes of the discussion on modernity are not so white and black though. The difficulty to define the boundaries of the unit of the development in such a globalised world like today's is the reason why *"endogenism is hard to turn into a hard principle"* (Pieterse, 2010:97). The role played by the external change agents of development, and the relations of power between these and the local communities set another limit for the development process to be endogenous. It might therefore be necessary to think of alternative development rather in terms of a genuine consensus seeking line of thought, which enhances the community potential to lead its own development process (Pieterse, 2010:98).

3.2.2 Indigenous knowledge and culture

In the critical development theory, Tucker argues that after a long period of application of development programmes and foreign aid, many areas in the world have not yet improved (Tucker, 1992:2). Attempting to examine the reasons of this failure, the author refers to the *"essentially western way of conceiving and perceiving the world, which dominated other peoples and their destiny"* (Tucker, 1992:1) to question the transmission of developmental ideas to foreign social environments. Deriving from this it emerged the need for reshaping the reality of development by including the marginal groups as indigenous peoples, who have been for long not consider worth of attention (Stavenhagen 1984 in Tucker, 1992:19). This inclusive perspective of development is based on the fact that by overlooking indigenous cosmologies, modernity has not coherent meaning or conceptual validity for indigenous peoples, thus being development unable to understand and engage in

dialogue with these other world views (Tucker, 1992:20). Then cultural aspects of these peoples have been overlooked in behalf of economic and political considerations, which can be considered as the “*major blind spot in development thinking*” (Tucker, 1992:1).

Related to this, it has been argued that the production and transfer of knowledge overlaps the cultural domain by restricting the production of meanings and ideas, in other words: “*Third world societies tend to internalise the perspective of the modernisers and developmentalists [...]. Some cultures and societies find themselves overdetermined by western representations to the point that they can no longer recognise themselves in the discourse that claim to portray them*” (Tucker, 1992:13). This implies that the conditions of change immerse in development are been used to extent the dominance of western societies at the same time that they claim for produce knowledge about foreign cultures. The question of “*whether Third world societies must reproduce themselves according to the western myth of development or else remain forever in misery and deprivation*” points to the peak of this argument and lead to the problem at the core of development, which the author refers to as the unequal relations of power (Tucker, 1992:3,14).

Indigenous knowledge has been introduced in development in the search for reduce the influence of western thoughts in developmental processes, and for re-valuing the indigenous conceptions of their own reality (Briggs, 2005:109). It has furthermore became a keynote in alternative development epistemology, and its incorporation in development discourse is now often viewed as morally and practically better than past colonial and statistic development practise (Derman, 2003:68).

Pieterse sustains that culture has been part of development thinking all along, but not explicitly so (2010:71). Equally to the indigenous knowledge, it has received increased attention, though the outcomes of a cultural view of development vary widely. Two opposing perspectives to culture in development are worth of attention.

On the one hand, Wolferen argues that culture is believed to give a valid reason for accepting all sort of practises:

“Culture thus becomes an excuse for systematic exploitation, for legal abuses, for racketeering and for other forms of uncontrolled exercise of power. In the international realm, culture is made an excuse for not living up to agreements and responsibilities, and for not taking action in the face of pressure from trading partners” (Wolferen, 1990:323).

On the other hand, culture can be regarded as acting as a frontier against imperialism, capitalism, globalisation, and consumerism. Unfortunately this is unlikely the case because “*it attempts to erect boundaries in a time of boundary crossing*” (Pieterse, 2010:70). Nevertheless, a culturally-based conception of development contributes to prioritise agency over structural approaches, and it therefore favours an actor-oriented perspective of development.

3.2.3 Agency

Two perspectives of agency are of importance, referring to the individual and the collective levels. Regarding the former, agency is considered to derive from a very human distinctively characteristic: the capacity to exercise control over one's own thought processes, motivation, and action (Zimmerman, 1995:729). Bandura, 1989 explains this in terms of self efficacy beliefs, and sustains that any account of the determinants of human action must include self generated influences as a contributing factor (Bandura, 1989:1175). This implies that agency *per se* does not have a self generating capacity, self efficacy hence functions as a mechanism of personal agency, which is believed to be quite effective: "*among the mechanisms of personal agency, none is more central or pervasive than people's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives*" (Bandura, 1989:1176). Furthermore, self efficacy is based in the premise that people are in some extent products of their environments, and they a potential of agency. This makes them producers of environments, enabling them to influence the course of events, to transform their circumstances, and to shape their lives (Bandura, 2000:75).

A second view of agency refers to the collective level. Alternative development emphasises on agency in the sense that it is people's capacity, channelled through local and social movement activism, what generates social change (Pieterse, 2010: 85,107). This is one of the positions that characterises alternative development as being essentially participatory and people-centred. This also differentiates it from other approaches to development such as human development which rather stresses in the State as the bottom-line agent of change (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

Two implications of the emphasis on agency can be mentioned: firstly, that development becomes more local or regional; secondly, that diversity and differentiation become a concern (Pieterse, 2010:12). This means, on the one hand, that the spatial focal point of agency is placed in the levels lower than the nation, for example in a community. The social changes are thus expected to be generated within this place, which entails that "*the cultural worlds and maps of meaning of actors become vital variables*" (Pieterse, 2010:64). On the other hand it implies that, unlike modernisation postures for development which seek for generalising and homogenising societies, the alternative development rather highlights diversity and stresses on the value of differentiation. As previously pointed out, this contributes to create bonds of collective efficacy (Bandura, 1998:68) and therefore it increase the potential for agency.

The shift on emphasis from structural postures to agency seemingly tends a line of tension regarding the relationship between the local and the global, this is, between endogenous and exogenous forms of development. On this regard, it has been argued that structuralist postures and agency do not replace each other but are complimentary (Pieterse, 2010:13). This implies that agency is not a unity belonging only to grassroots groups, rather it is more appropriate to be thought as a plurality which touches upon all development actors, namely international and regional institutions, market forces, urban and local government, civil society

organisations, NGOs, households, and so forth (Pieterse, 2010:96,189). Therefore, back to the line of tension between local and global, a more appropriate posture than referring to development processes in terms of agency only, is the idea of “*synergies among pluralistic actors, synergies that are flexible and mobile and do not require ideological consensus [...] but involve society, government, and market*” (Pieterse, 2010:96). It can be thus said that agency in alternative development include the recognition that all development actors have important roles for social change to occur, and social change requires the existence of positive synergies between different bases and different systems of power (Edwards and Sen, 2000:608).

3.2.4 Synergy

From the point of view of State-led development, synergy is perceived as the promotion of cooperation lead by public agencies, where synergy depends upon the different institutional designs in both State and civil sectors (Evans, 1996:1119). Whereas for the society-led development synergy is better produced when the outputs and inputs of the government and the citizenry are complementary, and both sources function as a combination (Ostrom, 1996:1080). In either ways, bridging the divide among the diverse actors and across sectors of development is the objective of synergies. This departs from the recognition that government, business, and voluntary organisations all have essential roles in development. The increased range of actors in development seemingly is at odds with the praise of local initiatives for development that the alternative thinking proclaims. It has been argued in this respect that alternative development might gain recognition and institutional support by expanding its range of actors for development (Pieterse, 2010:99). But most importantly, this could support its aim to be a “*large-scale overhaul of development*”, therefore, a main challenge for the alternative development would be to have a profile “*both distinct enough and acceptable enough to generate support in institutional circles and diverse interest communities*” (Pieterse, 2010:102). This means, alternative thinking needs to be oriented towards shielding a people-centred development, while simultaneously yield cooperation and support from private and public institutions.

Based on the need of synergies among development actors, one question raising is who are those actors. This is, which political and social forces sustain today’s world development, and what is the position of alternative development in this regard. This evidently touches upon relations of power among large-scale development actors and the most suitable forms of synergy.

3.2.5 Relations of power and development cooperation

Development unfolds in diverse contexts and one of these are the relations of power between stakeholders. Pieterse argues that “*different stakeholders have different takes on what development means and how to achieve it [...]. Development is in-*

trinsically a field of multi-level negotiation and struggle among different stakeholders" (2010:11). Two approaches to these relations of power can be mentioned. An holistic perspective would argue for partnerships or synergies between stakeholders. It would bring together State-led, market-led and society-led development in a field of *multi-level negotiation* where all of these have a stake to share and a role to fulfil. This is can be said to be a general trend in current development policies as *"many policies that are now initiated involve partnerships of different parties, joint efforts of government agencies, social organisations and firms. Clearly the 'partnership' gospel itself prompts new forms of critical engagement"* (Pieterse, 2010:158).

However, under the alternative development thinking this is not a critically enough posture because making partnerships under unequal relations of power lacks of political relevance, it is *apolitical* (Tvedt, 1998:224). Alternative development is rather a field of citizen politics. It is development from below, and it therefore places the agency of development in both to community and to NGOs. Then, the *power* for conducting development processes of these agents is channelled through participatory development process. These are expected to assure an inclusive enough policy making to the local citizenry for enhancing democracy and achieving positive impacts in terms of socio-economic equity, political stability, and social justice (Huntington, 1984:196). Developing countries have increased participation in policy making through the emergence of stakeholders in national government entities, sub-national public sector agencies, and the private sector in various organisations (Brinkerhoff and Crosby, 2002). For instance transnational NGOs which are mainly home-stated in western societies, but largely south-based in African and Latin American countries, where they occupy an influential position in civil society and even on the agenda setting (Tvedt, 1998:223). However, the partnership of transnational NGOs with local communities in developing countries have been largely criticised, partly because of an apparent failure to attain the essentially political goal of community empowerment (Pieterse, 2010:158). Woodhead explains this problem as *"a failure amongst NGOs to engage with the political context in which 'citizenship participation' is contested in developing countries"* (1999:841). Moreover, the consequences of development cooperation have often been considered to *"reduce capacities for sustained self-reliant development"*, because development assistance is a matter of mobilising economic resources rather than capacity building for effective participation (Korten, 1990:140,145).

Chung refers to participation as the driving force of community development programs which takes place when people in the community feel common needs (1986:213). More precisely, participation has been defined as *"a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs and environments that affect them"* (Florin and Wandersman, 1990:43). Citizen participation is considered to have a wide variety of benefits at all levels, for example enhancing interpersonal relationships, influencing social policy, and boosting feelings of personal and political efficacy (Florin and Wandersman, 1990:43). Likewise, participation enables collective decision to be more easily accepted by individuals, at the time that it provides citizens with an integrative function as it enhance their sense of belonging (Cockburn, 2005:21).

Alternative development in this regard aims for a redefinition of development cooperation as a mutually empowerment process, where empowerment can be seen as *“individuals working together in an organised fashion to improve their collective lives and linkages among community organisations and agencies that help maintain that quality of life”* (Zimmerman, 1995:582). Empowerment at the community level is a process that stresses on capacity building and self reliance. About the former, it has been proposed as a strategy for improving social participation in community development. From a bottom-up focus, capacity building can be understood as the enhancement of the capacities of poor people and local institutions to remedy their own social problems, which can be achieved by *“gaining practical skills and economic self reliance along with the demonstrated willingness of community institutions to promote such success-seeking behaviour”* (Dorius, 2011:3,9). Regarding the later, Oladipo argues for the identification and enlargement of personal strengths, on the one hand, as the basis for reinforcing self efficacy beliefs, increasing people’s willingness to effectively participate in their community, and boosting social accountability. On the other hand, enhancing collective capacities is influential for positively interacting at decision making levels, so as to define demands to governmental instances (Oladipo, 2010:123).

3.3 Literature review on child labour

The literature on child labour is extensive and difficult to summarise as most studies are unique in their findings. This due to the particular variables on focus, the elusive definition of child labour, the difficulties of distinguishing its causes from its consequences, and the importance of contextualising the problem. In the first section I precisely touch upon these issues which have led to a debate between two contrasting positions towards child labour. Afterwards I introduce the culturally embedded position towards child labour, which I have found suitable to the characteristics of my research.

I secondly present an interpretative framework for analysing and understanding child labour, in the form of a schematic review, which include the most important socioeconomic factors that I have considered suitable for approaching the case study of this research.

3.3.1 The debate on child labour

The ILO has defined child labour as *“children’s work that deprives girls and boys of their childhood and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development”*¹ (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:115). It has been categorised as (i) unconditional worst forms, which are the unacceptable forms of child labour, and (ii) hazardous worst forms, which are dangerous and damaging for children (see section 2.3).

¹ A list of basic technical terms for addressing child labour can be found in Appendix 4 on page 112.

While there is wide consensus on the elimination of the first category, the second category is more difficult to address and has raised debates. This due to what should and should not be deemed child labour depends on specific types of work, the conditions, and the context where it occurs. Therefore, perceptions on this may vary widely. The conceptualisation of child labour itself indicates “*whether a particular kind of work performed by a child is to be considered child labour may depend on the child’s age, the type and conditions of work, and the effects of the work on the child*” (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:115).

Another issue on debate regarding the conceptual tools for addressing child labour, comprises the distinction between child work and child labour. ILO states that the latter is a subset of the former. Child work has been defined as “*almost all productive activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organised) sector or the informal sector*” (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:116). The cultural aspects impacting the understanding on child labour, childhood, and the role of children in the society give a grasp on the difficulty of arriving to an agreed distinction between both of these categories. Problem added with the idiomatic barrier intrinsic to the internationalisation of the problem of child labour, as the semiotics on the distinction between “work” and “labour” cannot be replicated into some languages, Spanish included.

Lieten explains that the debate on child labour has two positions (2010). A first one, the anti-child labour movement –also named *abolitionist* (erradicacionistas), proposes the eradication of child labour arguing for its contribution to the perpetuation of poverty and other hindrances for the society’s well being. On the other hand, there are those who defend the rights of the children to work –the *regulationists* (regulacionistas), and rather stand for the regulation and restriction of only those exploitative forms of child labour. This position has forcefully emerged in Latin America, where a culturally embedded position to child labour has been proposed.

The culturally embedded position

Child labour is often the ultimate survival strategy, and even though in the mid- and long-terms it brings negative impacts for children, in the short-term the economic contribution of children may alleviate family poverty (Lieten, 2010). This is a reason why child labour is defended as a basic human right by many scholars and also by working children themselves. The World Movement of Working Children has for example opposed to the policies of the ILO which they have considered to fail to understand the realities of working children (World Movement of Working Children and Adolescents 2004, in Lieten, 2010).

A cultural divide between the western-led international organisations and developing countries may be considered a keynote on the debates on child labour. This is evident for example in the forms of the language used for addressing child labour that hardly fit the widely divergent contexts and conditions of child labour,

topic briefly introduced in the previous section. ILO guidelines for research on child labour recognises this difficulty and suggests that “researchers will therefore have to spend some time specifying appropriate words and meanings in the context of their given study” (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:99). Seemingly ILO targets the language barrier on child labour research as dependent on the skills on the researcher, who ought to make efforts to frame the realities of the field into specific conceptual frames. By contrast to this position, it has been sustained that the worst forms language adds to an already confusing terminology, which usually confront visions on child labour from the indigenous southern cultures with the northern cultural vision of childhood (Enew et al. in Lieten, 2010).

Culturally, it is widely accepted in the developing world that children engage in work, as this is considered an integral aspect of the children’s moral and physical education. In Bolivia, there is large tradition of working children in particular in rural agrarian communities. Anthropological approximations to child labour in this setting assert that, in compliance with the Andean traditions, the entire family unit actively participate of the harvesting activities. This is the basis of numbers of social, political, and symbolic relations among the members of a community, and are practises that prevail in the urban area, for at least two generations, when families migrate (Layme and Valdivia, 2002:14), as it occurs in Cerro Rico for example.

An additional cultural aspect of child labour is the view of childhood. A noticeable difference between the *abolitionist* position and the *regulationist* one refers to the former depicting children as “helpless victims, dependent on protection and rescue by adults”, whereas for the latter this is a western urban, middle class notion of childhood (Myers 1999:31 in Lieten, 2010). Rather, children need to be taken as “social subjects with rights and responsibilities” who are widely capable to participate of and alter their social environment (Cussianovich et al., 2001:62). Moreover, the imported “ideal model of childhood”, where children only play and have no other responsibility than study, and who would not be able to exist if the parents do not comply their social duties, is considered an adult-centred vision that detracts children’s opinions to have social value (Cussianovich et al., 2001:59). Similarly, adult’s economic and political interests have been considered to paramount the labour market perspective of child labour. Lieten explains that there is none adequately developed theory of why child labour would produce a negative macro-economic impact, therefore “the labour market perspective can itself be a threat to children when it places adult economic and political interests before children’s” (Myers 1999:33 in Lieten, 2010).

There is a posture in between arguing for the danger of defending child labour as a culturally legitimated right. This points out the risk of universalising the cultural particularities of child labour:

“[...] one image emphasises the relativity of childhood, shaped by geography, wealth and poverty; social organisation and family patterns; cultural beliefs and practises; and social changes, consequent on modernisation, urbanisation, etc. The second emphasises universal and enduring principles of children’s psychological development, their needs and their rights. The danger comes when

specific cultural images of child development quality are promoted as a standard under the guise of universal principles” (Boyden 1997 in Woodhead, 1999:28)

Overall, the long child labour traditions in some regions – moreover of migrant families, are evidently affected by socioeconomic aspects. As long as limited opportunities for these families hinder their livelihoods, child labour is likely to prevail in all its forms.

3.3.2 An interpretative framework on the socioeconomic aspects of child labour

Household gender issues

The literature on gender indicates that girls and boys tend to be treated differently within households, which appears to happen in the light of variate attitudes and norms regarding gender practices (Congdon Fors, 2012:584). Nonetheless, the ILO considers that no significant sex differences were found in the global incidence of children at work, except among adolescents, where more boys than girls are employed. Yet it is known that slightly more boys than girls are working under hazardous conditions, but considerably more girls may be working at home in domestic chores, which usually go uncounted (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:1). For example, rise on the mother’s wage has been considered to have a positive impact on children’s education; however, it may increase female child labour in the event that the mother is induced to work more hours outside the house, and the daughter is given the chore to take over domestic responsibilities (Hazarika and Sarangi, 2008:844).

On gender disparity and household decision making, Congdon Fors elaborates on lower returns to education for girls than for boys, which according to the author might influence the decision to send girls to work. Gender differences in the demand of adult labour - meaning the reduced skilled job opportunities for females - seems to lower the returns to female education. This makes it less attractive for parents to invest on female education (2012:583). Similarly, the author builds on cultural norms, for example marriage, when the girl will not be expected to contribute to the future income of her parents’ household because she will join her husband’s family. Therefore, from the perspective of the parents’, the return on investment in her education will be much lower (2012:583). In both cases, the gender aspect fits under the precept of girls facing a greater poverty opportunities than boys.

Household size

It has been argued that the family size is important for the incidence of child labour, although whether it affects positively or negatively is still on debate (Congdon Fors, 2012:584). A common assumption is that more children means higher

economic pressure for the household economy, as the fall in the number of children in the family frees resources available to increase child quality (Brown et al., 2002:5).

Considering that child labour can offset some of the costs of raising a child, a question that raises is whether fertility decisions are made with the aim of using children as form of economic insurance (Brown et al., 2002:8). It is clear though that child labour income cannot compensate the total cost of raising a child, and neither be profitable, yet it is likely to influence fertility in the way that it may be decreased in environments where children's work was not an option (Dessy, 2000:262).

Besides, it has been found that increased amount of children in a household may allow families to furnish different skills to their children, as for example the income generated by the working children allow the non working children to attend to school, some children may also be assigned the task of acquiring skills that have immediate market value (Brown et al., 2002:7,23).

It is worth noting that father's education appears to have no significant impact on the household size, but mothers with education above the primary level have smaller families (Brown et al., 2002:17).

Household decision making

There are different approaches to analyse the household decision making. The most commonly found among literature about child labour is the economic approach. It builds upon the hypothesis that the household acts to maximise utility, based on (i) the number of children, (ii) the schooling per child, (iii) the leisure time per child, (iv) the leisure of the parents, (v) and the ability to produce consumption goods (Brown et al., 2002:4). According to these arguments, the household decision making would be directed towards the compensation of inputs in the sense that allocation of time, market force, and leisure of all physical assets of the family, result on the sufficient production of consumption goods required for the household members to survive (Tharmmapornphilas, 2006:2).

A social approach to the actual decision making within the household is comparatively scarce. It has been considered that more can be done to examine who ultimately makes the decisions regarding children's time allocation, the bargaining mechanisms household use for this, and the type of considerations for weighting future gains and losses resulting from child labour (Congdon Fors, 2012:589).

Compulsory schooling

The literature on policy intervention regarding child labour states the mandatory school attendance. It has been argued that compulsory schooling should include the improvement of the quality and access to education for this to be a more attractive option than the labour market (Congdon Fors, 2012:588).

Regarding policies on compulsory schooling, it is believed that compelling children to attend schools will not ensure that children will not work. A gradualist policy that supports school attendance for a certain number of hours a day, by combining it with regulated part time work, is suggested as more realistic (Jafarey and Lahiri, 2001:18).

On the other hand and from the perspective of economics, compulsory schooling can be seen as positive by the market, as it increases the supply of skilled, more productive, workers (Dessy, 2000:263).

Education status of parents

The parental education level is considered to affect the household power relations. It has been found that child labour tends to be minimised in households where parents have the same amount of education, whereas it increases when one parent has considerably higher education than the other (Ray and Basu, 2001:16). There is no consensus as to whether it is the education of the mother or the father that has the greatest impact on reducing child labour, it is however known that education plays a significant role due to its long-term implications, meaning that children are more likely to work if their parents were child labourers, and the less likely the more educated their parents are (Congdon Fors, 2012:581; Emerson and Souza, 2003:391).

In economic terms, this can be explained assuming that education of parents increased their productivity during the past, and by consequence the household income at present is higher, which enables parents to dispense with child workforce. Education of a parent seem also to have the potential of alleviating credit constraints, as literate people are more likely to benefit from credits. In households with persistent poverty, parental education is however rare (Brown et al., 2002:19).

Poverty

Poverty constraints have usually been considered a decisive factor to send children to work. There are however empirical difficulties associated with measuring the relationship between household income and child labour (Congdon Fors, 2012:575). In the context of child labour poverty can be refer to as (i) subsistence poverty: which is the lack of sufficient economic resources to meet basic needs, or (ii) poverty of opportunity: which is the presence of low returns or lack of opportunities to improve these returns (Congdon Fors, 2012:573).

The model on subsistence poverty (also called the luxury axiom) states that children will be send into the labour market only if the family's income from non child labour sources drops very low (Basu and Van, 1998:416). However, for household income to be deemed insufficient, economic measures as wage levels are not enough, but wider factors are to be included such as fertility rate and the number of children per household, since these affect the household size and expenses (Congdon Fors, 2012:574). Poverty and child labour do not necessarily bear a causal

relationship. This means, the presence of poverty do not entails the presence of child labour, and the presence of child labour do not necessarily implies poverty conditions. However Congdon Fors sustain that there is evidence pointing to child labour as being negatively related to household income (2012:575).

The model of poverty of opportunity focuses on the impact of differentiated returns of education for the household as decisive factor for sending children to work. This model is based on the possibility that low status households receive lower returns to education than higher status households, because the quality of education is different across income classes, regions, or ethnic groups within a given country (Emerson and Knabb, 2006:414). The quality of education receives increase attention in this model because when school quality is low, so are the returns to schooling, which implies that parents may refrain from sending their children to school and even more if the costs of schooling are high (Emerson and Knabb, 2006:432).

Impact on adult wage

The literature on the impacts of child workforce market on adult wage has two conflicting standpoints.

On the one hand, education and child labour do not necessarily bear a negative relation, as the future economic income capacity of children is not dependent only on the practise of work at a young age. Moreover, through work children may compensate the loss of human capital by gaining experience at early age, improving their social skills, and building social networks; which can be fruitful for their future life (Congdon Fors, 2012:585). Similarly, the negative effect of child labour on adult wages can be reduced when education quality is poor, because human capital accumulation may be determined not only by the presence of education but also by its quality (Emerson and Souza, 2003:387).

On the other hand, it has been found that children work has a negative effect on adult wage partly because of child work side effects such as negative impacts on health, both physically and psychologically, due to hazardous working conditions; but mainly because it reduces the years of schooling (Lee and Orazem, 2010:1). The conclusive negative argument here is that child labour reduces the productivity of children, perpetuating poverty and potentially leading to an increase in income inequality (Congdon Fors, 2012:585).

Methodology

4.1 Research strategy

A research strategy refers to the overall orientations for conducting a social research. Research strategies are formulated according to the role of the theory as employed in the research, as well as epistemological and ontological considerations (Bryman, 2008:698,22). This implies that the research can be oriented towards testing a specific theory, or towards constructing a theory. When testing a theory, an hypothesis is formulated and then it should be confirmed or rejected by the findings of the study (deductive theory). When constructing a theory the opposite happens, the researcher rather infers the implications of the findings to the theory that has been used (inductive theory) (Bryman, 2008:9). The epistemological position also defines the research strategy that should be used, in the sense that it reflects on what is regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline. Social reality can for example be explained by the same principles as the natural order, that is, as a concrete phenomenon which cannot be alter by individuals. Such an epistemological position is referred to as positivism. The social world can also be explained from the logic of human beings which are part of it, which entails the process of establishing meaningful relationships in what is being observed. This position is referred to as interpretivism (Rye, 2010:1-2; Bryman, 2008:13,15). Finally, considerations regarding the ontological order that influence the research strategy, include the position that there is an external reality that cannot be influenced by the individuals who are part of it (objectivism), against the position that asserts that social phenomena are being continually shape by the social actors that make it up (constructivism) (Bryman, 2008:18,19).

The research strategy in social sciences is usually divided into two orientations: qualitative and quantitative. The present thesis is based upon a qualitative research strategy, which differs from the quantitative as it does not employ measurement, the orientation to the role of theory is rather inductive, and it follows interpretative and constructivist orientations (Bryman, 2008:22). This choice is based on several factors which will be outlined throughout this chapter.

4.1.1 Qualitative research

Bryman highlights that the qualitative approach is concerned with the individuals' interpretation of their social world, and it therefore allows for seeing the situation

through the eyes of the people being studied. The qualitative approach also emphasises on the description of the context of the problem being investigated (Bryman, 2008:385-386). The present research is primarily concerned with understanding child labour in mining from the perceptions of the local community where it takes place. It is based on the assumption that the social reality is build by these actors and child labour can therefore be explained from their point of view. It furthermore seeks to approach the social reality of the community not as a pre-given one (Bryman, 2008:19), but rather as being dynamic and constantly (re)constructed by its members. The study therefore is constructed upon interpretivist and constructivist standpoints.

The choice of a particular research strategy guides the methodology employed for the collection and analysis of data. In the case of the use of qualitative data, emphasis is put on the actors themselves and on the empirical sources (Rye, 2010:4). The qualitative format can therefore be seen as suitable for approaching a sensitive context and a topic involving child well being, which would be more difficult to target through quantitative methods. Although strategies are different for quantitative and qualitative studies, the knowledge generated in both types of research can latter be combined either for producing more precise quantitative data or for exploring new concepts from qualitative perspectives. On the topic of child labour it remains widely accepted that these knowledge should complement each other to better lead to the understanding of the complex reality where child labour unfolds. Yet, the ILO and UNICEF manual highlights the general lack of detailed information of the qualitative aspects of this problem, since household surveys have for long been the basis of analysis of child labour (2005:2). These aspects have been confirmed throughout the document analysis of this research.

4.2 Research design: case study

The research design refers to the structure that guides the execution of the research methods and the analysis of the data (Bryman, 2008:30). The research design adopted for this investigation is a case study of a mining community. More precisely, it is an in-depth investigation on how child labour is perceived by the community members, and how this relates to the overall development process of the community. The case study design is suitable for the present research because it allows for an intensive examination of a single case, and it highlights the complexity and specific nature of the case in question (Bryman, 2008:52,53). The specific nature of the mining community here refers to the context in which child labour takes place in Cerro Rico, which is a central aspect of the overall analysis, as it defines the particular characteristics of the problem. This implies that this case study might be considered an example of the circumstances and conditions where child labour in mining tends to occur in small populations and limited areas, yet it cannot be replicated to other contexts, as the ILO and UNICEF asserts when setting the limits of research about child labour (2005:14). In this regard, a benefit of the case study for

this research is that this design is more concerned with the theoretical reasoning regarding a particular case, rather than the generalization of the findings (Bryman, 2008:57). In addition to this, the community development process involves different actors, which have been considered to belong to the community as long as they share the territory, a common life, a mutual identity and/or they are part of the collective actions undertaken for the community development. This roughly includes working and non working children, adolescents, female and male miners, and NGOs and governmental employees working directly with the community. In this sense, the case study is useful because it also enables the analysis of the interactions that take place among these actors (Bryman, 2008:56).

Finally, the research design has been guided by Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology developed by ILO and UNICEF for the study of child labour. This aims at a relatively rapid understanding of specific aspects of this topic, as it is designed for short time investigations. Most importantly, it gives hints on what is needed to know on the spectrum of child labour (2005:5,2).

4.3 Sampling

Sampling procedures are intended to ensure the selection of an appropriate sample according to the goals and characteristics of the research. In qualitative studies purposive sampling is commonly used. This is a non-probabilistic form of sampling, meaning that the subjects of study are not chosen on a random basis. Rather, the sampling is conducted strategically, in the way that the sampled individuals are relevant for the research questions (Bryman, 2008:415).

Snowball sampling and theoretical sampling are two forms of purposive sample in qualitative research used in the present investigation. The former refers to the establishment of an initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant for the research topic, and then these are used to set up contact with others (Bryman, 2008:184). For the collection of data, I first established an initial contact with key informants of the regional office of COMIBOL located in Pailaviri. These informants included staff involved in the overall management of the equipment and properties that are leased to miners, as well as staff in charge of supervising the security conditions of mining in the area. This contact allowed me to get in touch with miners, some of who latter became informants. The community in Cerro Rico is a peri-urban one, which implies that there are many NGOs working in this field that are relatively accessible. I identified those who have been more active during the last few years and established a first contact with them. This included staff involved with carrying out daily activities on the projects in Cerro Rico, as well as employees concerned with the management of these organisations. These contacts allowed me to get in touch with children, adolescents, and women of the community, who would in turn refer me to other people, usually friends, with whom they shared certain daily activities.

In addition to this, theoretical sampling was also applied in this study, in the way that once interviews started being carried out, different perspectives to the problem and new theoretical ideas emerged. As Charmaz notes, the theoretical sampling is concerned with the refinement of ideas rather than the size of the sample (Charmaz in Bryman, 2008:415). I therefore conducted the sampling of respondents on the basis of their relevance for a particular aspect of my investigation. Also, as the ILO and UNICEF suggest in the RA methodology, I gave particular attention to gender differences during the data collection and interpretation, as this is considered a cornerstone in the analysis of child labour (2005:2).

The following table outlines the research methods employed and the size of the sample. Further detail on the data gathered can be found on Appendix 2 on page 109.

method	code	categories	sources	no. interviews	sample size
semistructured interviews	A3	working children (0-12)	Caracoles Mine	1	24
	A4, A5		Santa Rita Mine	2	
	B1 – B4	non working children (0-12)	Pailaviri childcare center	4	
	C2	working adolescents (13-18)	Pailaviri Mine	1	
	D2	non working adolescents (13-18)	Calvario Zone	1	
	E1	palliris	Palliris Working Women Association	1	
	E2		Santa Rita Mine	1	
	H1	miners – members of a cooperative	10 de Noviembre Ltda. Cooperative	1	
	H2		Pailaviri Unificasa Ltda. Cooperative	1	
	G3	miner – second-hand	Pailaviri Mine	1	
	I1 – I3	NGO staff	Cepromin	3	
	I4		Musol	1	
	I5		Voces Libres	1	
J1 – J2	state	Ministry of Labour – CEPTI	2		
J3 – J4		Ministry of Mining – Comibol	2		
J5		Ministry of Health – Pailaviri healthcare center	1		
unstructured open ended interviews	A1, A2	working children	Pailaviri Mine	2	10
	B5 – B7	non working children	Robertito childcare center	3	
	C1	working adolescents	Caracoles Mine	1	
	D1	non working adolescents	Calvario Zone	1	
	E3	guarda	Santa Rita Mine	1	
	G1	miners – peones	Caracoles Mine	1	
G2	Santa Rita Mine		1		
focus groups	K1	working and non working children	Caracoles Mine Santa Rita Mine Pailaviri childcare center	7	12
	F1	widows	Musol	5	

Table 1: Research methods

4.4 Data collection

The data collection was carried out in the peri-urban area of Potosí where the mining community and the Cerro Rico is located. The data was collected over a period of three months of fieldwork, from December 2011 to February 2012. The entire period was spend in this area, more precisely in *Pailaviri*, *Caracoles*, *Roberto*, *Robertito*, *Santa Rita*, and *La Plata* sectors. All primary data was collected here, as this is the natural setting of the subjects of study. This has also been beneficial for the document analysis, as the local NGOs and COMIBOL have offices nearby. Eventually, visits were made to the urban area in search of information from additional sources, such as the regional division of the Ministry of Labour.

4.4.1 Qualitative methods for data collection

The main research methods associated to qualitative research are participant observation, qualitative interviewing, focus groups, discourse and conversation analysis, in addition to analysis of texts and documents (Bryman, 2008:369). Among these, qualitative interviews, focus groups discussions and participant observation are suggested by Bryman and also by the RA methodology (2008:369; ILO and UNICEF, 2005:6) as most suitable for qualitative research. These have therefore been the methods employed in this thesis for the data collection, in addition to document analysis.

Qualitative interviews

Two kinds of interviews have been employed in this research, semi-structured interviews and unstructured open ended interviews.

These methods have not been used indistinctly with informants. Rather, the unstructured interviews have been mainly employed with informants who were reluctant to be recorded, or were encountered in their workplace, and would not have time to respond to a semi-structured interview. This usually happened with miners and adolescents. Semi-structured interviews have been mostly applied to NGOs and governmental employees. While undertaking the semi-structured interviews, I would use an interview guide for ensuring that all the topics of interest have been covered. The informants would be however able to respond whatever they consider appropriate, and would do so without much interruption of the researcher. In the case of children and women, the semi-structured interviews tended to evolve to unstructured interviews as they would speak freely about a particular aspect on a given question that was considered relevant in their eyes. Bryman refers to this as flexibility during the interviewing (2008:456). This allowed for constantly rethinking the theoretical focus that should be given to the findings. Interviewing has been considered beneficial for gaining contextual information related to the attitudes, norms, beliefs and values of the respondents (Bryman, 2008:192). Moreover, the unstructured interviews carried out mostly with women and children allowed for gaining a profound understanding of the life in the community, and the social structures and relationships within them. The style of the questions both in the semi-structured and unstructured interviews varied according to the informants I was addressing to, being these more formal with adults and more informal with children, though they had equal meaning from the perspective of the research. Theoretical saturation was reached through the application of qualitative interviews.

Focus groups

The focus group is a form of group interviewing where a particular defined topic is discussed. In this process, attention is paid not only to the arguments on de-

bate, but also to the forms of interaction within the participants as members of the group, who have been included because they are known to be involved in a particular situation (Bryman, 2008:473,474). This method have been used in particular for exploring the participant's perceptions on gender issues (in the case of women) and the positive and negative aspects of the work of children (in the case of children). Main discussion topics thus included power relations in household decision making, reasons for engaging in child labour, and alternatives to this problem.

A conversation guideline with very general questions was prepared in advance, to ensure continuous flow during the discussions and stimulate the conversation. However the discussions were left to evolve freely, avoiding an intruding behaviour of the researcher but finding a balance to act as a moderator (Bryman, 2008:488). In the case of women, confidence among the participants and with the researcher was quickly gained. This discussion thus grew to encompass testimonies and life stories. In the case of children, they would not demonstrate this degree of sensitive involvement, however the focus group discussion was valuable for observing their group behaviour and their attitudes towards the topics being discussed. The composition of the groups has been done under gender-differentiation for the women and under age-differentiation for the children, being the latter compound by children no older than 12 years old.

Problems when conducting focus groups include the possibility that people might not express opinions freely when they are subjected to be listened by others (Bryman, 2008:489). In the focus groups held in this research, although some participants were shy than others when expressing their point of views, all of them participated. This was not difficult to achieve as the size of the groups was rather small, and also they were homogeneous. This was a reason to avoid gender-mixed groups discussions with adults, because participants might have profoundly disagreed with respect to some topics as for example household power relations, which would have made the circumstances inappropriate for conducting focus groups (Madriz in Bryman, 2008:489).

For reasons explained in the limitations and challenges section, only two focus groups discussions have been conducted, each of them lasting around one hour. Theoretical saturation through this method has not been achieved, yet valuable information has been gathered, which has been recorded, transcribed, and forms integral part the of the analysis and findings of this research.

Participant observation

Participant observation is employed for gathering further data by documenting the views and impressions from the field. In social research on child labour this method is considered to be important because being child labour a banned activity and somehow a sensitive topic, there might be a difference between what people say and actually do. Therefore what is observed in the field might shed light over aspects for the research which otherwise would have remained concealed. Bryman refers to this as participant observation being a method that allows to have access

to deviant and hidden activities (Bryman, 2008:466). Participant observation also enables for establishing a close relation with the informants by spending time with them, being part of their activities, and become familiar with their day to day problems. In addition to this, the RA methodology asserts that participant observation can provide valuable information of the workplaces, activities, and conditions of work when children are the central units of observation (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:13).

During the data collection for this research participant observation has been constantly carried out. Detailed written notes were taken, on the basis of an observation guide form, and daily updated once I left the setting being observed. This allowed to keep record of the information resulting from the interaction with people, and my reflections about them. Also, it enabled for gaining understanding of the power relations in the workplace, the patterns of social behaviour and relationships, and other relevant aspects for the topic of the research. The participant observation guide form has been elaborated on the basis of recommendations of the RA methodology (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:29) with regard to how and what to observe in the environment where child labour takes place. It roughly includes information on the possible hazards and likely effects of conditions on the children, sex distribution of the working children, their physical appearance, probable ages, standards of hygiene, availability of clean drinking water, use of toxic substances in the work process, and others. Participant observation was in large extent carried out in the mining shafts in Cerro Rico area. However I also participated in meetings of widows in Musol NGO, and Christmas related events.

Critics to participant observations as data collection method assert that researchers might invade privacy and affect the way people behave (Bryman, 2008:466). With regard to this I paid particular attention not to intrude in any setting where my presence should be inconvenient or disturbing. Nevertheless the general impression in this regard is that local people are rather use to foreigners, meaning people from outside the community, to conduct research in the area. My presence there did not hence seem to alter their normal behaviour.

Document analysis

The kinds of documents used for qualitative social research are classified as personal and official. The latter are then divided into private and state documents (Scott in Bryman, 2008:516). Regarding official documents, both state and private types have been used in this research.

Those official state documents analysed were published by the *Bolivian National Institute of Statistics* – Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), Ministry of Mining, Ministry of Labour (MOL), and COMIBOL. These documents included large scale household surveys, national and regional statistic information on social and economic indicators, a variety of reports on mining activities, mining cooperatives, and one newly and unpublished report on the current situation of child labour in Cerro Rico. As for official documents produced by private sources, those that

have been used include national reports and previous research on child labour produced mainly by the ILO and the United Nations (UN). At local scale, it was rather difficult to gain access to internal information of NGOs working with the community, due to the independent nature of my research. The documents I accessed from these organizations was public relations material, and mission statements only. I thus mostly relied on public-domain documentation.

Assessing the quality of the documents was a main concern throughout the research. This was done by evaluating the documents using the criteria of authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning, as suggested by Scott (in Bryman, 2008:516). Due to the public-domain quality of most of the documents I had access to, those criteria of most concern were credibility and representativeness. The former refers to whether the evidence is free from error and distortion. When conducting research in child labour, an aspect worth noting when encountering data, is the danger of sensationalism. This happens due to the increased attention on the problem and the demand for stories of working children due to pressure of donor representatives (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:171). Under this light, child labour might be portrayed much more negatively than what it really might come to be. For surmounting this, I cross-checked the most valuable information gathered from different sources and I bore this in mind while undertaking the participant observation in the field. Furthermore, representativeness refers to whether access is gained to documents in the way that a comprehensive understanding of the topic is provided. In this regard, it must be noted that the information on child labour in Bolivia many times differs among different sources, even though the sources are official. This happens because there is a general lack of reliable data on the incidence of child labour as this activity tends to be in a constant flux due to many aspects such as the prices of the minerals. Also, it is hard to keep track of this activity as it usually takes place in a hidden form. However the documents analysed in this regard, if not adequate in revealing the spectrum of the problem, they were highly helpful in providing a good understanding on the causes and consequences of child labour.

Finally, other sources of document analysis have been a variety of mass media outputs such as web sites, newspapers, documentaries, magazines, and photos. The content of these sources have not been explored in depth and the information provided by them has not been included in the analysis of the findings. Yet their exploration has being important for gaining a global picture of the scope of child labour in mining, and guiding my questions in my interaction with my informants.

4.5 Interpretation of data

General strategies for qualitative data analysis include analytic induction and grounded theory. The main difference between both strategies is the procedure of analysis. The latter refers to the close relationship of the theory and the data

collection. The strategy thus consists on developing theory out of data in a process where both of them evolve together referring constantly back to each other (Bryman, 2008:539,541). The analytical approach in this study has been oriented towards this strategy, which is the most widely used in qualitative research. The procedure of analysis has started with the collection of data with the aim of theorizing about the relations between community development and the local perceptions on child labour. Then this data has been “labelled, separated, compiled, and organized”, and was used as “indicators” constantly compared to the theory to see what concepts best fit in it (Charmaz in Bryman, 2008:542). The analytical process continued as the data collected, coded and constantly compared to theory, provided new data which was again referred back to theory. Bryman refers to this as the iterative or recursive quality of grounded theory, that is made so that the correspondence between concepts and categories within their indicators is not lost (2008:542). An aspect worth of noting in this procedure is the need of reducing error while relating the data with the literature. Although this is a difficult task, effort and attention has been put on ensuring that there is good and coherent fit between the concepts and the evidence that has been amassed (Bryman, 2008:395). Finally, as common in qualitative research, a large amount of data has been generated, which includes field notes, interview transcripts and other documents. It has therefore been challenging to follow an appropriate analytic path which enables to get full advantage of the richness of the data gathered.

4.6 Ethical considerations

There are several ethical considerations in social research that should be carefully considered when conducting an investigation related to children. The discussion on ethical issues is set on whether children should be regarded as similar to, or different from adults in social research. This departs from the statement on how children are considered vulnerable, incompetent and relatively powerless in society in general, conceptualization which, as Morrow and Richards note, needs to be taken into account in social research (1996:90). By contrast, ILO and UNICEF highlight the right of children to be involved in decisions that affect them, as they are a valuable source of authentic insights into their own situations and lives, and they can propose valid recommendations and suggestions for improvement (2005:167).

Ethical guidelines in this respect are centered around two issues: (i) informed consent or assent, and (ii) protection of research informants. Whether children are competent enough to consent about participation in a research is still on debate and depends on many aspects such as their age. However it has been recommended that consent should be gained from adults concerned, but also children should be explained the research aims and the intended and possible outcomes, and they should be aware of their right to say no (Morrow and Richards, 1996:94, ILO and UNICEF, 2005:169). On the issues on protection of research informants, ILO and UNICEF note that before embarking on interviews or related research activities,

the researcher has the responsibility to ensure that no harm will befall children as a result of their participation in the research process (2005:169). Both ethical considerations explained here apply in different extent to research with adults also. In addition to this, Bryman (2008:123) includes the invasion of privacy in the area of ethical concern, as a central tenet which should not be transgressed in the name of the research.

With the aim for compliance with these guidelines, during the data collection I always introduced myself and explained that I was independently carrying out an investigation on child labour in the community, and the data that I would gathered would be used for writing down a thesis. I did this with all my informants regardless their age and gender, although with children I had to be much more specific, as they had many questions about why was I writing a thesis. I carried out interviews with them only when I gained their own consent, and that of parents, teachers, or child keepers. During this procedure, I would guard against giving children any false expectancy of reward for the interview. However when possible I would share with them a snack or a meal as an indirect way of compensation. Worth of noting, although mining activities are categorized as hazardous worst forms of labour, the investigation have not been confronted by any endangering situation which could harm the integrity, morals, and safety of children in the name of the research, neither the investigation have originated any situation that deprive their privacy.

Confidentiality of the informants has been ensured by not quoting neither including in the analysis of the data those statements that have been discussed under confidentiality. Also, codes instead of the real names have been used while gathering and organizing the data. In addition to this, record of conversations and interviews have been made only with clear consent of the informant. Some informants were reluctant to be recorded. In this situation I would explain the reasons why I needed to use this procedure, if the informant was not convinced by these arguments, then I would take notes of the interview or simply hold an informal conversation on the topic. During participant observation, voice taping has been avoided.

4.7 Limitations and challenges

Barriers to confront during this research can be divided into methodological and non methodological. The former is concerned with the fact that child labour is notably a field with incomplete information, and many unknown aspects (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:202). The precise quantification of the working population in Cerro Rico and their characteristics, or the complete listing of active workplaces in this area¹, are examples of data that has not been possible to obtain.

¹ Mining exploitation in some mines shaft is likely to suddenly stop and restart without notifying this to COMIBOL.

Additional limitations not of methodological nature but influencing the quality of the data gathered, included the construction of relationships based on trust and confidence, which was highly important due to the topic of my research. Although this was not difficult to attain within women and children, miners were more indifferent to the research. This was reflected for example in their reluctance to voice taping during the interviews -an aspect mentioned earlier. The quality of the information donated by these informants was frequently poorer than I had hoped. This might in some extent be related to gender and cultural norms and values of the community. I attempted to overcome this issue by trying to spend more time with these informants in their workplace. Although valuable for the participant observation technique, this was however not possible to sustain for more than a few days period, due to the dangerous characteristics of the setting. I for example witnessed some accidents in the mines, two of them involving deceased. In the aftermath I tried to encounter them in other settings such as their houses and during the meetings of the cooperatives.

In addition to this, due to the living characteristics and geographic conditions of the place, following up and monitoring of informants has been challenging. Although issues of representativeness in sampling are less important in qualitative analysis (Bryman, 2008:458), reaching all the informants I intended to, has not been a straightforward task. An aspect worth noting in this respect, is the difficulty of getting informants together for carrying out the focus groups interviews. My impression was that respondents were more willing to collaborate in the research when they were encountered by the researcher, rather than when they were asked to attend a meeting, as they have a very tight schedule during the week. Even more if they would not receive any noticeable benefit out of this activity. In the case of women, mining work is not precisely a collective activity, rather it takes place in an isolated manner. It was thus not possible to gather them together in their workplace either. To surmount this situation I planned to carry out the focus group interviews when they would have any scheduled community assembly or meeting. I confronted a similar situation with children due to the period of data collection, which took place during vacation period in the Bolivian academic calendar. Children were therefore not attending to school, which made it difficult to gather them together for conducting a group meeting.

Also, although I am familiar with the mining environment and with the argo of this region, I encountered a cultural barrier, yet not significant, related to the native language. Most inhabitants in this area are Spanish and Quechua speakers, and some of them also speak Aymara. The interviews were conducted entirely in Spanish, yet some informants, mostly aged and living in remote areas of Cerro Rico, would have a limited knowledge of Spanish. With these informants I held unstructured interviews.

Finally, this research has been carried out with limited time and resources. Therefore, further data collection and document analysis has not been possible. However the methods here presented have been carefully followed in an attempt for ensuring a reliable assessment of the outcomes of the fieldwork.

Empirical findings and analysis

5.1 The social and economic context of child labour

5.1.1 Mining-based production and other income generating activities

The income generating aspects of mining and other related activities

The mining production chain in Cerro Rico is a process based on the flow of the natural resources from the mines towards the international market of mineral raw materials, and the flow of economic revenues in the opposite direction. As illustrated in Figure 5, the mining production starts with the extraction of minerals in the mining set. Then, the minerals are carried in trucks to the *ingenio*¹, where they are slightly processed. After this the minerals are transported for its commercialisation. The extraction of minerals, the treatment at the *ingenio*, and the export procedures, are all conducted by the mining cooperatives who have a direct bearing with the trading companies.

Revenues generated by mining are first destined to cover the transport costs, insurance costs, port services, and payment of taxes and royalties, all these referred to the commercialisation stage (Ferrufino et al., 2011:49). Secondly, the income is used for covering the treatment costs in the *ingenios*, which roughly include expenses on water, electricity, and chemicals. After this, the wages of miners *cooperativistas* are paid, amount which varies according to the size and structure of the cooperative, but it is estimated that members perceive about 40 per cent of production accomplished by *Peones* (Michard, 2008:15). Lastly, economic resources are bound for covering the miners wages which are not fixed amounts but are dependent on the quantity of extracted minerals, and the prices of these in the international market.

Miners' wages usually range between 80 Bs. and 100 Bs. a day, a worker in charge of drilling (see Figure 5 on the following page) can earn as much as 200 Bs. a day, since this is a very exhausting and difficult task. The amount of economic resources that is spend in the four stages decreases along the production chain, meaning that relatively higher amounts of money are spent in commercialisation and treatment costs, than in revenues for workers. In spite that is during the extracting process when more people are directly involved, and the workforce is rather intense.

¹ *Processing plant. See definition on page 4.*

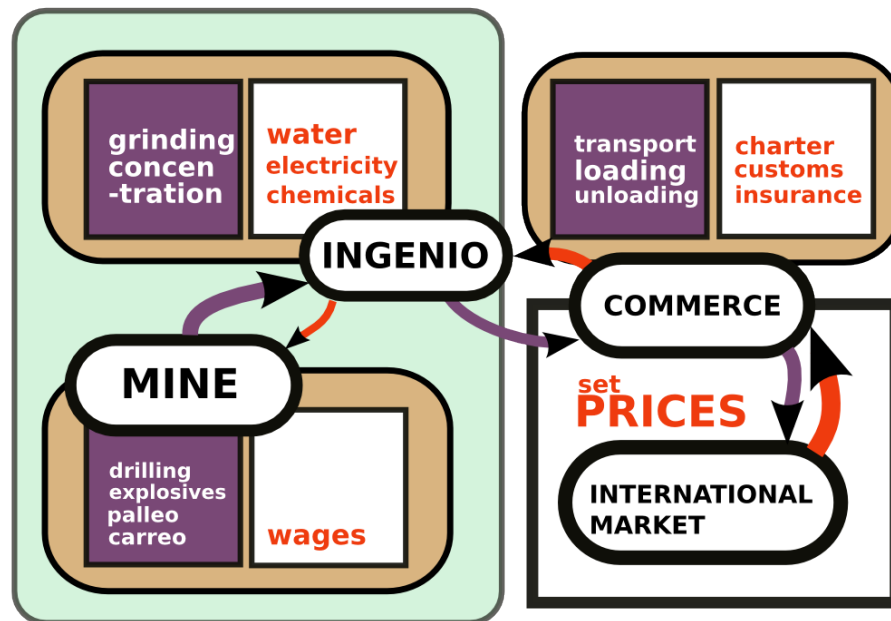


Figure 5: Mineral and capital flows.

Source: Author, adapted from Espinoza, 2010

Mining extraction activities in Cerro Rico takes place under the surface of the earth, which requires equipment and people to operate underground. This type of mining is commonly named subsurface or underground mining. The mining procedures in Cerro Rico depend on the physical qualities of the mines, however these often include the first four of the five stages of extraction that are shown in Figure 5 (i) drilling, (ii) set of explosives and explosion, (iii) *Palleo*² and finally (iv) *Carreo*³, and finally which is the only activity done on the surface. The entire process respond to the characteristics of the small-scale mining (see 2.2.4 in chapter 2), which requires that miners perform great physical effort. Although men, women, and children are involved in the extracting mining work, the need of physical strength is one aspect that defines the degree of involvement of women and children in (i) and (ii). Some children might participate in the (iii) stage, but is it more common that women and children are involved in (iv). Two main types of workers can therefore be found according to the kind of work performed in direct relation to the extraction of minerals: miners and *Palliris*.

The former are male adults who carry out all the activities of the extraction that are shown in figure 5. As explained in section 2.2.4 in chapter 2, miners can be categorised as first hand or *Peones*, second hand workers, and miners *cooperativistas*. A majority of miners are hired by the cooperatives as *Peones*. Although not a rigorous form of work, *Peones* frequently organised their work in *cuadrillas*, according to which there is one responsible miner for each stage of the production assigned by turn, and the rest of miners help with the remaining chores. Miners

² Consists on carrying the minerals from the inside of the mine to the surface, either by pushing a chart or on the back.

³ Consists on loading of the minerals to the trucks.

are exposed to numbers of noxious agents for health, in particular in the drilling stage, such as vibrations, noise, inhalation of dust or gases, manipulation of inflammable materials, and lack of ventilation. The level of exposure to these threats varies according to the number of hours a day that miners dedicate to work inside the mine shafts, which is not a fixed amount of hours and largely depend on their own choice. Preventive measures for mitigate the impacts of the working conditions are not properly enforced, as the cooperatives do not bear the responsibility of providing safety equipment, rather, each miner is responsible for its own security. A great majority of miners do not invest in safety measures and thus usually lack adequate clothing and tools.

A second role of mining workers in the extraction process in Cerro Rico is performed by *Palliris*. These women are usually widowers who have inherited from their husbands the membership to a cooperative. They are hand pickers (the unique tool they use is a hammer) who work outside the mine shafts in a particular terrain assigned by the cooperatives to which they belong. They decide how many hours a day they dedicate to work, which consists on searching for high-grade material in mine dumps after the trucks have removed most of the ore. *Palliris* will also often crush and concentrate the material selected from the minerals produced by cooperatives from old mine workings if the picked material is low grade. Unlike miners, *Palliris* work independently, this means in an isolate manner, they often work with their youngest children, as a way of combining work and parenting. Eventually, they carry heavy loads while handling and transporting the ore they have found. The work done by *Palliris* is called *Picha*.

In addition to the jobs of miners and *Palliris*, other income generating activity of importance in terms of working conditions, number of people involved, and social impacts for the community is the one performed by the so called *Guardas*. These are women who work in a particular terrain assigned by the cooperatives by which they are hired, as they hold no membership in these organisations. They are guardians of the mines entrance, and they take care of the work materials, clothes and other belongings of miners and the cooperatives. These women live nearby the entrance of the mine shafts and they do not have a schedule dedicated to work, as miners might require any service at any moment of the day. Also, robberies might occur during the night and in the event *Guardas* are responsible for any equipment that is lost. They work 24 hours a day and receive in return a salary of approximately 400 Bs., which not only is the lowest salary in relation to the rest of mining workers, but also it is below the national minimum wage which has raised to 1000 Bs. in May 2012.

For increasing the family's earning capacity *Guardas* eventually sort through debris as *Palliris* do, or make meals and drinks which they sell to miners. *Guardas'* sons and daughters are more vulnerable because they are constantly exposed to the mining environment, they are also more likely to work at an early age, in particular, boys are more likely to become miners in the long-term. The work that children who belong to *Guarda* families perform are several, these include for instance tourism guiding, meal and drink selling, household chores, assisting *Palliris*

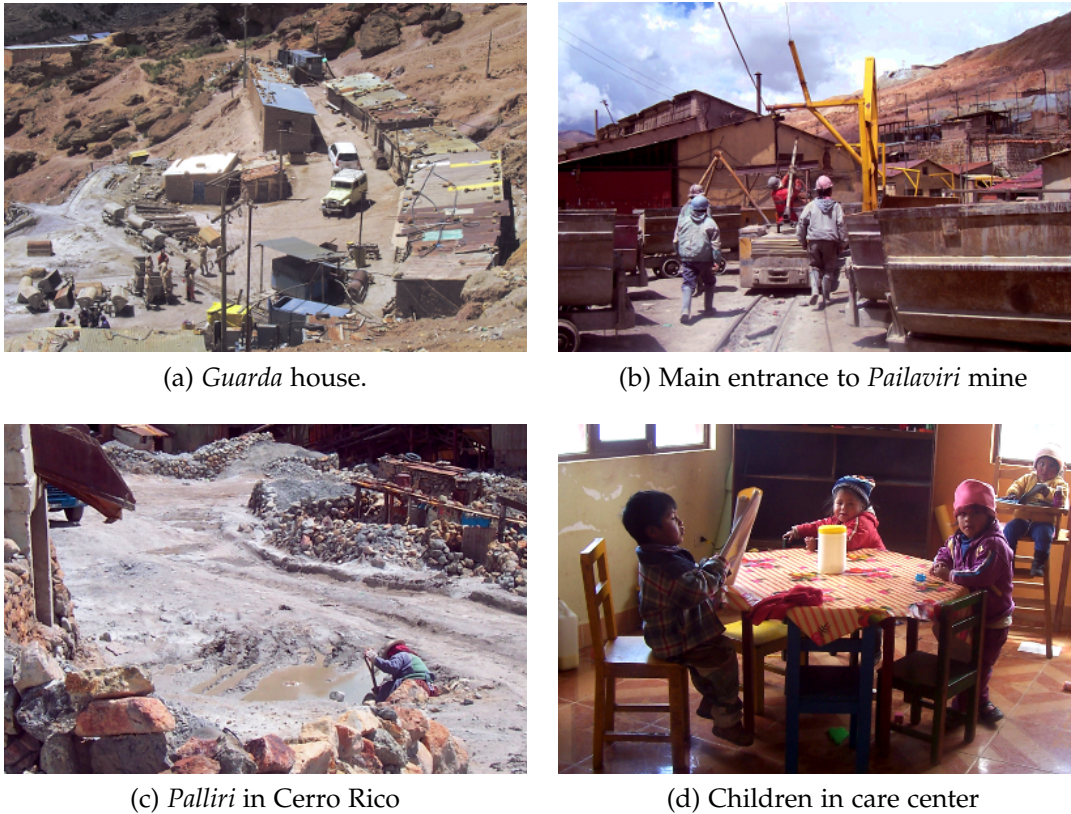


Figure 6: Everyday life in Cerro Rico.

Source: Author. License: Creative Commons BY-SA

in the *Picha*, and taking care of the mine entrance in case of absence of the mother. The *Guarda* work is a phenomenon which has been in expansion for the last thirty years or so, during the [COMIBOL](#) administration in Cerro Rico such a work was nonexistent, as explained by a worker of this institution:

“ This is a new phenomenon, there was no such a thing before, lets say twenty or forty years ago there were no Guardas. The mine shafts were there, the turns of workers took place continuously, let’s say from 7 to 4, from 4 to 11, from 11 to 7. Then there was always people working in there, and the guardian of the mine [...] also made turns. Whereas nowadays the Guarda lives in there, 24 hours she has to be taken care of the equipment, of the belongings of the miners, the clothes, and all the things that they possess” (INTERVIEW J3).

An additional income generating activity of importance in Cerro Rico consists on tourism guiding, which is usually undertaken by youths and children. This work consists on offering a tour to foreigners to visit a mine, or simply walk them around and show the nearby areas like the “small hill”, a hill that is located next to Cerro Rico where there is an abandoned church. There is no fix amount of revenues that youths and children working in this activity receive, it can approximately range from 10 Bs. to 70 Bs., but is rather subjected to the bargaining capacity of children and youths, and also to whether the tourists are willing to tip, or would additionally buy a souvenir like a piece of mineral. It cannot be said that tourism

guiding is exempt of been hazardous for children and youths, because although it does not require that they perform hazardous tasks, they enter to the mine shafts during the majority of the tours they hold. Moreover, some children enter sometimes to mines located in Pailaviri, which are among the most dangerous due to the number of workers and mining work that is done.

An aspect worth noting is that a great majority of Cerro Rico workers, namely miners and *Palliris*, do not live in the mountain of Cerro Rico. Most of them live in nearby peri-urban areas of Potosi, mainly Pailaviri and Calvario zones (see Figure 8 on page 68), both located nearby Cerro Rico. Many respondents have declared that these are convenient locations to live in because they are located within a short distance from their working place. Some informants have also said that Pailaviri zone is *“a bit contaminated, it is nearby to many ingenios, that is why, everything is contaminated”* (INTERVIEW G2). Similarly, a child have noted that Calvario area is dangerous because of robberies *“[...] a thief on Calvario had attacked a grandfather and had stabbed him and he had a grandson, and [the thief] had hit him with a stone on his head, and then a girl shouted police! and the police came and caught the thief. Sometimes I have fear when I live in here”* (INTERVIEW A4).

Apart from contamination and citizen security, workers living in these areas have access to basic services including schools and health care centres, which might be somewhat deficient but are located nearby from their houses. Meanwhile *Guardas* usually live in remote areas of Cerro Rico facing very harsh living conditions, since they have no access to basic services, as explained by a MOL employee: *“children from mining families [who live by Cerro Rico mountain], do not have access to basic services and they cannot have this because the mountain is an industrial zone and we cannot install domestic services in there. Starting from there their rights are being violate, because they do not have access to potable water, to sanitation, a mining child do not know a shower, very few of them might have electricity. There is a situation of overcrowding, families are overcrowded, Guardas women have families of 2 to 12 children and they all live in one single room”* (INTERVIEW J2). Similarly, the nearest healthcare centre for most *Guarda* families is located in Pailiviri mine sector. The infrastructure and the human resources of this centre are good, nevertheless this is frequently closed for various reasons (see picture (d) in Fig. 8 on page 68 for an example of this⁴). In sum it can be said that poverty is high among *Guardas* families, and most of the negative impacts for the community emerge through this mining-based activity.

The roles and degree of involvement of children and youths in mining and other related activities

Many informants have expressed that there are very few or nonexistent children who work inside the mine shafts as paid workers (Table 7 on page 75). The rationale for this as explained by one of my miner informants is that children lack

⁴ The picture shows a notification of the health center in strike. It can be read: *“According to the ultimate resolution of the National Medical Association we have the obligation to abide the indefinite strike, therefore we request the population to take due note until further notice. We ask for your understanding”*.

the strength for carry out the activities for the extraction of minerals (INTERVIEW H1), both surface and underground. This can reduce the effectiveness of the work (and therefore the income perceived), and in the eventuality of accident, endanger the lives not only of the children, but also of the rest of the workers of the cuadrilla. *“A child is useless inside the mine, he would have to have strength, conditions to help”* (INTERVIEW J3) has said another informant when referring to whether children can be considered as workers when they entry inside shafts, because of the same reasons that the previous informant has noted.

An exception to this argument is that children might work inside the shafts in those mines where the form of production is rather rudimentary, as they would not need to utilise heavy equipment, have declared a miner *Peon* (INTERVIEW G2). Mines with these characteristics of extraction are usually located in remote areas of Cerro Rico, have few workers, and often lack electricity and water facilities. An informant from the MOL have confirmed that the number of children working inside the mine shafts is very low: *“[...] only three or four cases of children from 8 to 12 years have been found working in the underground mining in remote areas of Cerro Rico”* (INTERVIEW J1). Children are more likely to be found as paid workers in surface mining, they for instance carry the load of minerals, move and select the mineral (*Picha* work), and other similar tasks related to (iv) in Figure 5 on page 47. These activities present a lot of unhealthy conditions for children as they deal with heavy loads, are exposed to heavy machinery, and to a contaminated environment.

A form of involvement of children with underground mining that draws attention is children entering to the mine shaft as accompanying an adult miner under the premise that the child would help with any chore but not be in charge of any. Children who enter to the mine shafts under this conditions are evidently exposed to the same hazardous conditions than miners. However this usually happens between miners and children who guard a family bond, since the male adult (namely the father, uncle, or brother) might considered that the children should be aware of and have knowledge about the work that is done inside the mine shaft. For example, a 12 year-old boy I have interviewed, confessed:

“[the mining work] in this sector [referring to Pailaviri] is more difficult [than in other mines nearby]. I have once entered to the dark [inside the mine shaft] with my uncle. “We must enter” – he told me. No one knows, nor my brothers, no one. Everybody believes that I have entered only until the entryway. “Let’s go, what are you going to do here?” [outside the mine] he told me. It is different inside, they have special tools. One of these days I will enter again” (INTERVIEW A3).

It is difficult to have a picture of the real dimensions of children entering to the mine shafts as apprenticeships, as this practise occurs in an irregular and hidden form. Nevertheless the fact that this enhance children’s engagement with the mining activity rather than keeping them away from that environment cannot be ignored.

Another mining-based production activity where children are involved in is the work done by *Palliris*. This work is referred to by children as *“to throw stones”*, *“to*

choose stones", or *"to hit stones"* (FOCUS GROUP K1). It is more likely that children have a higher degree of involvement in this kind of work because it takes place under the form of spending time with the mother or any other relative that is carrying out the work. In comparison to the work that is done inside the mine shaft, this work can be regarded as less dangerous, *"in the work on the outside [of the mine shaft] there is not much danger, not much problem. They are with their mothers, with their parents, they are fine"* said a COMIBOL employee (INTERVIEW J3). Further than approaching the involvement of children in the *Picha* work in terms of security, it can be noted that usually parents might prefer children to help sorting through debris rather than they spend this time as leisure. This because parents can keep an eye on children, and also these can in some extent contribute to enlarge the economic income capacity of the family by helping to increase the amount of minerals gathered.

Children hence neither would be working as unpaid nor paid workers in the *Picha*, but rather as indirect paid workers as they would expect to receive the returns to their work through the investment of their parents in nurture, housing, education, or health. Some children have declared that they help their mothers sorting through debris *"every time I can"*, *"five minutes some days"*, *"during vacations and weekends"*, and *"sometimes when I don't go to school"* (FOCUS GROUP K1). Whether the work that children perform by helping *Palliri* women can be labelled as child work or child labour might depend on the age of the children and the effects of the work on the child which, unless a careful follow up is done, cannot be generalised. However, because of the number of children involved, the *Picha* work can be seen as the first mining-based production activity to which children are subjected to in the mining environment.

Male youths are much more likely to be engaged in the work at the interior of the mine shafts. It is far more common to encounter male youths working in many co-operatives as paid workers, part or full time employees. Most adolescents engaged in the mining work have the category of *Peones* and they perform all the tasks that adults do without any distinction of age. The workforce they provide have been deemed valuable for the mineral production, although their inexperience many times may be a factor undermining their security inside the mine shafts, as commented by a local-based NGO informant *"[...] teenagers do not measure [their efforts], they can work full time, they do not measure, they go on and on, they are very active, they do not measure their strength, neither the dangers, nothing"* (INTERVIEW I1).

An additional issue on the work of youths in mining is the social environment where they interact. In order to become integral part of the mining group and to comply with the practises and traditions, youths usually engage in alcohol consumption and smoking. This have been considered to influence their attitudes and behaviour, as one respondent have declared: *"most children in here do not work but they have older brothers that usually work with their fathers, these [the older brothers] are somewhat more rebel. Adolescents who work take alcohol, and sometimes they even come and beat the smaller [children]. It is normal that they fight"* (INTERVIEW I1). The influence of the mining environment over adolescents has also be explained in

these words by another NGO employee: *“The problem is that they [adolescents] enter [to the mining work] and then they get mixed with older people who consume alcohol, who speak about women, who have women, and everything. Then they start to drink [alcohol] at an early age. I have once found a teenager who was concubine, who had a woman already. So they [adolescents] want to do their life as if they were adults already, and at the end they even have their own families and then the money is not enough to help their mothers, which was the reason why they entered to work in the first place, so it is like a vicious circle”* (INTERVIEW I4). The work of adolescents inside the mine shafts meets the characteristics of hazardous worst form of child labour because it is harmful for their physical and mental development; violates their fundamental rights; takes place underground; involves using dangerous machinery; transporting of heavy loads; exposes children to harmful substances (explosives), temperatures, noise levels, vibrations; and it is likely to take place for long hours or during the nights. Youths are therefore a highly vulnerable group and their situation requires urgent action.

The gap of mining gender roles⁵ is wide among youths. Female youths who live by Cerro Rico and are daughters of *Guarda* women, usually spend most of their time assisting to their mothers in the household chores⁶, which include for instance taking care of the mine, cleaning the house, carrying water, taking care of younger siblings, and also cooking and making drinks which they sell to miners. Even though these activities do not represent the same occupational hazards of mining work, female youths as well as children who live by Cerro Rico, live in a dangerous environment where the transit of heavy duty trucks, the presence of drunk miners, the happening of accidents and robberies are part of their daily lives. An aspect worth noting is that female youths in Cerro Rico are prone to sexual harassment and sexual abuse, topic that will be target of further discussion along with other gender issues (see 5.1.2). Female youths who do not live by Cerro Rico but are daughters of *Palliris* or miners, have very different living conditions as they are less likely to be directly related to mining as an income generating activity. It is highly rare to encounter a female youth in Cerro Rico who do not live in there.

As for tourism guiding, it has been seen that this is entirely a job done by children and youths. More boys than girls perform as tourist guides, although girls might usually join as assistants or apprenticeships. The job of guiding tourists to the mines or to walk nearby Cerro Rico is very informal and has no regulations, meaning that any children who meets the basics to perform as guides, namely learning the historical features of mining and knowing the places that are available to be shown, would be able to do this job. One 10 year-old boy commented on his job: *“the tourists come from Argentina, from Brazil they come. “Don’t you want to visit the mines?” we say to them “yes” some reply, “no” others say. [...] I do not get tired in my work. I enter to the end of the mine. The foreigners do not get scared”* (INTERVIEW A4).

⁵ For a definition of gender role in relation with child labour refer to appendix 4 on page 112.

⁶ For a definition of child household chores refer to appendix 4 on page 112.

The demand for tourism guiding for children and youths is rather scarce, in particular during the off season period of tourism in Potosí (October to June). This is partly because the 'Diego Huallpa' museum located in Pailaviri employs professional tourism guides, most of whom are newly graduated bachelor students from Tourism in the 'Tomas Frias' local public university. The activity of the museum is regulated by the local government and it attracts most of the tourists visiting Cerro Rico because of its network with private tourism agencies. Nevertheless, as income generating activity, tourism guiding is important for children and youths because of the structure of the work. This entails that there are no intermediaries between the children or youths who do the job, and the tourists who pay for it, and therefore children and youths get profits of the job they do in a direct form, and receive the economic return to their job immediately after they have finished the tour.

The following summarises the characteristics of the types of work most commonly undertaken by children and youths in mines:

Work Area	Occupation	Description of the work	Children	Youths
Underground mining	Drilling	Passing tools, collecting the mineral, cleaning and taking care of the tools, and drill	male*	male
	Set of explosives and explosion	Make the holes in the rock to place the dynamite	male*	male
Underground and surface mining	Palleo	Carry the minerals from the inside of the mine to the surface	male*	male
Surface mining	Carreo	Loading of the minerals to the trucks	male	male
	Picha work	Search, crush and concentrate of minerals	both	female
	Guarda work	Take care of the mine entrance	both	female
Other mining related	Tourist guides	Guiding groups of tourists underground to explain mining work	both	both
	Commerce	Selling of minerals souvenirs, drinks, meals, and others	both	female
	Domestic work	Cleaning, cooking, taking care of siblings, carry water, and others	both	female

* as helpers or apprenticeships

Table 2: Summary of types of work done by children.

Source: Author, based on fieldwork data.

5.1.2 Gender issues in the mining setting

As explained in the previous section, women's activities in Cerro Rico can be separated into two types: that of *Guardas*, who take care of the mine entrance; and that of *Palliris*, who separate the ore from the debris. It has also been explained that *Guardas* sometimes work in the *Picha*, but the difference rely on *Guardas* not getting paid for this work, rather it is meant to increase their family's earning capacity, also, *Guardas* do not hold any kind of organisation based on this work, neither a membership to a cooperative. In relation to this, the income generated out of the mining activity is noticeably different between these two types of work, being *Guardas* who perceive the lower salary, and whose living conditions are extremely deprived. This happens because they are ordinary workers who are hired by a

cooperative to provide a service, while *Palliris* are members of a cooperative and therefore hold more benefits. Also, *Guardas* tend to be younger women than *Palliris* who usually have around 50 years. Another difference between *Guardas* and *Palliris* is that the former live by Cerro Rico, while the latter are more likely to live in nearby areas such as Calvario and Pailaviri, issue that has implications for their children. A final difference is that the work of *Guardas*, as previously mentioned, is relatively new; whereas the work of *Palliris* has been practised since the Colonial period and has always been undertaken by youths and women –who were called *Palladores* back then (Espinoza, 2010:23).

A third group of women is compound by the widows, who do not perform any work related to mining, but guard a bound with the mining cooperatives because their husbands were miners.

Gender values and norms arising from the mining community cannot be regarded as favourable for women. The society in Bolivia generally tends to be a male dominated society, which is much more evident in the mining environment. Women in the mining setting confront great gender discrimination and have to cope –under unequal conditions, with numbers of social risks deriving from the mining activity. Changes in this conditions have taken place during the last decade in two opposite directions. On the one hand, *Palliris* have faced a positive turn primarily due to the establishment of the *Palliris* Association, and similarly the widows have made progress and efforts towards collective action. On the other hand, *Guardas* have not experienced many noticeable positive changes in spite of the work of NGOs in this sector (see 5.1.4 on page 64).

Palliris organisation and participation in the cooperative system

It is well known that the mining setting is a male dominated environment in terms of the proportion of male and female workers: by 2001 an estimation of 9 out of 10 mining workers in Potosí were male (PDP, 2009:45). This means that mining, although being the predominant economic activity in the department, does not provide many direct income generating activities for women. In addition to this, in the cooperative system women represent a limited proportion which raises only up to 10 per cent of the total members; these women usually have access to a membership in the form of heritage from their husbands (Michard, 2008:56), meaning that they have been widower at some point. Mining-based production activities in Cerro Rico are assigned according to gender roles, and the characteristics of the work performed by women and men (including the revenues resulting from them) varies greatly for this reason.

The most common argument leading the difference on the roles of women and men regarding the extraction of minerals, as explained by a 9 year-old is: “Women cannot enter to the mine. The Tio who takes care of the mine do not want her to enter, also the Pachamama gets angry” (INTERVIEW B3). The belief that women cannot enter to work inside the mine shafts because they bring bad luck for the production⁷,

⁷ For example the Tio would punish the miners by hiding the vein of the mineral.

has been the reason why the entry of women to the mine shaft have been for long forbidden by the cooperatives. However the idea that women cannot perform the same underground work as miners has been changing along time, in the way that the amount of women working inside the mine shafts have been slowly increasing and has started to be regarded as acceptable:

“In my cooperative there are only two women [among around 40 members], because [the property] of those who die, we give to their families, we give them the same Paraje [a working place] and therefore they [women] become members. Then like ours [the cooperative] is new, there are barely two. One of them is already more or less working, she herself works, the other one still hesitates. We do not force a woman to work, or to hire someone to work the Paraje, we do not force them. So, she has to decide, then she can work” (INTERVIEW H1).

A step of high importance given in the path towards the progressive inclusion of women in mining under a similar conditions of those of men have been the establishment of the *Palliris Working Women from Cerro Rico Association*, event narrated by one of the members of this organisation in the following way:

“We got organised in response to the tin crisis, because we were on the overnight without work, and we had our children and teenagers to support. So, through this our organisation we got jobs as working in cobblestone the streets, also we had jobs like planting seedlings, these were all works paid by food. Then through our organisation, first [we established] a centre of mothers and after that, “Caritas” supported the centre. After this we became women Palliris Association, “Palliris Working Women from Cerro Rico of Potosí Association” is called. So that is how we got organised. This organisation is solid, it has more than 20 years, almost 25 years. Well, it has helped us a lot but is has not been easy, because of sexism in the mining sector, they [men] did not wanted “If you are going to establish an association, then you will have to leave your cooperatives, because you will have your own association”, “this is an association, it is not a cooperative what we are organising, we are not duplicating anything” [we told them]. But it was hard, during ten years we had to fight until we got the legal status, but they did not wanted. At the end, during the administration of a president [of the Mining Cooperatives Federation] we said to him that we have gotten an ingenio, and that was it. Some organisations also supported us with political orientation, we were told we needed a name, otherwise we would not get the legal entity. So, I think all that made them change their minds and we got the authorisation to start with the legal procedure, once that done, we registered the ingenio under our newly legal name. Before this, we used to lose everything, all the projects; now everything is registered on our behalf, because if for example any support would arrive, we had to register it under the name of the Mining Cooperatives Federation. I remember once they arrived some very nice workshops that the federation made disappear, so, through the legal entity now we can register everything under our name, we can also have better control of things, the supports now come directly”

Table 3: Palliris association. INTERVIEW E1.

In spite of this effort, the Palliris Association may be considered to offer a relatively limited range of benefits for the women because inside the cooperatives – as these are autonomous in their regulations, there is commonly a gap between the status

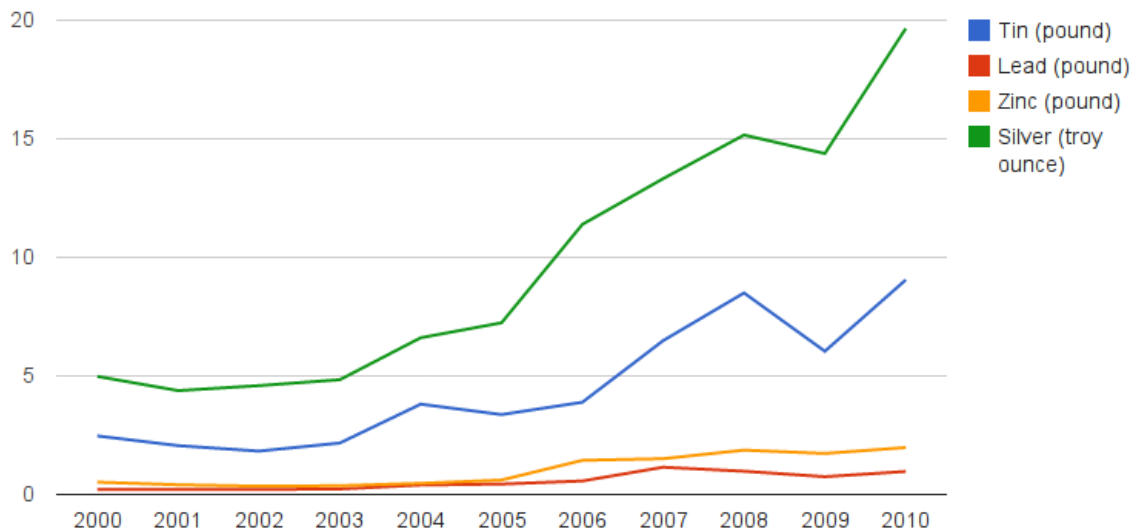


Figure 7: Prices of the Minerals (US Dollars) in the period 2000-2010.

Source: Author, elaborated with data from Mining Vice Ministry and National Institute of Statistics.

of women *Palliris* and the rest of the miners *cooperativistas*. This gap refers to women not been treated equally and not being able to enjoy the same benefits and opportunities as miners even though they are member of the cooperatives. “Regarding gender issues, this is totally devalued, totally devalued because manhood did not reduced, the national constitution and all the work that has been done in behalf of women have definitely not arrived to the mining sector. Women are relegated. Those women who are members of the cooperatives are not given the same Paraje than the male miner cooperativista, they are given what is left from the trucks, what is thrown, they are given that, and they are members. In a cooperative we all should have the same commission, women, men, young, children, we all should have [the same]” (INTERVIEW 12).

Economically, the status of *Palliris* women in the cooperatives is pegged to the cooperative system being in general unfair regarding the working structure and the distribution of income. *Palliris* usually perceive an income equivalent to 2nd hand workers, a great majority of whom hold no membership in a cooperative (Figure 4 on page 14). It is however not possible to generalise the argument that *Palliris* receive an unfair treatment among all the cooperatives, rather it is possible to assert that an equitable inclusion of women in the mining work is rare but it may be more likely to take place in those small and newly established cooperatives, than among those with a large number of male members which would represent a bigger counterpart for the inclusion of women. Nevertheless the economic situation of *Palliris* is not of extreme poverty, as has been noted earlier, partly because the prices of the minerals have been booming since 2003 (see Figure 7). By consequence, *Palliri's* children are less likely to work in mining and therefore poverty is not a cyclical problem for these families in the same extent that it is for *Guardas*.

Guardas and their families: vulnerabilities and household relations

From a gender perspective, the situation of *Guardas* differs extensively from that of *Palliris*. First of all, *Guardas* do not share by any means an equivalent social status of a membership to a cooperative, neither does their husbands. This entails that these women are subjected to an exploitative work with no much bargaining power in favour of them and their families. Moreover the bargaining capacity of *Guardas* is not reduced only with relation to their employers, but also to their husbands because most of these women, unlike *Palliris*, are married. A widow who used to work as *Guarda* tells: “[...] my husband was very dominant, whatever he used to say was the law. He didn’t let me out, I didn’t know what was to get organised, I had not voice and no vote, when he used to arrive to the house I used to start working. I’m much better without my husband, I only have sorrow for my children, without a father, that is the problem” (FOCUS GROUP F1). Another issue in detriment for *Guardas* is that most of these families live in remote areas of Cerro Rico, a gender related implication of this is that daughters of *Guardas* and *Guardas* themselves are vulnerable to be victims of sexual harassment and abuse.

“In the case of the Guardas, they are totally exploited, not only there is labour exploitation, but also sexual exploitation within them and their daughters. [...] I’ve seen a lot of sexual harassment and abuse of teenage daughters of Guardas, and these girls sometimes for fear, sometimes because they don’t recognise the danger and risk, they end up being victims of the miners, who, in their condition of being human male, do not contemplate, I have even encountered older women who have been raped. Nowadays, at present, there is no respect, not any regard to be a woman, a mother” (INTERVIEW I2).

Closely linked to this, another serious gender aspect of the *Guarda* families is domestic violence. Interviewees have pointed in different ways that there is violence in most families along the Cerro Rico, for example an teacher in a carecenter has said: “[...] for example the Yoga program has succeeded because children and adolescents are now more relax, they no longer think in violence, because you know that they come from violent families, when the father is drunk, hits the mother, and so when they are the older and bigger, they have to beat the small children” (INTERVIEW I3).

Also, a COMIBOL employee have commented: *“I believe that the miner are naturally aggressive, because he is aggressive with his wife. He has learnt that he has to make the woman respect him, he has to teach her to be obedient regardless he has to beat her [...]. The woman have to cook, iron, and bring children to the world, that is her role. The miner would be ashamed to say that he loves her wife. Maybe someone hidden somewhere, but no, commonly no one. It is rather a shame to be dominated by the women, that is the culture” (INTERVIEW J3).*

As pointed in this argument, gender roles in *Guardas* families are sharply differentiated. Men are devoted to the work in the mines, while *Guardas* women are destined to do household chores at the same time that, pressed by poverty, they make efforts for increasing their economic income. The children follow this logic of allocation of duties, in the way that girls are meant to help to their mothers

whereas boys, at the moment they reach a certain age above 7 years, will conventionally be required to help the father in the mining work. The father is not only the decision maker regarding the usage of the leisure time of children, but commonly he will also decide the allocation of economic resources for nurture, clothing, health, and so forth. Importantly enough, he will decide whether children will attend to school: *“In the area where I work [Robertito], I have seen that we have to rescue more children. Our weakness are the fathers, because if the father do not want to send them [the children, to the carecenter], he will not do it, there are many children [in the area], some say “yes, my son should attend”, but there are others that we have to convince them that their children could have a better future, [...] I think we can reach more [children], but the idea is to reach the father, because it depends on him if the children attend or not, that is the idea”* (INTERVIEW 13).

Guardas participation in decision making at the household is most of the times limited to the enforcement of the decisions made by the husband, who evidently perceives the higher economic income and therefore manages the earnings. This has negative implications for the household economic income management as it usually happens that the economic resources are allocated to the consumption of alcohol, for instance a miner *cooperativista* has said: *“When one gets money, this is [quickly] spent. It is truth that here there is more drinking [of alcohol] than any other thing. Before we used to drink only alcohol, nowadays they [younger miners] drink only beer, foreign beer, it is more harmful for the body, and also it is more expensive”* (INTERVIEW H1). Similarly, a worker of the Pailaviri health emergency centre has witnessed: *“When the cooperativistas are going to pay [the wages to miners], women go down [from their houses in Cerro Rico] to see how much their husbands are earning, or to ask for money to their husbands, they [women] get treated in a bad manner by these [men]. Men give them 200 Bs. for them to leave, and latter on they spend 500 Bs. in beer. This is an entirely sexist society”* (INTERVIEW J5).

Similarly, and **NGO** employee has explained the issue of the household income distribution in Cerro Rico by comparison to other mining centre in Oruro:

“In other mining areas such as Llallagua for example we find a more familiar work. The father works in the mine and the mother together with the son help to process the mineral in the artisanal ingenio that they have at home. We will not say that this job is not heavy, because mining work is hard whether underground or on the surface, but this is a more familiar work organisation, there is a distribution of the income, the money is distributed among the family. But here [in Cerro Rico] youths who enter [to the mining work] are usually hired by someone else, most of them work for a third person, it is a condition of subcontracting” (INTERVIEW 12).

This is confirmed by a recent report of the **MOL** that points out that working children and youths in Cerro Rico are in the first hired by a miner *cooperativista* who is the employer, secondly they work for “friends” or people they know, and thirdly, they work for their uncles or cousins (Limachi, 2011:12).

Regarding the household composition, there are many single-parent families in Cerro Rico, mainly because of the high rates of deceases due to accidents or dis-

eases. In the case of orphans, most of them are susceptible to be engaged in mining work because they take the responsibility of ensuring the household livelihood, although sometimes it also happens that they are encouraged to leave the mining setting. This topic that will be discussed in 5.2.1, depends on the position of the decision maker regarding child labour.

An additional household characteristic is that there commonly exists lack of communication between husband and wife, though as in most aspects of the mining environment, this is not a white and black distinction. In the case of the widow, very few informants have declared that the family bond while the husband was alive was based on communication, rather the women agreed that they have limited range of opinion in the household decision making. A NGO employee comments on this: *“We have had some troubles with the wives of some miners, because when he has died, she didn’t know in which mine shaft he used to work, didn’t know what things he had. Sometimes the miners work jointly and they have an air compressor, some tools collectively or personally owned, the wife doesn’t know if her husband has a Paraje, or has more than one, or who is he working with, who are the members of the cooperative. The wife should know these things, because after the death of her husband, the cooperativistas cheat on them and say “no, your husband didn’t have anything” (INTERVIEW 14).*

This situation is emphasised by the illiteracy condition of most of these women, which could in some extent limit their interest in the education of their children, but also this condition deprives them from other income generating opportunities outside the mining environment, as commented by other NGO employee: *“Illiterate mothers for example have been relegated just because they cannot read or write and they cannot sought many opportunities beyond the domestic and the mining works, because many people tend to cheat them” (INTERVIEW 12).* Another feature of *Guarda* women is that they are less prone to get organised towards a common goal. Three reasons for this can be mentioned: first, most husbands usually discourage this practise; also, time constraints as *Guardas* do not have spare time to other activities other than those intended to supplement their wages, and finally they live in remote areas, sometimes isolated and difficult to access to, which makes it hard to communicate with other women.

In addition to this, the size of the family can also be considered to affect the gender aspects of the household. As underlined earlier, *Guardas* tend to have large families because reproductive health is barely controlled, if controlled at all, alike the usage of contraceptive methods. The high amount of children seems to negatively affect the living conditions as it contributes to overcrowded living conditions, demands more consumption of household assets, and increases child labour. A MOL employee comments on this: *“When one has money maybe there is no problem to have 10 or 12 kids, because you can support them. However here [in Cerro Rico] is different. They [Guarda families] have a lot of children, they live overcrowded, no matter how much effort parents do for increasing the livelihood, it is not enough [...], children have to give up their right to education and health and all those things, because the income is not enough. The older siblings therefore engage in mining work, they feel some degree of labour responsibility because they have to contribute to the household income” (INTERVIEW 12).* Gender

implications of the household size are noticeable because women hold more parental responsibility than men, and have to cope with a variety of household risk management issues, as for example the transport of potable water supplies to constantly meet the household basic needs, task which is usually given to children.

Finally, a major problem of gender inequity among *Guardas*, is that it tends to be perpetuated because their children have few other options than been educated according to the values and practises of their families: *“The children repeat the behaviour they learn in their houses, they are aggressive with girls, that is normal”* (INTERVIEW 11). Education, which should stand as counterbalance, lack the attractiveness for children and families to opt for schooling in this setting (5.1.3), meaning that the transferability of local values, institutions, and norms prevails among these families.

Widows and the aftermath of the mining work

As mentioned earlier, the widows are not generally directly engaged in mining activities. The widows bear a somewhat conflicting relation with the mining cooperatives, as they are in constant struggle for the social benefits they should have received for the death of their husbands, and that many of them have not done so, or have had to wait for long. As a NGO employee with long experience working with women have stated:

“We think it would be acceptable that a widow wait for the security-income one or even two years, but sometimes if a husband has died at the age of 29, the widows have to wait until she is 55 years to receive the security-income. This in the case that the husband had died of accident, if he has died because of disease, the widow will never receive the security-income. I have seen that, when the miner has died young and has leave a baby, once the widow has gone to ask for the security-income, she has been told that she would receive it in 20 years time. When the baby is already young!. “What for will I need it then, I need it now, in this moment” she replied. A lot of young people die in the mountain [of Cerro Rico]” . (INTERVIEW 14)

The lack of legal protection to these women makes them highly vulnerable to the unaccountable delivery of social benefits by the mining cooperatives. One widow has given account on this: *“My husband has died with silicosis, he has died at the age of 42. I have been left without security-income, even though he was a member of first category of the cooperative, they have said that the quotation of the minerals was not favourable for him, and I have been left like that”* (FOCUS GROUP F1).

A majority of the widows have frequently been underestimated in their marital relations until they have become widows. This brought psychological implications as many of them felt very insecure and unprotected at the moment of suddenly becoming the head of their families: *“The life has been difficult for us, to be father and mother at the same time, when one was not used to talk, to scream, to complain... it is very difficult for every widow at the beginning”* (FOCUS GROUP F1). Economic constraints

have worsen this difficult process because they usually used to entirely rely on the income of their husbands. The widows therefore face larger economic constraints than *Palliris*, but are in a somewhat better social position than the *Guardas*, because the widows work in the urban areas and perform jobs that are not hazardous for them or their children.

In addition to this, unlike the *Guardas* women, the widows are well organised in the sense that they tend to take collective action to defend their rights. Their organisation is not as independent and institutionally solid as the *Palliris* Association. The widows rather depend on the Musol NGO which provides infrastructure and represents their interests before the cooperatives. However their organisation's strength relies on the establishment of fellowship bonds, sharing of personal experiences, and mutual encouragement. Two widows explain this by saying: *"here we come to talk [to Musol NGO], we come to say "this has happened to me", we come to unburden ourselves, that is the reality, we come here to unburden ourselves, to tell what has happened to us, to say "this it is like that", to talk to each other"; "Ancient widow with new widow sometimes we sit together, and the ancient widow explains to the new widow how she has to do [the legal procedure before the mining cooperatives], so we train each other"* (FOCUS GROUP F1). I will further address issues on social organisation when discussing the principles and social values of women's in contrast to men's organisations in section 5.3.1.

Guardas are usually invited to participate in the widows meetings of the Musol NGO, however their engagement is rather poor. Boosting their participation is important because when they become widow their situation is quite delicate, not only they face the same problems regarding social provision, but also they are quite likely to induce their children into the mining work.

5.1.3 Attainment and productiveness of education

There are about 10 primary and secondary schools in the peri-urban area nearby Cerro Rico, which alike many peri-urban educative centres are not at full capacity. Many of the students attending to these educational centres are involved in mining either because they themselves work in some activity related to mining, or because one member of the family works in this field (Baas, 2008:17). Jaime Mendoza school is among the nearest to Cerro Rico, and as most public schools lack of proper infrastructure and maintenance; teachers are not always on time, or they leave early; the curriculum is frequently not complied; and the contents are not updated. Many children living in the mountain assist to this school in spite of the nearly one hour walking distance (refer to Picture (c) in Fig. 8 on page 68). Working children are usually enrolled in the night shift, while non working children attend in the day shift.

Working children and youths attending to school usually face bigger constraints than non-working children in their learning process. For example they are prone to be discriminated, as commented by a local NGO employee: *"What happens in the*

school is complicated. In the night shifts, many of the children prefer not to say that they work, even more to say they are miners because they feel discriminated they feel relegated, there is certain shame in that regard, because there is one or another child who will tell them “you smell bad” because the mineral [smell] is impregnated when one lives there or even when one visits the place, so there is some discrimination” (INTERVIEW 12). In spite of the bad impression that this sheds over the school environment, the great majority of the children who have been interviewed during this research value education highly. They have spoken eagerly about their schools which they find pleasant because it is in this setting that they meet and play with their friends. The school plays a key role of expanding the social network of children, and this is an important factor for their social and mental development.

The difficulty to combining work and education is clearly one constraint encountered by working children and youths, as an 18 year old miner has said: “I have started working [inside the mine] three years ago. I live nearby Cerro Rico, around Pailaviri. I was studying in the night shift but I have dropped school because sometimes we enter to work during the night and therefore I cannot study. It is difficult [to combine both]” (INTERVIEW C2). Combining school and work requires a great effort because after working children and youths are tired, cannot concentrate, feel sleepy at school, or do not have enough time during the day for making their homework and study. They thus have trouble following the lessons and usually feel in disadvantage with regard to their classmates.

It also happens that many of the working children are older than the rest of the class because they have left school for some time, or have repeated a grade. The disparity on education attainment is a phenomenon which tends to start from an apparent small difference in the years of schooling of children, but rapidly increases throughout the years. For example in Bolivia, the deficiency a working child had with relation to a non-working child by the age on 14 was in 1990 of 1.4 years, and this raised to 2.5 by the age of 18, these differences are quite significant if considering that: First, the non-working children are likely to continue their education further, whereas for most of the working children this is their educational attainment for life. Second, given late entry and grade repetition, the mean years of educational attainment of working children at the age of 13 (this is, 4.9) might not be enough for retaining literacy (Psacharopoulos, 1997:379).

Further on educational constraints, another issue is that the traditional educational system is unfavourable for working children. A reason for this is that children living in Cerro Rico are vulnerable targets, for they live in an impoverish environment facing all kinds of deprivations, they generally lack parental motivation to attend to school, and those who work are most exposed to hazardous activities. These aspects indicate that children and young people working in the mines need an education system that fits their social reality, and focuses on their specific problems. Unfortunately these needs are often overlooked. For example while asking children whether they discuss the topic of child labour and mining in their schools, most of them replied negatively (see Table 4 on page 71). This means that either the school do not integrate the theme of mining in the curriculum, or this is done

in a way that it has no impact over children's learning. Similar to this, the grade system and the class schedules are not designed to favour schooling of working children. It is very difficult for them to cope with the demands of the traditional educational system and to be subjected to be graded under the same conditions of other non-working children.

For all these reasons, school dropping among working children in Cerro Rico is rampant. The MOL has calculated that 72 per cent of mining working children and youths have dropped schooling. The major reasons for this are the characteristics of the educational system (meaning an inconvenient schedule, a long distance to the school, and few schooling suitable options); and the lack of economic resources to afford education (Limachi, 2011:13). From a merely economic perspective, education increases children productivity for the future. In this regard, a central negative aspect of school drop is referred to its long-term implications, in the sense that working children who have given up education today, are disinvesting in their human capital formation for the future, probably beyond their understanding and wishes.

On the other hand, working children who succeed in completing primary and secondary school face disadvantages concerning the quality of education. This refers to education failing to provide opportunities for youths to access to alternative labour markets that would ensure their livelihood. These adolescents also find it difficult to pursue undergraduate studies while working, unless they count on the support of the family or have access to any of the NGO programmes for educational support as commented by a miner: *"I have first worked [in the mines] to pay my studies. My parents have also helped me a little, they are not miners, they live in Tupiza. I have studied Tourism at the university, I have even been a representative of my class, I have had good grades. When I had finished my studies, I have been looking for a job for nearly two years, working a little here and there, but I have found nothing. So I have had to come back. I have now being working in the mines for three years, but now I'm a second hand worker, so I'm saving money to open my own tourism agency because I like my profession"* (INTERVIEW G3).

Apart from the traditional educational system, local based NGOs play a role of importance in the educative aspect because they remedy the lack of parental encouragement and support children to study. For example the Cepromin NGO has established three carecenters located in Pailaviri, La Plata, and Robertito sectors of the mountain. These centres do not provide formal education, but are focused on supporting children who attend to school for not being left behind in their learning process.

5.1.4 Governmental divisions and local-based NGOs

The MOL is the main division at the central government in charge of (i) developing, (ii) coordinating, and (iii) enforcing policies to end with child labour.

Regarding the development of national policies, the Government's policy framework to address child labour was the *National Plan for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labour* (2000 - 2010) – Plan Nacional para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil (PNEPTI).

The MOL led an inter-institutional commission to coordinate the various agencies and entities involved in the PNEPTI, called the *Commission for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labour* – Comisión para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil (CEPTI). This division has focused on the implementation of the *Project for the Eradication of Child Labour in Mining* – Proyecto para la Erradicación del Trabajo Infantil en Minería (PETIM), which lasted from 2002 to 2006. The *Departmental Sub-Commission for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labour* – Sub-Comisión Departamental para la Erradicación Progresiva del Trabajo Infantil en Minería (EPTI) was the division in charge of implementing this programme in Potosí. Nine institutions have been part of the EPTI:

The public divisions:

- Municipal Defender of Children and Adolescence – Defensorías Municipales de la Niñez y Adolescencia (DMNA)
- Court for Children and Adolescents (Juzgado de la Niñez y Adolescencia)
- Social Development Secretariat (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social)
- Departmental Assembly of the Autonomous Government of Potosí (Asamblea Departamental del Gobierno Autónomo de Potosí)
- Regional Ombudsman Office (Oficina Regional del Defensor del Pueblo)
- COMIBOL

The private sector representative:

- Federación Departamental de Cooperativas Mineras (FEDECOMIN)

The local-based NGOs:

- Centro de Promoción Minera (CEPROMIN)
- Voces Libres

Assessment of the PETIM project has taken place in December 2011. This included a meeting of evaluation of the outcomes of the project, as well as the performance of the EPTI. An aspect worth of attention according to employees of MOL has been the lack of effective inter-institutional coordination between these actors. In particular it has been noted the lack of proactiveness of some divisions such as the DMNA, that should protect and defend vulnerable children, but only acts when denounces are presented; the interest of the DMNA in the PETIM project has also been deemed poor (Limachi, 2011:16). Lack of inter-institutional coordination between the work of the MDCA and the regional division of the MOL has also been considered a weakness for the effective implementation of the PETIM project (INTERVIEW J1).

For the enforcement of policies, the MOL employs inspectors countrywide for assisting general labour complaints and undertake inspections. The inspectors have

the authority to fine infringes and to send cases to the labour courts. However this is not a straightforward task, moreover in the mining setting where there is a general lack of working alternatives for children who opt for working. On this regard, an inspector has declared:

“For example in the mining setting, I represent the State, and as an inspector I have to make inspections, sanction, and sue the employee and the family that is using exploitative child labour. That is what the inspection is about. But I cannot really do that because of the socioeconomic situation of the families in Potosí. So this is a very complicated job, because many times it happens that there is no employee, but the parents are making the children work in a way that violates their rights, endangering their physical and mental integrity. As an inspector I could take that child out, but where do I insert him or her? what policies does the State offers for that? I should take him or her for example to an orphanage, but most of these centres are at full capacity and it takes a lot of time to find a place. With adolescents above 14 it is even more complicated because although they work long hours, they defend their right to work, they say that they need and they have to work, many times to help to the family livelihood. So, under those circumstances, who to fine?” (INTERVIEW J1).

Effective enforcement of national regulations to prevent and reduce child labour is therefore challenging. Seemingly because child labour cannot be targeted independently of the rest of the social and economic factors. In addition to this, there is a general lack of inter-institutional coordination between the DMNA and the MOL refers precisely to the inspections, as the DMNA also undertakes these but they done separately instead of jointly. *“The work [of the MOL] is to coordinate with the Defender of Children and Adolescence to work jointly, but this is also a weakness because we have never coordinate the work. But now we are signing agreements, next year we will start with this, and we must work together, the Defender office should not do inspections separately” (INTERVIEW J2).*

Regarding the NGOs working at present in Cerro Rico, three have been identified. These are not the only NGOs involved with child labour in mining in Potosí, but were the only organisations directly working with the community in Cerro Rico, while the data for this research was garnered.

Solidary Women (Mujeres Solidarias - Musol)

Founded in 2004, this is a relatively small NGO sponsored by private donors. It is devoted to support women in all kinds of legal, economic, political, and social problems that arise from the mining work. As explained by one employee: *“This support is oriented towards Palliris, Guarda women who live in the mountain [of Cerro Rico], the widow without insurance funds, we also have carecenters for the children of widow, Palliris have another carecenter in Caracoles, which also coordinates with us, that project is oriented to support to Guarda’s children. Since our work supports women, it has also encountered the problem of Peones. That is why at present we are working with the*

wife of the Peones. We work with women who are deemed vulnerable because of mining. When we talk about women we cannot overlook her family environment, that has directed us to work with carecenters, and now we are also starting to work with the provision of university scholarships for children, so that they can study at the university” (INTERVIEW 14). An aspect of importance of this NGO, as mentioned earlier, is that it allows for a space of socialization for widows, this adds on the quality of the results of the programs implemented because women, aside of being recipients, play a role of supporting each other as they all face similar constraints, as presented earlier in 5.1.2.

*Voces Libres*⁸

It is a Swiss NGO which has the following objective: “Voix Libres is committed to the most underprivileged populations in Bolivia. We have a whole group of young people who, under the direction of our social worker, take on the mission of awareness raising. These are young people who have themselves experienced the hellish life in the mines. Today they are recipients of Voix Libres sponsorships and we have committed to get other children out of the mines” (Voix Livres, 2012). Voces Libres NGO takes action to combat child labour in Cochabamba, Oruro, La Paz, and Potosi. It is privately sponsored by some 4000 families in Europe (Voix Livres, 2012). This NGO has concentrated its efforts on the prevention and eradication of child labour in Potosí since 1994. It has initially covered in this city a wide range of projects including health, education and training, and microcredits. At present only the scholarship program and the carpentry workshop and shop are functioning. The NGO has reduced its range of action because of a problem of mismanagement of funds, which caused the reduction of the amount of aid provided to this office (INTERVIEW 15). The international branches in Switzerland, France, and Belgium coordinate the awareness raising, fundraising and communication actions and the funds raised are directly transferred to Bolivia (Voix Livres, 2012). Voces Libres take in more voluntary workers than Mujeres Solidarias (MUSOL) and CEPROMIN.

Mining Promotion Center (Centro de Promocion Minera - Cepromin)

Is the most experienced and large NGO working in Cerro Rico. It has been created in 1979 and it also operates in Oruro, Llallagua, and Atocha. CEPROMIN “seeks to contribute to the development of critical consciousness, the qualification of the action and the strengthening of organizations to promote political, economic, social and cultural factors that improve the quality of life and working conditions of the population” (CEPROMIN, 2012). It does not have an abolitionist position regarding child labour, rather it focuses on improving the living conditions of children and youths who have to, or want to work. Among many strategies Cepromin work for enhancing youths leadership and ability to get organised, they have for instance supported the creation of the Potosi Local Movement of Working Children and Adolescents

⁸ Voix Libres is the original french name.



Figure 8: Views from Cerro Rico.

Source: Author. License: Creative Commons BY-SA

(NATs). As mentioned earlier, Cepromin has established three care centers in Cerro Rico in the Pailaviri, La Plata, and Robertito areas, where children and youths from 0 to 18 years can freely assist. Apart of functioning as childcare centers, these also support children in their schooling, provide breakfast and lunch, and are secure places where children can spend their time away from the hazardous environment of mining. Caretakers in these centres also play a worthy role in taking emotional care of children and enhancing good manners and friendly behaviour. The Robertito centre is located somewhat far from Pailaviri, the access to this area is difficult as the roads are very narrow and bumpy. In spite of the general adverse conditions, the centre offers a relaxing and healthy environment for the children.

Detailed assessment of the outcomes of the projects of the local NGOs is beyond the limits of this research. However, a critical approach to the discourse on child labour of these organizations is presented in [5.3.1 on page 87](#), and some points for debate regarding endogenous and exogenous influences for the local discourse of child labour are drawn on [section 5.3.2 on page 92](#).

5.1.5 Summary

The empirical findings outlined in the above section lead to view complex social and economic conditions in the Cerro Rico mining community that negatively impacts children well-being, because they are conducive for these to engage in some work related to mining.

Though, not all the children are affected by mining work in the same extent, and this points out that not all work performed by these in Cerro Rico is to be fitted into the category of hazardous child labour because of the nature of work performed (ILO, 1999a). Rather, some of these activities can be categorised as child work instead, for example the chores that children below 12 years perform as household chores. This naturally do not apply to children who work inside the mine shafts that, according to my interviewees, are relatively few. The second characteristic of the hazardous work as defined by ILO refers to the conditions under which the work is carried out (ILO, 1999a). In this regard, there is no doubt that Cerro Rico presents numerous dangers for children. Some of these are domestic violence, gender discrimination, alcohol consumption, and mining machinery everywhere. This distinction although subtle is of importance because it points out that the dangers of the social environment in Cerro Rico can affect children equally and sometimes even more than the characteristics of the work itself, once more, exempting child miners. Another aspect regarding children in Cerro Rico is that all of them perform some kind of work. The characteristics of this and whether it is mandatory or voluntary may vary widely according to gender roles, to the economic and social status of the parents, and whether the children attend to school. This may suggest that the practise of child labour guards relation with traditional practises from the original communities of the families living in Cerro Rico, as noted in the cultural embedded position to child labour in section 3.3.1 (Layme and Valdivia, 2002).

The situation of youths (12 to 18 years) is more delicate. The male adolescents are likely to be engaged in underground mining which meets all the characteristics of hazardous child labour (ILO, 1999a). It therefore is highly damaging for their physical and mental development. Whereas, female youths are likely to replicate the work of their mothers. These, although not dangerous because of the characteristics of the work, are hazardous because of the risks of the environment where they take place. Female adolescents are for example prone to sexual harassment and abuse.

In addition to this, youths are more likely to confront the choice between work and schooling, in particular male adolescents. In this regard, the empirical findings have shown that education is not an appealing option for adolescents, among other reasons, because it does not provide alternative working options in the mid-term. Therefore school dropping is very high, which is a key issue on the continuation of child labour in Cerro Rico.

Another aspect worth of attention in Cerro Rico is poverty. Though further discussion will be held on this topic in the following section 5.2.2, it is important to

underline two aspects in here. First, poverty do not affect to all members of the community in the same extent. *Guardas* and *Peones* are the most affected by this situation because for many reasons. For instance, poverty derives from the living conditions in Cerro Rico that presents numbers of deprivations including lack of health services and domestic installations. Also, *Peone's* working conditions are highly damaging for their health and this also endangers their families, as these earn the most in the household. Another reason is that their children are more likely to be engaged in mining activities and therefore poverty endures and continues to affect these families through generations. Whereas *Palliris* are more prone to discontinue this poverty circle as their children are encouraged to remain away from the mining activity. For the widows, child labour may be survival strategy in the case that their income do not suffice for the household livelihood.

Secondly, in the case of the *Guarda* families, a more decisive factor leading to poverty is the mismanagement of the income rather than the lack of economic resources. This is relates to gender issues at the household level, because in this setting the husband is the decision maker and therefore a lot of resources are destined alcohol consumption.

A final aspect to highlight from the empirical findings in this section is that the cooperative mining system is highly disadvantageous for a great majority of the community. It is essentially detrimental for the *Guardas* because these receive a very low salary in relation to the rest of mining workers, fact that increases their reliance on children's labour as a survival strategy. This choice relates to Lieten's (Lieten, 2010) argument on the significance of the short-term economic contribution of children for the alleviation of family poverty. The cooperative system is also unfair to the widows because of the unaccountability in the delivery of social benefits to the miners. It is also unjust for the *Palliris* because of gender-based discrimination within most of the cooperatives. The mining cooperatives lack accountability for the provision of industrial safety measures. As a result, mining is an extremely hazardous work, and this impacts to the children and youths that are involved in mining, and carries out negative consequences for their families.

5.2 Central tenets in the discourse that supports child labour

5.2.1 How is child labour seen by the different members of the community

Child labour through the eyes of children

As noted in the previous section 5.1.3, many children have declared that they do not discuss the child labour issue in their schools. It has also been pointed in section 5.1.2 that there is a tendency towards the absence of intrahousehold communication among *Guarda* families. Not only these set of circumstances but probably

many other aspects of children personal experiences lead to a first aspect worth of attention in the discourse of children that refers to a blurring conceptualisation of child labour:

<p>8 YEAR-OLD - <i>"I like my school, I like to study, I like to read. In my school we do not speak about the miners, when I grow up I want to work in the mine shafts. I have four bothers, I live with my mother and sometimes also with my father. My father enters to the mine and my mother cooks for my father. Child labour? no, I don't know what is it"</i> (INTERVIEW A2).</p> <p>10 YEAR-OLD - <i>"I have seven siblings, five brothers and two sisters. My older siblings work in the mine, my father also works in the mine [...]. My brother enters to the mine with a lamp. Two of my younger brothers help me to guide tourists. I don't know what child labour is."</i> (INTERVIEW A4).</p> <p>11 YEAR-OLD - <i>"I don't know what is child labour, in my school we do not talk about child labour. I work as a guide tourist, but only saturdays and sundays, sometimes I enter to the mine [as a guide], I get paid normal [not well not bad either]"</i> (INTERVIEW A5).</p> <p>10 YEAR-OLD - <i>"My father work in the mine, he carries the minerals, and then he bring money. then he goes into the mine again. One of my brothers also work in the mine. My other brother has 13 years and goes to school. I don't know what child labour is, no, I don't know any children who works"</i> (INTERVIEW B2).</p> <p>12 YEAR-OLD - <i>"Child labour? yes I know, those who work from 10 years above"</i> (INTERVIEW B1).</p> <p>9 YEAR-OLD - <i>"What I know about child labour is that parents say that one should work for the Tio"</i> (INTERVIEW B6).</p>

Table 4: Child labour as seen by children

An aspect is worth of attention in this regard is that in Spanish, the distinction between child labour and child work does not have the same connotation as in English, as noted in section 3.3.1. In Spanish the concept of child work is very much associated to that of "help", concept that would rarely have a negative connotation for children who are very often "helping" in the household chores and other kind of activities. The semiotics of the language make it difficult in the first place that children would identify any kind of work that they do under the premise of "help", in contrast to other chores that they are given which would endanger in any extent their physical and mental conditions. Therefore the difference between child labour and child work is jeopardize and it ends up meaning the same. For example: *"When I help to my mother I arrange and clean the house, and then sometimes I go out there five minutes to choose stones, that is all I do, I go up to choose the stones, I help my mother since 2007, four years ago. I like working throwing stones"* (INTERVIEW A3).

Implications of children not clearly distinguishing between child labour and child work, are twofold: First, the conceptualisation of child labour seems not to correspond with the reality of children working and living in the mines, as it does not fit into the understanding of the world they have. Naturally, this can be taught, and the second aspect to be noted is that education can play a more active role in informing children on the problems of the mining work, including the hazardous aspects and how they hamper children's mental and physical development. However, it remains the possibility that the gap between the current theoretical academic approximation to child labour on the one had, and the vision of children



Figure 9: People around the mines.

Source: <http://www.viajealcorazondebolivia.org/> License: Creative Commons BY-SA

that is shaped by their day-to-day empirical learning on the other hand, cannot be surmounted only through education. This simply because children would learn a concept that is essentially unfamiliar to their culture.

In either way, the unclear conceptualisation of child labour do not imply that the work done by children is unrecognised by these. Rather, children can easily talk about the positive and negative aspects of child labour – under their own conceptual frames. Discourse that during the interviews has emerged in concordance with the *why* of child labour and the issue of whether children *should* or *should not* work.

12 YEAR-OLD (WORKING CHILD) - *"I think children work because sometimes their father has died. I don't know what is good about work. What is bad is that sometimes they [children] get tired. Children should work because sometimes their mother has died or their father has died or both of them has died, and therefore he has to work"* (INTERVIEW A3).

10 YEAR-OLD (WORKING CHILD) - *"The good thing about working is earning money, the bad thing is not to earn money. Children should work for themselves. The adults should help working children, but I don't know how could they help"* (INTERVIEW A4).

8 YEAR-OLD (WORKING CHILD) - *"It is good that children work, what is bad is that they don't work and they only go to school"* (INTERVIEW A2).

12 YEAR-OLD (NON-WORKING CHILD) - *"Children work because they don't have mother or father. Some of them work because their mother is ill. If a family would have money, then the children would not work. In some places they make children work too hard, that is the bad thing. They for example make them carry loads, that is heavy. When a child is working is helping at the same time, it is the same, but they should not work, because they can get sick"* (INTERVIEW B1).

Table 5: Children on why children do work

A cross-cutting theme along these expressions is the link between child labour and single-parent families, which is clearly a major problem in the overall child labour topic. Also, it can be noted a balanced rating of child labour both as a *good* or as a *bad* practise. This points to children recognising the work as a need, but at the same time as a hazardous activity, that is done when further livelihood options have been worn out. Interestingly, children tend to avoid personalising the speech when talking about child labour.

Child labour for youths

A multiplicity of household characteristics, education quality, and other psychosocial aspects influence the different standpoints youths have regarding the mining work. Among the household characteristics, the MOL has for instance estimated that the majority of youths working in Cerro Rico live alone (25.45 per cent), followed by those who live with brothers (23.64 per cent), and those who live only with the mother (14.55 per cent) (Limachi, 2011:3). This points out that family disintegration is high, and youths are in the need to deal with numbers of responsibilities at an early age. This also explains that most youths are rather autonomous in their decisions concerning whether to engage in the mining labour market. One NGO employee has commented on this: *"The children and migrant youths who work in the mines have become like small adults, they have overtook adulthood because they generate economic revenues, they support families, they manage the money they earn, they have other responsibilities than people their age have"* (INTERVIEW I3).

As for the quality of education, it has been noted before that the mining work is an appealing mean of subsistence for youths, partly because schooling does not provide adolescents with practical skills to access to better working options, once they have graduated from school (refer to section 5.1.3). Many adolescents who are willing to work, are thus in a doubtful position: *"My neighbours (near Calvario*

zone) dress stylish, they have cars, they have cellphones, they have everything. When I see that, sometimes I also want to enter to the mine and leave the school, because I don't have any of that, and you see and you want, right?. I have been told that in 15 years my friends that work in there [mine] will be sick or death, and all that money they have is not going to be enough to cure them. Would that be true? I don't know, they say. Maybe not. Also, if I enter to the mine, maybe I become a cooperativista, and then I would not have to work inside [the mine shaft] but would earn [money]" (INTERVIEW D1). Parental guidance along with NGOs support and encouragement for education, are among the factors that play a role influencing the decisions of youths to stay away from mining.

On the other hand, apparently one reason leading youths to the mining work are the demands of consumerism of their social environment, since the need to comply with particular social norms is a powerful motivational factor during youth. Another interviewee commented on this: *"Another issue is that there is a trend, there is an influence of the fashion. A cellphone, is a fashion, is a modern element, and they do not have access to that. Their parents will never buy them a cellphone. So, they earn themselves some money, and they buy the things they want because their parents cannot afford to do that. It is not only a cellphone, I'm talking about clothes, speakers, headphones, also they want to go to parties, whatever. Their parents would never be able to give them that life style, so they do it themselves. So, this is also an economic factor, it is because their parents are poor. But it is different, it is not the same as those [adolescents] who work because they help their families to survive"* (INTERVIEW J5). The MOL has recently identified that "to live well", in the words of the youths, is the second driving force of importance for the incidence of child labour in mining. The first reason is to contribute to the family income, the third one is to support themselves, and the fourth reason is to afford their studies (Limachi, 2011:4). The desire to comply with particular living standards beyond the own capacity, to the extent to be exposed to the hazardous conditions of the mining work, is symptomatic of a process of loss of values and cultural identity, which to all lights needs to be accorded more attention into child labour appraisal in the mining context.

Under this considerations, perceptions of the mining work among youths point to various directions. An argument that seems to be convergent, is that the mining work is not in reality a good option because it presents disadvantages, although it can be accepted – or be considered even appealing– under certain circumstances, or in case of lack of other options:

<p>13 YEAR-OLD - "Sometimes I think is not always good, but also there are days that I would like to go [to work in the mine]. But also if I get sick it would be a problem" (Interview D1).</p> <p>15 YEAR-OLD - "I think it is ok to work, we earn [money] and we can live. I have now got used, and I don't get tired anymore, one have to find the way not to get tired, it is a matter of finding the trick. Then it is ok" (Interview C1).</p> <p>17 YEAR-OLD - "Sometimes they [adolescents] work because their parents do not have enough money to support them, and they look that their siblings suffer for food, and then they go to work [to the mine]. I believe it is not good, but sometimes it is also necessary I say" (Interview D2).</p> <p>18 YEAR-OLD - "I don't like it that much. Sometimes we work in the night shift and everything. But what to do?" (Interview C2).</p>
--

Table 6: Youths perceptions on Child Labour

Women and men on child labour

In table 7 I present some cross-cutting arguments both in favour and against child labour that have been raised by adults.

<p>Widow - "Here in Potosí there is only mining, what could we do about that? there not factories, there is nothing for them [children and youths] to go to work. So they emigrate. For example my children have emigrated to Argentina because I have not let them work in the mines" (Focus Group F1).</p> <p>Widow - "I agree that children work, my son who now has 16 years old has worked since he was 13, but not in the mine. The has worked as glassware assistant, he told me "mom I should go to help my uncle in his shop" and I said "yes, you have to learn to work" and I agree that they should help, but not in the mine, there are other works that they can do" (Focus Group F1).</p> <p>Palliri - "Maybe not all the mothers are the same, some exploit to the boys, they don't even take care of them. I know [a person who] she doesn't care where her child goes to work, [as long as] he brings money. She sends him to the mine "they say they are paying well, go there", the mother making the contract, "my son is going to help". Sometimes the parents are also to be blamed. We sacrifice the youths, the children. Poor children. [...] I think one should also to talk to the mothers, it is not only about going to work, they are still children" (Interview E2).</p> <p>Guarda - "He has to help, if not when he grows up he will not know [how to earn a living] and anything can happen. He can study also if he wants, I do not tell him not to go [to school]" (Interview E3).</p>	<p>Peon - "It is not so harmful that a child works, because if a child doesn't have a father or a mother that supports him/her, then he/she has to work, there are also others that are orphans. For the rest of the community it is not so good, but I don't think child labour is a problem, with my experience in the mine I have not seen many [children] working, I have seen adolescents, but as I have told you, those who are orphans are who need to work" (Interview G1).</p> <p>Peon - "I think that child labour is not damaging, but anyways a child should not work. But there are children that are orphans, then they have to work, that is the situation. For the community, it is not right that the children works, I think child labour is a problem for the community, but I don't know how it should be solved. I have almost never seen children working in the mines, also it is not allowed, maybe uphill [in other mines], but for us here downhill it is not allowed that a children work, it is forbidden" (Interview G2).</p> <p>Miner cooperativista - "I'm working in mining since I was 12 years old then. Child labour? From my point of view there are very few children working in here, only adolescents and adults, because they can perform the work. Therefore under-aged do not work. We have very few who are working in the mine. Then we don't have. They do not exist. Few exits. I do not think that is a serious problem" (Interview H2).</p>
--	---

Table 7: Women and men on Child Labour

Child labour appraisal by women and men is done in a way that the distinction between childhood and youth seems to be overlooked. Refer for example to INTERVIEW H2 in the Table 7 on the preceding page, where seemingly child labour involves only to children below 12 or so, rather to people under 18 years. This relates to Cussianovich et al. argument (2001:62) about children being taken as social subjects with responsibilities. In the mining environment it would be highly unlikely that a 18 year-old is taken as a child, as mentioned earlier (see INTERVIEW 13 in Table 6 on the previous page) they rather cope with adulthood responsibilities. Child labour is thus accorded little attention, regarded as *not a serious problem*, or even deemed in some cases as nonexistent, since the number of children below 12 years working in underground mining is relatively small. Importantly, this view misguide the valuation of child labour as a manifold problem. The simplification of child labour is delicate in as much as it overlooks the seriousness of the incidence of youths in the mining work, and disregards the multiples forms of child labour outside the mine shaft.

An additional issue is that most women deemed child labour in mining as hazardous and this is a core reason why children *should not* work. However children's work in other settings is not banned, moreover is considered as a learning process acceptable for children to go through (see FOCUS GROUPS F1 in Table 7). In opposition to this, men no dot identify child labour as particularly dangerous or harmful. They nevertheless assert that child labour is *not so good* for the community but recognise that there are some conditions under which this needs to take place, as for example orphanage.

Child labour in the speech of the local-based NGOs

Local-based NGOs are naturally all against child labour. However, they do not have the same strategies to combat this problem (see 5.1.4), and they interact differently with the community. The discourse on child labour of NGOs has been found to be related to their perceptions of children and youths.

For example the CEPROMIN NGO do not have an abolitionist position towards child labour because they recognise and support children in the defence of their right to work as a subsistence mean of livelihood: *"They [children and youths] say, "well if I leave this job then I need another activity where I can earn money", that means that they recognise their right to work and to have an income. The problem is that mining work is a decent work but it is hazardous."* (INTERVIEW 12) .

This argument has two implications. On the one hand, it sheds light on children's rights to work, and the fact that they recognize this right, either because of extreme poverty conditions, or because they want to work for purchasing things that otherwise they could not be able to afford, as referred earlier in the speech of youths about child labour (Table 6 on the preceding page). On the other hand, it brings into discussion the extent to which child labour is a decent work. I have previously pointed out that it belongs to the hazardous worst forms of child labour according

“These children cannot always go to school immediately [after they leave the mining work]. When they leave the mine they are in a serious post-traumatic state. They are not able to speak and do not lift their eyes from the ground. They need therapy (music, singing, drawing, group discussion, ...). Only then can they benefit from the literacy workshops after which they are able to follow the normal school programme”.

“There are also girls, but they usually work outside of the mine with their mothers, sorting out minerals and collecting anything that can be of use among the refuse. We are careful to help as many girls as boys, as in Potosi over seven out of ten women suffer physical abuse and rape is rampant. It is therefore crucial to get as many girls as possible out of the violent environment of the mines”.

“The coordinators and leaders already have much work and there are always emergencies. Every hour that passes a child is in danger of dying crushed in the mine. It is therefore difficult to send people there as it would mean taking precious time away from the children”

(Voix Livres, 2012)

Table 8: Voces Libres views of Child Labour

to international regulations. This entails that mining child labour is highly hazardous for children’s safety but, unlike the unconditional worst forms of child labour, mining does not deprive children morals, it is not related to criminal acts, slavery, trafficking, armed conflicts, and so forth. This is one strand of relevance for discussion because the view of mining working children is usually misused and misunderstood. For example the German NGO Kindernothilfe⁹, sustains that children in Cerro Rico work as slaves (Kindernothilfe, 2012). This argument suggests that child labour in mining rather belongs to the unconditional worst forms, which is a debatable viewpoint. Sensationalism around child labour is more common among international NGOs, for example Voces Libres exposes on its web page:

A Voces Libres employee followed a similar line of argument: *“Children lack of everything in the mountain [Cerro Rico], sometimes even food, I feel very sorry when I make visits. Some of them are very dirty all day because their mothers and their fathers work and cannot take good care of them. I think of them, what would happen when they grow up? most might stay maybe as miners, because they cannot succeed in their studies, so it is really a shame”* (INTERVIEW I5).

MUSOL employees tend to rather reflect a positive image of children: *“we put more effort in our programme of scholarships because we want to help children to study, maybe even help them to study abroad, because these children are very intelligent, for example Adolfo, he is one of the best students in his bachelor on economics, he has not failed even one year, his grades are above 65, he is going to graduate next year”* (INTERVIEW I4).

It is not possible to underline detailed comparisons between these positions towards children and child labour because the interviewees are referring to children and adolescents in different contexts. However a subtle but significant difference can be traced regarding the emphasis that is given to children’s abilities and competences in the discourse of Musol and Cepromin. Whereas the discourse of Voces Libres, in particular the one reproduced in Table 8, rather emphasises on children’s vulnerabilities, seemingly for fund-raising purposes.

⁹ This NGO has not been included as a stakeholder for analysis in this research, because it did not have a Potosi-based branch, and was not conducting any project in Cerro Rico when the data for this thesis was garnered.

A second hand mining worker has commented in relation to this: *“The foreigners who come [to Cerro Rico] to make studies and everything, do not always show the reality as it is. For example I have once seen a documentary of a child miner in this channel National Geographic or maybe Discovery, and I think that nowadays [the reality] is invented, it is magnified, is it exaggerated, and that is not good, the exaggeration is always bad”* (INTERVIEW G3).

The importance of drawing in the differences on the discourses on child labour among NGOs, is that these orientations define in some extent the way the organisations interact with the community and implement their programmes. Topic which is discussed in 5.3.1.

5.2.2 Drivers to child labour: culture vs. poverty

This section aims at presenting arguments raised by the local people when addressing the causes that lead to child labour. The debate on this regard is wide, I have focused only on cultural practises and poverty because these themes incorporate the most recurrent causes identified by my informants. An aspect worth noting is that, while there seems to be a neat difference between cultural practises and poverty issues, the latter is a multidimensional concept which, targeted as a cause for child labour, may rather have ambiguous meanings. Poverty can also be regarded as a cultural-related issue and thus the divide between cultural practises and poverty is not a clear-cut. Both standpoints are not mutually exclusive, rather they reflect that the cultural label for explaining child labour may be manifold. The following arguments contribute to clarify these points.

The next quotation belongs to a second-hand miner and explains child labour from the perspective of it being a culturally embedded practise:

“It is not that child labour is natural, but that the issue of child workers in here is also because of our culture. You know that in the countryside children work, they have daily tasks that they do in the family, that is our culture. Even myself I used to work [...] my parents planted corn and vegetables. So, when I was 12, 13 years I used to go watering. My father used to tell me that that was my work, and I did it because I liked it and also because it seemed that it was my responsibility. So we have that education when we come in here [to Cerro Rico], and that is why we do not see it [child labour] as something so bad. What is more, my grandparents and parents used to say that I should work so that I learn how to earn my own living. That is the kind of education we have. I think that is why child labour here in Cerro Rico is not magnified [by the miners]” (INTERVIEW G3).

A somewhat dissimilar approach from the cultural perspective is the one interpreting the idea of “poverty is the cause of child labour” as a socially constructed cultural concept that misleads the understanding of child labour. For example a NGO employee explains: *“We are in need of a much more critical approach [to child labour]. We definitely need to separate the cultural influence which dictates that they have*

to work because they are poor, I always defend that, poverty is not a driver to child labour, because there are many children who doesn't work in such a situation, rather the parents work. So we have to change that in the first place" (INTERVIEW I2).

The line of arguing against poverty boosting child labour is also supported by this opinion: *"We cannot say that there is poverty in the mining activity, rather bad administration of the economic resources. When I visit the mountain [Cerro Rico] I see a simple Peon who [...] earns at least 100 Bs. daily, and that is around 600 or 700 Bs. a week [...]. But we keep saying there is poverty, we keep on saying that children work because they are poor. Where is the economic resource that is generated from mining? That is the problem, miners earn a lot of economic resources, sometimes even daily, and they get drunk [...]. So, of course children have to work, if the money that the miner earns is spend in other things, the children have to go and work to remedy this situation" (INTERVIEW I5).*

Indeed, as pointed earlier (Fig. 7 on page 57) the macroeconomic indicators of the mining activity reflect a global booming prices of the minerals commodities since 2003, whereas many informants have argued that relatively high wages are earned by miners, in comparison to the overall labour market. However poverty cannot be measured by the economic income generated by mining only. Access to education, health care facilities, social provision, among others, ought to be included in the notion of poverty as well. Although my informants have not approached the concept of poverty as a multidimensional one, some intrinsic aspects have been separately mentioned. For example on education a 17 year old adolescent have comment: *"[...] another thing is that here (Cerro Rico) most miners have not entered to school, or they might have studied three or four years, no more, and because of this they do not see any problem on child labour, they do not know. I think maybe if the miners would have gone to the school longer, less children would be now working [in mining]" (INTERVIEW D2).*

An additional focus on poverty stresses the poor conditions of the rural communities leading to migration of families as more significant than the cultural practises, as explained by a MOL employee: *"At the beginning [of my work in the MOL] I thought that the drivers for child labour were cultural, but the results of the last assessment we have done on child labour in Cerro Rico have revealed that most children and adolescents are employed by an employee, or a Peon, they are not working in the familiar regime, they should have been working with their families so that we argue for the cultural aspect causing child labour [...] that indicator is not so relevant [...]. Also we have to recognise that our rural communities are very poor [...] therefore in that sense we can say that the economic factors, more precisely the poverty of these peoples, is the reason why child labour exists" (INTERVIEW J2).*

A cross-cutting viewpoint from a COMIBOL employee argues rather for both cultural and poverty leading to child labour: *"I think there are both cultural and economic factors leading to child labour, there are both, the lack of money and also the cultural causes, which refer to parents who sometimes take the children to work, for learning since an early age the responsibilities [of the work]. But of course it is also the lack of money" (INTERVIEW J5).*

Importantly, as exposed in 5.2.1, children have pointed out that family disintegration is the main cause for child labour. Some of them have also related family disintegration with lack of economic resources. Naturally because the parents are expected to ensure the livelihood, and therefore economic income reduces in absence of one of the parents.

5.2.3 Community development challenges as identified by the local people

The challenges for the community in terms of hindrances for the well-being of the people working in mining and living in Cerro Rico are several. Due to the impossibility of analysing all of them because of extension constraints, I have opted for depth instead of breadth. This being said, I will devote this section to the analysis of (i) the working conditions and (ii) gender issues, because these have been the more recurrent topics in the speech of my informants.

The mining working conditions and the cooperative system

The characteristics of the mining-based production activities described in 5.1.1 are differently regarded by the people in Cerro Rico. For instance miners tend to have a somewhat positive attitude towards the mining work, for example a *Peon* miner has commented on his work: *“There is a lot of support [from other miners], yes, yes, yes. Everything [regarding the working conditions] is directed to betterment, as long as [the production] increases it is ok, we earn more, everything is fine. Nothing to complain. Yes, I like my work”* (INTERVIEW G1). Whereas women are more likely to recognise failures among the working conditions, one *Palliri* have for example pointed: *“It is indeed a dangerous work, inside the mine it is even more dangerous, the workers should not take those risks if they have families, or they should demand that they are given at least more equipment, or to organised the work better. It is not just about entering to work and that’s it. For us it is less dangerous because we are outdoors, but for them it is another thing”* (INTERVIEW E2). Both are examples representing the dichotomy on the local discourse regarding the conditions of work of miners. A further extrapolation of this includes the position of some miners *cooperativistas* who refer to these working conditions as *“[...] safe conditions because the miners are responsible for that”* (INTERVIEW H2); versus the viewpoint of the widows *“[...] I wouldn’t want that even my worst enemy work under those conditions, it is really terrible”* (INTERVIEW F1).

Regarding the overall organisation of the mining work, some themes that have emerged along the interviews are:

Exploitative work and unjust distribution of wealth, as declared by a *peon* miner: *“[...] in the mine we work as Peones. I would like that we all work the same, as we work in daily turns, I get paid only for the drilling, and that is like they are exploiting us. The other people gets money from nothing, without working. I would like that we all work the same and we divide what we earn. I’m not a cooperativista, for being member one has*

to work for a long time in the mine. It is difficult because when one wants to become a member, they give you a Paraje which does not have mineral, and you have to work on that" (INTERVIEW C2).

Discrimination in the decision-making at the local federation level, and also lack of cooperation among cooperatives, as noted by a miner *cooperativista*: "The [miners] cooperativistas in vain we call each other cooperatives, because between large and small cooperatives we do not cooperate, rather we discriminate each other [...]. For example when we are altogether in a meeting and there is any problem, they say "we are cooperatives, there are no big cooperatives, and no small cooperatives", but when there are benefits to share, then everything has to be in favour of the big cooperatives. So I think it is not well organized the cooperatives, the federation, everything. I am not convinced by the leaders, the institution is fine, but the rest is not good" (INTERVIEW H1).

Fights between miners because of the organisation of the work, and the dilemma of whether be supportive to each other, considering the competitive working system, as explained by a second-hand miner: "If for example this cuadrilla has discovered a vein of mineral and has started working on it, and that other cuadrilla has also find one in the same mine, they fight. If they are from the same cooperative then this can be solved, they make a meeting and they share the vein. But if they are from different cooperatives, that is serious. They have serious fights, sometimes there are even physical confrontations, they throw stones, or dynamite, and that may involve accident, is dangerous [...] and it is understandable because if they say "here [in this paraje] you will earn a lot of money to buy a car" for example, then you hold to that to the teeth. So really there is no regard with that. That is because some always look for their own benefit, we cannot deny that, the cooperativistas, they never loose. But sometimes we also are supportive with each other, when there are accidents for example, we help to each other, at least I always help to my teammates. So I think we are in the dilemma of being supportive and not" (INTERVIEW G3).

High selfishness of the miner *cooperativistas* regarding the distribution of income, as a non-working adolescent has commented: "I know the miner cooperativista is well paid, I see that there are people that do not know what to spend their money on, they have cars of every colour and every model, houses everywhere, but then, when the Guarda demands that they increase by 300 Bs. her salary, they don't want. They are too selfish. Like if only they would have the right to eat, like only they would have the right to have everything" (INTERVIEW D2).

The issue of gender disparity

This section offers local perspectives on the gender issues that I have previously exposed in 5.1.2. I have focused on the speech of women, because it offers an offset to what has been previously exposed about this topic.

Different aspects can be traced on the discourse of women in concordance with Bandura's arguments on self efficacy beliefs and agency (see section 3.2.3). Women's capacity of organisation, ability to work jointly, and collaborate with each other are processes that boost their participation in the community, and shape

their viewpoints regarding the gender gap in the mining community. These aspects concern more to *Palliris* and widows, rather than *Guardas*, who rather tend to speak about gender issues in a much more roundabout way.

Regarding *Palliris*, I have previously referred to the establishment of the *Palliris* Association (Table 3 on page 56), the membership of *Palliris* to the mining cooperatives, and pointed that the *Picha* is an ancient and traditional mining work. These factors influence the status of *Palliris* in the community in the way that they “ [...] *are women very proud of being miners, they generally are members of a cooperative, they have the self esteem very high, they feel like they work like men, those who are married are very independent from their husbands, and they are very well organised*” (INTERVIEW 14) has said a NGO local employee. The self esteem topic has also been brought into discussion by a *Palliri*: “*When we were in the mine crisis, we used to keep going to Cerro Rico to hit those stones that remained in there. One day, a lawyer who was supporting us for the foundation of the Association told as “you are loosing your time in here, it would be preferable that you go to work as maids, you would made more money than what you are earning in here” ... “the moment we have decided to be Palliris has been the moment that we have decided to hang the broom, we are not going to work as maids for no one” we replied*” (INTERVIEW E2).

The fact that *Palliris* are strongly identified with their roles as women miners, and they feel deeply attached to the mining environment gives them a very neat vision of the gender issues in this setting. This also enhances their capacity to identified the lines of action for surmounting the gender problem: “*Yes it is a problem that men do not leave us space, we are very relegated sometimes, but that has changed a lot and will keep changing, we have to keep on working, defending our rights, and improving the Association, that is the way. Because before it used to be worst, so it has been changing in our favour. It remains a lot to do that is also truth, but we have to keep on going*” (INTERVIEW E1).

The widows share a somewhat similar position to *Palliris*, although their social status and economic stability differs extensively. As elaborated in 5.1.2, widows are vulnerable groups regarding social provision from the mining cooperatives, they have frequently being underestimated in their marriages, and usually did not have an independent economic income source. The transit from wife to widow has been challenging, this has however increased their self esteem in the mid-term, and has given them a different view of women rights and other gender issues than those they upheld before. A widow narrates: “*I was very very shy at the beginning... I couldn't even say “present” in the meetings. Now a little I'm opening myself, I talk now, also I talk to my friends, sometimes we are laughing, sometimes we get sad... when my husband was alive very obedient I was, I used to obey him in everything [...], but sometimes I was scared when he was drunk. I was very silly back then. No one ever told me I should complain. No, very different I was*” (FOCUS GROUP F1). The widows' perceptions on gender issues generally reflect these increased self esteem, and drawn on their demands for social benefits as a way for appeasing the social problems that affect them the most: “*It is a big problem for us, the manhood is very bad, mostly the cooperativistas are very unjust, because we are women they do not want*

to recognise our rights, but we complain, and will keep on complaining” (FOCUS GROUP F1).

5.2.4 Keynotes on the proposed alternatives and solutions to child labour

Decentralised allocation of social services

A field of action of the MOL is to undertake preventive measures rather than mitigation strategies for the progressive eradication of child labour. This includes social provision to the rural communities in the department. However, although this might reduce the migration rates to Potosi city, it cannot ensure the reduction of child labour in the mid-term. This because mining will still be an hazardous but appealing working option for the non-migrant population. A respondent of the MOL have declared *“When there are health care centres and school centres, and people still want to opt for the mining work, then it is complicated. But the idea is to provide them with alternatives” (INTERVIEW J2).*

Another alternative to child labour along in the same lineages, is the provision of assistencialism programs to the most impoverished communities. This consist on scholarship programs for the children and the youths to study in the nearest educational centre to their community. This strategy has been previously implemented by the MOL, however the outcomes have been affected by the mismanaged of funds (INTERVIEW J1).

An outright ban to the hazardous forms of child labour

The MOL emphasises on the ban of the hazardous forms of child labour, and on the enforcement of the existing regulations for this purpose. This ban collaterally affects to the *Guarda* work under the conditions that it takes place at present, because the MOL and COMIBOL are concerned with the eviction of people living in Cerro Rico as this represents a highly hazardous environment for children (INTERVIEW J2).

COMIBOL has suggested that the ban to child labour has to be done by strengthening the existing laws on child labour in the way the public and the private institutions take a role by enforcing these regulations. In particular, it has been pointed out that FEDECOMIN should enforce an outright ban to child labour in Cerro Rico (INTERVIEW J3).

Regulation of the cooperative mining system

The Musol NGO has proposed that the policies for the eradication of child labour should start with the regulation of the exploitative working conditions in Cerro Rico: *“While there remains this form of work, and there is no serious intervention of the government, or there are not governmental policies that try to reverse this situation, there*

will be poverty, and there will be children working in Cerro Rico, and so many social problems that mining creates, will persist” (INTERVIEW I4).

Technical training

Technical training has been one of the most recurrent alternatives proposed by the stakeholders and the local people. The government is often regarded as the entity in charge of the provision of technical training and incentives for children to study. A widow have for instance commented: *“It would be good that there are more jobs for youths, the Government should take care of that, it should give scholarships so that they can study, and then they could find more decent jobs. What other alternatives adolescents have than going to the mine? Few times they find other jobs, most of the times they do not find any (FOCUS GROUP F1).*

Equally, The MOL has stressed the creation of factories and job opportunities in other fields than mining alongside technical training (INTERVIEW J1). Which is a view shared by CEPROMIN (INTERVIEW I1).

Awareness and a “change of mind”

To provide moral support and raise awareness on the consequences of child labour has been an additional alternative proposed. *“To talk to the parents, because sometimes they send them to work, most of the people who arrive from the countryside and they don’t know [about the consequences]” (FOCUS GROUP J1).*

A CEPROMIN employee has also suggested: *“The mining community has the potential for development, in the case of the women, if encouraged to initiate income generating activities they could improve, even their children could help them [...] but their self-esteem is so low that they feel useless, that is what happens up there [in Cerro Rico]. So, we need to need to help them get confidence, so they want to learn to do new things, for that we need to seek for a change of mind, and that is not easy” (INTERVIEW I2).*

5.2.5 Summary

One of the most important aspects that have emerged through the empirical findings exposed in this section, has been the undefined and unperceived distinction between child labour and child work, in particular from the perspectives of the children. The literature on the semiotics of child labour suggests that the replication of the concept into other contexts can be viewed from two perspectives. On the one hand it can be read as a way of confronting two different cultures, namely the south and the north (Enew et al. in [Lieten, 2010](#)), each of them with dissimilar understandings of childhood and the role of children in the society. A less controversial standpoint is taken by ILO and suggests that the implications of the English terminology for approaching child labour in different linguistic environments can be surmounted by attempting to find *“appropriate words and meanings in the context*

of the given study" (ILO and UNICEF, 2005:99). The empirical findings have shown that "child labour" and "child work", as defined by the international institutions, cannot be tailored into the mining context. The fact that children understand the concept of "work" pegged to the concept of "help" makes the divide between voluntary, mandatory, harmless, and harmful work all difficult to delimit. However, the conflict of conceptualising child labour do not affect the capacity of the children to understand the issue of children's work in the mining setting.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to disregard the real scope of child labour among many miners in the community. This happens because child labour is usually equate to the work carried out by the children only, thus youths are usually excluded. Cultural aspects once more play a part in the understanding of child labour as youths usually are considered to be able to cope with the same responsibilities as adults. Whereas women are more likely to reject the mining work, but they would support their children to engage in other harmless type of work.

Regarding the causes of child labour, the empirical findings have revealed that cultural practises and poverty are two drivers for children to engage in mining. Though poverty refers to the mismanagement of the household income rather than the lack of economic resources. Poverty in rural areas has instead been mentioned as a cause of child labour.

An additional aspect of importance relates to NGOs discourse. The literature on the debate on child labour argues for two positions towards child labour. One for the abolition and another for the regulation (Lieten, 2010). Both positions are found in NGOs working in Cerro Rico. Clearly CEPROMIN and MUSOL stress on enhancing the capacities of children, who are regarded as intelligent and socially capable to be part of the defence of their rights (Table 9 on page 88). Whereas the argument of children as "*helpless victims, dependent on protection and rescue by adults*" (Myers 1999:31 in Lieten, 2010) exposed in chapter three, rather describes the speech of Voces Libres NGO.

In addition to this, two characteristics of the community that hamper social and economic development have been appraised by the local people. These are the cooperative system along with the mining working conditions; and gender disparity. The former have shed light over the negative aspects of the organisation of the mining work for the community. These have already been described in the previous section while summarising the socio-economic context of child labour (see section 5.1.5). The perspectives of the community members have confirmed many aspects of this characterisation of the mining setting.

Secondly, the empirical findings have shown that with regard to the gender disparity aspects that have been tackled in 5.1.2, women are oriented to surmount these constraints through collective action, mostly in the case of the *Palliris* and the widows.

Finally, alternatives to child labour as proposed by the members of the community and the stakeholders have been drawn. Measure to prevent child labour focus on social provision to the rural communities, and technical training along with job

creation. Strategies to rather mitigate child labour are more rigorous enforcement of the national laws than ban child labour, and a proposition on the regulation of the social role of the mining cooperatives. In addition to these, the need for a change in attitude in the case of *Guarda* women have also been pointed out to be an alternative to deal with child labour.

Having outlined so far the socio-economic conditions of the mining community, and the local perceptions on child labour and on these community characteristics, it is timely to analyse how can the community lead its own development process.

5.3 Assessing child labour and community development

5.3.1 Community development from below

In alternative development theory it is suggested that people initiate and pursue their own development on the basis of their natural and human resources (Stohr 1981 in Chung, 1986:205). This process should be led by people's identification of their problems, the strategies to deal with these, and their participation in decision making processes.

A first characteristic of the community development process in Cerro Rico is that equitable participation in decision making is difficult to achieve. Generally, women hold less political agency than men, as referred in section 5.3.1, and also limited decision making capacity at the household level (see FOCUS GROUP F1 in 5.2.3). Women's agency, for example in the case of the widows, is directed towards the mitigation of the social issues that they have identified through their personal experiences, but these are not social issues or strategies agreed upon the community level. Rather, these are conflicting with the interest of miners *cooperativistas*.

An aspect worth of attention about the link between child labour and bottom-up development, is that many of the current miners *cooperativistas* have themselves being child labourers and have inherited from their parents their membership to a mining cooperative (see INTERVIEW H2 on Table 7 on page 75). This makes it highly unlikely that they would denounce child labour according to the same standards as the women, the national authorities, or the international community does. Underestimation of child labour by miners has the potential to hamper community development from below, since men hold large decision making power in the community.

This leads to post the question of whether child labour is a matter of local action, in what extent exogenous cooperation is needed, and what would be the trade-offs of this cooperation.

Development cooperation underpinning self reliant agency

An issue of relevance regarding the discourse of the local-based NGOs on the problems of child labour and beyond, is the attention that is accorded to self reliant development, regarding in particular the working and living conditions of *Guardas* women and their families. Two contrasting positions have been found in this regard (Table 9 on the following page). On the one hand the position arguing for women to take an active role in defending their working rights in order to improve their living standards, meaning a call for agency; and on the other hand a position very much in favour of the in-kind support that is being currently given to *Guardas*, understood also as a form of humanitarian action.

The difference among these two standpoints is not merely procedural and institutional, but they involve fundamentally different principles on the rights of people, the valorisation of the local capacity to solve and critically approach the social reality, and the capacity to identify and analyse the causes of their constraints. This is a serious issue as NGOs inevitably exert a certain influence over the society they interact with. This influence can be deemed positive for the community if it reduces the dependency over the NGOs, and inspires people to take control over the social changes they need. It should be considered negative if it hinders the possibility of active and meaningful participation of the local people in development processes.

Another aspect worth of attention is that the existence of contradictory approaches to deal with the problems of *Guardas* is not beneficial neither for the *Guardas*, nor for the NGOs. This because contradictory forms of perceiving local people's agency prevents that joint action is taken by the local-based NGOs to combat a same set of social problems, this reduces the effectiveness, and the sustainability of the impacts that could be possibly achieved.

Also, lines of tension can emerge among the local people and fragmentation could take place, because some would sympathise more with a particular kind of support than others. This could add on the limited predisposition of *Guarda* women for dealing with their problems. Predisposition that is already confronted by the reduced amount of time that they are can devote to the socialisation of their problems. This could also reduced their beliefs in their capacity to produce change by themselves.

A final issue that is worth noting is that NGOs are beyond the scope of governmental regulations, but they are within the reach of donors, funders, and other private sectors agents. Therefore the understanding of the complexity of the social problems of the community is likely to be influenced by the perceptions of these external change agents, with different cultural backgrounds, as noted in the analysis of the NGOs discourse in 5.2.1.

<p>MUSOL - "We have problems working with Guardas, because [...] what happens is that there are other NGOs working in Cerro Rico, and the problem is that Voces Libres has created too much dependence. For example the Guarda is earning 400 or 500 Bs. as a monthly salary for a 24-hour work. So, Voces Libres regards them as poor, and then they provide them with food, they provide scholarships for their children, they give them shoes, blankets, so the only thing that the women have to do is to put forth their hands and receive. Many of them say that they are earning 400 Bs. and they are receiving more than that in support. Our policy is different, we want them to fight, not to put forth their hands, but that they fight for a fair wage, because they are giving away their work; instead of begging, that is what we tell them: "instead of begging, the right thing to do would be that you receive what is fair for your work, and you yourselves by your own food, you yourselves buy your own shoes and everything; the aid would rather have to be to solve harder problems to solve, like for example housing and education for your children. That is what have made that little is done with Guardas. Each institution have its own policies. They sometimes prefer that type of in-kind support, rather than the support that we provide, like for example when they are dismissed from their work, we are the ones who go to fight for them to receive their social benefits. But I think they prefer more that in-kind support that they receive. Therefore it is difficult to work with Guardas, and a majority of them have their children working in the mines of the mountain [of Cerro Rico], and they also work with their children [...]. Regarding the scholarship that we provide, we encourage children to study, [...] we are making a follow-up, but others that give scholarships do not demand good performance, their policies are different from ours" (Interview I4).</p> <p>CEPROMIN - "[...] now it is Christmas time and one gives them [Guardas] presents, everybody is happy, but after that what. For how long there have been Guardas in Cerro Rico, and for long these women only go and receive always. They receive a blanket, they receive a tray, but that is not going to help to change. While there are not basic services, electricity, water, they cannot say "ok, now we are going to work for the children not to have warts, not to have scabies or lice, we are going to take care of them" because we have to give them those instruments, we have to give them those chances, but we also have to make them to somewhat change their attitude" (Interview I2).</p>	<p>Voces Libres - "Foreign countries have visited the Cerro Rico, and they have seen what is the situation of the women, in what conditions do they live, they have been able to take pictures, to make surveys, and to make different assessments. Looking at that reality, as foreigner countries which are more developed than Bolivia, they have said, "we can contribute with this, with this amount, for the country". I can say that that is highly valued, even in the Cerro Rico they value that, they whole mining community have valued that. They always say to the president of the institution "Thank to Mrs. Marianne by son, my daughter is studying", "Thanks to this my son is in Sucre", "Thanks to they have given me for [curing] my health, only 1000 Bs. they have given me, but I with this now I'm cured", "Who make gifts to us, which institution come to make gift to us?, who say take this bread, this pound of rice, this pound of fideos¹⁰"... and that is what they say, that is what I can say that the women express. This late Monday I have had a meeting with [Guarda] women in La Plata "Institutions come and say [many things], they promise but they do not give us anything" They say that the only [institution that provide in-kind support] is Voces Libres. "Thanks to Mrs. Marianne that give me a scholarship for my son and thanks to that scholarship my daughter is going to graduate from school this year". For me that is a joy. I always tell to them "Do not thank me, it is not me who is giving you all this, our thanks should go to Mrs. Marianne, the president of the institution, who is in Swiss. Do it [give thanks], there are always foreigners visiting [the mines], make it known, who supports you, who do not supports. I cannot tell them that, who supports and who does not, who make gifts and who does not. They have to value that. I cannot tell them that it is only this institutions that makes them gifts, because I don't known, maybe other institutions also do that. But their form of recognising [the support] is that "Thanks to Mrs. Marianne who gives us this", "Thanks to Mrs. Marianne I know this blanket, before we were cold, we didn't have anything to cover us ", "When I was in need very quickly the institution has given me this, this bread". They always make me remember that, that is why the institution manage a lot of meetings with all the sector of the women, the other institutions in the mountain to the same [held meetings] but they are not constant" (Interview I5).</p>
--	--

Table 9: Local NGOs interacting with the community

Synergy at the community level: civil society organisations and mining cooperatives

During the brief review of the national mining history (section 2.2.1 on page 8) I have referred to the mining unions playing a part in boosting social change throughout the Bolivian history. The mining sector had for long held great organisational capacity, and at present this sector is still known for having high influence over the policy making process at national level.

Women have always been part of the mining social movements. However they have began to independently organise themselves not long ago. The establishment of the Palliris Women Association in 1988 (Table 3 on page 56) can be considered the benchmark of women organisation in Cerro Rico. The widow have also succeeded in organising though in a less institutional basis. This is not the case of *Guardas* who have not being able to organised because of a series of social issues that particularly affects them. These are concerned with gender disparity, unfair working conditions (see section 5.1.2), and the intervention of the in-kind support of Voces Libres NGO (refer to section 5.3.1). However the potential for social organisation exists and attempts to collectively address social problems have been made. This is not a straightforward task though, for example an NGO employee has explained: “[...] when we were standing for the Guarda families, we have tried to denounce before the cooperatives [the demands of the Guarda women], and everything we have gained has been reprisals against the Guardas, they have been threatened, [our NGO] has also been threatened, they have said that if we would continue working in there the Guardas would be fired and they would hire men instead. After that problem, when the Guarda went to the cooperative for any legal procedure, they used to be identified [as having being part of the protest] and the cooperativistas refuse to attend them. Therefore the women have had to deny that they had participated in the march. So, creating consciousness is not easy” (INTERVIEW I4).

Another group that faces difficulties to get organise are the *Peones*, because they are considered to lack future prospects and “live for the moment only without thinking in tomorrow”, and this affects their predisposition to get organised (INTERVIEW I4). Although it usually happens that the wives of the *Peones* work as *Guardas*, this is not always the case. The wives of the *Peones* have attempted to build an association, but they face difficulties getting their husbands to engage and actively participate on this: “Sometimes men are more afraid than women to talk [about their problems], for example we have wives of Peones who usually come and participate with us, but their husbands do not want to come, they are afraid, they do not want to tell how they are treated in the mine, they are Peones only, they don’t have nothing, not even health insurance, and they are afraid to say that. The women have said that their husbands are afraid” (FOCUS GROUP F1).

When it comes to the mining cooperatives, one of my respondents have emphasised that the cooperative system has suffered a degradation on its social values of syndicalism and cooperation, as explained below:

“The miners who are doing it now [forming the cooperatives] are new. The miners who belonged to the mining unions, those who promoted social and political changes in the country, are not here anymore [...] After 1985, many miners founded cooperatives with the same administrative guidelines of COMIBOL, but few of them remains under that kind of work at present [...]. Maybe because the crisis period prior to 2003 did not allowed to exploit [the mines] in good conditions, because the economic revenues were very low, miners had a subsistence economy. So probably cooperatives were founded with an ideal form of work based on cooperation, equity, equality, but sadly little by little they made this (as it is as present) their form of work organisation. At present one can see that the prices have been booming, those impoverish miners have now become members, and that income they now earn have changed them, and they have began to exploit other workers, who are by no means in similar position, and this is still called a cooperative. So what we say is that the cooperative system would have been degraded, the cooperative system that no longer fulfils the basic principles of cooperation. The cooperative system has become a private enterprise, not even a social enterprise, but an enterprise where there is a boss who hires other workers, Peones, who are exploited [...]. Other thing is that now the sector is a very strong social basis for our current Government, 80 thousand workers who would stop supporting to the Government, then this would fall. That is why they [miners] are all the time with their sectoral demands, and nothing can be regulated in the cooperative system. It is complicated” (INTERVIEW I2).

Table 10: Social values of the mining cooperative system

The *current* cooperative system, although in legal terms should undertake a social role (as noted in 2.2.3), has arisen rather as a private sector with economic sectoral interests, and in search of favourable conditions for the exploitation of mineral resources in Cerro Rico. The social costs of such a standpoint are high for the community (see 5.1.1 and 5.2.3) including the use of child labour among many other social issues. Moreover, an inspector of the MOL have declared that she would be entitled to sue the mining cooperatives that use child labour, however she claims that by doing so the miners would *“quickly mobilised their social basis and not allow it”* (INTERVIEW J1). In what extent this can be considered a cause for the lack of effective enforcement of child labour regulations is arguable. It is rather possible to sustain that the mining social movements, when defending only the interests of the cooperatives, may undermine the collective well-being of the society in the long-term.

By contrast, women have a much more social-oriented rationale for their organisation. They aim for instance to limit the use of child labour, to improve the working conditions, to secure the delivery of social benefits to the workers, and a more fair distribution of profits.

An additional contrasting characteristic between male and female forms to undertake collective action is that the cooperatives tend to compete between each other, and this leads to frequent disputes and confrontations among them. For example regarding the distribution of the *Paraje* when different cooperatives are undertaking mining works in the same mine (see 5.2.3). Women on the other hand are much more supportive. Even though there are different social status among them (see 5.1.2), the more socially empowered women help to the less empowered. *Palliris*

have for instance established a carecenter in Caracoles with the aim of supporting to the children of *Guarda* women (INTERVIEW 14).

Development policies and social accountability

Child labour raises concerns and priorities that are broadly shared by development stakeholders and governmental authorities. The latter in particular hold great accountability for the delivery of social services to the community, the regulation of the mineral resources exploitation, and the compliance with international commitments in the fight against child labour (see 2.3.2 on page 17).

One aspect regarding development policies and synergy between the State and the community in Cerro Rico, is the question on whether the community's discourse on child labour, from a set of conceptual tools, is likely to become a policy instrument to be used by policy makers. Pieterse argues that synergies should be flexible and not necessarily require ideological consensus, and also that development efforts are more successful if the community participates (Pieterse, 2010:96,84).

Cerro Rico community is commonly represented by FEDECOMIN before the government at local and national levels. Stakeholders have for instance held an assessment meeting of the PETIM project in December 2011 (see section 5.2.4 on page 83), where FEDECOMIN participated. It therefore seems that the main challenge is not the inclusion of local people's views on their own problems into the policy making process, rather the equitable inclusion of these perceptions. The proposed alternatives of the main stakeholders (see Appendix 1 on page 107) does not include a gender perspective on child labour. The voice of *Palliris*, *Guardas*, and the widows are omitted.

Community's inner issues on agency and empowerment

Rather than placing emphasis on the State and the market, in alternative development people are the central agents for change (Todaro and Smith, 2012). Collective agency is expected to empower the community in the sense that people have the potential to work jointly for improving their lives. Agency may become the driving force for community development if the community members identify common needs, and direct their actions towards common goals (Chung, 1986:213). Moreover agency and participation are essential if the common needs of the community are in contradiction with the interests of the market and/or the State, as alternative development combines development and emancipation (Pieterse, 2010:94).

The identification of common social needs in the Cerro Rico community is not a straightforward task, The local problems are perceived differently by its members, in particular the issue of child labour is seen from different angles between men and women. The former are less likely to demonstrate a particular concern about child labour, whereas the later identify child labour as an urgent matter

(see Table 7 on page 75). However not all the women exercise their agency in the same extent. For example the *Guarda* women are less prone to participate in the community's social organisations. This has number of implications of the *Guarda* women and the overall community development, since it reduces the benefits of participation that are proclaimed in the alternative development theory. These are, the enhancement of interpersonal relationships, the influence over social policy, and the boosting of feelings of personal and political efficacy (Florin and Wander-sman, 1990:43).

Furthermore, there is a noticeable bargaining of power in the Cerro Rico mining community hampering egalitarian agency and participation in decision making at various levels. This translates to gender issues (see page 54 and page 81) in the way that women's voice are frequently overlooked. Besides, women hold reduced presence in the mining cooperatives, and those who have gained membership, usually do not enjoy the same benefits as the male members do (see page 55). The influence over the policy making process at the local and national levels that the mining cooperatives have, does not empower the women in the same extent as empowers the men.

Agency and political efficacy of men might therefore be regarded as the driving force for the community development, as their capacity to generate social change is relatively large, both at the household, community, and national levels. This generates adverse outcomes for the overall community development, since men do not prioritise the social issues emerging from mining (Table 10 on page 90).

Civil society organisations exist as counterbalance to the mining cooperatives. For example *Palliris* exercise political agency through the Palliris Association, which is one of the most important women-driven organisations in the community.

In the case of the widows, beliefs of personal efficacy and confidence on their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives (Bandura, 1989:1176), can be mentioned among the mechanisms that have boosted their interest for strengthening their organisation and participating on resolving their problem.

5.3.2 Endogenous development and global alternatives

The endogenous aspect in alternative development refers to the social, cultural, and symbolic spaces from within the community (Pieterse, 2010:96). The theory on alternative development points out that endogenous change assumes the re-futation of development as modernisation and westernisation (Todaro and Smith, 2012), and argues for the development process to be generated from below.

Development cooperation

Alternative development paradigm partly emerges from the tension between endogenous development and the enormous growth of NGOs, which function as

linkages between the local problems and the global alternatives to these problems (Pieterse, 2010:91). Furthermore, Pieterse explains that different stakeholders have different positions towards the meaning of development and how to achieve it 2010. This inevitably posts challenges on how to combine the role of NGOs and the local culture and knowledge.

I have previously elaborated on the work of a local-based NGOs in Cerro Rico and its work with the *Guarda* women, and I have explained why this is likely to hinder women's self-reliant agency. This is an example on how a rather exogenous approach to local problem – under a people-oriented facade, might hamper endogenous development to occur. However local development and global alternatives are not always conflicting, but a relationship of mutual benefit is possible. Capacity-building is for example a strategy that articulates local potential for bottom-up development with the support of development cooperation, at the time that it prevents the community members to be passive recipients of aid. Some mitigation measures to child labour in Cerro Rico have been directed towards technical training for youths (relate to page 84).

An additional issue on development cooperation with relation to child labour is that this problem is not a matter of local perspectives only, but increasingly it is a global concern. Therefore both local perspectives and international views of child labour should ideally be bridged. Nevertheless this is not a straightforward task.

Child labour can be differently understood according to particular characteristics of the context where it takes place. Therefore, there is a cultural connotation that sets the divide between harmless and harmful work, that cannot be replicated from one country to another. There is hence a *conflict* when child labour is conceptualised internationally, an example of this is the divide between child labour and child work which do not fit the understanding of child labour by children themselves in Cerro Rico community (as exposed in section 5.2.1). There are two viewpoints to explain this. On the one hand, according to Tucker, this is symptomatic of a western representation of a culture and a society, “to the point that they can no longer recognise themselves in the discourse that claim to portray them” (Tucker, 1992:13). On the other hand, alternative development rather needs to be approached in terms of a “*genuine consensus*” seeking line of thought which enhances the community potential to lead its own development process (Pieterse, 2010:98).

Modernisation

The link between endogenous development and development cooperation also includes the topic of modernisation. Pieterse suggests that the import of foreign models can be seen from two perspectives: (i) as a destruction of existing social and cultural capital, or (ii) as the modernisation of the local traditions that can boost bottom-up development (Pieterse, 2010:96). The case of youths that engage in mining “*to live well*” (Limachi, 2011:4), which has been interpreted as the need to comply with *modernity* by one respondent (see INTERVIEW J5 in page 74), leads to view a top-down process of modernisation and reflects a tendency towards (i).

On this ground, Pieterse points out that the modernization of traditions is much more efficient and can bring major benefits to the community than the modernisation as a top-down and outside-in process (Pieterse, 2010:97). This suggests that modernisation could be a beneficial process for the community if it would be oriented to reduce the influence of foreign models of lifestyle, and would instead revalue the indigenous conceptions (Briggs, 2005:109). The re-valorisation of the local culture and knowledge, and the recovering of cooperation and mutual aid values are forms to trigger development from within the community.

Conclusions

An ancient argument of human thought is that income and wealth are not ends in themselves but instruments for other purposes (Todaro and Smith, 2012). Human well-being and dignity were placed at the core of development when it became evident that an economic-oriented focus did not suffice for addressing global social issues. Nonetheless, at present, a combination of economic growth and human development has rather become a challenge for some countries. For example in natural resources-based developing economies, such as Bolivia. Mining has been one of the most important economic activities in the Bolivian history partly because the State has received its main revenues from this activity. At very high human and social costs nevertheless, since mining has generated numbers of social constraints including gender disparity, poverty, and child labour.

Reasons why mining has been more detrimental than beneficial for human development are manifold. The working conditions of the *artisanal* mining, the unfair distribution of work and economic revenues by the mining cooperatives, and the lack of provision of social services to the miners, among others, can be mentioned. Moreover, the landscape of the mining activity is wide and complex, not only in political terms since the miners form part of the social basis of the current government; but also in legal terms as the enforcement of national regulations in the sector are challenging. Cerro Rico is a sample of this amalgam of problems, and child labour is a consequence of them.

Regarding child labour, the literature is rather extensive and it shows that this can be addressed from a number of perspectives. In the Latin American context, child labour has been frequently related to cultural embeddedness, and is frequently conceived by the local people as a social phenomenon rather than a problem, as the western world has defined it. In spite of the perspectives that guide the understanding of child labour through different paths, there is a wide agreement of policy makers, NGOs, and civil society organisations on the eradication of the worst forms of child labour, which are those likely to harm children's health, safety, or morals.

Thus, the challenge of researching child labour is not necessarily to fill a knowledge gap, but rather to critically approach the understanding of child labour locally and internationally, and also questioning how these perceptions define the current approaches to combat child labour.

From this point of departure, I have in this research focused on how mining child labour in Cerro Rico is currently being tackled, whether are there conflicting issues between the international understanding of child labour and the regional one, and

whether the mitigation of the problem could possibly be generated from within the community, or if external agents of change are needed. The objective of this research has, as outlined in the introduction, been to investigate the paths towards community development from below, taking child labour as a departing point for analysis.

6.1 The problem of mining child labour in Cerro Rico

The empirical investigation in the previous chapter has demonstrated that the social and the economic contexts in Cerro Rico are highly conducive for child labour, mainly because mining cooperatives do not comply with their social responsibilities. Also, the attitudes towards the work of children rather contribute to its continuation, due to the power relations between men and women: the latter are more likely to identify child labour as a matter that requires action, but hold reduced power in the decision making process, and are therefore less able to achieve changes in the system.

The impact of child labour in mining on children and adolescents varies according to their age and gender. Regarding their age, the underground mine work employs reduced child labour (children from 0 to 12 years), but it employs much more adolescents (from 12 to 18 years). Children however participate on surface mining when they help their relatives in the *Picha*. Also, they undertake other economic activities such as tourism guiding. Adolescents are usually engage in underground mining, and are therefore very vulnerable. Considering the gender, girls usually perform domestic work and help taking care of the siblings, while boys are more involved in economic activities. Similarly, female adolescents help their mothers, whereas male adolescents are likely to become miners.

The concept of child labour is not part of children's own understanding of their social reality, nor the divide between child labour and child work. They do however identify the reasons why children work, which are frequently related to the absence of a parent. They also identify the negative connotations of the mining work for children, which they relate to the hazardous conditions of the mines.

Youths are rather autonomous in their decisions on whether to engage on mining work, and their positions towards child labour are quite ambiguous. Youths identify child labour negatively, but under some circumstances they accept it, for example in the lack of other economic income generating activities. Reasons for adolescents to engage in mining pend between the need for ensure the livelihood for their families, and the desire of increasing their purchasing power beyond the satisfaction of the basic needs.

Poverty and gender disparity affect women's social position in the community. *Palliris* are mining women members of the cooperatives, they have a relatively high economic income, they are frequently widows and therefore the head of their families. Widows are well organised, have built important social bonds, and

have increased their self-esteem and overall psychological well-being. They are usually not related to mining activities, rather they have jobs in other fields and work in the city. Whereas the *Guardas* are women hired by the cooperatives and living in Cerro Rico. They receive the lowest salary of all the mining production chain, they hold little bargaining power before the mining cooperative and often at the household level too. *Guardas* work 24 hours a day, they live under very harsh conditions and several deprivations, and their children are highly likely to be engaged in mining. Under these characteristics, *Palliris* have a higher social status than the rest of the women in the community, and *Guardas* are the less socially empowered. However, women tend to collaborate to each other in spite these differences.

In relation with this, *Palliris*, widows, and to a less extent the *Guardas*, oppose to mining child labour and identify it as detrimental for children. They do however not oppose that children have to learn the value of work, as a way of gaining responsibility for the adult life. *Palliris* and widows often seem to be educating their children out of the mining environment, while the situation of the *Guardas* is more complicated because of persistent poverty and reduced bargaining power in the household.

Peones, miners *cooperativistas* and to a less extent second hand miners, that is the men in the community of Cerro Rico, mainly agree upon child labour not being a serious problem for the community. Some have also pointed out that child labour is a problem that is usually misunderstood and amplified. They base their positions on the fact that the number of working children in underground mining is very low. They omit child labour in surface mining and in the rest of economic activities deriving from mining. They also disregard the high incidence of adolescents engaging in underground mining. They overlook the hazardous environment Cerro Rico represents for children, as most of them began working there in their childhood. Hence one may say that the risky environment is something which now is internalised by these men.

Local-based NGOs discourses on child labour either focus on children's potentials and rights to work, or stress how children are powerless and impoverished. The former are usually local NGOs while the latter is rather an international NGO. These perceptions on child labour affect they way these organisations conduct their programs and direct their strategies. Seemingly, stressing on children's capacities is more fruitful because children are encouraged to cultivate their potential.

Education is not an option for reducing the incidence of child labour in Cerro Rico. This is because education is not productive in the short-term in the sense that it does not offer children and youths a flexible system for combining work and schooling, the curriculum is not focused on the social reality of working children, or this is not prioritised among the rest of the contents. More importantly, is the general lack of parenting encouragement to the importance of studies and education in Cerro Rico. Here men are more discouraging than women. The children themselves however highly value education, whereas a focus on education is a much less appealing option for youths because these usually work in under-

ground mining, and combining school and work requires a great effort. This puts them in a disadvantageous position with relation to non-working adolescents.

6.2 Bottom-up local development

Through the discussion in the previous chapter I have identified some factors that I regard as important to be considered in order to direct the Cerro Rico community development process. In accordance with the alternative development thinking, have focused on paths for the development that can emerge from within the community. I have stated that synergies for development are necessary. This assumption is grounded on the recognition that the governmental divisions, exposed in section 5.1.4, NGOs, and the community in Cerro Rico, all have essential roles in development (Pieterse, 2010). However, the development process needs to be people-centred and rather yield cooperation and support from private and public institutions for increasing people's capacities to direct this process.

Female empowerment in the sense of more influence in decision making is vital for community development. My data show how women are far more concerned with children's safety, and with creating conditions of equality that enable children to access to education and as such realise their full potential. Children's well-being is linked to the economic, and social status of women (ILO, 2006:4). It is therefore essential to break patterns of gender-based discrimination in the community as a way to contribute to the eradication of child labour in the mining sector.

With reference to the NGO's involved in community development, I find that they need to enhance self-awareness and reflexivity in their policies, in the way that they analyse their own approach and understanding of the culture and day-to-day life in Cerro Rico. This could contribute to achieve a real actor-oriented approach to development and offset the believe that development cooperation is a matter of mobilising economic resources rather than capacity building for effective participation (Korten, 1990:140,145). Based on my research I find that NGOs should for example focus on women's and children's empowerment, given that their range of action to deal with child labour is rather limited, since they cannot regulate the cooperative system in the way of ensuring a fair working structure and income distribution between these organisations and the miners.

The mining cooperatives ought to urgently design and implement social policies for the mining workers. Two actors are central for this to take place. On the one hand, development policies rendered by the government should closely regulate the cooperative system of mining exploitation, and enforce the social role of the cooperatives. An important step taken with regard to this is the new Mining Law which has introduced changes in this direction. Secondly, *Peones* should play a part in demanding and persuading the mining cooperatives to be accountable for these social policies. People's agency is vital for generating social change, as the theory on alternative development proposes (Pieterse, 2010:107).

Furthermore, the *Guarda* work merits the special attention of all stakeholders. The characteristics of the work done by these women posts hazardous conditions for children to grow up in, it boosts child labour due to their close interaction with the mines and its workers and it deprives children from many of their basic rights such as access to education, to a sound health, and to leisure time. The working conditions and the low economic revenues of *Guardas* reflect the great inequity that characterises the cooperative system. In a short-term perspective, *Guardas* need to be supported in the defense of their rights before the mining cooperatives. In a long-term perspective, the *Guarda* work needs to be abolished, and the *Guarda* women should count with alternative working options that ensure a decent life for them and their families. NGOs could also focus on providing alternative income sources for the *Guardas*.

My research shows that there is a need for a comprehensive approach towards the drivers of child labour. This entails the identification of the structural factors which causes this type of work, yet with sensitivity towards the local context. Giving voice to local women's perceptions on child labour should also be in focus, in the way that these lived experiences by local women can generate policy recommendations on a local and regional level. The local stakeholders should also intensify the institutional bounds with FEDECOMIN and mediate for the commitment to safeguarding rights of mine workers in Cerro Rico, in particular regarding social provision for miners and *Guardas*.

The generational transfer of values and attitudes towards work, rights and education are ways of maintaining a situation of gender disparity and unfair working conditions. Therefore the value of social bonds and norms of the family unit need to be recovered, not only to ensure a good use of the household economic income, but also for achieving a stable family situation which allows children better opportunities. This is of utmost importance for reducing poverty in Cerro Rico, since the cause of poverty is the mismanagement of economic resources rather than the lack of these. Once more, women need to have more bargaining power in the household, as they are usually better managers of the household assets.

Regarding community development initiated from below, I argue that it is a challenge that at present an improvement of the conditions of the affected groups would rise from the local people themselves. However there is great potential in terms of economic and human resources for the future. Women are often considered to be important agents of change in a society who may contribute to the overall development process if they are provided with the opportunity or given more influence through so-called empowerment. Synergies tailored for the local social and economic conditions of the community, between external agents for development and the community are essential, as well as the development policies rendered by the government with goal of regulating the cooperative system. Based on my data from Cerro Rico and its child labour, I find that putting an end to child labour in the mining sector depend greatly on such governmental policies.

6.3 Recommendations

Constraints in time and resources have limited the possibility of a wider investigation on the vast array of factors that influence child labour, both endogenous to the community as well as exogenous. I have opted for depth rather than breadth, and I have therefore focused on the community's inner social dynamics. On this basis, my recommendations for future research and investigation are mainly reflecting the aspects of child labour that I have identified through the focus applied in my research.

In terms of child labour and its characteristics, knowledge about the children's home communities could increase. Such a knowledge may include their migration history, their parents' and caretaker's backgrounds, children's work and life histories, and well as the factors that led the children and/or their families to migrate. The outcomes of this type of information are two-folded.

First, this information may allow for identifying the structural reasons that boost migration which again may shed light on how migration should be tackled. The decentralised allocation of social services from the State has been a proposed strategy for the mitigation of child labour, as previously exposed in this study. Increased information on the home communities of currently working children in Cerro Rico might be beneficial for an accurate distribution of the government's social services delivery.

Secondly, approaching the migration history and life history of children could enrich the understanding of their own attitudes towards child labour. It is likely that the children are familiar with being responsible for a particular chore, concerning harvesting of animal breeding. Therefore future research may pay increased attention to the relations between the rural area and the urban area in the sense of the working implications for children and changes in family structure and family norms, and how this affect children and their parent's or caretaker's viewpoints towards child labour.

Another recommended topic for research in Cerro Rico is related to gender issues and children well-being. This relates to sensitive topics which commonly take place in a hidden form, as for example the alarming unsafe conditions to which girls, female adolescents, and adult women are subjected to in the mountain, concerning not only domestic violence, but also sexual harassment. A focus on these types of issues might increase the attention that the sector needs to get from the local and national authorities. But most importantly, it might contribute to re-establishing social norms that ensures people a healthy physical working environment and which combat a situations of moral degradation within the community.

Attention should be paid to the implications of the international standards of the regulation of child labour over the national development policies for the eradication of child labour. Child labour needs to be contextualised and carefully dealt with. Policies that may have succeeded in some countries may not be replicable in

Bolivia. Outcomes of this research might generate policy recommendations on a local and regional level, or provide inputs for national policy-making.

More efforts to generate discussion and engagement of the civil society regarding child protection issues, and alternatives to child labour are recommendable. The Cerro Rico community is located in a peri-urban area of Potosí, within a relatively short distance from the city center. The mining community is a subset of this society, and therefore the social constraints of the community should not be addressed in an isolate manner, but rather in context of increasing migration and urbanisation.

Critical approaches to the existing clichés on working children and other mining workers are of utmost importance. This refers for example to the idea of children as powerless, working as slaves, and so forth. Equally, this also includes the valorisation of the work of the *Palliris*, which is commonly confused with being a scavenger. A research approach which dares to question some of the conventional discourses on child labour will acknowledge both local culture and traditions, yet being able to contribute to the identification of the important underlying reasons for why a situation of child labour persists in Cerro Rico.

Based on my experiences from Cerro Rico and my data from the field, my final recommendation for further research on child labour is that it needs to be gender-sensitive as well as focusing more on the children affected. It is the children's perspectives that need to be given more attention, as the children themselves involved in this type of work have first-hand experience to identify some of the structural reasons that lead to child labour.

Bibliography

- Baas, L. 2008. Child labour in the mining sector of bolivia. (Cited on pages [17](#) and [62](#).)
- Bandura, A. 1989. Human agency in social cognitive theory. *American psychologist*, 44(9):1175. (Cited on pages [25](#) and [92](#).)
- Bandura, A. 1998. Personal and collective efficacy in human adaptation and change. *Advances in psychological science*, 1:51–71. (Cited on pages [21](#) and [25](#).)
- Bandura, A. 2000. Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current directions in psychological science*, 9(3):75–78. (Cited on page [25](#).)
- Basu, K. and Van, P. 1998. The economics of child labor. *American Economic Review*, pages 412–427. (Cited on page [33](#).)
- Brennan, M. 2008. Conceptualizing resiliency: An interactional perspective for community and youth development. *Child Care in Practice*, 14(1):55–64. (Cited on page [21](#).)
- Briggs, J. 2005. The use of indigenous knowledge in development: problems and challenges. *Progress in Development Studies*, 5(2):99–114. (Cited on pages [24](#) and [94](#).)
- Brinkerhoff, D. and Crosby, B. 2002. *Managing policy reform: concepts and tools for decision-makers in developing and transitioning countries*. Kumarian Pr. (Cited on page [27](#).)
- Brown, D., Deardorff, A., and Stern, R. 2002. *The determinants of child labor: theory and evidence*. School of Public Policy, University of Michigan. (Cited on pages [32](#) and [33](#).)
- Bryman, A. 2008. *Social research methods*. OUP Oxford. (Cited on pages [35](#), [36](#), [37](#), [38](#), [39](#), [40](#), [41](#), [42](#), [43](#), [44](#), and [45](#).)
- Carmen, R. 1996. *Autonomous development: Humanizing the landscape: An excursion into radical thinking and practice*. Zed Books London. (Cited on page [20](#).)
- CEPROMIN 2012. Our mission. accessed 26.11.2012. (Cited on page [67](#).)
- Chavis, D. and Wandersman, A. 1990. Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18(1):55–81. (Cited on page [21](#).)
- Chung, K. 1986. A model Comparison between the Community Development Program and the Rural Saemaul Undong in Korea. *Journal of Rural Development*, 9:20–218. (Cited on pages [23](#), [27](#), [86](#), and [91](#).)
- CIA 2012. The world fact book: Bolivia. accessed 06.02.2012. (Cited on page [6](#).)

- Cockburn, T. 2005. Children as participative citizens: A radical pluralist case for child-friendly public communication. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 9:19–29. (Cited on page 27.)
- Congdon Fors, H. 2012. Child labour: A review of recent theory and evidence with policy implications. *Journal of Economic Surveys*. (Cited on pages 31, 32, 33, and 34.)
- Cussianovich, A., Alfageme, E., Arenas, F., Castro, J., and Oviedo, J. 2001. Protagonismo o subsistencia de la infancia. *Fondo editorial de la facultad de CCSS de la UNMSM Lima*, 1:53–75. (Cited on pages 2, 30, and 76.)
- De Mesa, J., Gisbert, T., Carlos, D., and Mesa, G. 2003. *Historia de Bolivia*. Editorial Gisbert, 5th edition. (Cited on pages 6, 7, 8, and 9.)
- Derman, W. 2003. Cultures of development and indigenous knowledge: the erosion of traditional boundaries. *Africa Today*, 50(2):67–85. (Cited on page 24.)
- Dessy, S. 2000. A defense of compulsive measures against child labor. *Journal of Development Economics*, 62(1):261–275. (Cited on pages 32 and 33.)
- Dorius, N. 2011. Measuring community development outcomes: In search of an analytical framework. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 25(3):267–276. (Cited on pages 20 and 28.)
- Edwards, M. and Sen, G. 2000. Ngos, social change and the transformation of human relationships: a 21st-century civic agenda. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(4):605–616. (Cited on pages 22 and 26.)
- Emerson, P. and Knabb, S. 2006. Opportunity, inequality and the intergenerational transmission of child labour. *Economica*, 73(291):413–434. (Cited on page 34.)
- Emerson, P. and Souza, A. 2003. Is there a child labor trap? intergenerational persistence of child labor in brazil*. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 51(2):375–398. (Cited on pages 33 and 34.)
- Espinoza, J. 2010. *Mineria boliviana, su realidad*. Plural editores. La Paz. (Cited on pages 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 47, and 55.)
- Evans, P. 1996. Government action, social capital and development: reviewing the evidence on synergy. *World development*, 24(6):1119–1132. (Cited on page 26.)
- Ferrufino, R., Erostequi, R., and Gavincha, M. 2011. *Potosí. El Cerro Nuestro de Cada Día. Relevancia Económica en la Región y la Ciudad Capital*. Garza Azul, La Paz. (Cited on pages 18, 46, and 118.)
- Florin, P. and Wandersman, A. 1990. An introduction to citizen participation, voluntary organizations, and community development: Insights for empowerment through research. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18(1):41–54. (Cited on pages 27 and 92.)
- FXI 2008. Diagnóstico del sector minero cooperativizado en los departamentos de Oruro y Potosí. Technical report, FactumX Ingeniería SRL. (Cited on pages 8, 13, and 15.)

- Grant, R. and Newland, K. 1991. *Gender and international relations*. Indiana Univ Pr. (Cited on page 19.)
- Hazarika, G. and Sarangi, S. 2008. Household access to microcredit and child work in rural malawi. *World Development*, 36(5):843–859. (Cited on page 31.)
- Huntington, S. 1984. Will more countries become democratic? *Political Science Quarterly*, 99(2):193–218. (Cited on page 27.)
- ILO 1999a. C182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention. accessed 21.02.12. (Cited on pages 16 and 69.)
- ILO 1999b. R190 Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation. accessed 21.02.12. (Cited on page 16.)
- ILO 2006. The end of child labour within reach. Global report under the follow-up to the ilo declaration of fundamental principles and rights at work, ILO International labour organization. (Cited on pages 17 and 98.)
- ILO 2012. Convention concerning minimum age for admission to employment (entry into force: 19 jun 1976). accessed 23.11.2012. (Cited on page 16.)
- ILO and UNICEF 2005. Manual on child labour rapid assessment methodology. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office. (Cited on pages 1, 18, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 85, 112, and 116.)
- INE 2005. Departamento de potosí: Estadísticas e indicadores sociodemográficos, productivos y financieros por municipio. Technical report, INE Instituto Nacional de Estadística and UDAPE Unidad de Análisis de Políticas Sociales y Economicas and DFID Department for International Development, La Paz. (Cited on page 7.)
- INE and ILO 2008. Magnitud y características del trabajo infantil en bolivia. Technical report, ILO International Labour Organization and INE Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (Cited on page 17.)
- Jafarey, S. and Lahiri, S. 2001. Child labour theory, policy and evidence. *WORLD ECONOMICS-HENLEY ON THAMES-*, 2(1):69–94. (Cited on page 33.)
- Jones, A., Rowson, J., and Broome, S. 2010. Connected communities: How social networks power and sustain the big society. *Royal Society for the Arts*. (Cited on page 21.)
- Kennedy, J. 2011. Evo morales and the global economy: Sustainable development in bolivia. *Journal of International Service*, 20-1:110–134. (Cited on page 7.)
- Kindernothilfe 2012. Children work like slaves. accessed 25.11.2012. (Cited on page 77.)
- Klugman, J. et al. 2011. Human development report 2011 sustainability and equity: A better future for all. *United Nations Development Programme*. (Cited on page 7.)
- Korten, D. 1990. *Getting to the 21st century: Voluntary action and the global agenda*. Kumarian Press. (Cited on pages 2, 22, 27, and 98.)

- Larrison, C. 2000. A comparison of top-down and bottom-up community development interventions in rural Mexico: practical and theoretical implications for community development programs. (Cited on pages 22 and 23.)
- Layme, D. and Valdivia, A. 2002. Children as agents in development. Technical report, IREWOC, Amsterdam. (Cited on pages 2, 30, and 69.)
- Lee, C. and Orazem, P. 2010. Lifetime health consequences of child labor in Brazil. *Research in Labor Economics*, 31:99–133. (Cited on page 34.)
- Lieten, G. 2010. *Hazardous child labour in Latin America*. Springer. (Cited on pages 1, 2, 16, 17, 29, 30, 70, 84, and 85.)
- Limachi, O. P. 2011. Base de datos sobre las características que rodean el trabajo de Niños y Adolescentes en la mina. Technical report, CEPTI, Ministerio de Trabajo, Empleo y Previsión Social, Potosí. (Cited on pages 59, 64, 65, 73, 74, 93, and 107.)
- Lord, J. and Hutchison, P. 1993. The process of empowerment: Implications for theory and practice. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health (Revue canadienne de santé mentale communautaire)*, 12(1):5–22. (Cited on page 22.)
- Michard, J. 2008. Cooperativas mineras en Bolivia. formas de organización, producción y comercialización. (Cited on pages 13, 14, 15, 46, and 55.)
- MMMB 2006. Compendio de normas legales del sector minero. accessed 17.02.2012. (Cited on page 13.)
- MMMB 2009a. El sistema cooperativo minero en Bolivia. accessed 19.02.2012. (Cited on pages 13 and 14.)
- MMMB 2009b. Estadísticas del sector minero metalúrgico 1980–2008. accessed 15.02.2012. (Cited on page 11.)
- MMMB 2011a. Anteproyecto de Ley Minera, Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia. accessed 11.01.2012. (Cited on page 12.)
- MMMB 2011b. Quiénes somos: Misión, visión. accessed 18.02.2012. (Cited on page 12.)
- MMSD 2002. Minería, minerales y desarrollo sustentable en América del Sur. (Cited on pages 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.)
- MMSD 2007. Abriendo brecha: Minería, minerales y desarrollo sustentable. (Cited on page 12.)
- Morrow, V. and Richards, M. 1996. The ethics of social research with children: An overview¹. *Children & Society*, 10(2):90–105. (Cited on page 43.)
- OAS 2011. Código del Niño, Niña y Adolescente. accessed 21.02.2012. (Cited on page 17.)
- Oladipo, S. 2010. Psychological empowerment and development. *Edo Journal of Counselling*, 2(1):118–126. (Cited on page 28.)
- Ostrom, E. 1996. Crossing the great divide: coproduction, synergy, and development. *World Development*, 24(6):1073–1087. (Cited on page 26.)

- PDP 2009. Plan de Desarrollo Departamental 2008-2012 Para Vivir Bien. 1st. ed. (Cited on pages 7, 8, 12, and 55.)
- Pieterse, J. 2010. *Development Theory. Deconstructions/Reconstructions*. Sage Publications Limited, 2nd edition. (Cited on pages 1, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 91, 92, 93, 94, and 98.)
- Psacharopoulos, G. 1997. Child labor versus educational attainment some evidence from latin america. *Journal of Population Economics*, 10(4):377–386. (Cited on page 63.)
- Ramirez, E. 2011. Sin la nacionalizacion de las minas Bolivia no seria la misma. *Bocamina, Periodico de la mineria nacionalizada del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia.*, 1:3–6. (Cited on page 10.)
- Ray, R. and Basu, K. 2001. The collective model of the household and an unexpected implication for child labor: Hypothesis and an empirical test. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (2813). (Cited on page 33.)
- Rye, S. 2010. Crafting interpretations in development research – theoretical and practical challenges. lecture. (Cited on pages 35 and 36.)
- Tharmmapornphilas, R. 2006. Determinants of child labor in thailand. *Education and Poverty in an International Context*, page 39. (Cited on page 32.)
- Theodori, G. 2005. Community and community development in resource-based areas: Operational definitions rooted in an interactional perspective. *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(7):661–669. (Cited on page 21.)
- Todaro, M. and Smith, S. 2012. *Economic Development (The Pearson Series In Economics)*. Prentice Hall. ebook edition. (Cited on pages 19, 23, 25, 91, 92, and 95.)
- Tucker, V. 1992. *The myth of development*. Department of sociology, University College. (Cited on pages 19, 23, 24, and 93.)
- Tvedt, T. 1998. *Angels of mercy or development diplomats?: NGOs & foreign aid*. Africa World Press Trenton, NJ. (Cited on page 27.)
- UNESCO 2012. Potosi (Bolivia). accessed 19.02.2012. (Cited on page 8.)
- Voix Livres, N. 2012. Frequently asked questions. accessed on 26.11.2012. (Cited on pages 67 and 77.)
- Wallman, S. 1977. *Perceptions of development*, volume 6. Cambridge University Press. (Cited on page 22.)
- Wolferen, K. 1990. The enigma of japanese power: people and politics in a stateless nation. *New York*. (Cited on page 24.)
- Woodhead, M. 1999. Combatting child labour listen to what the children say. *Childhood*, 6(1):27–49. (Cited on pages 27 and 31.)
- Zimmerman, M. 1995. Psychological empowerment: Issues and illustrations. *American journal of community psychology*, 23(5):581–599. (Cited on pages 23, 25, and 28.)

Appendix 1: Child labour assessment by local stakeholders

Proposals of the institutions conforming the sub-commission EPTI - POTOSI

December 2011, Potosí

Source: Ministry of Labour. [Limachi, 2011](#) (own translation)

Municipal Defender of Children and Adolescence (Defensorias Municipales de la Ninez y Adolescencia)

Regarding the work of children and adolescents engaged in mining work, the Municipal Defender of Children and Adolescence declare that this system gets out of control due to the absence of reporting channels, on the other hand it argues that the companies cannot be punished because they work under a family regime. Therefore it suggests reforms to the Children and Adolescents Code to be able to processing to whom it should be necessary. Equally, it states that before eradicating children's and adolescents' work in mining, projects should be developed for the preservation of the family unit, as the index of family disintegration is high.

Court for Children and Adolescents (Juzgado de la Ninez y Adolescencia)

Establishment of programs for the preservation of the family unit, given that family disintegration is a factor leading children and adolescents to be inserted in the labour market. On the other hand, alternative working programs, and options better paid than mining should be offered.

Social Development Secretariat (Secretaria de Desarrollo Social)

In the short term: establish protective policies developing actions in a jointly manner, such as alternative education institutes, nearby their working places. In the autonomy statutes, in the section on protection of vulnerable groups include the "elimination of the worst forms of child labour".

In the mid-term: make a plan of action to provide a safer work. Analyse the situation of families in Cerro Rico, because this is in industrial area and therefore they are unable to access to basic services, but at the same time these families do not have houses in the city.

Departmental Assembly of the Autonomous Government of Potosi (Asamblea Departamental del Gobierno Autonomo de Potosi)

Having a good diagnosis to deal with the situation, given that most of the workers are migrants and are subjected to all kinds of work "[...] in their need to improve their living

conditions they hold on to the mining work"; "[...] my father has finished his lungs in the mine"; "where do I find another job that pays the same or better? [...]"

Prevent the issue of migration from the rural areas, creating schools, training institutes, medical centres in their communities "analyse why we cannot study and instead we go to swell the ranks of mining [...] there is no human quality [...]"

Regional Ombudsman Office (Oficina Regional del Defensor del Pueblo)

Every time the cost of living is higher, this makes that children and adolescents are forced to work, therefore they must be provided physical and emotional protection. The government should have a high degree of commitment and seek international cooperation. At the same time, working alternatives that can be equated with the mining salary should be offered.

There is need to build a culture of exercise of citizenship, and exercise of civil rights, based on social values and construction of duties. Regarding diversity, the sectors other than child labour should be integrated into the problem.

COMIBOL

Create industrial security systems, as there are children in these areas, rescue the children from the industrial areas, insert in institutional planning the topic of childhood and adolescence, support institutions in enforcing child labour regulations.

FEDECOMIN

Raise awareness of the social effects that cause early labour insertion in mining, generate better income for families by supporting economic initiatives, especially women, for example: hairdressing, cooking in restaurants (*pension*), tailoring, bakery, and others. Formulate specific projects for each sector.

CEPROMIN

Create an inter institutional network for strengthening intervention, on the basis of an Action Plan aimed at awareness and prevention, where children and adolescents do not feel attacked or that something is being taken away from them.

Voces Libres

Move from words to actions, create technical training institutes, strengthen family ties by "creating a culture of life in favour of the household members", conjugate Cerro Rico and economy.

Appendix 2: Research Methods and data gathered

categories		sources		code		age		gender		method		no. interviews		sample size	
The Community	children (0-12)	working	Pailaviri Mine	A1	8	M			unstructured interview	1	1				
			Caracoles Mine	A2	8	M				2	2				
			Santa Rita Mine	A3	12	M			semistructured interview	2	2				
		non working		A4	10	M			and	2	2		19		
			Pailaviri childcare center	A5	11	M			focus groups K1	2	2				
	adolescents (13-18)	non working	Robertito childcare center	B1	12	M			unstructured interview	1	1				
				B2	10	M				1	1				
				B3	9	M				1	1				
				B4	12	F				1	1				
				B5	11	F				1	1				
adults	working	Caracoles Mine	B6	9	F			unstructured interview	1	1					
		Pailaviri Mine	B7	9	M				1	1					
		Calvario Zone	C1	15	M			unstructured interview	1	1					
		Women Palliris Association	C2	18	M			semistructured interview	1	1		4			
		Santa Rita Mine	D1	13	M			unstructured interview	1	1					
	non working	guardas	D2	17	F			semistructured interview	1	1					
		widows	E1	42	F				1	1					
		miners peones	E2	36	F			semistructured interview	1	1					
		miner second-hand	E3	38	F			unstructured interview	1	1					
		Cooperativistas	F1	~	F			focus groups	5	5		11			
Mining Cooperatives	Miners	Caracoles Mine	G1	34	M			unstructured interview	1	1					
		Santa Rita Mine	G2	27	M				1	1					
		Pailaviri Mine	G3	25	M			semistructured interview	1	1					
		10 de Noviembre Ltda. Cooperative	H1	58	M				1	1					
		Pailaviri Unificada Ltda. Cooperative	H2	46	M			semistructured interview	1	1		2			
	NGOs	Cepromin	Staff	I1	25	F				1	1				
				I2	44	F				1	1				
				I3	30	F			semistructured interview	1	1		5		
				I4	51	F				1	1				
				I5	29	M				1	1				
State	Ministry of Labour	CEPTI (Centre for the Eradication of Child Labour – Centro para la Eradicacion del Trabajo Infantil)	J1	29	F				1	1					
			J2	35	F				1	1					
			J3	50	M			semistructured interview	1	1		5			
			J4	32	F				1	1					
			J5	37	M				1	1					

Appendix 3: Worst forms of Child Labour in Bolivia

Source: www.cedla.org (own translation)

Forms of child labour according to their type:

WORK	RISK FACTORS
Sugarcane harvest	Environmental conditions of extreme heat, the existence of poisonous animals, unsanitary spaces in camps, handling sharp tools and heavy, and heavy loads and physical efforts.
Brazil nut harvest	Environmental conditions of extreme heat, mobility between weeds and between large chestnut trees, the existence of poisonous animals, open spaces for gathering, unsanitary camps, handling <i>machetes</i> because they are sharp, heavy loads, excessive responsibility at an early age, working hours, because it prevents access to education.
Mining	These places are wet and with high or low temperatures, there is handling of tools with dynamite, heavy loads, inhalation of toxic dust and fumes, contact with mineral and explosive substances, drag on the floor, excessive responsibility due the tasks associated with mining, gorse or boulders of the hills, exposure to sunlight because of outdoors work, the child ceases to socialise and relegates education.
Fishing	In open spaces in the middle of rivers and lakes, environmental conditions because of extreme heat exposure, are subject to unpredictable natural conditions, there is also the use of dynamite for fishing, forced postures, use of nets, ropes and knives, have excessive responsibility for age and long working hours.
Brick factories	Toxic environments by heat and smoke. Children are exposed to gas fumes and chemical, unhealthy working conditions by manipulating clay, working with high temperature furnaces, blast material, constant heavy loads, physical overexertion, poor environmental conditions and excessive responsibility age.
Sale of alcoholic beverages	They are exposed to obscene performances, continuous contact with intoxicated adults, cleaning and attention of tables, unhealthy places, unhygienic environments, too much responsibility for their age, work at night.
Garbage collection	They are prone to accidents by various mechanical, physical exertion, awkward postures, unhealthy environments with landfills, waste management, poor environmental conditions. Humiliating and destructive activity.
Cleaning hospitals	There are risks of severe traumatic accidents, unsanitary conditions, exposure to chemical contaminants, excessive responsibility for early ages, contact with diseases, socialisation environments in which children and adolescents adopt certain cultural elements and not suitable to their personality.
Domestic work	They work in conditions that can cause traumatic accidents, exert physical efforts in babysitting, exposure to violent situations, undertake cleaning, long work days, handle of toxic substances such as drugs.

Transport barker	Can be injured by misuse vocal, long exposure to sunlight and disease by continuous handling of money, contact with passengers, loud noises and toxic agents, high probability of automobile accidents, negative contact with adults as equals, uncomfortable movements because there are no seats for them. Their working hours are long and gruelling.
---------------------	--

Forms of child labour according to their condition:

Pawn (Peon)	Exposed to physical exertion, exposure to pesticides, working in the open and in high temperatures.
Livestock.	Constant contact with animals and long working hours.
Forestry work	Danger of traumatic accidents, exposure to vibrations due to the use of chainsaws.
Seller overnight	Exposed to physical, verbal or sexual aggressions.
Fashion Model	Metabolic disorders such as anorexia and bulimia.
Worker bed outside	Exposed to traumatic accidents, environment unsuitable for socialization.
Urinaries assistant	Work in a slippery areas, schedule is inappropriate for their age, possibility of acquire infectious diseases.
Craftsmanship	Prolonged exposure to clay can cause diseases.
Carpenter work	Uncomfortable postures, risk for the use of dangerous tools, exposure to high temperatures and long working hours.
Mason work	Exposed to injury by forced postures, work on scaffolds, long working hours.
Caregiver car	Risk of contact with individuals under the influence of alcohol, and exposure to sunlight.
Sound operator	Being exposed to more than 80 decibels can damage hearing.

Appendix 4: Conceptual frame for child labour

Source: ILO and UNICEF, 2005.

Child economic activity

Almost all production activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organised) sector or the informal sector.

Child labour

Children's work that deprives girls and boys of their childhood and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development. Whether a particular kind of work performed by a child is to be considered child labour may depend on the child's age, the type and conditions of work, and the effects of the work on the child. Child labour is a subset of children's work.

Child rights

The fundamental human rights that apply to all boys and girls, as mandated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989.

Children's work

Almost all productive activities performed by children, whether for the market or not, paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time (for at least one hour during the reference week), whether on a casual or regular basis, in the formal (organised) sector or the informal sector. Children's work includes work in family enterprises and in household-based production activities, as well as domestic work performed in another household for an employer.

Gender

A social construct of sex: the different social status, power, and social expectations of girls, as such, as opposed to boys, or women as opposed to men. Work tasks are commonly assigned according to gender considerations, which can vary widely across cultures. All research into child labour must take gender perceptions into account, since these have real consequences in the lives of the girls and boys concerned. Different patterns, causes, and consequences of child labour have important gender implications.

Gender equality

The equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of men and women/girls and boys.

Gender roles

Activities conventionally performed either by one sex or the other. For example, boys may help their fathers with work outside the house, while girls help their mothers with household chores.

Gender values and norms

Conventional expectations of how men and women of all generations should respectively behave. In many societies, for example, girls are expected to be obedient and are allowed to cry, while boys are expected to be brave and not cry.

Hazardous work

Work that jeopardizes a child's health, safety, or moral development. This includes work that exposes children to physical, psychological, or sexual harm or abuse; that takes place underground or under water, at dangerous heights, or in confined spaces; that involves using dangerous machinery or tools or handling or transporting heavy loads; that exposes children to harmful substances or agents, processes, temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations; that takes place under particularly difficult conditions; that occurs for unduly long hours or during the night; or that unreasonably confines the child to the premises of the employer.

Household

A household is defined as a person or group of persons who live together in the same house or compound, share the same housekeeping arrangements, and are catered to as a single unit. Members of a household are not necessarily related by blood or marriage. "Households" include a married couple living in consensual union; a married couple without children; a married couple with one or more children or unmarried with one or more children; a father either previously or not previously married with one or more children; or a mother either previously or not previously married with one or more children. A household may comprise one or more families.

Household chores

Domestic services provided by household members without pay. These are considered non-economic activities. Household chores include preparing and serving meals; making, mending, washing and ironing clothes; shopping; caring for children and/or the sick, infirm, or elderly persons in the household; cleaning, decorating, and maintaining the dwelling; and transporting household members and their goods.

Non-economic activities

Those activities that fall outside the boundary of economic activity as defined by the United Nations Systems of National Accounts (SNA), for example domestic tasks in one's own home, nursing one's own children, sewing one's own clothes, repairs in one's own house, and volunteer community activities.

Workforce or labour force

The economically active population. In many countries, adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are considered part of the adult labour force, even though, under the terms of the Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, any child under the age of 18 is considered a child.

Working conditions

The physical, social, and environmental conditions in which a worker works, whether child or adult.

Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Working and non-working children – In depth interview guide

Date: _____ Number of interview: _____

I. General Information

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Housing (area)

II. Occupational Characteristics (Employment and Education)

4. What do you do everyday?

If work:

5. Where you work?
6. For how long?
7. Who do you work with?
8. What activities do you do in your work?
9. Why do you work?
10. Do you like your job? why?
11. Anything else you want to say about your work?

If study:

12. What grade are you in?
13. What do you think about your school? what do you like? what do you dislike?
14. What do you think about your teachers and classmates?
15. Is your school far?
16. Anything else you want to say about your school / studies / education?

If neither:

17. What you do during the day?
18. What do you like to do?
19. Why don't you study? Why don't you work?

(cont.)

III. Perceptions of child labor

20. What is child labor?
21. Why do children work?
22. What do you think are the good things and the bad things about the work of children?
23. When your parents ask you to do something, is that helping or to working? depends on what?
24. Do you think children should work? Or not? Why?

IV. Perceptions of community

25. How long you live in this area?
26. Do you like living in here? why?
27. You think this is a safe place for the children? Why?
28. What do you think about the people living around here? like? dislike?
29. What differences do you see between men and women in the area?
30. What do you think about the mines?

* Do you want to tell me anything else? ask me a question?

Appendix 6: Observation guide

Based on [ILO and UNICEF, 2005](#).

Observation Guide

Objective: To identify local perceptions about child labor related to the development of the mining community

I. List of representative sites for observation

1. Cerro Rico: Pailaviri, Caracoles, and Santa Rita areas
2. Calavario Market: Place of acquisition of equipment for the mining work
3. Pailaviri Zone: Ex mining camp, current residence of workers
4. Community meetings

II. Guidelines for observation

5. Time of observation
6. Gender, approximate age
7. Repeated visits
8. Observation covert or uncovert

III. Physical descriptions of the place of observation

9. Facilities available in the area
10. Type and style of construction
11. Identification of hazards (trucks, dogs, drunks, etc..)
12. Climate characteristics
13. Parks and green areas

IV. Observation of child labor

a. Working Place

14. Chemicals
15. Cleaning
16. Temperature
17. Ventilation
18. Lighting
19. Danger in circulation

b. Working conditions

20. Working frequency
21. Types of activities
22. Period of rest
23. Meals

c. Open places

24. Sun Exposure
25. Exposure to animals
26. Work in confined spaces

(Observation guide, cont.)

d. Restrictions and abuse

27. Illegal work

28. Sexual harassment

29. Hitting, beating

30. Verbal abuse, intimidation

31. Abuse to health

e. Tools and machines

32. Unsafe equipment

33. Electrical machinery

34. Drilling rig

f. Personal Care and Emergency

35. Clothing and shoes

36. Protective elements

37. Availability of drinking water

38. Places for meals

39. Availability of medical staff

40. Emergency exits

V. Observing social dynamics

41. Teamwork and organization

42. Motivation, interest and involvement in community affairs

43. Identification of conflicts and social strengths

44. Dissatisfaction with the current social order

45. Proposed solutions

46. Identification of actors for development

47. Exchange of experiences and knowledge

48. Leadership and influence decision-making

49. Inclusive processes

50. Willingness to share experiences

51. Ability to establish social networks for collaboration

52. Source of stimulus

VI. Behavioral observation and social interactions

53. Verbal forms

54. Non verbal forms

55. Behavioral aspects (aggressiveness, passivity, participation, inhibition)

56. Interactions among children

57. Interactions between children and adults

58. Interactions among adults

59. Emotional characteristics (attitudes, moods, their treatment)

VII. Other important aspects

Appendix 7: Estimation of workforce in Cerro Rico

Data from 2010. Source: *Ferrufino et al., 2011*

MONTH	TONS PER WEEK	AVERAGE ESTIMATED WORKERS
January	17907	25581
February	10966	15665
March	17045	24349
April	14669	20947
May	15804	22577
June	17033	24333
July	16598	23711
August	8770	12529
September	17668	25240
October	17564	25091
November	10220	14600
December	17390	24842
TOTAL	15136	21622