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**CHILDREN'S WORK IN THE COFFEE SECTOR OF
GUATEMALA.**



Huehuetenango, Guatemala
Pascale Schuit for Union Hand Roasted Coffee

CHILDREN'S WORK IN THE COFFEE SECTOR OF GUATEMALA.



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This report précises the most important results, conclusions, experiences and lessons learned. It is wished that it will prove valuable in assisting producers and rural communities to carry out their own situation analysis, assisting them to improve and implement plans, strategies and technical assistance programs and projects.

Hopefully we can contribute to more autonomous and financially sustainable producers' organizations and farmer cooperatives.

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FOREWORD

This paper presents a preliminary analysis of children's work in La Libertad & Todos Santos, Huehuetenango Guatemala, drawing evidence from a month stay during the period 24 January – 28 February 2012 and evidence earlier collected during April 2011 – July 2011 funded by Union Hand Roasted. It attempts to improve understanding of the discourse around and causes and consequences of children working in the coffee sector.

In Central and South America the occurrence of children picking coffee is a common phenomenon. For my own experience I can tell that I also have seen children picking coffee on Rainforest Alliance, Utz Certified and Starbucks certified farms. It must be so that coffee importers that visit parcels during the harvest encounter children.

The first step for coffee buyers is to recognize the occurrence of children working on the farm. The second step is to investigate how serious is the problem as one can make a distinction between children's work and child labour. Children helping on the farm contribute to the families wellbeing and as long as work does not interfere with education or children's health it might be acceptable. The third step is to react and develop a plan on how to manage and handle the phenomena of children working, and or how to eradicate child labour.

Pascale Schuit

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INTRODUCTION

For consumers, the slightest insinuation that any child working, slave or not, can make even the finest gourmet coffee leave a bitter taste. In Guatemalan culture the positive aspects of children working are recognized, children learn as they work, and contribute to the wellbeing of their families. Yet, some Guatemalans also recognize that children should go to school and play instead of work.

This report is based on two field visits one during the period April- July 2011 and February 2012 in the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. The investigation in 2011 attempted to address the socio-economic situation in general, during this stay the problem of children working in the coffee sector became evident. A short follow up research was done in the month February 2012.

The topic of children working or child labour became a point of concern during the industrial revolution in the 19th century in Britain. Today, many organizations, NGO's and governments, but also consumers are concerned about children manufacturing the consumer goods that we use.

Union Hand Roasted is a member of "The Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI)". The ETI is an alliance of companies, trade unions and voluntary organizations. that work in partnership to improve the working lives of poor and vulnerable people across the globe who make or grow consumer goods. When there were indications of children working in the coffee parcels during the harvest UHR took the step to investigate this topic further, below the first results.

METHODOLOGY

The Study Area

Guatemala is located in Central America, bordering Mexico, Belize, Honduras and El Salvador. The country is divided into 22 departments; the communities in which the research was conducted are located within the department of Huehuetenango.

Huehuetenango It is situated in the north west of Guatemala on the border with Mexico at an altitude between 850 and 3700 meters. There are 33 municipalities (*municipios*) in Huehuetenango, of which 18 municipalities produce coffee.

Huehuetenango is a non-volcanic region and the highest and driest region of all coffee producing regions. Thanks to the dry, warm winds that blow into the highlands from Mexico's Tehuantepec plain, the region is safe from frost, allowing coffee to be cultivated up to 6,500 feet (2,000 meters). The extreme remoteness of Huehuetenango virtually requires producers to process their own coffee into parchment (Guatemalan Coffees, 2011).

La Libertad

The municipality of La Libertad contains different villages. Each village typically has a church, an elementary school and in some cases a basic health care centre. During the field research various villages were visited: *Aguatillo, El Cenegal, El Chalun, El Rodeo, Huica, La Libertad, Los Jobales, Miramar, Naranjo I, Champen, and Palmira Vieja*. The inhabitants of these villages are mainly Ladino's and maintain their families with agriculture or small shops such as pharmacy's, grocery stores or the sales of processed food products. In the centre of La Libertad there are two coffee cooperatives: San Jose Obrero and Esquipulas. In the other villages there are also other options such as La Peña Blanca.

Todos Santos Cuchumatan

The municipality of Todos Santos is rich in tradition and culture which one can see most easily in the traditional customs that both men and women wear. The primary language spoken in the villages is Mam, a Mayan language. Some people have Spanish as a second language, but the majority only speaks Mam.



Figure 1 Map of Guatemalan Departments

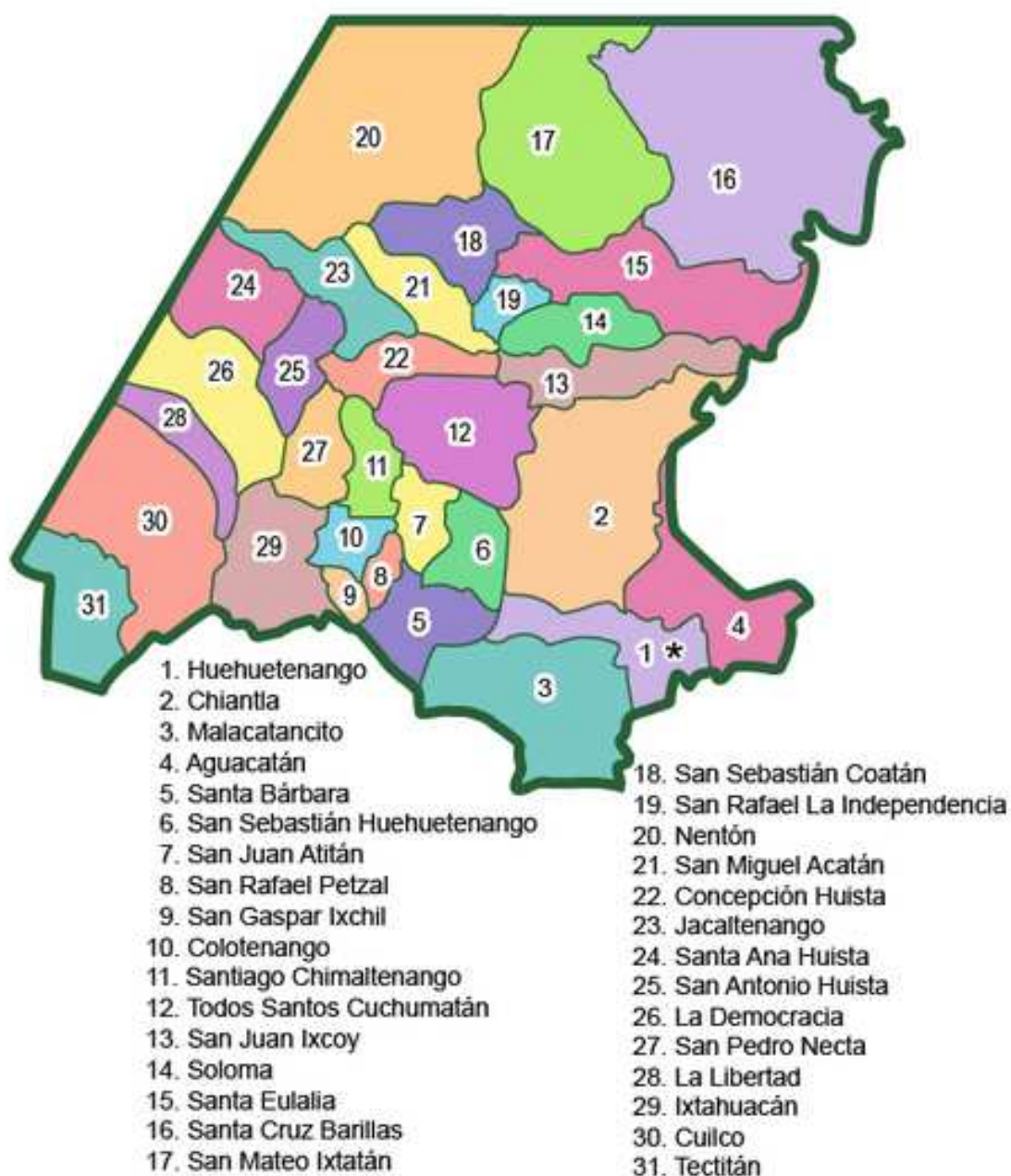


Figure 2 Map of municipalities in Huehuetenango

Qualitative data collection

To protect informants or producers identity no names are used in this report. Data was collected by informal interviews with non-randomly selected persons, varying from school teachers, producers, day labourers and key-actors such as persons from the cooperative management team. In 2011 a semi-structured interview with 96 producers was performed but no questions with respect to child labour were included. Both in 2011 and 2012 parcels were visited. In 2012 no parcels in Todos Santos were visited because of logistical reasons this makes the results drawn only valid for La Libertad.

Limitations of the study

Collecting data on child labour and children working is difficult. Coffee pickers are mainly from indigenous ethnicity and speak few or no Spanish. Moreover, they are extremely shy and gaining trust would be a process of several weeks if not months. This makes it almost impossible to ask questions or do in-depth interviews with coffee pickers and their children. Second, the small time span (30 days) in which also other activities needs to be performed besides the child labour research imposed restrictions on the research. Finding parcels where the harvest was going on was not always easy. As a result the research is mainly qualitative, based on observations, and conversations with different actors. Although children working in the coffee sector many cases might be go un noted, since one cannot be there observing all activities during the whole coffee cycle, those that ever visited Guatemala must agree with me that it is fairly common to see children working selling goods, carrying fuel wood, or working in the coffee parcels. Collecting hard quantitative data for this is difficult and would require a severe investment in both time and money.

CHILD WORK, OR CHILDREN'S WORK VERSUS CHILD

Following the UCW report this report uses the term children's work. "Child Work" or "Children's work" is a general term covering the entire spectrum of work-related tasks performed by children. Child labour refers to activities that are per definition injurious to children and that should be targeted for abolition. This distinction recognizes that work by children per se is not necessarily injurious to children or a violation of their rights. In some circumstances children's work can be beneficial contributing to family survival and enabling children to acquire learning and life skills.

But where to draw the line between child work and child labour. In general here we follow the ILO Convention on child labour (see table 1)

The International Labour Organization has defined child labour as:

- ❖ Labour performed by a child who is under the minimum age specified in national legislation for that kind of work; and
- ❖ Labour that jeopardises the physical, mental or moral well-being of child, known as hazardous work (Minimum Age Convention, No. 138, 1973); and
- ❖ Unconditional "worst" forms of child labour, internationally defined as slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, unforced recruitment for use in armed conflict, prostitution and pornography, and illicit activities (Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182 1999; ILO 2002).

Guatemala has ratified the ILO convention. Hence, according to Guatemalan law child labour is defined as all work performed under the age of 14, except in cases where a permit is granted by the Inspector General of Labour (IGT). The Inspector General has the authority to grant work permits for children under 14 if the child is an apprentice, or extreme poverty warrants the child's contribution to the family income. The work should be light in duration and intensity and not prevent the child from meeting compulsory schooling requirements.

Table 1 ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work.

ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work.		
	The minimum age at which children can start work.	Possible exceptions for developing countries
Hazardous work		
Any work which is likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18.	18 (16 under strict conditions)	18 (16 under strict conditions)
Basic Minimum Age		
The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, which is generally 15.	15	14
Light work		
Children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old may do light work, as long as it does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training.	13-15	12-14

However, in Guatemala as in most countries, while national legislation restricts the formal employment of children it is not effective in many circumstances. Children working needs to be seen in the context of local understandings of childhood and the contributions that children make to their families.

BACKGROUND: CHILDREN WORKING IN GUATEMALA

The Ethical Trading initiative understands the challenges faced in combating children's work and recognizes that it is complicated and not always desirable to eliminate children's work. In countries such as Guatemala where socio-economic circumstances are difficult and in a country where 53.7% live in poverty it is understandable that children sometimes need to help their parents in making a living. In the department of Huehuetenango, our study area poverty levels are above the national average with 60.5% (INE, 2011).

Children's work defined for the purpose of this report as any form of economic activity performed by children.

Children's work is very common in Guatemala. Some 507,000 children aged 7-14 years, one fifth of the total children in this age group are engaged in work. The work prevalence of indigenous children is almost twice that of non-indigenous children. It is also mainly a rural phenomenon; the prevalence of children that work in rural areas is almost twice that of urban areas and rural child workers make up three fourths of total child workers. The performance of household chores is also very common among Guatemalan children. Around 300,000 children aged 7-14 years – 12 percent of this age group perform household chores for at least four hours per day (UCW, 2003). A survey performed by the National Institute of Statistics in Guatemala (INE Instituto Nacional de Estadística) in 2011 revealed that 291,497 of 15 years old and below are working representing 5.5% of the workforce. Of these children 66% work in the agricultural sector. The children that work have an average educational level of 3.6 years, and an average salary of Q462.80/\$58.39 month which is equivalent to 24% of the average national minimum salary.

Children working in Guatemala (Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ingresos)			
Section	Working	Average years of education	Average salary in Quetzales
Total national	291,467	3.58	462.80
Agriculture	193,638	3.18	502.81
Commerce	37,996	4.40	300.71
Industry	46,850	4.34	372.86
service	11,757	4.78	945.71
other	1,227	*	600.000

Nota *: no data available
(Estadística, 2011)

The results of the two studies mentioned above differ significantly in the number of children working in Guatemala. One would be eager to believe that the INE study which is more recent, and indicates a lower number is closer to the truth than the study performed by UCW. However, the difference in these numbers probably reveals the difficulties that exist in measuring child labour or children working. The topic of children working is highly complex and difficult to trace and verify with hard quantitative data. There is no general consensus

on the definition of child labour and each country has his own rules and regulations with respect to the minimum age and the type of work that can be performed at that age.

Child work in the coffee sector

The growing and harvesting process involves many aspects; weeding, fertilizing, pruning, picking, weighting and carrying coffee. In doing so, there exist several risks pesticide poisoning, snake or insect and snake bites and injuries by cutting tools and branches. Moreover, high levels of exposure to sunlight can cause skin cancer, lifting and carrying heavy baskets and repetitive movements can cause musculoskeletal injuries. All these issues can be avoided if workers are given protective gears such as plastic coats, masks, gloves and hats.

Results from the study performed in 2011 show that very few producers own protective equipment, and first aid kits. It must be mentioned that in the production protocol of the groups the use of herbicides is prohibited and producers are encouraged to prevent disease and discouraged to use pesticides. The evidence shows that the vast majority fulfils these requirements; of the 90 producers asked about cultivation practices on their parcels 3% indicated to use herbicides and 3% indicated to use pesticides (Schuit, 2011).

In general one can distinguish three types of workers in the coffee sector.

1. Estate Workers
2. (Seasonal) Migrant workers
3. Family labour

Estate workers work and live on large estates. In general these people do not own land, therefore they work on the private property of large landowners or multinationals. Their lives takes place on the estate and this is also the place where there children go to school. This group of workers is not discussed further, this does not imply that child work does not occur amongst this group. This group is excluded from the research because in Huehuetenango Union Hand Roasted does not buy coffee from estates.

(Seasonal) migrant workers migrate during the harvest to villages where coffee is cultivated. By picking coffee they can earn some extra income. Normally they stay several weeks up to months in the village where they pick coffee and then return to their home town. Some of these workers do own private land on which they cultivate crops or keep livestock others are landless. Some of these migrants stay after the harvest to work in the pruning of coffee trees and shade management.

Family labour refers to workers or members of a family unit that work on their own private land. They are also referred to as small-scale growers.

Almost the same distinction can be made talking about children working in agriculture. In agriculture, children's work generally falls within three different contexts: as child slaves or bonded labourers, as migrant or estate workers usually as part of a family unit, or growing up on family farms. In Huehuetenango children working seems to occur mostly amongst seasonal migrant workers. This will be further discussed below

(Seasonal) Migrant Workers

In Guatemala migrant workers in coffee plantations tend to be workers from within Guatemala. They come from poorer municipalities, often located high up in the mountains where the climate and soil quality does not allow the cultivation of commercial products. Many come from municipalities such as San Sebastian, or Santa Barbara where there is few economic activity. The child workers in coffee tend to work mainly during the harvest season, but this can take up 2 to 3 months. The producers in our group do not hire children or accounted them as employees. These children do not receive a formal payment, but are dependent on their parents good-will for some pocket money in return for the work. On farms, seasonal workers are generally paid by piece-rate; the quantity of a given product produced. In the case of coffee in Guatemala the number of quinatales¹ picked. As a result, the men often bring their wife and subsequently the children go with them. Both amongst the pickers and producers that hire pickers that I spoke with there is the tendency to believe that it is better to bring children, even if this means missing school. There are stories of children that got harmed or even deceased (by for example fire accidents) when left alone by their parents in their village. These stories seem "to justify" bringing the children with them.



Photo 1 It is common to encounter these type of sanitary facilities in the coffee parcels

The living conditions of the farms for the migrant workers often included basic conditions, such as drinking water, and sanitary facilities. It is difficult to make judgements about the appropriateness of these facilities, if one compares the facilities with the average level of these type of facilities in Guatemala. Precise and quantitative data on this issue is lacking since there was no time to visit all farms with seasonal workers and perform an social audit.

In general coffee pickers are paid per quintal (46 kg.) of coffee. Prices paid per quintal vary per region, the type of parcel (accessible or not), the condition of the

coffee plant (whether or not it bears a lot of fruits) and the coffee price (in times of high coffee prices, pickers demand higher wages) and whether it is the first, second or third round of the harvest. Day labourers do try to negotiate the price that they receive per quintal according to the factors mentioned above. In 2011-2012 the price in the region lay between Q40/\$5.05 and Q60/\$7.54. If pickers were paid per day they received around Q60/\$7.57 - Q75/\$9.46.



Photo 2 Woman picking coffee while carrying a child, a common picture in Guatemala

The quantity that an average coffee picker can pick also depends several factors such as the health and the condition of the picker, whether or not carrying and nurturing a child, the quantity of red cherries on the tree, the accessibility of the parcels and the height of the trees (Bourbon and Tipica grow sometimes up to more than 2 meters). Generally speaking an average picker collects around 1-2 quintales (up to around 100 kilograms per day).



However, it is not uncommon that pickers at the end of the day deliver 4 to 6 quintales because their wife and children helped them collect. Taking into account that the minimum agricultural wage in Guatemala is Q68 (as per January 2012) harvesting coffee is a relatively well-earning activity for those without formal education and skills and capacity to work outside the agricultural sector.

Besides the wage, some small growers that have pickers working for them provide the pickers with extra's such as a feed ration of maize and/or beans, or some meat in the weekends. Others provide their pickers with lunch or coffee and a small snack during a work day. However, this varies from producer to producer and the custom also varies per village.

Many of these seasonal workers bring their children with them, these children are not always picking coffee, sometimes they are just playing or taking care of their siblings.



Photo 3 Two sisters playing in the coffee field while their parents are picking coffee

Photo 4 Boy taking care of his young baby's brother which is lying on the ground in the coffee parcel, vulnerable for insects bites and disposed to the dirt of the ground.

Although the children on the photos above are not working the condition in which they are situated is unsuitable for young children. All children on the photo's below working were younger than 14 year and according to Guatemalan Law, this would classify as child labour.





Photo 5 Boy resting after picking 2 canastas of coffee (1/4th of a quintal)



Photo 6 Two boys playing in the coffee field

Family Farms



Photo 7 Boy cutting fuel wood

The primary purpose of family farms is to support the families that operate them. In Guatemala they typically produce maize, beans and sometimes garden crops, in addition to at least one cash crop, in the study area this is coffee. Some animals such as poultry, pigs or a cow are kept to contribute to the diet. The income of coffee is used to buy health care, education and basic goods such as cloths, cooking oil, sugar and salt. Children growing up at farms often begin to work at an early age, tasks varies from helping in the house, caring for siblings, or perform agricultural tasks. These children do not know another way of life, and when there is no excess in tasks that need to be done or interference with education or health these activities do not necessarily harm the child. Children like to copy the behavior of their parents, and I have seen children enjoying

making tortillas/cooking/getting firewood/taking care of the animals etc.

The topic children working/child labour is discussed during workshops with small growers in Todos Santos and La Libertad. Here UHR follows the standards of the Ethical Trading Initiative. Amongst this group of producers there was little evidence that children working interferes with primary education, although several youngsters do not continue their educational track after primary education but decide to work. Most are around 13/14 years around the time they graduate from primary school.² These children often help their parents when school is finished with small tasks.

² The majority of the children has to re-do a grade (at least once), or enter primary at the age of 8 instead of 6 when they are old enough to walk to school alone. For that reason few children finish primary at 12.

Women

The women in the coffee fields often work the same hours as men, but apart from harvesting coffee, the female worker is also assumed to fulfil the duties of mother and housewife. It is not uncommon, to see women carrying both a baby and a basket full of cherry beans. The strength of these women is amazing.



Photo 8 women preparing dinner after a long day of work

CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR IN GUATEMALA

The general consensus is that poverty is the driving force behind child labour or children working, but other aspects such as social acceptance, tradition and culture also play a role. In Guatemala, the discourse around children working is different from our Western point of view where we put more attention to “the rights that children have” such as the right to education and the right to play.

Poverty

In the view of many, also of the respondents that I spoke with the general assumption is that child labour is primarily driven by poverty. This also seems to be the discourse in Guatemala when asking about child labour it was not uncommon to receive answers such as:

“La situación económica nos obliga”

The economic situation forces us [Todos Santos]

“No hay otra forma”

There is no other way [La Libertad]

“No tenemos dinero para pagar un trabajador”

We do not have the money to pay a day labourer [La Libertad & Todos Santos]

Poverty forces families to put children to work, however this argument is not completely satisfying in explaining, why around 300,000 children in Guatemala between the age of 7 and 14 are performing household chores for more than four hours a day. Other factors seem to play a role.

Tradition, Culture & Social Acceptance

When talking with respondents, varying from teachers, coffee producers, shop owners, housewife’s etc. it becomes clear that children working is not perceived as something harmful *per se*. It even might be something positive as children acquire skills and learn on the job. Children working is a part of Guatemalan culture and life style:

“Yo siempre trabaje cuando era niño y mira...”

I always worked when I was a child and look (pointing at himself indicating that he grew up to be a healthy man). [Todos Santos]

“Así es en Guatemala”

That is how things go in Guatemala (when asking why, respondents would refer to poverty levels). [La Libertad]

Hence, there are powerful norms and social values in Guatemalan society relating to children's role that are dissimilar from our western perspective in which we view that childhood should include school, playing, carefree and sheltered, and not work.



Photo 10 Girls taking care of their siblings



Photo 9 Boys carrying sacks

Who's responsibility?

In case of children working with seasonal migrants, there is also the questions who's responsibility it is to keep children out of the parcels; the producers or the migrants. Some producers feel that prohibiting children on their parcels, is denying these poor families to earn income and is therefore not desirable.

“Ellos se llevan a los niños, la cosecha de café es unos de las pocas fuentes de empleo que hay por estas personas. Ellas viven en tierra fria en que no se cultiva nada”

“They (referring to migrant workers) bring their children, the harvest is one of the few opportunities in which they can earn income. They live in land with soils that are not suited for cultivation ” [La Libertad]

Education

It is also related to the importance attached to education in Guatemala. Although, school enrolment has risen over the years, the importance attached to education ends with the ability to be able to read and write. As a result, many students drop out in the fifth or sixth year of elementary school, this seems to be especially true for young women. With few off-farm opportunities available in the small villages, and few prospect of having such a job these decisions made by the households are understandable.

This way a vicious cycle is created people as one producer stated:

“Ellos vienen de la montaña y llevan a sus hijos para cortar, son muy pobres y la cosecha de café es unos de las pocos fuentes de ingresos que hay. Pero los hijos no van a la escuela, y solo saben cortar café cuando van a estar grande igual van a cortar café con sus hijos tambien”

“They come from the mountains to pick coffee and bring their children, they are very poor y picking coffee is one of the few income earning opportunities that they have. But, their children do not go to school and only know how to pick coffee when they are grown up they will be picking coffee with their children too”

The government of Guatemala has started a program to increase school attendance. Various teachers that I spoke with were positive about this program. School attendance rates seemed to rise.³ But money is not always spend on school equipment or food, as telephone cards and liquor are popular expenses. During my stay in 2012, payments were delayed several months. These type of inconsistencies might jeopardize the program. The need for such a program shows that in Guatemala few importance is attached by family members to send their children to school. In conversations with parents it became clear that especially in the case of young women, education was viewed as of no use as the women will marry and become housewife's. This discourse was more strongly prevalent in Todos Santos, amongst the indigenous population. Also, when asked during the interviews in 2011 why children dropped out of school the answer that one would receive was either because of economic needs or the child did not wanted to attend school any longer.



³ To the authors knowledge there are currently no academic studies about the effects of this program.

Mi Familia Progresosa

What is Mi Familia Progresosa program?

It is a conditional cash transfer program that provides a monthly economic contribution of Q300 (\$37.85) to families living in poverty and extreme poverty in exchange for the commitment to bring their children to school and health center or centers.

What are the amount?

There are two donations one of Q150 for health and one of Q150 for education. There is a nutrition bonus but this is applied only in the municipalities of Camotan Jocotán, San Juan Ermita and Olopa, Chiquimula. The donation is per family and not per child.

What are the requirements for families to enter the program?

Families must be living in poverty or extreme poverty. If eligible they sign an agreement, they have the responsibility to comply with taking their children to school and meet with attending scheduled appointments in health services.



National Poverty line of Guatemala

The national poverty line was established by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Guatemala, CA (INE)* as a total food expenditure of Q. 9,030.93 or less per capita per year. The extreme poverty line is defined as a total food expenditure of Q.4, 380.00 or less per capita per year.

Guatemala's national poverty line			
Extreme poverty	No extreme poverty	Poverty	No poverty
<Q4,380.00	> Q4,380.00 ≤ Q9,030.93	≤ Q9,030.93	> Q9,030.93
< \$609.35	>\$609.35 ≤\$1139.22	> \$1139.93	> \$1139.93

DISCUSSION

Child labour and children working is largely invisible, but as soon as encountered it leaves a bitter taste to even the finest cup of coffee. The presence of child labour should not go unreported, nor ignored. The extent and severity of children working is difficult to track down. Moreover, were to draw the line between children working and child labour. In Guatemala this line is set at 14 years of age. Children below 14 were encountered in the coffee parcels of La Libertad. However, the problem is also broader than children working, the problem extends to all children that are in the coffee parcels either working, playing or taking care of their siblings during times where they should be in school. Yet, children working must always be analysed and understood within the broader context of social, economic and educational progress in the country of interest. Abolition of child labour in the coffee sector, is desirable but might be contrary to the interest of the children and their families. In Guatemalan society everyone needs to contribute to the household even children are ought to help their parents. Children working is by a vast majority accepted as a natural and customary way of life. In trying to regulate children working, this discourse is going to be the most challenging aspect. As long as there is the need for children to support to their families, it is difficult and might even be undesirable to strive to complete abolition of children working.

With workshops about labour standards UHR discusses the topic of children working in the parcels with small scale growers. The children of the small scale growers, help their families sometimes with picking or small agricultural tasks such as collecting fuel wood but in general this does not interfere with their educational plights.

The study reveals that the group of which we should be concerned most are the seasonal migrant workers that come to these village during the harvest to pick. It is a marginalized group, mainly from indigenous ethnicity. They belong to the poorest of Guatemalan society and often possesses few, infertile or no land. They are to a large degree dependent on the coffee harvest as it is one of the few good income earning opportunities in the year. Tracking this group down is difficult since they come from different municipalities (San Sebastian, Santa Barbara, the mountains). They bring their families with them, and producers hiring pickers have no other option than to accept the whole family. In the authors personal opinion it is recommended that any intervention program target the seasonal workers as target population instead of the small growers that hire the day labourers. Other type of interventions could be the provision of medical and education assistance during the harvest in villages where there are large coffee harvests. However, solving the issue around childcare, and establishing for example nursery's (combined with educational purposes) might be

tricky since these women have the custom to carry their babies and children with them all day.⁴

Abolish or Regulate?

A strategy to address the welfare of children in the coffee industry must prioritize the elimination of the most harmful forms of child labour and take into consideration the root causes and various forms of child labour in coffee.

I recommend taking a constructive approach, the first step is to map out and recognize what exactly is going on. The second step, would be to find help from outside organizations such as NGO's specialized in working with children and their parents.

Recommendations

- Continue to monitor and evaluate the presence of child labour
- The seasonal workers and their children should be the target group of any intervention program
- Provide healthcare, education and childcare facilities during harvest
- Convincing small scale growers to pay pickers per day instead of per piece might be a solution to avoid that pickers bring their whole family. Implementation of this idea might be difficult.

⁴ There are in Guatemala amongst the indigenous population still believes, that the "white men" comes and steals baby's or children for organs or adoption

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