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PPICW

Learning Through Work

Final Report

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ENHANCING 'LEARNING THROUGH WORK':

STRENGTHENING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHILDREN WORKING IN MICRO-ENTERPRISES IN EGYPT

FINAL REPORT

Promoting and Protecting the Interests of Children who Work

Pick Work PPICW

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Abstract

As participatory and rights-based approaches to child protection mature in the development community, and a socio-cultural discourse presenting the social constructions of 'child labour' and 'education' gains attention, discussion is shifting towards a more nuanced and context-specific understanding of children's work that begins with the "best interests" of working children and values their voices in the discussion. Understanding and supporting these "best interests" is foundational to the Promoting and Protecting the Interests of Children who Work (PPIC-Work) Project in Egypt. Utilizing participatory, gender sensitive, rights-based and business-focused approaches to programming, PPIC-Work partners with local micro-finance institutions in order to work with both children and business owners in micro and small enterprises. PPIC-Work interventions seek to protect children from harmful work on one hand, and support them in safe work if they must be or would like to be working on the other hand.

Since 2005, the PPIC-Work project has been exploring how to enhance enterprise-based learning for children working in Egyptian micro-enterprises. This report offers an in-depth analysis of our resulting "Learning Through Work" Initiative in the Doweika neighbourhood of Cairo. Following a theoretical introduction to our approach, we outline the unwritten syllabi taught in four local industries – automotive repair, textiles, carpentry, and women's hairdressing – and describe our efforts to enhance the learning processes in these industries.

We believe that children and youth working in many micro-enterprises are developing the essential skills needed for their vocations and the local economy. By strengthening existing enterprise-based learning systems and ensuring that children who work in these industries have safe, age-appropriate and non-exploitative working arrangements, a Learning Through Work approach offers human and market-based solutions to a growing problem.

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1. Introduction

Over the past three decades, the evolving conceptualisation of 'child labour' has inspired lively policy discussion in the international community. Initially, a legalistic approach concerned with children's susceptibility to exploitation predominated. In 1973 this school of thought inspired the development of International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 138, calling for the abolition of all child labour through the establishment of minimum age laws.[1] By the 1990s, growing recognition of child labour as "a complex phenomenon deeply rooted in social, cultural and economic structures" that cannot be eliminated easily or by legal mechanisms alone shaped ILO Convention 182, focusing on the *progressive* elimination of child labour, and most urgently in its "worst forms".[2] While legal regulations continue to *de jure* prohibit the general employment of children under 14 or 15 in much of the world, the ILO, child protection specialists and development institutions increasingly distinguish between "child work that is benign and contributes to the child's education, and child labour which is by its nature harmful, hazardous or exploitative", focusing their efforts on addressing the latter.[3] Indeed, as participatory and rights-based approaches to child protection mature in the development community, and a socio-cultural discourse presenting the social constructions of 'child labour' and 'education' gains attention, discussion is shifting towards a more nuanced and context-specific understanding of children's work that begins with the "best interests" of working children and values their voices in the discussion.

Understanding and supporting the "best interests" of working children is foundational to the Promoting and Protecting the Interests of Children who Work (PPIC-Work) Project in Egypt. Utilizing participatory, gender sensitive, rights-based and business-focused[4] approaches to programming, PPIC-Work partners with local micro-finance institutions (MFIs) to reach both business owners and working children in micro and small enterprises. The objective is to establish self-financing programs that build on micro-finance best practice principles to improve the working conditions and learning opportunities of children in the Aswan, Qena and greater Cairo governorates. Since 2002, PPIC-Work has developed a series of intervention tools to be used by Egyptian MFIs in collaboration with working children, their families and business owners.[5] Initial experience with the Egyptian Association for Community Initiatives and Development (EACID) in Aswan and the Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (CEOSS) in Cairo is now being extended to the Zeinab Kamel Hassan Foundation (ZKHF) in Cairo, and the Association for Rural and Urban Women's Development in Qena (ARUWD).

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[1] ILO Convention 138, 1973. http://www.ilocarib.org.tt/childlabour/c138.htm

[2] Helmy, M. and Ismail M. *Learning Through Work: the Interface Between Education and Child Labour*. Commissioned for PPIC-Work, 2005. pp 4. ILO Convention 182, 1999. http://www.ilocarib.org.tt/childlabour/c182.htm

[3] Ibid, 4. As mentioned in a 2002 ILO report on 'Decent Work', "According to international standards, not all work that is carried out by children is deemed as unacceptable and so slated for abolition. When work is performed by young persons below the minimum age for employment that is considered appropriate for their age and maturity level and does not interfere with their school attendance or capacity to learn, it can be acceptable and may even be beneficial to children. This type of work may teach young persons about responsibility and life skills or a particular trade, and can contribute to their own or their family's financial well-being." Anker, R. et al. *Measuring Decent Work with Statistical Indicators.* Geneva: Statistical Development and Analysis Group, International Labour Office, 2002. pp. 17-18. See also Community and Institutional Development. A Rights-based Analysis of Child Protection in Egypt. Commissioned for Save the Children UK, Nov. 2007.

[4] For additional information on the business-focused approach see appendix 1.1

[5] These intervention tools include dual purpose loans (which require business owners to use some of the money to improve workplace safety) a code of conduct for businesses, non-formal education programming for working children (including computer-based learning, artistic development, rights awareness and empowerment programming, as well as standard literacy and numeracy), the development of working children's networks, and other hazard mitigation work within the workplace.

Central to the PPIC-Work approach are differentiations between work that is benign and/or educational, work that is hazardous but where hazards can be mitigated, and work that is inherently hazardous.[6] Recognizing that most Egyptian children work as a result of family poverty or an inaccessible and/or poor quality formal education system, PPIC-Work interventions seek to protect children from harmful work on one hand, and support them in safe work if they must be or would like to be working on the other hand. In our interactions with working children, we have found that work can help children acquire valuable technical, business and life skills for a future career, as well as increase their self-confidence and social status.

While many of the PPIC-Work interventions address the working conditions inside micro and small enterprises or provide outside educational programming, PPIC-Work has sought to enhance enterprise-based learning through a "Learning Through Work" (LTW) initiative in recent years. This report, documenting the LTW team's action planning and initial implementation, builds on two LTW research studies conducted for the PPIC-Work project by Dr Maged Helmy and Mona Ismail in Aswan (2005), and the Doweika neighbourhood in Cairo (2006). The Aswan study, *The Interface Between Child Work and Education*, revealed that there are four stages of learning that children pass through before the successful completion of training within a business. The Doweika study, *Learning Through Work*, reaffirmed conclusions from the Aswan study and documented the technical skills learned in each of these stages in three local trades: car body repair, carpet weaving, and carpentry. This report expands on that research by analysing ***how*** learning takes place in four Doweika industries - automotive repair, textiles, carpentry, and women's hairdressing - to capture the unwritten syllabi taught in Egyptian micro-enterprises and enhance the apprenticeship system.

This report is divided into six parts. Following this introduction which constitutes the first part, part two explores the theoretical terrain surrounding children's "work", "education" and the philosophy behind our LTW initiative. Part three outlines the methods used for the LTW planning process. Part four presents a detailed analysis of the four sectors of programming, uncovering the Learning Through Work system. Part five explains how interventions are being shaped to enhance the system. Part six offers final conclusions about the opportunities and challenges of enterprise-based learning in Egyptian micro-enterprises, and presents recommendations for adapting programming to different contexts.

This report may be read in conjunction with the Learning Through Work Guide, a document developed to assist development organizations and MFIs interested in establishing Learning Through Work programming. It offers advice on what partners and resources are required for this approach, data collection techniques and programming recommendations based on successes and challenges encountered during PPIC-Work programming in Cairo. This guide can be found on our website at: http://www.ppic-work.org/resources.htm

[6] These differentiations, inspired in part by the Save the Children Alliance's document Save the Children's Position on Children and Work, shape how PPIC-Work approaches children's work. This approach is outlined in detail in appendix 1.2. The majority of PPIC-Work programming focuses on micro-enterprises that are reasonably safe, in non-worst forms of child labour and where hazards (if they exist) can be mitigated. Since fall of 2007, however, PPIC-Work has also been partnering with Community and Institutional Development (CID) to address a worst form of child labour in the brickyards. At the time of writing, the PPIC-Work team is also discussing collaboration with the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM) on technology upgrading in the Metal Smelting industry in Qalubiya to eliminate inherently hazardous work for children there.

2. Learning Through Work: Theoretical Underpinnings

Before an organization can begin to assist working children it is important to identify how they relate to the concept of 'child labour'. As Ennew, Myers and Plateau state:

> Although children can be seen working all over the world, their activities are perceived in a wide variety of ways, resulting in multiple, competing definitions of 'child labor'. This means that however it is used, the term is not an objective, technical description of a single, observable set of human relations, but rather a rhetorical label that blends description with negative value judgments.[7]

Just as the term 'child labour' has been socially constructed in many ways, so have each of its two sub-components, 'child' and 'labour'.[8] This section will describe what these terms mean for the PPIC-Work project, and how our philosophy has shaped our approach to 'work', 'education' and the development of our Learning Through Work initiative.

2.1 Perspectives on Children's 'Work'

There are a range of ways in which 'work' is conceptualised, beginning with unpaid household chores or any form of productive activity on the one end of the spectrum, to remunerated formal sector employment on the other.[9] The prevailing concept in economic development, used by the ILO, labour ministries, economists, and trade unions views work as paid employment or 'economic participation'.[10] While this conceptualisation creates clear boundaries, it has its shortcomings: it excludes and arguably undervalues unpaid activities like domestic work, volunteerism, and collaboration in family-run businesses if individuals – frequently children - are not directly compensated.

In the English language, the conceptualisation of 'labour' is generally narrower and more negative than 'work' as it is frequently associated with "toil and strife", or, - in the context of 'labour camps' and 'child labour' - exploitation.[11]11 As a result of these connotations, there is an increasing number of child protection initiatives that challenge the notion of children's work as intrinsically negative by calling only what they perceive to be inherently hazardous and/or exploitative forms of children's work 'child labour', or by avoiding the term entirely. [12] PPIC-Work partners are among these organizations, as we believe that when work occurs in a safe and non-exploitative environment, is age appropriate, and involves a learning component, it can be a positive thing for the child. Naturally there are qualifications; for a work environment to be non-exploitative there must be fair wages, reasonable work hours, safe work, and good treatment for the child. Furthermore, this work should not undermine the child's ability to participate in formal education if they are interested in this, or prevent them from enjoying leisure time. Ideally, work should be a choice for children, not something they are forced into as a result of economic hardship within their family, or an inaccessible or failing education system.

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[7] Ennew, J.; Myers, W.; and Plateau, D. "Defining Child Labor as if Human Rights Really Matter" in Child Labor and Human Rights: Making Children Matter. Weston, B. (ed.). Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005. pp 28.
[8] For a full discussion on this topic see: Ennew, Myers and Plateau, 2005.
[9] After consulting working children for their landmark position paper Children and Work, the Save the Children Alliance concluded that, "For girls and boys work means many things. For some unpaid activities are not considered work. For others it is important to include these activities to ensure that the housework of girls is recognized. Some working children argue that work is 'dignified' and contributes to their own or their family's survival. Others see work as harmful and exploitative." 2003, 2.
[10] Ennew, Myers, and Plateau, 2005. pp 34-35.
[11] Dore, R. "The Pains and Rewards of Work in the Twenty-First Century" in Work in the Global Economy: Papers and Proceedings from an International Symposium. Eds. Laviec, J.; Horiuchi, M.; and Kazou Sugeno. Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies, 2004. pp 3.
[12] As Ennew, Myers and Plateau argue, "Concepts and definitions [of 'child labor'] are so many, so varied, and frequently so vague that the term has been devalued beyond technical usefulness." 2005, 27

It is important to note that the concept of 'childhood' is itself a social construction, and one that has varying associations and expectations in different cultural communities. As developmental psychologist Barbara Rogoff describes in *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*, the age at which a child will begin caring for younger children (i.e., being given responsibility), or using sharp tools (training for autonomy), may occur at vastly different times depending on the community. While children in North America and Western Europe learn in homogenous age groups at formal institutions and 'play' for a significant period of time (practicing for life instead of participating in the community's mature activities), much of the world uses a very different model, integrating children into everyday activities of their communities, and teaching them through experience and close observation instead of in the abstract.[13]

Unfortunately, as Ennew, Myers and Plateau point out, a "northern cultural construction of childhood and child-rearing… is now globally dominant".[14] This is problematic because it is

> …incorrectly assumed to represent a scientific understanding of children valid everywhere and is the driving force behind many universalised social policies, including those governing child work… *even in developing societies where often these policies do not fit.* [15]

Thus, academics argue that efforts to abolish child labour through minimum age standards - embodied in ILO Convention 138 and national policies throughout the world – need to be reconsidered as:

> (1) insufficient attempt has been made to determine [its] real impact on children, the intended beneficiaries, (2) existing evidence suggests that the policy often harms the children it claims to protect, and (3) the effort of enforcing blanket prohibitions affecting all work – even safe work – diverts attention away from the urgent need to intervene in forms and conditions of work that are genuinely harmful to children.[16]

It is extremely important that development initiatives assisting working children consider the cultural framework in which children's work takes place, as well as how their interventions relate to and could affect these cultures.

2.2 Perspectives on Children's 'Education'

With all the current focus on achieving "education for all" and "eliminating illiteracy" within development circles, discussions about 'education' can be easily conflated to 'formal education', with the occasional inclusion of non-formal literacy and numeracy programming. However, when we speak about knowledge, learning, and education in PPIC-Work, we believe these concepts extend beyond formal training or literacy programming to all the things that enable one to survive and participate in community life. Learning is not confined to a classroom or curriculum, it is a life-long process we engage in everywhere, at all times, and which is an intrinsic part of what it means to be human. As the 21st Century Learning Initiative explains:

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[13] Rogoff, B. *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.pp 4-9. In fact, "Human development and education experts emphasize that the most effective educational mode is learning by doing, under guidance, together with others… [and] working toward a common purpose." Myers, W. "Some Thoughts About Learning Through Work and SME Apprenticeships." Prepared for PPIC-Work, Jan. 2007. Rogoff and others suggest that the Northern model has only excluded children from participation in mature activities since the industrial revolution when mechanization removed the need for children's contributions and an extended education system.

[14] Ennew, Myers, and Plateau, 2005. pp 31began preparing them for other forms or work.

[15] Ibid, 31. Emphasis added.

[16] Bordillion, M.; Myers, W.; and White, B. "Reassessing Minimum Age Laws for Children's Work" in *The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* to be published, 2008.

Table 2.2.1: Understanding 'Learning'[17]

- Learning is fundamentally social and inseparable from engagement in the world.
- Knowledge is integrated in the life of communities; learning is how people gain membership and participate in community.
- Learning is an act of membership; motivation in learning lies in the intimate relation between the desire for participation and the role of new knowledge in enabling that participation.
- Knowing depends on engagement in practice; only in the classroom is knowledge presented in the abstract.
- Engagement is inseparable from empowerment; potential for learning is greatest in situations in which participants have meaningful roles in real action that has consequences not only for them but for their community as well.
- Failure to learn is the result of exclusion from participation; people denied membership with the right to contribute to the creation of meaning cannot be sufficiently engaged to learn easily.
- We already are lifelong learners; in the search to participate, people learn all the time, but not necessarily what is best for them or society.

Education is not merely the filling of an individual pail; it is a collective, participatory process in which individual actors and groups can learn from and shape an evolving body of knowledge that explains what it is to be human and how to live in a particular culture or community.

Learning, in this broad, experiential sense, is what Rogoff terms an "apprenticeship in thinking". Children begin this cognitive apprenticeship at an early age, "through guided participation in social activity with companions who support and stretch [their] understanding of and skill in using the tools of culture".[18] Their guides are older children and adults, whom they observe and interact with, developing behaviours, values, and skills along the way. Increasingly, as they participate in the community, they begin transmitting knowledge to those who come after them.

This understanding of education has been important for PPIC-Work as the project seeks to enhance the learning opportunities available to working children both in the workplace, and in groups with peers. Since Egyptian children may be expected to begin contributing to the family or participating in mature activities earlier than in other parts of the world, and, at the same time, safe work environments such as mechanic or hairdressing shops can be positive sites for them to develop the skills needed for life and participate in their community, we believe it is important to support them in safe work and maximize the opportunities for learning within this environment.

2.3 Combining Children's Work and Education

If we recognize the educational value of work, there are a number of ways in which the learning opportunities of working children may be enhanced by combining work and education. Child labour specialist Dr. William Myers proposes four models:

[17] 21st Century Learning Initiative. *Schooling Alone Cannot Successfully Prepare Young People for the Economic and Social Challenges of the 21st Century*. 1997. As cited in Myers, 2007. In their own words, the 21st Century Learning Initiative "was established in 1995 by a group of English and American businessmen and organizations to make sense of research on learning and learning processes… [Their] essential purpose is to facilitate the emergence of new approaches to learning that draw upon a range of insights into the human brain, the functioning of human societies, and learning as a community-wide activity… [They] are convinced that education has to be about much more than intellectual development, and that learning and schooling are certainly not necessarily synonymous." http://www.21learn.org/

[18] Rogoff, B. *Apprenticeship in Thinking: Cognitive Development in Social Context*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. pp. vii.

Table 2.3.1: Combining Education and Work[19]

1.	**Learning Through Work** (LTW): any type of apprenticeship arrangement, where children or youth perform work activities under the guidance of a more knowledgeable person. It is learning that takes place during normal work and in actual workplaces.
2.	**Learning With Work** (LWW): learning that takes place alongside work, like literacy or numeracy. Learning is separate from work. Work is usually scheduled to take place during school holidays or break periods.
3.	**Learning From Work** (LFW): programs that lead working children to reflect upon their experience in work, draw lessons from it, and then use their insights to advance their own protection and best interests.
4.	**Learning For Work** (L4W): vocational education in the form of schools or classes dedicated to teaching children a trade, organized as a full-time instructional activity with basic literacy and numeracy as prerequisites.

These models address a variety of educational needs through different means. The first and fourth approaches both respond to the need for technical skills, though the first approach does not require literacy or numeracy skills and is less formal or regulated. The second approach may be formal or non-formal in character, and addresses the need for written linguistic skills. The third approach is likely non-formal, and addresses the need for critical-thinking skills. The PPIC-Work project already utilizes the second and third approaches by offering working children a range of literacy, numeracy and arts sessions on the Learning With Work side, and facilitating workshops on hazards in the workplace and child rights on the Learning From Work side. We are, however, interested in enhancing children's vocational education more directly, and are therefore interested in the first and/or fourth models.

It is often very difficult to incorporate technical training into formal education systems, as they have proved too inflexible. As Myers explains,

> A key problem is that inserting productive work into formal education systems demands very substantial changes in how schools operate, and ministries of education have for the most part been unable or unwilling to make the required reforms.[20]

At the same time, vocational training centres have generally proved too expensive or inefficient for the number of students that require vocational skills in many developing countries. Thus, experts assert that,

> …one of the most viable ways to provide training sufficiently en masse to meet the growing workforce and small business entrepreneurship needs of a developing society is to make use of current informal apprenticeships where they exist, empowering, improving, and expanding their capacity as education providers.[21]

In Egypt, discussions with business owners and working youth have indeed demonstrated that young people who undergo enterprise-based training are more likely to find employment related to their training and to be successful in their work than their vocational-trained

[19] Myers, W. "Some Thoughts About Learning Through Work and SME Apprenticeships". Prepared for PPIC-Work, Jan. 2007. With slight adaptations.
[20] Ibid
[21] Ibid

peers.[22] As in many countries, employers find "[T]heir skills are better adapted to the market, they have developed a more complete package of skills and attitudes, and they are more connected to networks of support and opportunity."[23] It is important to note that this complete package of skills extends beyond mere technical abilities to business management as well as human competencies or life skills such as trustworthiness, responsibility, fairness and communication abilities.

All of these considerations, and the idea that "[P]eople learn best when they learn skills in the context in which the information is used,"[24] make a Learning Through Work approach much more appealing for PPIC-Work than a Learning For Work endeavour.

2.4 Learning Through Work: The PPIC-Work Approach

Since 2005, the PPIC-Work project has been avidly exploring how to enhance enterprise-based learning for children working in micro-enterprises. From the beginning, our Learning Through Work initiative has been based around three objectives:

1. To understand how technical and cognitive apprenticeships work in micro-enterprises, and whether/where there are gaps in children's learning.
2. To use this understanding to enhance learning opportunities for working children by:
    a. Supporting business owners (BOs) to improve learning opportunities within the workplace
    b. Facilitating the acquisition of new technologies that improve the learning environment, and
    c. Filling learning gaps through relevant educational programming.
3. To assist already-working children as they search for safe and educational jobs.

Following intense field research and process planning – the results of which are analysed in section four – the PPIC-Work team has developed a series of Learning Through Work interventions. These interventions include:

1. Improving learning opportunities in the workplace by:
    a. Enhancing the instructional methods of business owners via participatory workshops, discussion groups and work tours, and
    b. Providing BOs with access to new technologies and upgrading workplace safety – via loans, leases and rentals.
2. Improving learning opportunities outside the workplace by:
    a. Offering non-formal educational programming such as literacy and numeracy classes, rights and hazard awareness sessions, computer-based learning activities and potentially, sector-specific theoretical courses.
3. Facilitating a referral centre or network for already-working children and business owners in the community.

It is hoped that the LTW interventions – discussed in depth in section five – may be offered through an increasing number of MFIs in Egypt and the Middle East, alongside other PPIC-Work intervention tools. As will be elucidated in section five, it is expected that these interventions will require fairly minimal resources and could thus reach a significant number of working children over time.

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[22] As one youth combining technical secondary school and work has explained, it is best to combine work and school, but if this is not possible it is better to work than to go to a technical school if you want to learn the trade. Interview with Mahmoud – youth working in Carpentry – February 23, 2008.

[23] Myers, 2007. See also Crump, P.; Grierson, J.; and Mortagi, M. *Tradition and Change: Enterprise-Based Training in Egypt.* Commissioned by CEOSS, NCNW and USAID, 2000.

[24] Poczik, R. "Work-based education and school reform", in *Learning to Work: Employer Involvement in School-to-Work Transition programs*, ed. Bailey, T. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995. pp 56

3. Methods

As previously mentioned, this report builds upon two earlier research studies conducted by Dr Maged Helmy and Mona Ismail to document the LTW system and assist with implementation planning. The Doweika neighbourhood of Cairo was selected as the pilot site for the initiative for a number of reasons: this neighbourhood has a significant number of workshops that employ children learning trades, initial research had been undertaken in this community already, and EACID had recently commenced its loan programming in the area and was already establishing relationships with local business owners.

Four industries were selected for the pilot program: automotive repair, textiles, carpentry and hairdressing. Within these four industries, a number of sub-sectors were identified for exploration, described in the following table:

Table 3.1: Sub-Sectors Involved in LTW Pilot Initiative

	INDUSTRY			
	Automotive Repair	**Textiles**	**Carpentry**	**Hairdressing**
SUB-SECTOR	Mechanics Panel Beating Car Door Repair Seat Repair Painting	Carpet Weaving Sewing Embroidering	Furniture Carving	Women's Hairdressing

Wherever possible, two businesses from each sub-sector were included in the sample to strengthen the validity of the findings. These particular industries were selected to explore a range of trades that are common in both Doweika and throughout Egypt, to focus on fields that are technologically complex and offer extended periods of on-the-job training, and to investigate differences in vocational opportunities for girls and boys within the workplace. The automotive repair and carpentry industries employ very few, if any girls, as the work is considered too strength-dependent or simply 'inappropriate' for women;[25] the textile industry employs a combination of girls and boys; and the women's hairdressing industry employs predominantly girls.

While the original Doweika study was based on limited field research,[26] this planning process involved in-depth interviews with five to ten business owners in each of the industries, in-depth interviews with all available working children in the same micro-enterprises, and separate focus group discussions for business owners and working children in most sectors to verify findings. A total of 55 business owners, children, and youth have contributed to the LTW process planning in Doweika.[27]

Overall, the planning team was interested to determine:

- How does the learning process take place in these four industries/trades?

[25] As Mohammed – a business owner in the carpentry sector – explained, "If you employ a girl, there's bound to be interaction between her and the other male workers in the workshop, whether it's verbal or physical, and that's inappropriate and hard to control." Interview, January 26, 2008. When girls in the textile industry were asked about whether they would ever consider learning how to be a mechanic or carpenter, they laughed, answering that "It would not be an appropriate trade for a girl as they do not have the strength… no girls do this work". Discussion with Eman and Hannan during interview with their mother Amal – BO in Textile Industry – November 29, 2007.

[26] Primary research for the original Learning Through Work Doweika study was informed in its entirety by conversations with eight business owners in the community. Due to difficulties locating willing research subjects, fieldwork consisted of one in-depth interview and one focus group of 1-4 people in each of the three sectors.

[27] For a list of interviewees, including background information, see appendix 3.1

- Are there gender differences in the way in which learning takes place? If so, do these differences lead to advantages or disadvantages for girls or boys? What are good ways to approach girls' and boys' education in these industries?
- Are the vocational skills children acquire consistent with the technical requirements needed for their future work in the industry?
  - How comprehensive is the learning, and, how can work be complemented with non-formal education?
  - Can/should the acquisition of technical skills be externally assessed and recognized?
  - Can/should new technological inputs that would require the acquisition of new skills (e.g., knowledge of computers) be introduced?
- Apart from technical knowledge, what do child-workers learn in the work site (e.g., administration/management skills, work ethics, organizational skills, values)? How are these things learned?
- How is the role of the trainer/mentor perceived by business owners themselves? Are there particular training skills and/or training approaches that could be documented as examples of good practice and shared with other business owners?

In pursuit of these questions, researchers undertook the following methodology:

1. Relationships were established with businesses in each of the four sectors via local loan officers from the partner MFI.[28]
2. Interview guides for children, youth and business owners were constructed.[29]
3. Preliminary interviews were conducted to pre-test interview guides and revisions made accordingly.
4. Interviews with business owners and working children were conducted (focusing on one sector at a time) and findings – including direct observations – recorded in data collection templates.[30]
5. Preliminary data analysis was undertaken.
6. Separate focus group discussions were organized with business owners and children in each sector to discuss the viability of providing loans/rental equipment for technology upgrading, and to confirm how to enhance educational opportunities in the workplace.[31]
7. Final data analysis was completed and interventions planned.

[28] Wherever possible EACID clients were included in the sample as there were no incentives for participation in the study, and those already familiar with the MFI were more receptive to project ideas.
[29] For interview guides see appendix 3.2
[30] For data collection templates see appendix 3.3
[31] For focus group discussion guidelines see appendix 3.4

4. Uncovering The Learning Through Work System

This section documents what children learn through their work in the automotive repair, textile, carpentry, and women's hairdressing industries prior to any LTW interventions. It identifies three types of skills acquired through enterprise-based learning – technical, business, and life skills – and focuses on how these learning processes are facilitated and assessed by those who instruct children in workplaces, normally the business owners and older workers. This information is then used to identify best practices for instruction, as well as gaps in enterprise-based learning if the child is not participating in other formal or non-formal education programming. Filling in the education gaps is particularly important in Doweika as the majority of the children and youth participating in this study indicated that they had dropped out of school in order to work.[32] At the same time, the program team encountered challenges in establishing non-formal education classes as most of the children and youth interviewed work twelve hour days, six days a week, leaving them little free time for other activities.

We will begin with a general discussion of how the apprenticeship system works and the stages of learning involved in this process before proceeding to the four industry-specific analyses. Within the trade sub-sections, discussion will proceed from technical, business and life-skill learning to best practices to gaps in learning.

4.1 The System at Work

Since ancient times, learning through guided participation in work has been an essential educational methodology for the transmission of skills.[33] Even today, apprenticeship systems flourish in a variety of forms around the world, ranging from formal to informal, individualized to collective, 'traditional' to 'modern'. Indeed, the skills for producing most of world's food continue to be passed on by family-based or other informal apprenticeship processes, as are skills for managing homes, raising children, and training professionals.[34] As Myers notes,

> Essential skills—ranging from the simplest to the most sophisticated—that sustain the economy and urbanization of most [countries] are learned through apprenticeship processes apart from formal education. *There is at this time is no other realistic alternative for producing workers with essential skills in the number, variety and quality needed to support [the development of] society*.[35]

A range of apprenticeship styles proliferate in Egypt, particularly informal individualized ones in micro and small enterprises in the informal economy, such as those forming the focus of this study. There are both advantages and disadvantages to this form of enterprise-based

[32] Only six out of 24 child interviewees were still in school at the time of writing: one of six working in the automotive repair sector was in technical secondary school, one of ten children in the textile industry had already graduated from secondary school, two of five girls in hairdressing were in primary school, and all three of the boys working in carpentry were still in school – ranging from primary to technical secondary. See appendix 3.1.
[33] Myers, 2007
[34] Ibid. "[I]n … countries like Germany, there has been a tendency to revert to apprenticeships as part of a student's secondary school training; over half of all German adolescents participate in some kind of an apprenticeship, in which scholastic competencies are tied as closely as possible to the needs and demands of a workplace. Many vocations and avocations, ranging from the making of musical instruments to household electrical or plumbing repairs, and many roles, ranging from newspaper copyboy to magician or police officer on the beat, are profitably approached through apprenticeship techniques. ... And revealingly, some of the most demanding pursuits in the society, from graduate study at the university to medical internships to the role of a senior aide in a political or business environment, amount to apprenticeship arrangements" H. Gardner *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach*; New York: Basic Books, 1991. pp. 123-125.
[35] Ibid

learning. On one hand, these apprenticeships create workers with relevant practical experience, who are able to respond to market changes, and who will likely possess the entrepreneurial skills necessary for them to open their own business in the future. Enterprise-based learning requires minimal inputs both for the trainee (potential fees), and the trainer (equipment and salary), making it far more cost-effective than formal vocational training institutes. It also facilitates networks for future employment and ongoing collaboration between trainer and ex-trainees. On the other hand, enterprise-based training often provides limited theoretical education and may utilize outdated technology. Trainers may possess weak pedagogical skills, may wilfully limit their trainee's progress or may neglect training as jobs take precedence over teaching. As some trades in Egypt have deep cultural roots, they may reinforce existing social patterns or fail to address some forms of exclusion (e.g., girls working in traditionally male-dominated sectors like the Egyptian carpentry industry).[36]

In informal apprenticeships in Egyptian micro-enterprises, training starts the moment a child begins working in an enterprise. The amount of time required to progress through an apprenticeship varies greatly from business to business and child to child, based on:

1. The child's skills and eagerness to learn the trade
2. The business owner's skills and philosophy (whether they are merely concerned with their own interests, or also interested in passing on their knowledge and mentoring the child for work and life)
3. The needs and opportunities within the workshop
4. The age the child begins working

In our field research, these factors were confirmed in many interviews. As one youth described from his experience training younger children, "What takes one child one week takes another a month due to differences in their… minds."[37] Comparing two boys he had trained at different times, another youth said: "the first boy did a lot more because he was a quick learner."[38] When recounting their stories of how they learned the trade, many business owners explained that the extreme length of their apprenticeship – fifteen to twenty years - was a result of being held back by the business owner, or only learning certain elements of the trade.[39] While individualized progress based on the skills and abilities of the child can be a strength of enterprise-based learning, when children are hindered from learning for other reasons it can jeopardize their future career.

When he's not in school, this young carpenter, 10, may be found operating all kinds of tools in his uncle's shop.

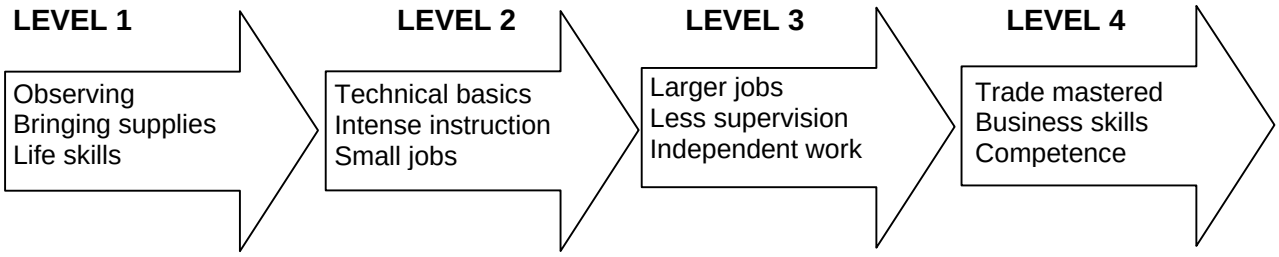
After interviewing business owners about their experiences as apprentices we realised that no statistics could be generated about the average length of time taken to become a business owner because each person has a unique experience. The fact that business owners and youth commonly identified progression through the apprenticeship as based on initiative, skill and occasionally size – as opposed to the length of time performing a certain job or the age of the worker – reinforces this point. Further, the diversity of attitudes and abilities possessed by both trainer and trainee make the apprenticeship process difficult to regulate and support.

[36] Discussion of strengths and weaknesses based in part on Crump, Grierson, and Mortagi, 2000. pp 25-26
[37] Interview with Mustafa – working youth in automotive industry – November 17, 2007
[38] Interview with Hassan – working youth in automotive industry – November 17, 2007.
[39] Interview with Ibrahim – BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007; Interview with Shaaban – BO in carpentry industry – January 24, 2008.

4.2 Stages of Learning

One of the key findings in the Helmy and Ismail studies was that there are four stages of learning through which an apprentice passes in order to become a skilled worker.[40] While there was not complete consensus among our interview subjects on what was learned at each stage, the length of time required to learn the skills in that stage, and in some cases the number of stages themselves, the LTW planning team can confirm the conclusions of the Helmy and Ismail studies and the existence of four distinct levels of learning.[41] It should be emphasized however, that interview subjects frequently made comments like "the learning never stops" and some required significant clarification to help them categorize skills or ideas into levels.[42] This may indicate some tension between a formal Western conceptualisation of learning that constructs phases or benchmarks, and an informal Egyptian system that views training more holistically and fluidly, emphasizing life-long learning.

Table 4.2.1: Stages of Learning



At the first level, children generally assist the workers without becoming involved in the technical process themselves: bringing materials to the workers, cleaning the shop, observing work, learning the names of equipment/tools, and running errands. This stage continues until the child is familiar with the work environment, has developed trust with the employer, and has demonstrated an interest in learning the trade: often between a few months and a year. At this point in the apprenticeship the child is learning many life skills: they are tested for honesty and integrity, develop a sense of responsibility towards their work and for work materials, and in many cases, coached in communication skills and proper hygiene.

In this picture, the older boy supervises newer team members

At the second level, the child begins to learn the technical trade through guided observation and by participating in small repairs. They prepare the vehicle or materials for the main work by washing, sanding, or trimming things, or removing small parts. They may also do simple repetitive work to gain experience with different elements of the trade. During this time they are taken under the wing of either older workers or, if it is a small business, the business owner. These instructors will teach the apprentice all of the essential technical procedures. As the child masters basic technical skills, they will begin doing more and more, gradually transitioning to the third level.

[40] Helmy and Ismail, 2005. pp. 10; Helmy and Ismail, 2006. pp 5

[41] One could include a fifth 'entrepreneurial' stage, where the apprentice 'graduates' from training to become a workshop owner. Over the course of our interviews we encountered a few business owners that included this level in the stages they identified. While there is certainly significant learning in starting up a business, we will confine our analysis here to learning under the supervision of older peers or adults, which happens predominantly in the first four levels below

[42] Interview with Asharaf – BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007; Interview with Hossein – BO in automotive repair industry – November 1, 2007.

At the third level the child is able to complete small jobs or significant components on their own, and increasingly masters the technical trade. It takes a few years before they will be able to do complete jobs on their own, but during this stage they gain experience, with ongoing coaching as needed, and in many cases begin to negotiate prices with customers in the absence of the Business Owner and work independently. As they transition to the next stage they will have mastered the technical skills needed for the job.

At the fourth and final level, the child (turned youth) becomes a 'senior apprentice', and can do complete jobs on his or her own. Their focus is now on developing business skills so that they can open their own shop in the future. In this stage the youth learns how to account for materials and labour time when setting prices, negotiate with customers, balance profit maximization with fairness, and in some cases keep records of accounts.[43] Unfortunately, research in the textile industry revealed that girls do not often make it to this stage as a result of cultural assumptions about their role in society, and their own common preference to stop working once they are engaged or married. This will be explored in greater depth in the textile analysis, section 4.4. Research in the carpentry industry revealed that apprentices may not always learn business skills in this stage; they may instead have a steep learning curve of business skill acquisition when they become a business owner themselves.[44]

Overall, one may conclude that while proceeding through this four-stage apprenticeship system children start out with the acquisition or enhancement of life skills, then focus heavily on technical skills for a number of years, and finally concentrate on management and entrepreneurial skills. Business owners and working children in each of the industries were readily able to identify these technical, business, and life skills learned through work and affirm this general sequence of learning. While there is certainly overlap between the types of skills learned over time, and one must be careful not to view this sequence of life-technical-business skills too rigidly, it is nonetheless a useful framework.

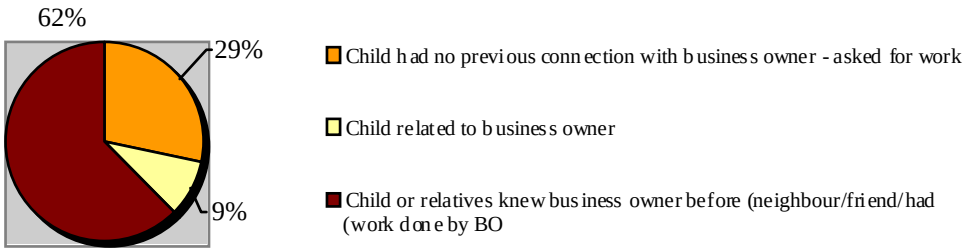
4.3 The Automotive Repair Industry

a) Statistical Overview

The Doweika research team interviewed a total of ten business owners within the automotive repair industry: two mechanics, two panel beaters, two car door repairmen, two seat repairmen, and two painters (one paint mixer and one car painter).[45] These business owners had all worked in the industry for many years, but had a range of experience as business owners – some running their own business for as little as one month, and others for up to thirty years. At the time of interviews, their combined ten businesses employed 21 children, working at all stages of the apprenticeship process. When asked how the children came to be working with them, business owners explained that in most cases they knew the child or their relatives prior to hiring the child.

[43] Keeping accounts is, however, somewhat rare in the informal economy, as many businesses do not pay taxes.
[44] Two of the six business owners in the carpentry industry – Mohammed and Moharram – stated that they either had not learned or did not teach apprentices business skills. For Moharram it was a matter of not trusting some apprentices with customers, and for Mohammed, it was a matter of observation and then practice as a business owner. Interviews with Mohammed and Moharram, January 26, 2008.
[45] For interviewee backgrounds see appendix 3.1

Graph 4.3.1: How Child Workers (21) Found Jobs with Interviewed Business Owners (Automotive Sector)



The vast majority of these children have dropped out of school to work: only four out of the twenty-one are still in school, and two of these children - ages five and seven – were the sons of a business owner. The third child was also seven years old but, according to the business owner, was not showing much dedication to either school or work.[46]

The fourth child is 17 years old, finishing technical secondary school, and progressing very slowly through the apprenticeship system. Out of the 17 or 81% who have left school, the majority dropped out after less than five years, or before the completion of primary school.[47] When asked for reasons behind children's withdrawal from the formal education system, business owners and children identified family poverty, the poor quality of the education system, and verbal and physical abuse at school as common factors.[48] Researchers were unable to gather precise statistics about the ages at which children began working in all of these 21 cases, but found that many of these children were working by the age of nine. In a few cases, the research team came across children as young as six or seven working, performing only small tasks but perhaps not in school. Business owners frequently suggested that it was good to hire children fairly young, perhaps at age nine or ten, because at that age they are still very open to learning, and their character can be still be influenced by the business owner.[49]

Following interviews with business owners, the Doweika research team interviewed older youth working in five of the same businesses in the industry: two mechanics, one car door repairman, one seat repairman, and one paint mixer. The research team then held a focus group with a couple of these same youth and one new youth, from a car painting business. These six youth averaged 17 years old, and had been working in the trade for an average of five and a half years. Some information from our interviews is included in the table that follows, and more comprehensive information in appendix 3.1.

[46] Interview with Hussein – BO in automotive repair industry – October 29, 2007.
[47] Precise statistics on this are not available however as we have not verified this with each of the children identified by business owners.
[48] Unfortunately stories like Mustafa's – a youth interviewed from the automotive repair industry – are all too common. He explained that he dropped out of school to work after two years in the system because the teacher was hurting him and saying awful things about his mother. Before Mustafa decided to leave school his father visited the school administration, to no avail. Interview, November 17, 2007.
[49] As Ali – BO in the automotive repair industry – recounted, ten was the best age… "not younger because the instructions are too difficult, the work involves the use of chemicals, requires precision in measurements, but not older because there is a lot to learn". Interview, October 10, 2007.

Table 4.3.1: Youth Interviewees in the Automotive Repair Industry

Name	Age	Time in Trade	Level (1-4) in Apprenticeship	Amount of Work	Pay (LE)
Mohammed	19	6 years	4: learning business skills	10 hours, 6 days a week	150/week
Adel	17	11 years	2: only small jobs (in school & not keen)	11 hours, holidays/wknds	60/week
Mustafa	15	5 years	3/4: can do most jobs, starting business s	11 hours, 6 days a week	50/week
Hassan	17.5	5 years	4: learning business skills	12 hours, 6 days a week	150/week
Hussein	17	4 years	2/3: small repairs, customer service	10 hours, 6 days a week	50/week
Sayyid	18	2 years	3: complete jobs, no business skills yet	11 hours, 6 days a week	?

These six youth were ideal interviewees because they were in the upper stages of their apprenticeship, and in many cases were actively training younger children. Sixty seven percent indicated that they were hired through family connections – e.g., an uncle repaired his vehicle at the shop or their parents were friends with the business owner – while 16.5% indicated that they were neighbours with the business owner, and the remaining 16.5% simply asked for work.[50] These youth work an average of 11 hours a day, either six days a week for the five that have dropped out of school, or on weekends and holidays for the one in school; earning anywhere between 50 and 150 Egyptian pounds per week (approximately US$ 9 to $27, at the time of this research) for their efforts. When they were asked why they started working during a focus group discussion, the youth explained,

> Mustafa: I used to work while I was in school, but my family's situation required that I leave school, both because of the money and the time. I was unable to do both work and school simultaneously.
>
> Hassan: I decided one day that I wanted to work, and this was the trade I chose for myself. I started at this workshop because I heard about it from a friend and just accompanied him to work one day.
>
> Sayyid: I used to be a blacksmith because my dad is one. Ever since I was a kid I was a blacksmith. One day I felt the need to change my trade and wanted to work in the auto industry, so I did. I still have all of my blacksmith tools and can be one again, but for now I'd like to work where I am.[51]

The reasons behind children's decision to work are very context-specific. For some it is a choice, which the community environment in Doweika may support if not encourage, while for others family circumstances are the driving force.

b) Learning the Technical Trade

This section will describe the technical skills an apprentice generally learns in each of the sub-sectors of the automotive repair industry, and the approximate length of time taken for these skills to be learned. As our analysis confirms and builds upon the earlier work of Helmy and Ismail, we utilize the same terminology they introduced to describe each level of learning. The findings in these tables represent neither comprehensive lists, nor absolutes: the interview sample was limited and some differences were noted in the comments of business owners in the same sub-sector, and occasionally between the business owner and child in the same workplace. These findings, therefore, must be understood as generalizations and approximations being used to paint the overall landscape of a diverse industry, however impressionistically.

[50] See appendix 3.1
[51] Focus group with youth in automotive repair industry, December 14, 2007.

While the technical skills themselves are unique, they are taught utilizing enterprise-based learning methodologies common across the automotive repair sector in Egypt. Therefore, the methods employed in all ten businesses will be discussed together, focusing on how business owners assess learning and approach discipline in the workshop.

Table 4.3.2: Technical Skills Learned in a Mechanic Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• The names and functions of tools, spare parts, parts of the engines • How to take parts out/off of the car (wheels etc) and jack the car up to be worked on	1 year
Level 2: Junior	• How to identify what is wrong with the car • How to change small parts • How to fix small parts	1-2 years
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to bring the car to the shop to fix it (make temporary repairs so that the car can be brought to the shop for full repair) • How the engine runs	1-2 years
Level 4: Senior	• How to fix the motor (spark plugs, carburettors, fan belts) • How to do complete jobs on one's own	3-4 years

Table 4.3.3: Technical Skills Learned in a Panel Beating Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• The names of tools and how to clean • How to clean-up vehicles after the main worker uses fire to remove paint	1 month
Level 2: Junior	• How to remove parts (beginning with the easiest: doors, bumpers, then parts with screws/nails) • How to use fire to remove paint • How to fix small parts	2-3 years minimum
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to prepare vehicles for professional work – panel beating easier parts • How to recognize what needs to be done to make the repair • How to supervise and teach younger workers • How to weld	3-5 years
Level 4: Senior	• How to stretch the frame • How to perform difficult bending • How to respond to an evolving industry • How to work without any guidance/ complete jobs independently	Unspecified – both indicated that this continues until the worker leaves

Table 4.3.4: Technical Skills Learned in a Car Door Repair Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• The names of tools and which ones to bring to the workers	1-2 years

	• How to take off car door covers	
Level 2: Junior	• How to perform small repairs with assistance	1-2 years minimum
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to use more complex tools (power drivers, vices, clamps) • How to do small repairs independently • How to do complex repairs with assistance	2-5 years minimum
Level 4: Senior	• How to take care of all technical details • How to perform complete repairs independently	Unspecified – this continues until the worker leaves

Table 4.3.5: Technical Skills Learned in a Seat Repair Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• How to take out chairs • How to measure materials • How/where to fetch materials and food for workers	1year
Level 2: Junior	• Cutting fabric • Giving materials to the workers • Beginner's sewing	1-2 years
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to use the sewing machine • How to do small jobs	1-2 years
Level 4: Senior	• How to complete jobs on one's own	3-4 years

Table 4.3.6: Technical Skills Learned in a Paint Mixing Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• How to clean and open the shop • The names of tools (by bringing them to the owner)	Six months
Level 2: Junior	• How to make colours (beginning with simple ones and cheap paints) • Precise % of different components needed • How to measure • Steps (colours have to be mixed in a specific order)	1-2 years
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to do computer based programming (paint colour sampling)	1-2 years
Level 4: Senior	• Master of tech skills/how to do whole jobs independently • How to supervise younger children • How to adapt to new colours as the industry evolves	Unspecified – until they run their own shop

All of the above technical skills are commonly learned through a process of observation, then guided observation, then guided participation, and then independent work. During the first level of an apprenticeship, the child is encouraged to watch everything that older workers or the business owner does. When they show enthusiasm for learning, their trainer begins to talk through processes, and ask them to copy small things. When the child shows they can consistently do small things correctly, they are given more difficult tasks. Some

trainers give more room for the children to teach themselves by trial and error, while others talk them through things step by step. However the overall approach is similar.

What varies greatly among business owners is what happens when a child makes a mistake. Some business owners use physical punishment, others use only angry words, some punish by removing responsibilities from the workers after a serious mistake has been made, and some seek to create a learning environment in which mistakes are understood to be a part of the learning process. Many business owners stated that when they were learning the trade it was very common for the trainer to use physical force to discipline them, but that this model is changing over time because children will not tolerate physical punishment and will leave the business if treated this way.[52] This would result in lost investment, as the business owner would need to hire and train a new apprentice to replace the departing child. Although business owners saw a difference between physical force 'to teach' and physical force 'to abuse', working youth we interviewed often expressed a dislike of any fear-based model – be it through physical force or yelling – as they felt the mere act of telling them they had made a mistake made them want to improve. One youth who was training younger children even indicated that he did not want to yell at his apprentice because he wanted him to love the trade.[53]

Ali (left) and Hassan (right) smile in Ali's paint-mixing store after interviews

At the same time, it is important that instructors encourage and recognize success in learning throughout the apprenticeship. When asked what they do when the child has done a very good job, most business owners answered that they rewarded them with a little extra money, a special drink or positive feedback. When we asked the youth the same question they verified the responses of the business owners. However, all five youth who answered this question claimed that when they do a good job, more than money or a treat, they value the verbal support of the business owner. Hassan indicated, "When I do something very well I am praised with kind words. These words give me confidence and make me feel happy."[54] Adel affirmed that when he does something well he is praised and gets a salary increase, but that "the words mean the most!"[55]

Finally, when business owners were asked how they evaluate their apprentices, they commonly explained that they observe the child working to see how well they are able to complete the tasks before them. They may 'test' them by asking them to do something and see if they require help or make a mistake. In general, when a child is able to complete a task many times without assistance, they have 'passed' that level in their training and can begin new tasks. Learning is iterative, frequently building upon the skills already learned, and the child will often continue to do the simple foundational activities even in the upper levels of their apprenticeship.

c) Learning Business Skills

Business skills commonly learned in the automotive repair sector include customer service, pricing, management skills, and occasionally accounting skills. These skills are mainly learned during the fourth level of an apprenticeship and are therefore only taught to those who are planning to become business owners in the future and have the ambition to learn

[52] Interview with Ibrahim – BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007. Interview with Asharaf – BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007. This is likely supported by the high demand for children's work in the industry.
[53] Interview with Hassan – youth in automotive repair industry – November 17, 2007.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Interview with Adel – youth in automotive repair industry – November 15, 2007.

these things. Customer service skills may be learned through observation much earlier on; however in some cases the apprentice is not encouraged to have much contact with customers until they are able to speak intelligently about the prices. Like technical skills, business skills are taught through guided observation and coaching. In some cases, these skills are not fully developed in the workplace and are tested and enhanced only after an apprentice leaves the business to start their own.

Table 4.3.7: Business Skills Learned in an Automotive Repair Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• Politeness towards staff and customers	• Coaching from BO • Observation
Level 2: Junior	• Prices of materials/products (sometimes) • How to talk to customers (e.g., Explaining when the BO will return	• Asking BO • Observing
Level 3: Intermediate	• Prices of materials/products (sometimes) • How to negotiate with customers	• Asking BO • Observing
Level 4: Senior	• Advanced customer service skills • Pricing (e.g., Learning how to make a profit, factoring in labour time and supplies) • Management skills (e.g., Maintaining inventory, ordering supplies, managing orders/time) • Administrative skills (e.g., Receipt writing, working with government documents)	• Observation • Coaching of BO • Experience with BO present • Independent Experience (running the shop in the absence of the BO)

d) Learning Life Skills

In the automotive repair industry, all of the business owners interviewed identified honesty as a one of the first characteristics they look for or seek to develop in their child workers. When asked how they know they have found a good worker, 50% answered that one of the first things they do is 'test' their workers for integrity by placing money on a place where the child will see it, leaving, and checking to make sure it is still there when they return. Only one of the business owners stated that he was willing to hire a child who was not honest, but this was on the condition that the child would change his ways over the course of his apprenticeship.[56] In addition to honesty, business owners commonly identified politeness, respect, dedication, initiative, problem-solving skills, timeliness, cleanliness/basic hygiene, and fairness as important qualities learned or strengthened through work. Learning life skills through work is very important to both the business owners and the working children themselves.[57] When youth were asked about the most important thing learned through work 80% identified life skills – specifically how to communicate with others, how to be responsible, how to be a good person, how to be self-reliant, and how to love the trade. As Mohammed explained,

> These qualities are foundational – you learn them from very early on. If the building foundation is not strong, the whole house collapses.[58]

[56] Interview with Ahmed – BO from automotive repair industry – October 10, 2007.
[57] As Mustafa – BO in automotive repair industry – indicated "It is important for the BO to develop the life skills/qualities of employees because if the child does not have good relationships with others, those others could come and cause damage to the shop." In other words, the actions and reputation of the child is important for the BO because it affects customer service. Interview, October 29, 2007.
[58] Interview with youth from automotive repair industry, November 3, 2007.

These basic life skills are strengthened particularly in the early phases of an apprenticeship, when children begin interacting with customers, running errands, and taking responsibility for different aspects of the business. In many cases the business owner prefers to hire a younger child around as opposed to an older child because it is easier to shape these qualities in the child when he is younger. Again, life skills are learned to a large degree through observation of and coaching by the business owner and experienced workers in the enterprise.

Table 4.3.8: Life Skills Learned in an Automotive Repair Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• Honesty • Trustworthiness • Initiative/willingness to learn • Obedience • Personal hygiene • Timeliness • Good manners/respect for others • Dedication (to work/the trade)	• Integrity tests by BO (leaving money around/ having the child return from an errand with the right change, or asking neighbours about child's behaviour in BO's absence • Coaching from BO and/or older workers
Level 2: Junior	• Attention to detail • Systematic thinking • Fairness (to customers) • Respect for others	• Coaching from BO and older workers • Observing BO
Level 3: Intermediate	• Problem Solving • Responsibility • Fairness • Respect for others	• Experience • Observing BO • Coaching
Level 4: Senior	• Independence/self-reliance • Critical thinking skills • Time Management • Responsibility • Fairness/Justice	• Experience • Observing BO • Coaching

The above table combines responses from all business owners and youth interviewed in the automotive repair industry. Some interviewees placed these skills at different points in the apprenticeship, and where this is the case, the life skill has been repeated at each level. This demonstrates that the development of these skills continues throughout the apprenticeship, although there is certainly a steep learning curve when the child first begins working. Of course, children are not devoid of these skills prior to working. Their family upbringing may have given them these core competencies already, and they may simply be strengthening them through work. It should also be mentioned that a child will not necessarily learn many or all of these skills, as their learning depends significantly on the role models available in their business, particularly the business owner. This places tremendous responsibility on experienced workers and the business owner to mentor as well as instruct. Children are very observant, absorbing consciously and sub-consciously from the environment around them.

BO Waeel and two of his older apprentices

e) Best Practices/Challenges

One of the most illuminating findings from the automotive repair industry is that both the business owners and youth frequently see the business owners as mentors, coaches,

teachers, and frequently described them as being 'like fathers'. Six out of ten business owners commented that they are mentoring their apprentices, or that they see the child workers as their sons and three out of five youth (in the same businesses) indicated that they saw the business owner as a father figure or mentor. This information was largely volunteered and was also evident in our observations of interactions between the business owner and worker. This demonstrates that many business owners in the automotive sector are not employing children merely to exploit them: they recognise their responsibilities in perpetuating a system of education that has existed for generations and which prepares children for many aspects of adult life.

Interviews with youth indicated that the relationship between the business owner and apprentice is paramount to their satisfaction in their work. In 60% of interviews, youth explained that the more they learn through work and are able to look up to their business owner, the more likely they are to remain in the business. Their relationship with the business owner influences the degree of their loyalty to him. There are still business owners who only teach the children what they need/want the child to know; however, as one of our interviewees demonstrated himself.[59] This suggests that there is room for business owners employing a strong mentorship approach to share this with other business owners.

Youth also indicated that they feel better about their work when they are not afraid to make mistakes. Business owners must be encouraged to move away from a model of punishment – particularly physical punishment – towards disciplinary and instructional models where:

a. Responsibility is removed from the child if they make a mistake,
b. The instructor continues to coach/correct instead of punishing, or
c. The instructor proactively seeks to create an environment in which children feel comfortable asking questions and making mistakes as this is understood as part of the learning process.

Many business owners are already applying these approaches with success.[60] Indeed, most business owners conceded that there are generational differences in how they were 'taught' through physical punishment, and how they now 'teach' without force because working children now leave the workplace if they are abused.[61] Furthermore, many of these same business owners also mentioned that their learners must be given positive verbal feedback when they do things correctly. This strengthens the child's confidence in themselves and their work and, as the apprentices themselves have suggested, contributes to a positive attitude towards their work and loyalty to the business and owner.[62]

f) Gaps in Learning

When business owners and youth were asked whether there were gaps in an apprentice's learning – e.g., theoretical knowledge of how an engine or the electrical wiring system in a car works – they all answered that one can learn everything one needs to know by working in the industry. If they saw gaps in apprentice learning, these were in literacy, numeracy and computer skills. In fact, 50% of business owners identified these as holes, but expressed a range of opinions on the importance of these skills. Two of the five business

[59] Interview with Ahmed – BO in automotive repair industry – October 10, 2007
[60] The business owner Ali uses the first model, Mahmoud and Mohammed use the second model, and Medhat and Hossein use the third model.
[61] From a child rights perspective this is positive as it may indicate that there are increasing levels of empowerment of children; however it is more likely supported by increasing demand for their labour, indicating that child labour is increasing instead of decreasing.
[62] Interview with Mohammed – youth in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007. Interview with Hassan – youth in automotive repair industry – November 17, 2007.

owners stated that literacy, numeracy and computer skills are "important but not essential,"[63] while another business owner countered that "Literacy and numeracy are important in every business… and big businesses only take literate people."[64] In fact, one business owner that uses computers in his small paint mixing business seeks literate children to work with him because his apprentices need to use these skills throughout their work.[65] Another takes it upon himself to teach his apprentices basic literacy and numeracy as part of their apprenticeship.[66]

Youth also echoed the need for literacy, numeracy and computer skills. Two expressed interest in acquiring these skills themselves, and another requested training in English as he aspires to work with an international company.[67] During a focus group discussion, all participating youth indicated that they would be interested in enhancing their knowledge of the industry by touring a car factory or large repair shop.[68] Hassan explained that "[T]here are always new technologies developing" and that it is important though difficult to keep up with the new devices in the market.[69] It is for this reason that his peer, Hussein, would like to learn how to use a computer, as he believes that "[I]n the future all cars will need to be analysed with computer programs".[70] Hussein also expressed interest in learning how to drive, explaining that he had hired a taxi driver once to help him with this. In a similar vein, when business owners were asked what – if any – additional training would be beneficial for children working in the industry, two said they would like their apprentices learn how to drive so they could move client cars within Doweika.[71]

Over the course of our LTW planning, the PPIC-Work team visited a program for working children in Minya, run by the Better Life Association for Comprehensive Development and the Business Development Services Support Project (BDSSP).[72] In their working children unit, we observed a Learning For Work approach to programming with youth already working in the automotive repair industry. Every Saturday, free education classes were provided for approximately 25 youth, using curricula on automotive engineering and electrical systems they had developed with the help of education specialists. Their classes were for literate children, and therefore involved introductory literacy and numeracy programming prior to the automotive engineering and electrical courses. These theoretical courses were taught by local business owners, and utilized computer imaging as well as hands on demonstrations. After observing a class and interacting with the learners it was evident that they felt these curricula were improving their understanding of their industry and work, supporting them in their chosen careers.[73]

The challenges of this model are that it requires fairly significant long-term financing and a high level of commitment from participants, and at the same time can only reach limited numbers of children at a specific level of formal education. However it does fill an important, and under-recognized gap in the industry, as the discussion from business owners and

[63] Interview with Medhat, October 31, 2007; Interview with Hossein. – BO in automotive repair industry – November 1, 2007.
[64] Interview with Asharaf – BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007.
[65] Interview with Ali – BO in automotive repair industry – October 10, 2007.
[66] Interview with Mohammed – BO in automotive repair industry – November 1, 2007.
[67] Interviews with Mustafa and Hussein – youth in automotive repair industries – November 17, 2007; Interview with Hassan – youth in automotive repair industry – November 17, 2007.
[68] Focus group discussion – youth in automotive repair industry – December, 2007.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Interview with Hussein – youth in automotive repair industry – November 17, 2007
[71] Interview with Asharaf - BO in automotive repair industry – November 3, 2007; and Interview with Hussein – BO in automotive repair industry – October 29, 2007.
[72] BDSSP is a CIDA funded project that seeks "to enhance the SME sector in selected Governorates [in Egypt] by supporting existing and/or new Business Development Service Providers and other related local institutions".
[73] In order to participate in the L4W program, working youth had to demonstrate that they were committed to the automotive repair industry and wanted to build their career in it. For more information on Better Life's programming see their 2006 Children Without Protection Research study.

youth above illustrates. The PPIC-Work project has considered adopting Better Life's L4W programming in the automotive repair industry, but staff feel that at present, our education support must begin with the requests of project participants for basic literacy, numeracy and computers before moving to this level of programming.

Finally, one thing that was strangely absent from the vast majority of our discussions with business owners and working children in the automotive repair industry was consideration of and training in safety in the workshop. Only one business owner and his apprentice highlighted the importance of safety, explaining this is one of the first things the apprentice learns when he starts working. This is certainly an important gap to fill, and one that is prioritised under PPIC-Work's standard hazard mitigation programming, explained in section five.

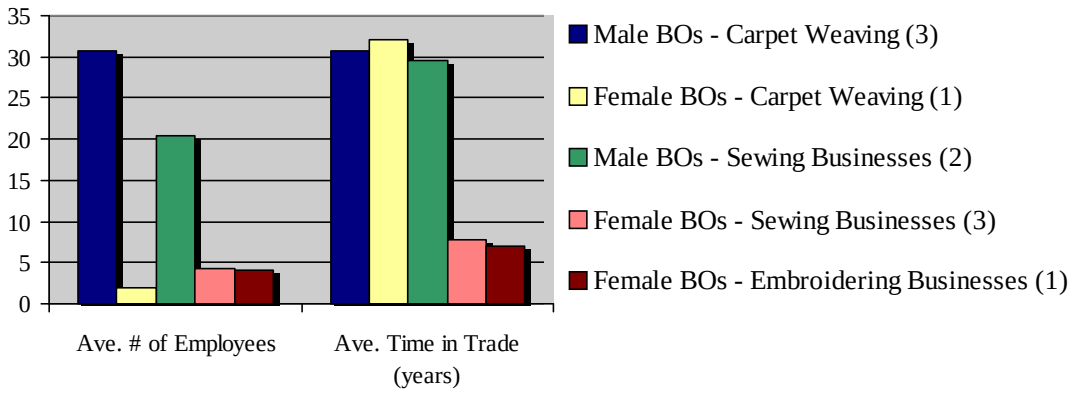
4.4 The Textile Industry

a) Statistical Overview

Over the course of our research, the LTW planning team interviewed a total of ten business owners within the textile industry: five running micro and small scale sewing businesses, four running micro to medium scale carpet weaving businesses, and one running a small embroidering business.[74] We encountered a balance of male and female business owners in this industry: three women owned or co-owned sewing shops, one co-ran a carpet business and one directed an embroidering business, compared to two men running sewing shops, and three running carpet businesses.

Business owners interviewed in the textile industry have worked for varying lengths of time.

Graph 4.4.1: A Gendered Analysis of BO Experience in the Textile Industry

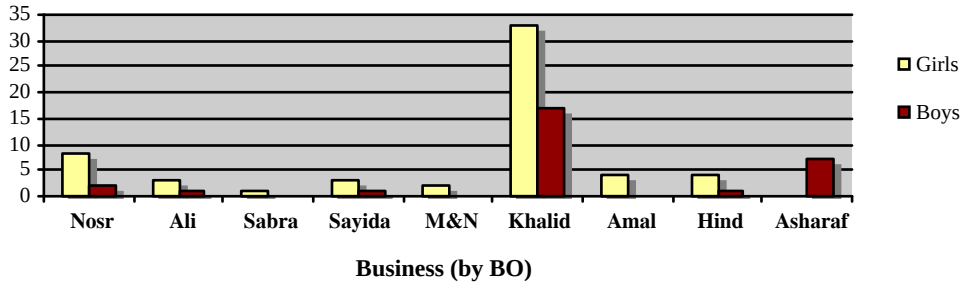


As Graph 4.4.1 demonstrates, the men in both sub-sectors have been working for an average of nearly 30 years, while, with one exception, the women have been working for an average of just seven years. Men were also found to be running larger operations with an average of 20 workers in the sewing and 30 in the carpet sub-sectors. While not all of their workers are children, many were found in each of these businesses. Of the five women running businesses, two of them are in partnership with their husbands, managing significantly fewer workers while their husbands take care of the outside marketing. The other three have extremely small-scale operations, employing a few family members or close friends only, and all based in their homes.

[74] For interviewee backgrounds see appendix 3.1.

In the nine businesses visited in the textile industry, the PPIC-Work team found approximately 87 children and youth – 58 girls and 29 boys – at all stages of the apprenticeship process.[75] Graph 4.4.2 depicts the division of these girls and boys between the businesses. When we asked business owners whether they preferred hiring girls or boys, they offered a range of responses. One stated that he preferred to hire girls because they tended to be more loyal to the business, didn't make trouble and perhaps learned more quickly than boys.[76] Another stated that he had no preference, as girls generally leave when they get married, while boys continue to work. However girls tend to be faster workers, good listeners and obedient while boys can cause a bit more trouble.[77] Others suggested that both were good, and equally able to do the jobs set before them.[78]

Graph 4.4.2: Gender Breakdown of Children in Textile Workshops



Of the 87 children in these nine businesses, the LTW team conducted ten in-depth interviews – sometimes in the form of focus groups – with eight girls and two boys at different levels of the apprenticeship system. The first four were in the sewing industry, and the following six were all in the carpet industry. Some background information about these youth can be found in the following table:

Table 4.4.1: Youth Interviewees in the Textile Industry

Name	Age	Time in Trade	Level (1-4) in Apprenticeship	Amount of Work	Pay (LE)
Basma (f)	22	10 years	4: managing and training other workers	11 hours, 6 days a week	120/week
Neglaa (f)	18	5 months	2/3: can use machines and cut clothe s	11 hours, holidays/wknds	70/week
Mahmoud	22	8 years	4: expert worker, production-based salary	11 hours, 6 days a week	350-400/wk
Nesma (f)	16	2 years	2: basic sewing skills, small work	9 hours, 6 days a week	70/week
Karima (f)	15	10 years	3: experienced worker, no business skills	10 hours, 6 days a week	60+/week
Mustafa	20	7 years	3: experienced worker, no business skills	10 hours, 6 days a week	60+/week
Shaimaa (f)	16	11 years	3: experienced worker, no business skills	10 hours, 6 days a week	60+/week
Wafaa (f)	18	12 years	3: experienced worker, o business skills	10.5 hours, 6 days a week	80-120/wk*
Hanan (f)	17	1 year	2: basic knotting skills, still learning	10.5 hours, 6 days a week	40-50/wk*
Israa (f)	16	10 years	3: experienced worker, no business skills	10.5 hours, 6 days a week	80-120/wk*

(f) = female
* = estimate as too sensitive to give details with many workers around/participating in discussion

[75] For background statistics see appendix 3.1.
[76] Interview with Mohammed – BO in textile industry – November 26, 2007.
[77] Interview with Khalid – BO in textile industry – November 26, 2007.
[78] Interview with Sayyida – BO in textile industry – November 24, 2007.

In the sewing sub-sector, workers tend to be comparatively older when they enter the profession, starting work at an average age of 14.5. Those working in the carpet sub-sector on the other hand have begun working at the average age of 8.5. Given that they start at a younger age, it is not surprising that carpet weavers also have lower formal education levels. Of those in the sewing sub-sector, one had never attended school, but was able to read and write, two had dropped out during primary and preparatory school respectively, and one had completed preparatory school, while in the carpet sub-sector three had never attended school, another two had dropped out during primary school and only one graduated from secondary school.[79]

In contrast with the automotive repair industry, textile workers are not often found through family connections but through the initiative of the child/youth, when they ask for work.[80] This may be in part because the scale of the businesses tends to be larger in the textile industry. When children were asked how they came to be working in the carpet or sewing business many, particularly girls, stated that it was close to their home and that this made it a safe and convenient option.[81]

b) Learning the Technical Trade

This section will describe the technical skills an apprentice learns in each of the sub-sectors of the textile industry, and the approximate length of time taken for these skills to be learned. These findings do not represent a comprehensive list of what is learned, but can be helpful in determining general skills acquired through apprenticeships in the sewing, carpet weaving and embroidering trades. Instruction methods employed in all nine businesses will be discussed together, focusing on how business owners assess learning and approach discipline in the workshop. In particular, discussion will focus on gendered differences in learning, as the industry employs a mixture of girls and boys, allocating different roles to them in most cases.

Table 4.4.2: Technical Skills Learned in a Sewing Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• How to work with simple samples • How to finish products (cut off extra threads) • How to clean the workshop • How/where to fetch materials for the workshop	2-4 months
Level 2: Junior	• How to work with the sewing machines • How to finish seams	3-6 months
Level 3: Intermediate	• Proficiency with sewing machine • How to work independently • How to cut fabric (or L4 if at all) • How to use patterns (or L4 if at all) • How to measure people (if tailoring) • How to train younger workers	1-3 years
Level 4: Senior	• How to design clothes • Mastery of processes start to finish	Unspecified (until worker leaves)

[79] See appendix 3.1.
[80] Ibid
[81] Interview with Karima and Shaimaa – youth in textile industry – December 27, 2007

Table 4.4.3: Technical Skills Learned in a Carpet Weaving Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• How to tie the knots • How to clean the shop • How/where to fetch materials for the workshop • How to prepare materials for other workers (e.g., Sorting yarn into colours)	2-3 months
Level 2: Junior	• How to count rows of a colour (following the directions of a senior worker) • How to read patterns • How to work without patterns • The different kinds of carpets	2-3 years
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to work independently • How to string the loom (with others) • How to tighten the layers of knots • How to teach younger workers	1-3 years
Level 4: Senior	• How to oversee many workers/command a loom • How to design patterns (in some cases, and after many years) • Mastery of processes start to finish	Unspecified (until worker leaves)

Table 4.4.4: Technical Skills Learned in an Embroidery Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	• How/where to fetch supplies • How to thread a needle and use tools	1 month
Level 2: Junior	• How to mount the fabric on the frame • How to embroider easy lines with beads • How to stitch curves with beads	1-2 months
Level 3: Intermediate	• How to copy patterns on the felt • Mastery of the various stitches	1 year
Level 4: Senior	• How to design patterns • Mastery of processes start to finish	Unspecified (until worker leaves)

Across the textile industry, technical skills are commonly learned through a similar process of observation, then guided participation, and then independent work to that described in the automotive repair industry. During the first level of the apprenticeship, a child almost exclusively watches what an older worker or the business owner does. When they start asking to try things themselves, their trainer will begin talking them through processes, sitting with them at the loom, machine or table, and asking them to copy small processes.[82] When the child shows they can consistently complete the small tasks successfully, like tie the knots in the appropriate pattern or do basic stitching, their trainer will give them more difficult tasks.

In the textile industry, it was observed that strong guidance is provided for the child until they prove they do not need supervision, either through experienced workers sitting with

[82] The initiative of the child is less important than in the automotive repair industry; however, as it is assumed that they are working in the textile industry to learn the trade and skills.

inexperienced ones at the same loom, or working at a nearby machine or table so that support is readily available. Perhaps this higher level of supervision is more sustainable because learning the technical trade in the textile industry does not take as long as it does in the automotive repair industry. Indeed, the work is less technically complex and more repetitive in the textile industry. Also the textile shops are often not dealing with customers as regularly and are not on main streets so workers are able to focus on their technical work for longer periods of time.

When business owners were asked how they evaluate the progress of an apprentice, many explained that they observe the child to see how well they are able to complete tasks set before them. Business owners in the carpet weaving sub-sector also explained that they will 'test' the child by asking them to knot a small area, evaluating the speed and quality of their work.[83] Business owners are also aware of progress when the child no longer needs the same level of assistance and/or asks fewer questions. When a child makes a mistake, again there was a range of responses from instructors. One business owner claimed that it depends on the severity of the mistake: if it is a small thing he will yell at the child, and if it is a big problem he will hit them or force them to work longer hours.[84] At the same time, he explained that all mistakes can be fixed by redoing a section of carpet.[85] On the other hand, some business owners do not believe in punishing workers as they see mistakes as part of learning. As Ali explains, "Anger doesn't make anything better".[86] When we asked his workers what happens, they laughed, exclaiming that they made mistakes all the time, and that they simply had to fix them or redo a section of sewing.[87] This is also the approach taken by Asharaf in his small bag-making factory.[88]

BO Ali seeks to create a work environment where mistakes are a part of learning.

One of the most interesting findings from this industry was the different roles that young women and men play in a business. Although the above charts do not demonstrate this, girls are often not taught some of the technical skills at the third and fourth levels: it is assumed that they will not need them because they will quit work after getting engaged or married. As one business owner explained, "It's not that the women would not be able to do this but that they are not interested."[89] The irony of his statement became clear when we interviewed his five female employees – ages 18 to 22 – about their backgrounds and aspirations. One of his workers is in fact married and still working, another is engaged and still working, and a third requested and is now learning the upper level technical skills so that she can become a business owner in the future. While two of this BO's workers confided that it will depend on their husband's wishes whether they continue working after marriage, they also mentioned that they would like to because they enjoyed the work and the social atmosphere.[90] It is true, however, that many women in this community do leave work upon engagement or marriage. Business owners have lamented their high employee turnover

[83] Interview with Nosr – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007; and interview with Mohammed –BO in textile industry – November 26, 2007
[84] Interview with Nosr – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007.
[85] Additionally, his workers said that they were hit when they first started, but now that they are more experienced things have improved.
[86] Interview, November 22, 2007
[87] Interviews with Basma and Neglaa – youth in textile industry – December 1, 2007.
[88] Interview, March 5, 2008.
[89] Interview with Ali – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007.
[90] Discussion with girls during interview with Ali – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007; and Interview with Basma and Neglaa – youth in textile industry – December 1, 2007.

rate,[91] and focus group discussions have demonstrated that many girls, particularly in the carpet industry, would like to stop working once married.[92] However, our field research in the industry also demonstrates the presence of female business owners or co-managers. Therefore, a business owner should not assume all women are not interested in developing the complete package of technical skills.

c) Learning Business Skills

Business skills typically learned in the textile sector include customer service, pricing, management, and in some cases, marketing skills. All of these skills are learned in the third and fourth level of an apprenticeship and are therefore only taught to those who are planning to become business owners in the future. Again, business skills are taught through guided observation and coaching. In the textile industry, these skills are often not fully developed in the workplace, and are tested and enhanced only after an apprentice leaves the business to start their own. This is likely the case because many of the textile businesses are larger than the automotive repair workshops, and business owners do not need all workers to help out with the business aspect of work.

Table 4.4.5: Business Skills Learned in a Textile Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	n/a	n/a
Level 2: Junior	n/a	n/a
Level 3: Intermediate	• Working with customers (but only one or two from the workshop will do this) • How/where to purchase supplies	Observation Coaching Experience
Level 4: Senior	• Management skills (minimizing materials, maximizing quality, dealing with resellers) • Pricing (how to determine costs and make a profit) • Marketing skills	OBSERVATION! Some coaching, but less so than in other industries

As mentioned in the discussion on technical skills, those learning upper level skills are predominantly men. This also applies to business skills. As one business owner explained,

> In order to run a business you must have energy and management skills, you must be serious about your work and you must buy materials outside. Because women will get married and their husband will provide for them they don't need to work… and working outside the house is less accepted.[93]

A woman may be taught these business skills, but this likely requires significant initiative on her part and a willing business owner.

In the cases of the five women who own or co-run businesses, three of them do not do any marketing, depending on their husbands or a male family member to do this for them. In the other two cases, one is a widow, running her tailoring shop from a family-owned

[91] Interview with Khalid – BO in textile industry – November 26, 2007.
[92] When a group of six girls were asked whether they were interested to keep working once they were married, they all responded that they wanted to stop. In a workshop where they are tying knots all day, and kept away from the creative and management aspects of the industry this is not surprising. In the words of Israa, "I've been working for nine years, so it's about time to stop." Focus group discussion – girls in carpet industry – January 3, 2008.
[93] Interview with Nosr – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007.

convenience store, and the other runs an extremely small-scale venture and has chosen to do the marketing herself. However, the general lack of marketing conducted by these women does not negate the level of their business abilities. Rather, it demonstrates their ability to adapt their ambitions and entrepreneurial skills to the cultural framework in which they have found themselves. In all of these cases the female business owners employ significant leadership and management skills in their internal operations and can serve as important role models to younger women working in the industry.

d) Learning Life Skills

In the textile industry, the majority of business owners again identified honesty as a one of the first characteristics they look for in their child workers. As Khalid explained, he observes their character during the first few weeks of work to give them a chance to prove themselves good workers.[94] Similarly, in Sayyida's business, she gives her workers three chances to prove their character. If they are unreliable or dishonest beyond that, they are let go.[95] When Mohammed ran a large factory, he tested workers by giving them a key to the workshop and asking them to bring him things.[96] As in the automotive repair industry, life skills are developed particularly in the early phases of an apprenticeship as children interact with other workers, run errands, and take responsibility for different aspects of their work. While some of the life skills children and business owners in textiles identified were the same as their counterparts in the automotive industry, there was also a strong emphasis on teamwork, patience, obedience and relational skills among textiles workers. This may be related to the different socialization of girls and boys, which creates different values and patterns within the industry, as well as the larger scale of the textile businesses themselves.

Table 4.4.6: Life Skills Learned in a Textile Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	- Honesty - Obedience - Patience - Dedication - Politeness/Respect for others - Initiative	- Testing for honesty - Observing character and giving the child a chance
Level 2: Junior	- Teamwork/cooperation - Resourcefulness - Perseverance - Attention to detail - Patience - Self-reliance - Communication skills	- Observing - Experience - Occasional advice of business owner
Level 3: Intermediate	- Responsibility - How to work under pressure - How to teach a skill - Teamwork	- Observing - Experience
Level 4: Senior	- Problem-solving skills/innovation - Leadership skills - Negotiation and networking skills - Organization skills	- Observing - Some coaching - Experience

[94] Interview, November 26, 2007.
[95] Interview, November 24, 2007.
[96] Interview, November 26, 2007. Mohammed had to let a worker go after he tried – unsuccessfully – to steal expensive materials from the workshop.

One of the most surprising findings from the textile industry was that many interviewees, both business owners and working children, indicated that life skills were not for the business owner to teach, but rather the responsibility of the family to instil. Some business owners did not feel they had learned life skills through work, and therefore did not feel they were passing these on to the next generation.[97] Others explained that they may occasionally 'give advice' but that a lot of these skills are simply developed from working together in a positive workshop environment.[98] In fact, it was much more difficult for both business owners and children in the textile industry to identify specific life skills at all. Interviewers provided specific examples to help interviewees conceptualise these skills, and often if interviewees identified specific skills they did not shed light on how these are taught. Therefore discussion in the third column above is based in part on direct observations and inferences and should not be considered authoritative.

The lack of recognition and prioritization of life skills in a textile apprenticeship reflect the broader ways in which the apprenticeship system is constructed in the industry. For example, there does not seem to be a strong mentorship element, particularly in the larger businesses because business owners do not work with the apprentices directly. Also, as only some apprentices go on to become business owners themselves, those who do not may not look up to the business owner, seeing the BO as simply the one who pays them. While punishment methods range, rewards do not: they are purely financial. In other words, our research indicates that apprentices do not often have their skills validated by their instructors, and often do not develop close relationships with their instructors. Indeed for both workers and employers there was a very strong emphasis on money, as opposed to on relationships and developing a love for the trade. Perhaps this impacts the higher employee turnover rates as well.

e) Best Practices/Challenges

Overall, the textile industry has a lot of potential for developing learning in the workplace. The technical aspects of the trades are taught very well, with high levels of support from older workers and/or business owners. Some business owners are also willing to teach interested employees business skills regardless of their sex, and this is important to PPIC-Work staff, as we seek to strengthen the educational opportunities in the workplace for both girls and boys.

However, over the course of our research we encountered many problems intervening in the industry in Doweika, particularly as business owners did not seem receptive to our suggested programming. A focus group at the EACID office was completely derailed by business owners who demanded direct compensation for their participation in the study,[99] and their unwillingness to support the LTW initiative unless they could see an immediate benefit for themselves. This attitude was likely connected to the fact that none of them had any connection to EACID prior to our research: they were not receiving loans yet and did not like the social conditionalities of the loans. It was also indicative of their lack of concern for their child workers, reinforcing the lack of mentorship they are currently providing for them.

The business owner response was an important lesson to the LTW team in ongoing program development: wherever possible work with business owners already receiving loans from a partner MFI, as it takes time to build relationships. It also demonstrated the importance of enhancing and clearly communicating the direct benefits of participating in the program when working with a new group of beneficiaries. Although business owner challenges

[97] Interview with Asharaf – BO in textile industry – March 5, 2008.
[98] Interview with Nosr – BO in textile industry – November 22, 2007.
[99] The PPIC-Work team believes that paying for participation in a focus group discussion does not encourage potential partners to see or commit the value of the program.

closed a door into work in this sector, there may be other ways for PPIC-Work to connect with the children, particularly the girls, to provide mentorship and support.

f) Gaps in Learning

As many children working in the textile industry have dropped out of school to work, there are gaps in literacy and numeracy skills. In fact, it is often because of lack of education that girls end up working in the carpet industry to begin with. As one girl explained "If I had [acquired] a better education, I would've had a chance at better job opportunities. I wouldn't have had to work here."[100] Her opportunities for education have essentially shaped the course of her life. EACID's standard education support could be offered to fill these gaps; however to maintain sustainable programming and deepen the impact of our interventions, it is important to prioritise spaces for children in businesses receiving loans. As business owners in the industry are not interested in this, these children may not have the opportunity to attend.

Another gap identified by girls in one of the sewing businesses is knowledge of how to repair the machines.[101] This demonstrates again the theoretical gaps in technical learning in an apprenticeship, which can easily be overcome by learning from the business owner if they possess that knowledge, or through short courses in the Learning For Work category.

As is evident from the discussion on gender throughout this section, cultural norms shape career opportunities for girls and boys in the textile industry. In other words, girls are not expected to become business owners, and will therefore not learn business or technical skills at the higher levels of an apprenticeship unless they take significant initiative and have a business owner who is willing to support their aspirations. Instead they often do repetitive work such as knot tying that is ergonomically hazardous and ultimately may not be fulfilling for them. While the PPIC-Work project does not seek to start a cultural revolution, we believe that girls who are interested in developing technical, managerial and leadership skills should be supported in doing so. They have a right to decent and educational work. For this reason, we are exploring the creation of a "Safe Spaces" program for working girls in the community, providing them with the opportunity to talk about issues that are important to them in an exclusively female environment, and facilitating meetings with local women who have become business owners or senior workers, if this is something they value. It is hoped that this can enhance their business and life skills.

4.5 The Carpentry Industry

a) Statistical Overview

As the LTW team's research progressed, we realized that the carpentry industry in Doweika is much smaller than initially anticipated. We were only able to locate six businesses in our programming area; however five of the six were employing children at the time of our interviews. These business owners – all men – had all been in the industry for at least 20 years, and were employing a total of 12 children between them. Despite persistently visiting these businesses, the research team was only able to interview three of these children.[102]

[100] Wafaa, in a focus group discussion with girls in carpet industry, January 3, 2008.
[101] Interviews with Basma and Neglaa – youth in textile industry – December 1, 2007.
[102] One of the intended interviewees left the business the day before our interview, and another business owner refused us access to his child.

Table 4.5.1: Youth Interviewees in the Carpentry Industry

Name	Age	Time in Trade	Level (1-4) in Apprenticeship	Amount of Work	Education
Mustafa	12	2 years	1: prep work (e.g., sanding) only	12 hours, holidays/wknds	Primary 1
Abdul	10	4 years	2: can use power machines	12 hours, holidays/wknds	Primary 4
Mahmoud	17	6 years	3/4: expert worker	6 hours during week, 11 hours holidays/weekends	2nd yr Tech Secondary

One unexpected commonality is that all the children interviewed in this sector are in family-run businesses, helping either their uncle or their father. As such, they are not paid more than pocket money, so we have included their education level in the chart instead of wage levels. Another thing that is unique about these children and youth is that all three are in school.[103] This is likely not representative of the broader demographics of working children in the industry, and we are hesitant to draw many conclusions based on this small sample; however, their interviews provide interesting insight into combining formal education and work. As the older youth, Mahmoud, is attending a technical secondary school for carpentry, his comments are particularly salient. Discussion of the skills learned through a technical school program versus those learned at work will be explored more fully in the gaps section.

When questioned about combining work and school, all three children said that they were happy to be able to do both. Both of the younger boys have high aspirations for their future, seeing a formal education as central to their ability to achieve them.[104] When business owners were questioned about their views on the relevance of formal education, five of the six said that education was important, even if only used to help run the business.[105] As Moharram explained, "Education… taught me how to treat people… my communication skills are much more developed and it's provided me with an open-mindedness when dealing with people."[106]

b) Learning the Technical Trade

Over the course of our interviews with business owners, the research team discovered two sub-sectors within the industry: furniture and decorative carving. Five of the six businesses in the community, the same five employing children, were furniture workshops. While the carver was not employing any children, researchers still thought it important to interview him to determine if this was a sector where children may also be found working, and if so, what they learned through this work. Thus, the following tables outline the technical skills an apprentice learns in both carpentry and carving workshops and the approximate length of time taken for these skills to be learned. Again these findings are intended to provide a general overview of skills acquired through apprenticeships. Following the table, this section will continue with a discussion of instructional methods, focusing on the assessment of learning and approaches to reward and punishment.

[103] Although Mustafa is 12, he has been in Primary 1 for a few years, and upon speaking with his uncle and business owner separately, Shaaban suggested that he had difficulties learning.
[104] Interviews with Mustafa and Abdu'l – children in carpentry industry – February 23, 2008. Mustafa hopes to complete secondary school so he can be an engineer, carpenter or decorator, while Abdu'l is working towards a university degree so he can make a good living as a policeman or business owner in the carpentry industry.
[105] Only one business owner, Mohammed, did not feel education was important for the trade: "It's better to have an uneducated worker. If a kid's in school then he'll have ambitions outside of the trade. But if a kid's out of school then he'll be forced to learn the trade and put his heart into it knowing that it's all he's got. Now days, many have high education and university or college degrees but with no good jobs. They'll always end up working for someone and trying to please them. If you're a tradesman, then you're your own boss… It's a better career." Interview, January 27, 2008.
[106] Interview, January 27, 2008.

Table 4.5.2: Technical Skills Learned in a Carpentry Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	- How to organize the workshop - The names and uses of tools - How/where to fetch supplies for the shop	1 month to 1 year
Level 2: Junior	- How to sand, clean and cut wood - How to use tools (including power tools) - How to take measurements	1-2 years
Level 3: Intermediate	- Different types of wood and their uses - How to assemble pieces (big jobs) - How to design things using pictures	2-3 years
Level 4: Senior	- How to do complete jobs independently (looking at a catalogue and then doing start-to-finish)	1-4 years

Table 4.5.3: Technical Skills Learned in a Furniture Carving Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	- The names of tools - How/where to fetch supplies for workshop	4 months
Level 2: Junior	- How to do small/easy carving jobs	1-2 years
Level 3: Intermediate	- How to do detail work - How to carve complicated pieces - How to develop a steady/careful hand	2 years +
Level 4: Senior	- How to do complete jobs independently - How to design carvings (maybe)	unspecified

BO Fahmy and his part-time worker Mohammed

Within the carpentry industry, technical skills are again learned through observation, then guided participation, and then independent work, just as in the automotive repair and textile industries. In the first stage of the apprenticeship, the boy spends the majority of his time watching what older workers and the business owner are doing. Once they demonstrate they are keen to learn the trade, however, their trainer will begin teaching them simple things and explaining how things work. When the child shows they can consistently complete small tasks successfully, their trainer will give them more difficult tasks. As one business owner indicated, he knows the child is ready for more when he begins finishing off the work on his own without being told or has already started doing more than is asked of him.[107]

Overall, business owners in the carpentry industry explained that learning the technical skills may take as long as 10 years or as few as three, depending on the child, the kind of work that comes through the workshop, and if the BO controls what they learn.[108] As one business owner explains, “It’s like schooling: sometimes it takes certain kids longer to grasp

[107] Interview with Ahmed – BO in carpentry industry – January 31, 2008.
[108] Interview with Shaaban – BO in carpentry industry – January24, 2008; Interview with Moharram – BO in carpentry industry – January 27, 2008.

information than others"[109] While it may take only three years in Moharram's workshop, he also explained that learning the trade also depends on physical maturity:

> [If a child starts at five], he can't be ready by eight, only because he's not fully physically grown yet. He may be excellent at handling all the jobs you give him, but his physical growth is necessary in order to handle some of the tools or machinery. So it'll take him longer.[110]

This is also true in terms of a child's mental maturity. In many cases, a child may be an apprentice for an extended period of time as they develop the required maturity to run an independent business.

As in the previous two sectors, there was a range of attitudes towards mistakes and learning. On one end of the spectrum, there is Mohammed's approach:

> [I punish] them when they don't do things right, just like in schools. Sometimes they're not focused, and hitting them isn't to hurt them but to wake them up and force them to focus… I used to get beaten up, and when I did something right I never got complimented and that was for a reason. This way your ego doesn't get too big and it reinforces wanting to continuously do better. He might give me a new job to do and that would indicate that I did my job well.[111]

Shaaban uses a slightly more progressive model. If the child makes a mistake once or twice as they learn this is not a problem. However, if mistakes continue, the child receives one slap on the hand to 'teach' them.[112] As an apprentice he was himself beaten, and explained that he will use this technique if the child makes a mistake intentionally. On the other hand, if the child does something well, he may reward them with money or tea as well as encouraging words.[113] Finally, on the other end of the spectrum is Moharram's approach. As he explained,

> I don't yell or beat them up. I just give them a look of disappointment or cut their daily allowance. We pay here by the day, so if he makes a mistake I can say you're only getting paid a half day for a full day of work. The same goes if he does something good, then he'll get double pay for a day's work. It's the best policy because money is where he'll feel the pain or joy of what he's done… I used to yell and get angry very quickly, but now I don't. I realize that a worker may leave because of this type of treatment, and might start hating his job.[114]

The method a business owner uses almost certainly has an impact on the child's attitude towards learning and mistakes. After interviewing children who experience the full range of approaches, our direct observations lead us to conclude that if a child is regularly subjected to verbal or physical abuse for making a mistake, there are noticeable negative effects on how they carry themselves, their feelings of self-worth, and their attitude towards work. It is hoped that as Roshdi – the carver who has been in the field for decades suggests – a generational shift is now underway, in which physical punishment methods are yielding to corrective coaching.[115]

c) Learning Business Skills

Business skills learned in the carpentry sector include customer service, pricing, and

[109] Interview with Mohammed – BO in carpentry industry – January 27, 2008.
[110] Interview with Moharram – BO in carpentry Industry – January 27, 2008.
[111] Interview, January 27, 2008.
[112] Shaaban's two nephews affirmed that he uses this one slap technique with a small stick, or tells them with words that what they did was wrong.
[113] Interview with Shaaban – BO in carpentry – January 24, 2008.
[114] Interview with Moharram – BO in carpentry – January 27, 2008.
[115] Interview with Roshdi – BO in carpentry – January 31, 2008.

possibly management skills. As in the textile industry, these skills are learned through guided observation and coaching in the third and fourth level of an apprenticeship and only taught to those who are planning to become business owners in the future. In many cases these skills are not fully developed in an apprenticeship, and are tested and enhanced only after an apprentice leaves the business to start their own.[116] Some business owners, like Moharram, believe that not all workers are able to learn these skills.[117] Alternately, in larger workshops, a business owner may not need all workers to contribute to the managerial aspects of the business, so they will not have the opportunity to learn.

Table 4.5.4: Business Skills Learned in the Carpentry Industry

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	n/a	n/a
Level 2: Junior	n/a	n/a
Level 3: Intermediate	- Customer service (in some businesses) - Pricing (how to make a profit based on knowledge of the cost of supplies, how much to charge for labour, and time required)	Observing Coaching Experience
Level 4: Senior	- Customer service (in other businesses) - where to go to buy materials	Observing Advice Experience

d) Learning Life Skills

In the carpentry industry, the life skills children and business owners identified were similar to those discussed in the automotive repair industry: qualities like honesty, responsibility and self-reliance. In a similar pattern to both of the other industries, these life skills are emphasized in the early phases of the apprenticeship. Honesty, trustworthiness or 'being a good person' were identified by all six business owners as fundamental characteristics they look for in their child workers. What varied, however, was whether business owners felt that children should acquire these life skills at home or through work. On one hand, business owners like Roshdi argued:

> Honesty comes from home. It's not easy to teach such characteristics at the workshop. These are things you learn from people you live with. I could teach a kid one thing, but he'll go back home and see something else. A workshop can teach technical skills but cannot teach manners, values and ethics.[118]

On the other hand, business owners like Fahmy, Moharram or Moharram suggested that, as a business owner, it is important to teach the child how to speak, how to treat people and how to be loyal and honest. In Moharram's words:

> [When you hire a child], you have to be his friend. You have to ask him how he's doing, if there's anything he's upset about. I can teach him more than his parents can because of the time he spends here. The community we live in here is harsh and teaches children back language and manners. I talk to him, explain the need for being a good person, a well-mannered person. Teach him how to speak, how to eat, to pray and be faithful to God. We

[116] As Roshdi explained, "I don't get involved with [business skills]. These are skills [a worker] acquires from the market and it goes back to his manners, which he's learned at home." Ibid.
[117] Interview with Moharram – BO in carpentry – January 27, 2008.
[118] Interview, January 31, 2008.

spend time together outside of work hours and they tell me how they've been. I reinforce that you work with me and not for me.[119]

Thus, there was a range of attitudes towards mentoring children, and whether it is the business owner's responsibility to teach life skills.

Table 4.5.5: Life Skills Learned in a Carpentry Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	- Honesty/Trustworthiness - Initiative - Loyalty	- Observation - Testing
Level 2: Junior	- Responsibility - Politeness/ how to speak to and treat people - Kindness - Trustworthiness (no cutting corners)	- Observation - Coaching
Level 3: Intermediate	- Responsibility	- Experience
Level 4: Senior	- Ambition to be a businessman - Time Management - Self Reliance - Initiative	- Experience

In terms of how these life skills are learned, some business owners like Fahmy test for these skills. For example, he will ask the child to move the wood out of the rain, then he will leave, and assess the situation upon his return. As important as the child's obedience is his explanation of what happened, owning up to a mistake when it is made. If necessary, the business owner may ask a neighbour for their perspective as well until trust has been established.[120]

e) Best Practices/Challenges

The carpentry industry demonstrates a combination of best practices and challenges. Apprentices may receive a strong grounding in all three learning areas or may be held back from learning, particularly the business or life skills, depending on the perspectives of the business owner. It is evident that certain business owners apply more progressive methods than others, which may prove beneficial for LTW implementation, as these men could serve as mentors for other business owners or take lead roles in discussion circles on best practices. The challenges are to encourage business owners not to hold back in teaching certain aspects of the trade, and to move away from physical punishment methods where they exist. It is hoped that PPIC-Work programming can help them to recognize the value of what they are doing and their responsibilities in mentoring the next generation of professionals in their industry.

f) Gaps in Learning

When the research team asked interviewees about education gaps, two business owners identified design skills. They also explained that children were not interested in learning these skills anymore, as they are infatuated with money. However, in speaking with one youth who is combining technical secondary school with work, the LTW team found quite a different story.

[119] Interview, January 27, 2008.
[120] Interview with Fahmy – BO in carpentry – January 22, 2008.

Mahmoud has been combining work and school since he was about eleven years old, aspiring to become a carpenter when he grows up. He is now 17 and in the second year of technical school, in the carpentry program for windows and doors. At school he spends four days a week in a classroom learning the theoretical components of the trade, and one day in a workshop. He has 29 classmates and adequate equipment for everyone to work. When he leaves school every day, he goes to his father's shop where he works evenings and weekends to hone his skills.[121]

Mahmoud holds up a bed frame he recently created in his father's shop

When asked what he has learned at school, Mahmoud admitted that he already knew many of the technical skills taught at school from working with his father, but that he still sees value in the technical school for the certificate he will receive. At the same time, he emphasizes that he has also learned how to design windows and doors, to take precise measurements, and how to do aesthetic design work to make bed frames more beautiful. He is fortunate to be able to practice these in his father's workshop, and is even enhancing the technical abilities of his brothers and father. When he was asked which form of education was most important to him he answered that combining both formal and apprenticeship learning was ideal: "The best workers are those who are going to school and working, second best are those only learning through work, and last are those who are only in the tech school."[122] His experience reinforces the fact that there are theoretical gaps in enterprise-based learning that a vocation program can fill, but that a formal education alone does not adequately prepare one for work in the sector.

Other gaps in the carpentry industry include safety training, particularly as children often operate large equipment from an early age, as well as literacy and numeracy for those not combining education and work like our three interviewees. Finally, our three interviewees demonstrate that there is also a gap in rights awareness as none of them are paid adequately for their work and the younger ones may be asked to do work that is inappropriate or hazardous for their size. It is hoped that rights awareness sessions and the creation of a code of conduct in their businesses can help them to advocate for these changes.

4.6 The Female Hairdressing Industry

a) Statistical Overview

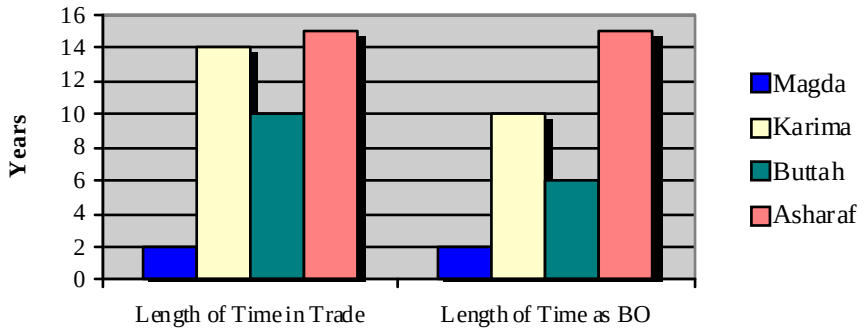
Like the carpentry industry, the female hairdressing trade is fairly small in Doweika. In fact, the LTW team was only able to locate five businesses, four of which were employing a combined total of six girls and young women. Of the five businesses, women run three, a husband and wife team runs one, and a man runs one. Due to scheduling complications, we were only able to visit the businesses with children, interviewing four business owners and five children in the industry.

Interviews indicated that the hairdressing trade is one that may be learned through an apprenticeship, or by taking courses. Of the four business owners interviewed, two had gone through each method. Business owners have been in the trade for between two and

[121] Interview with Mahmoud – youth in carpentry – February 23, 2008.
[122] Ibid.

fifteen years and, in the cases of course-based learners Magda and Asharaf, opened their businesses at the same time as they entered the trade.[123]

Graph 4.6.1: Business Owner Experience in the Industry



The children interviewed in the hairdressing industry represent two distinct age groups and educational backgrounds. As the following table demonstrates, the two older ones entered the trade around the age of 15 or 16, though they either dropped out of school at a very young age, or had not attended at all. The younger ones are around 11 or 12, two of the three are still in school, and are beginning their apprenticeships at the much younger age of 10 or 11. In three of the five cases the girls are working with a family member such as their mother or aunt, in the fourth case the girl is working with a close family friend, and in the last case, the girl works with someone who used to cut her hair.

Table 4.6.1: Children and Youth Interviewees in the Hairdressing Industry

Name	Age	Time in Trade	Level (1-4) in Apprenticeship	Amount of Work	Pay (LE)
Nada	17	2.5 years	4: still learning tech and business skills	?, 6 days a week	70?/wk
Sahar	18	1.5 years	4: has tech skills, no business skills	?. 6 days a week	100?/wk
Aya (Sr)	12	1 year	1/2: just starting to learn simple things	6 hours, 6 d/wk aft. sch.	30/week
Aya (Jr)	11	1 year	1: running errands, cleaning shop	6 hours, 6 days a week	20/week
Dina	10.5	1.5 years	1/2: small things and cleaning shop	2-3 hours, 6 d/wk aft. sch.	Pocket $

One of the interesting findings from this industry is that the young apprentices interviewed all have aspirations to have a career. Their career of choice varies based on their age and expected educational opportunities, however. The two young girls still attending school hope to get a university education and become a doctor, teacher or businesswoman, while those without much formal education aspire to become business owners in the women's hairdressing industry when they are older. These aspirations may be attributed, at least in part, to the female role models in their lives. When the girls were asked why they wanted to be a hairdresser, or businesswoman, three of the five suggested that their aunt was one and they wanted to be like her.[124] In Dina's case, her mother wanted her to have a better life than she had herself, and saw education as they way to a professional career outside of Doweika.[125]

[123] For more background information on interviewees see appendix 3.1.
[124] Interviews with Aya Sr. and Aya Jr. – children in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008; and interview with Nada – youth in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008.
[125] 125 Interview with Magda – BO in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008; and Interview with Dina – child in hairdressing industry – March 29, 2008.

b) Learning the Technical Trade

The technical skills in the women's hairdressing industry are perhaps the least technically complex of the four industries involved in the LTW initiative. They may be learned in as little as one or two years depending on the maturity of the apprentice when she begins. The following table outlines these technical skills and the approximate times required for learning these skills. This section continues with a discussion of the standard instructional methods in the industry, focusing on how an apprentice's learning is assessed and what happens when she makes a mistake or does an excellent job.

Table 4.6.2: Technical Skills Learned in a Hairdressing Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	Time Required for Learning
Level 1: Entry-Level	- How to open and clean the shop - The names and uses of tools - How/where to fetch supplies for the business	1-6 months
Level 2: Junior	- Threading - Blow drying hair - Practicing makeup on BO, friends, and self - Helping customers with dresses - Face masks	3 months – 1 year
Level 3: Intermediate	- Basic cutting - Styling - How to do professional makeup (e.g., for brides) - How to do manicures	6 months
Level 4: Senior	- How to do complex haircuts/styles - How to dye hair - How to do pedicures - How to perm hair	Unspecified

This industry, for religious reasons, is predominantly a women's trade.[126] It is also a trade that is easy to learn within a fairly short period of time. Due to the long-term demand for workers, and the range of ways in which the technical skills may be learned, it is fairly easy for youth to move into it while in their later teen years, even if they intend to build a career in hairdressing. While the technical skills may be acquired in a range of places, the apprenticeship model seems to be the least expensive and most comprehensive method.

As in the other industry apprenticeships, technical skills acquired through work in the women's hairdressing trade are learned through the process of observation, guided participation, and then independent work.[127] Initially, the girl spends the majority of her time watching what the business owner is doing while she cleans the shop or passes tools. Once she expresses interest in learning the trade, her instructor will begin teaching her how to perform simple tasks such as threading eyebrows or blow-drying hair, while explaining how other things work. When the girl shows she is capable of mastering these small things she will begin learning how to cut and style hair. Observation is key both for the girl in learning and for the business owner in assessing. In one business owner's shop, the apprentice's interests also play a big role in what they learn: girls tell Buttah what they want to focus on and she tailors their apprenticeship accordingly. She does this because she believes they

[126] Women who wear the hijab or headscarf in Islam are unable to show their hair to any man other than their husband or blood relative and can therefore only have their hair cut by a woman, creating a long-term demand for female hairdressers.

[127] Interview with Karima – BO in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008; and interview with Asharaf – March 29, 2008.

will retain more if they are interested in learning it. This business owner also checks in with her apprentices on a daily basis to encourage them to reflect on what they have learned.[128]

When an apprentice makes a major mistake in Karima's shop, she uses a combination of techniques to teach the girl. For example, when her niece burned a customer's eyebrows Karima yelled at her, fixed the mistake and took away responsibility for a while, asking the girl to observe until she could demonstrate she was ready to try again.[129] In a separate interview, her niece Nada added that if she makes a big mistake, sometimes her aunt will also hit her after the customer leaves.[130] In Buttah's business, when her girls make a mistake she simply gives them 'a look'. Once the customer leaves, she explains what they have done wrong and how to do it properly in the future. She does not yell at or hit them because she thinks this is not an effective way to teach them. Unlike in Karima's shop where nothing happens when an apprentice does a good job, in Buttah's shop the girls are rewarded with a present or given extra money when they excel.[131]

A mother-daughter hairdressing team pose for a photo after interviews. Dana, 10, is still in her school uniform and helps her mother for a few hours in the afternoons.

In Asharaf's business, the situation is slightly different. He has a practice of only hiring already experienced workers, and he does not train them extensively as in the other three businesses. When they first arrive, he 'tests' their technical skills by asking them to perform different tasks. If they make a mistake, asks them to stop, he corrects things himself, and advises them to watch and copy his method the next time. When they do a good job, he rewards them with positive verbal encouragement and extra money.[132] In a separate interview, his worker Sahar mentioned that if she makes a big mistake perhaps she will also be yelled at after the customer leaves, but most of the time she will simply be asked to observe again before attempting that task again. She feels that all three of the business owners she has worked with are good at continuing to teach her, although she does not receive praise when she does an excellent job. She might get a small tip from a customer but she confessed that in Doweika this is rare.[133] These narratives depict the range of instructional methods within the hairdressing industry.

c) Learning Business Skills

The main business skills learned in the women's hairdressing industry are customer service, pricing, and possibly negotiation skills. As in the other industries, these skills are learned through guided observation and coaching; however, as this is more of a service industry, girls begin learning these in level two and three of the apprenticeship instead of in the fourth level. The type of business skills required vary more from business to business than in other industries as some coiffeurs have fixed prices, while others negotiate based on the type of

[128] Interview with Buttah – BO in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008; and interviews with Aya Sr. and Aya Jr. – children in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008.
[129] Interview with Karima – BO in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008.
[130] Interview with Nada – youth in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008. Nada has, in fact, left this business once to work in another area because she was unhappy with her treatment and felt she was not getting fair pay for her work. However, she returned to her aunt after problems in another business.
[131] Interview with Nada – youth in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008; Interview with Buttah – BO in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008. Buttah's approach was also verified by her apprentices.
[132] Interview with Asharaf – BO in hairdressing industry – March 29, 2008.
[133] Interview with Sahar – youth in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008.

client receiving the services. One business owner indicated that additional business skills are only learned when the apprentice leaves a workshop to open her own.[134]

Table 4.6.3: Business Skills Learned in a Hairdressing Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	n/a	n/a
Level 2: Junior	- Customer Service (basic) - Prices of services and materials	Observation Coaching
Level 3: Intermediate	- Customer Service (advanced) - Negotiation skills (if prices not fixed)	Coaching Experience
Level 4: Sr.	n/a	n/a

d) Learning Life Skills

In the women's hairdressing industry, some life skills identified by children and business owners were similar to those discussed in other industries: honesty, responsibility and fairness. However, as hairdressing is a direct service industry, as opposed to one involving technical services or production like the other three industries in this study, the focus is on developing customer service skills as opposed to characteristics like self-reliance or problem-solving skills. Where profits and client retention are heavily dependent on the quality of customer service,[135] these skills are learned primarily in the first three stages of an apprenticeship. As one business owner related, however, these skills may be difficult to teach children at a very young age as they may not fully understand, or be capable of interacting with customers in the mature analytic ways required for business.[136] These skills must be finessed over time while the child becomes an experienced worker.

In one interview, the business owner mentioned that she believes that she has an important mentorship role to play. If the girl takes hours to run an errand and return she will have a conversation with her about her behaviour. In one case she went to the family after a big incident so that they could discipline the girl, making her stay at the house for a week because of her irresponsible actions.[137] While this was a unique example of partnering with the family in order to teach life skills, it demonstrates the broader mentoring approach where the personal-professional spheres are blurred to teach the child core competencies for life.

Table 4.6.4: Life Skills Learned in a Hairdressing Apprenticeship

Level	What is Learned	How it is Learned
Level 1: Entry-Level	Dependability Responsibility Trustworthiness/Honesty	Observing Coaching Involving Family
Level 2: Junior	Fairness Communication Skills Negotiation Skills	Observing Coaching Experience
Level 3: Intermediate	Adaptability (to negotiate with customers) Analytical Skills (how to read a customer) Negotiation Skills	Observing Coaching Experience
Level 4: Sr.	n/a	n/a

[134] Interview with Karima – BO in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008.
[135] As Sahar – youth in hairdressing industry – noted, "If customers have a bad experience they will not come back… therefore it is important to be fair with them and know how to negotiate." Interview, March 8, 2008.
[136] Interview with Magda – BO in hairdressing industry – March 3, 2008.
[137] 137 Interview with Buttah – BO in hairdressing industry – March 8, 2008.

e) Best Practices/Challenges

Like the carpentry industry, the women's hairdressing industry contains a combination of good practices and challenges. Most apprentices receive training in all three learning areas, and are likely to possess the skills needed to become a business owner in the future. However, certain business owners utilize more progressive methods than others, demonstrating the need for programming intervention. The main challenge is to encourage business owners to move away from physical punishment methods where they exist; however this may prove difficult as these are likely the same practices that the business owners use in their homes, and as many apprentices are relatives, may not feel the need to change their disciplinary strategies. However, with the help of business owners that mentor and teach using progressive methods, it is hoped we can support behavioural change to increase learning at work.

f) Gaps in Learning

One of the main educational challenges in the trade is the quality of the technical training apprentices receive. This is more of an issue than in other industries because many of the business owners have limited experience themselves, particularly if they have only taken a couple of courses before opening their business. A business owner can only ever pass on what they themselves know. However, as the younger apprentices will learn alongside their business owners for many years before opening their own business, this problem will be solved with time, while the older ones already know enough to learn through experience, take a course to upgrade their skills, or switch businesses if their learning is stunted.

Another gap in the women's hairdressing industry – common to the other three – is the lack of literacy and numeracy skills possessed by apprentices. Older apprentices dropped out of school before learning these skills well, and the younger ones are following a similar pattern. Both of the apprentices still in school are struggling, and therefore taking private tutorials in order succeed. However, the fact that both Aya Sr. and Dina are taking tutorials is not a reflection of their abilities as much as it is a testament to the low quality of the public education system in Doweika.[138] Ironically, the reason Aya Sr. works is to pay for her tutorials. If they were able to attend education support classes through a partner MFI, they might be able to stop attending the private tutorials, saving their money for other things.

[138] In this community teachers are paid a very low salary, and are encouraged to offer tutorials in the afternoons and weekends to supplement their wages. They often do not teach everything their pupils need to know during regular classes so that students must attend tutorials in order to pass their course.

5. Enhancing The Learning Through Work System

This section describes the PPIC-Work interventions that are developing as a result of our findings in the automotive repair, textiles, carpentry and women's hairdressing industries in Doweika. Again, these interventions include:

1. Improving learning opportunities in the workplace by:
   a. Enhancing the instructional methods of business owners (BOs) via participatory workshops, discussion groups and work tours, and
   b. Providing BOs with access to new technologies and upgrading workplace safety – via loans, leases and rentals.
2. Improving learning opportunities outside the workplace by:
   a. Filling learning gaps through non-formal educational programming: literacy and numeracy classes, rights and hazard awareness sessions, computer-based activities and potentially, sector-specific theoretical learning.
3. Facilitating a referral centre or network for already-working children and business owners in the community.

This section includes: the cross-cutting findings of section four to explain how each of the above interventions is developing a description of the monitoring framework that is taking shape alongside interventions; an overview of challenges and lessons learned in our implementation thus far; and information for other organizations interested in developing similar programs for children learning trades in micro-enterprises.

5.1 Improving Learning Opportunities in the Workplace

a) Enhancing Instructional Abilities of Business Owners

In order to improve the learning opportunities available to apprentices in the four target industries, a central consideration must be the instructional abilities and methods of business owners themselves. As was demonstrated in section four of this report, many business owners are already effective instructors with a range of good practices to share. Across the four industries, many do an excellent job of teaching technical skills to the next generation of workers. Some have adopted very sophisticated approaches to reward and punishment: giving extra responsibility to the apprentice in recognition of good work and withdrawing it as a disciplinary technique, or creating a learning environment in which mistakes are a part of learning and progress is acknowledged with praise as well as monetary rewards. In each industry, there are also business owners who offer comprehensive learning for apprentices, helping them to develop core business management skills and competencies for life. Indeed, many business owners have demonstrated that they take a strong mentorship role with their young workers.

At the same time, there are many business owners who hold back learning in their businesses, only teaching apprentices what they want them to know at specific times, or refraining from teaching them certain skills – e.g. business skills – if they, do not feel it appropriate or wish their youth to learn them. Some admit to verbally and/or physically abusing their workers when they make a mistake at work, or do not help them to develop a love for the trade or confidence in their abilities through positive encouragement on a job well done. In particular, many business owners in the textile industry may not fully train female workers based on cultural assumptions that are not always reflective of their female apprentice's wishes or abilities. These are areas of concern for the PPIC-Work project.

As a result, the LTW team is developing three interventions for business owners to increase the use of best practices in instructional methods, and help business owners to reflect on the

significance of their responsibilities as trainers and mentors in their industries. These activities include:

1. A two-hour workshop for business owners entitled "Business Owners as Instructors", described in full in appendix 5.1.
2. Regular networking meetings for business owners to discuss good practices among themselves, with LTW staff as facilitators.[139]
3. Professional development tours for business owners to large-scale operations in their industry.

In order for the first two interventions to be successful, there must be a range of business owners present, from those utilizing effective techniques to those using problematic ones. Both the workshop and networking meetings draw upon business owners exhibiting good practices, asking them to explain the philosophy behind their approaches. These activities are built on the belief that through peer to peer discussion, other business owners can be convinced of the value of these good practices – e.g., that it is in their interest to teach everything to their apprentice as they will be more loyal to the business and owner, as well as more diligent and skilled in their work – and change their methods as a result. This approach has been selected because LTW staff believe that other methods, such as a lecture on best practices conducted by MFI or project staff, would not be well received or bring about the desired behavioural change. Loan officers from the partner MFI or other project staff can later reinforce good practices as they develop relationships with the clients and monitor progress, but would not be seen as credible experts in the eyes of the business owners on how to teach an apprentice.

It is important to offer business owners something that benefits them directly in order to maintain their participation in the other LTW programming. Work tours are an excellent way to enhance their knowledge of the new technology in the industry, in a way that is accessible to them, as well as provide them with a tangible 'reward' for participating in the initiative. This idea came from focus groups with business owners who were asked what would be helpful for them to enhance their knowledge of their trade. This activity is a good one to introduce as a next step at the end of a workshop or networking meeting to strengthen the commitment of business owners to LTW activities.

b) Providing BOs with Access to Loans/Rentals for Technology Upgrading

A micro-finance institution's work in a community begins with its loans. Loan officers are in a unique position to develop a relationship of trust and openness with business owners, enabling loan officers to monitor the progress of non-financial interventions and support the business owner in changing certain practices. Indeed, experience in the Doweika community and findings from the LTW study have demonstrated that business owners require a direct benefit in order to collaborate, and when they are receiving money as an MFI client, they are more likely to commit to participating in LTW interventions.

In the initial planning stages of the LTW initiative, focus groups were conducted with business owners to discuss the feasibility of receiving loans for technology upgrading, as this would at once increase the productivity of their business and bring in new opportunities for

[139] In order for this intervention to be successful, there must be a range of business owners present, from those utilizing effective techniques to those using problematic ones. Business owners exhibiting good practices must explain the philosophy behind their approaches. It is hoped that through peer to peer discussion, other business owners will be convinced of the value of good practices (e.g. that it is in their interest to teach everything to their apprentice as they will be more loyal to the business and owner, as well as more diligent and skilled in their work) and change their methods.

learning for both the BO and their apprentices.[140] Unfortunately the larger loan required to facilitate technology upgrading would entail a high level of risk for an MFI, as many business owners would have trouble paying it off, even with the increased productivity of their business. Business owners also recognized the risk for them, and were not very interested in these loans. As a result, the LTW team abandoned the idea, instead exploring the possibility of renting or leasing equipment, and/or introducing the standard PPIC-Work working capital loan with social conditionalities.[141] At this point in our Doweika programming, LTW interventions are based around businesses receiving these small loans, offering many of our standard PPIC-Work interventions as well as specific Learning Through Work activities.[142] It is hoped that as we deepen in our relationships with business owners, equipment leasing and/or rentals will also be possible; however this is still being explored.

5.2 Filling Education Gaps

As was identified throughout section four, some of the pressing needs and wishes of children working in our four target industries are for basic literacy, numeracy and computer skills.[143] These skills help apprentices to learn more about their trade, enhance their business management skills, keep up with rapidly changing technology and noticeably improve their self-confidence. They also have the potential to shape the apprentice's career aspirations, further encouraging them to become a business owner in their trade, or giving them the courage to work towards other education-related aspirations. As a result of these needs and the PPIC-Work project's commitment to improving the educational opportunities of working children, the Doweika team has already begun non-formal education programming with education specialists hired by our partner MFI. These staff members offer classes one day a week, building on the education experience of PPIC-Work partners in Aswan and their training in Montessori and CARITAS approaches. Their classes presently represent a Learning With Work model but have the potential to evolve into a Learning For Work model if, after attaining basic literacy and numeracy, children express interest in learning more about the theoretical aspects of their trades. Because we have identified life skills as an area that is inconsistently taught in workplaces in all four industries, LTW staff are also looking at how to integrate life skill discussions in the education support programming.

Other gaps the research team identified such as safety and rights awareness are being filled through hazard mitigation work with business owners, code of conduct discussions with business owners and their working children, and rights awareness sessions with children.[144]

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[140] Focus group discussions with BOs in automotive repair industry and textile industry, December 7, 2008 and January 17, 2008. The 'technology loans' would be for large equipment such as a computerized scanner in a car repair shop that enables the mechanic to quickly isolate which part of the system needs to be fixed without taking pieces out or running a series of tests. The computerized scanner would greatly reduce the time needed for the repair work or the overall productivity of the business, and simultaneously create a need for workers to acquire computer skills.

[141] This PPIC-Work "dual-purpose loan" provides a needed service to the business owner, but also requires him or her to commit to improving the conditions within the workplace. BOs are supported by loan officers to identify and address hazards in their workplace and create a code of conduct with their young workers that protects child rights.

[142] Specifically, loan officers and business owners complete a hazard assessment form and business improvement plan as part of their loan negotiations, and then business owners attend a focus group with other business owners about rights within the workplace, deciding as a group what they think is fair in terms of children's work hours, treatment, and the types of work that are appropriate for them to do. Then their children are brought together by the social officers for a separate focus group discussing hazards and child rights within the workplace, the business owners' ideas about hours, treatment, work etc, and what the children would like to have included in a code of conduct. Then these two groups are brought together to collaboratively create their community's code of conduct.

[143] Only six of 24 children and youth interviewed were in school, and the majority, in primary school.

[144] For hazard mitigation and COC discussions see footnotes 141 and 142. Rights awareness sessions are conducted by social officers, and discuss child rights in general as well as their rights to safe and meaningful work in particular.

In order to establish LTW programming, the main elements of the PPIC-Work project must also be in place.

5.3 Supporting Already-Working Children in the Search for Employment

Interviews with working children and business owners demonstrated that there is already a strong informal network through which business owners find children to apprentice with them and the children who wish or need to work find jobs. In all industries except the textile industry, children predominantly work with a family friend, member of the extended family, neighbour, or acquaintance of a family member, although in some cases they simply ask for work in their desired trade. When business owners and children were asked if the creation of a community referral centre would be helpful for them, many business owners felt it would not be useful as they preferred the system they already use. Hiring a child based on a family connection or prior knowledge of the child is an insurance mechanism or screening process in the search for a good worker. Therefore, it may be that no intervention is needed here. However, during the first "Business Owners as Instructors" workshop, a few business owners indicated that that a referral centre could help link them to good workers, as most children are no longer learning the trade for the sake of the trade, but for money. They even asked PPIC-Work staff to help them find children from the streets to start working.

This intervention must be demand-driven, developed organically as loan officers and education officers deepen in their connections with business owners, working children and the community at large. It can be a difficult area to intervene in on two levels: PPIC-Work partners do not want to draw children who are not already economically active into work, thereby increasing child labour; and they do not want to take responsibility for matching children with a business owner that is not improving workplace safety or utilizing sound instructional methods. At the same time, this could be an important way of helping already-working children to find employment in the trade they want to develop a career in and has the potential to protect children from negative working environments. Whether this becomes a key part of the Learning Through Work program remains to be seen.

Another potential area of intervention in this area is through a "safe spaces" program for girls, as mentioned in the textile industry section. This program would provide girls with a regular place to meet to talk about issues important to them, connect with older women who are also working and could be role models for them if they wish to have a career, and perhaps participate in educational classes or computer-based learning activities. While this program would not seek to tell girls what they should do with their lives, it would help them to evaluate their options, seeking to increase their confidence in themselves and their abilities, and empower them to choose what they want. This program may develop in the coming months, as the Doweika team deepens in their connections with the community.

5.4 Monitoring Interventions

As we deepen programming, the LTW team has begun to develop a system of information management and monitoring to assess the short-term success of interventions. In order to measure the impact of our work, we have created a number of indicators that demonstrate participating business owners and working children are acquiring knowledge through our activities, and that this knowledge is then being applied in their workplaces and lives to support positive change. These indicators are neutral, specific, simple and generalizable, although they represent both quantitative and qualitative data. They rely upon information gathered by loan officers, social officers, and project coordinators as well as the business owners and children themselves. Qualitative indicators assess BO and children's perceptions of how knowledge is being applied in and outside the workplace. As reporting on indicators has limited utility if it only occurs at one point during a project, it will be

important for PPIC-Workers to track individual children and business owners over time to compare findings with our strong baseline analysis.

Indicators can be found in the following table:

Table 5.4.1: Indicators

Objective of Intervention	What is Measured	Indicator	Collected By
1. Strengthened Learning Opportunities inside workshop	Business Owner (BO) Exposure to Good Instructional Practices and Innovations in Their Industry	# of participants in Workshops, Meetings and Professional Development Tours	LTW Coordinator
		Regularity of participation in sessions	
	Instructional Quality of BOs (application of ideas)	Perception of children and BOs of instructional methods, content, and workers' rights*	Business Owners and Children
	Quality of Educational Environment: Equipment and Workshop Safety	# of clients renting equipment	Loan Officers with help of BOs
		# of clients using loans to purchase new equipment	
		# and kind of safety improvements in each business	
		# of BO participants in COC sessions	
2. Strengthened Learning Opportunities Outside Workshop	Children's Acquisition of Literacy, Numeracy, Life and Computer Skills	# of children participating	Education Officers
		Regularity of participation	
		# of children who can read and write	
	Application of Literacy, Numeracy, Life and Computer Skills Outside the Classroom	Perception of children regarding education gaps*	Children
		Perception of children regarding utility of skills acquired in edu support for work and life*	
3. Enhanced Ability of Already-Working Children to Find Safe and Educational Work	Children's Awareness of Rights within the workplace	# of child participants in COC sessions	LTW Coordinator
	Ability of Children to Exercise their Rights within the workplace	# of children who have negotiated COC at work	Children
		Perception of children about BO recognition of rights and gender equality within the business*	
		# of children to leave inappropriate/unsatisfying work	
	Success of LTW office and staff in facilitating referrals	# of working children asking for assistance from staff	All LTW Staff
		# of BOs asking for assistance from staff	

*Perceptions documented through questionnaires with sliding scale responses, collected semi-annually.

5.5 Initial Challenges in Implementation and Lessons Learned

While the objective of this report is not to provide details on LTW activities to date, it may be helpful for others to learn about general challenges the PPIC-Work team has encountered in our initial programming, and what we have learned as a result. These reflections are detailed in the following table:

Table 5.4.2: Reflections from the Field

Challenge	Lessons Learned
- During initial implementation, pressure on the LTW team to move ahead in a few directions simultaneously meant that planning was not always systematic. Investments in staff training were not always made before commencing activities. This has made it more challenging to maximize the impact of some interventions.	- Plan carefully and ensure staff are fully trained to create effective programming.
- As the LTW team progressed with our planning, the shift from loans for technology upgrading to "dual purpose loans" required us to retrofit core aspects of the PPIC-Work project (hazard mitigation and code of conduct). These components, while important, may come against some resistance in a community where children work much longer hours than a code of conduct would suggest, and where business owners may not wish to invest in safety if not told this was a conditionality of the loan up front.	- If possible work from an existing client base that has already established good rapport with the MFI staff and is willing to do non-financial interventions. - If starting in a new community, make sure you have a clear sense of how you will approach the financial incentives for participation -Have backup plans clearly articulated to prevent the confusion of stakeholders
- When children work full-time, the hours they are available for social and non-formal education programming may be more limited.	- Be realistic about what commitments are manageable in the community, and adapt programming to the needs and availability of stakeholders.
- Behavioural change, particularly enhancing the instructional methods of business owners, takes time because it is very relationship-driven. It is also difficult to monitor the extent to which behavioural change has occurred, and requires significant commitments of loan officers and the LTW coordinator in visiting each business.	- Be willing to invest for longer than a few months. - Make sure staff members are prepared to spend significant time in the field documenting baselines meticulously and monitoring progress.

Working in the SME sector, particularly in a large urban setting or new community, will bring with it many challenges. Business owners may be slow to trust MFI staff or may initially be interested in participating only because of the direct benefits to them. If there is a history of development programming in the community, they may also have unrealistic expectations of the project, looking for handouts instead of a partnership. In this context, it is important not to expect instantaneous change. Indeed, through years of work in this sector, the PPIC-Work project has found that the first loan cycle with a client is often more about building relationships and raising awareness than it is about tangible change within the business. It is important to see hazard mitigation and behavioural change as iterative processes that develop alongside relationships as business owners cultivate a deeper awareness of how their participation in the project benefits them, their young worker, and their business. However, when they reach this point, they become an important role model in their community, as well as a strong stakeholder and responsible employer.

6. Conclusion

This report has analysed the learning process in the automotive repair, textiles, carpentry and women's hairdressing industries to reveal the unwritten curricula taught in Egyptian micro-enterprises and improve the learning processes in these four trades. As section four has demonstrated, children and youth working in these micro-enterprises in Doweika, and indeed throughout Egypt, are developing many of the essential skills needed for their vocations and the local economy. By strengthening existing enterprise-based learning systems and ensuring that children who work in these industries have safe, age-appropriate and non-exploitative working arrangements, a Learning Through Work approach offers human and market-based solutions to a growing problem.

There are many possible areas for intervention in the enterprise-based learning system. While the technical trades are functioning quite efficiently – albeit with glaring gaps in the instruction of how machines function and with differences in the learning opportunities for girls and boys in some trades – there seem to be significant challenges in ensuring apprentices learn business and life skills, as well as improving the overall methods of instruction and workplace safety. In order to foster a positive learning environment, business owners should be encouraged to develop non-corporal methods of punishment, and the development of their worker's skills should be recognised. Changing the philosophies and practices surrounding instructional methods is not an easy task. However, it can be influenced through peer-to-peer discussions, and ongoing mentorship. The impacts of such changes are far-reaching, touching the lives of the next generation of workers, and through them, perhaps the evolution of the industries themselves.

It is hoped that honest reflections on the methods, challenges and findings of this initiative will be helpful to other organizations seeking to improve enterprise-based learning for children and youth in the growing informal sectors around the globe. As Singh has suggested,

> [I]f systems of education and training are to cater to both the formal and the informal labour markets, then they need to take into account the traditions and values of the system of vocational learning in working life, cater to the requirements of local development, and be based on an understanding of the kinds of competencies people in the informal economy want, need and utilize, the socio-economic and cultural contexts within which they work, and how they cope and sustain their livelihood strategies.[145]

These are indeed the overarching challenges and goals of the PPIC-Work project's Learning Through Work initiative.

[145] Singh, M. "Combining Work and Learning in the Informal Economy: Implications for Education, Training and Skills Development" in *International Review of Education* 2000, 46 (6), pp 599.

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For list of field interviews see appendix 3.1

Appendices

Appendix 1.1: Changing Approaches: Child Labour - Children's Work

	Historical Approach	Business Focused Approach
Business		
	Businesses are part of the problem	Businesses are part of the solution
	Business owners harm children	Business owners are trainers and be protectors of children
	Business support programs (loans / Business Development Services) focus on business improvements	Business support programs focus on improving businesses and the conditions of working children
	Connections come through children or child focused agencies and are confrontational with the business	Connections are through business support agencies (Micro Finance Institutions or Business Development Service providers)
	Inherently hazardous working conditions = removal of the child (but the production process remains unchanged and new children enter the work places left behind by the departing children)	Modernization of production processes and the introduction of new technologies can eliminate unsafe work; parallel business support programs can help displaced workers (children or adults) find new employment or start their own businesses
	No support for change	Support for change through loans and Business Development Services
Children		
	Children are victims of exploitation through work and the objects of programming interventions	Children are rights holders and can participate in the design and implementation of interventions
	Children must be removed from all work	Children may continue to work under certain conditions
	Children learn only in school	Children can learn in work and non formal education programs as well as in school

Source: PPIC-Work Annual Report 2005

Appendix 1.2: Categories of Work and Corresponding Interventions

CATEGORIZATION OF CHILDREN'S WORK	TYPES OF INTERVENTIONS WITH ENTERPRISES	TYPES OF INTERVENTIONS WITH CHILDREN / FAMILIES
Acceptable	Monitor status of children's work	Provide training / information on children's rights; Support opportunities for improved learning
Hazardous / improvements possible	Build on existing or establish new relationship with business owner through business support / lending programs; In collaboration with business owners and working children identify ways of improving working conditions and learning opportunities Provide support through intervention tools (particularly lending) Establish / upgrade code of conduct through participatory process with business owners	Provide working children with training of rights, gender equality and other key concepts (health, safety, hazards & risks, entrepreneurship); Assist working children to form their own groups / associations where they can share experiences with peers and learn to act in their own interest Support children through intervention tools (literacy, lending, computer-based learning, accident insurance, others) Assist children to stay in school or find alternate sources of learning, Improve learning with and through work Assist families of working children to improve incomes, reducing the need for children to work
Inherently hazardous / worst forms of child labour	Provide no business support programming / lending; Support implementation of ILO Convention 182 & related legislation; Support / advocate appropriate policy development Collaborate with technology upgrading programs to change production processes to eliminate hazardous forms of work; Assist business owners to find alternate types of business opportunities;	Provide children's families with assistance to start their own enterprises; Provide children with opportunities to engage in safe work including access to learning opportunities (formal or non formal learning); Provide children with alternate types of skills in safe / acceptable work places.

Source: PPIC-Work Annual Report 2005

Appendix 3.1 Interviewee Backgrounds

i. Business Owners

Sector	Name	Business	Time as B.O.	Time in Trade	Workers under 18	Formal Education
Automotive Repair	Ali	Paint Mixing	7 years	15 years	2	?
	Ahmed	Panel Beating	17 years	27 years	4	Dropped out at age 12
	Mustafa	Painting	20 years	?	2	left primary after 4 years
	Hussein	Car Door Repair	30 years	40 years	2	Less than six years
	Mahmoud	Seat Repair	16 years	21 years	1	Less than six years
	Medhat	Seat Repair	10 years	27 years	3	3rd year secondary school
	Hossein	Mechanic	10 years	45 years	1	Left during prep. school
	Mohammad	Mechanic	25 years +	47 years	1	Uni degree in engineering
	Ibrahim	Panel Beating	One month	28 years	4	Less than six years
	Asharaf	Car Door Repair	7 years	27 years	1	Six years
Textiles	Nosr	Carpet Weaving	14 years	20 years?	10	Less than nine years
	Ali	Sewing	15 years?	32 years	4	Five years
	Sabra (f)	Small sewing	20 years (w h)	20 years	1	?
	Sayida (f)	Lg sewing shop	1 year (w h)	1 year	4+	?
	Mohammed & Nadia (f)	Small carpet weaving	16 years 16 years	40 years 32 years	2	No school No school
	Khalid	Lg carpet factory	17 years	32 years	Approx 50	Uni degree in edu
	Amal (f)	Sm sewing in house	2 years	2 years	4	?
	Hind (f)	embroidering	2 years	7 years	5	Five years
	Asharaf	Sewing bags	15 years	27 years	7 (2 full time)	Completed tech. secondary
Carpentry	Fahmy	Carpentry	32 years	45 years	1	Completed secondary
	Shaaban	Carpentry	4 years	21 years	2	No school
	Mohammed	Carpentry	4 years	32 years	2	Completed primary 2
	Moharram	Carpentry	5 years	25 years	4	Uni degree in Business
	Ahmed	Carpentry	16 years	30 years	3	Completed primary 6
	Roshdi	carving	20 years	?	n/a	?
Hair Dressing	Magda (f)	Hair dressing, dresses	2 years	2 years	1	Hair dressing school
	Karima (f)	Hair dressing, dresses	10 years	14 years	1	Completed Primary 2
	Buttah (f)	Hair dressing, dresses	6 years	10 years	3	?
	Asharaf	Hair dressing, photo	15 years	15 years	1	Hairdressing courses

(f) = female Business Owners ? = unknown: as a result of limitations in interviews

ii. Children and Youth

Sector	Name	Age	Age Started Work	Business	Business Owner	Formal Education
Automotive Repair	Mohammed	19	12	Seat Repair	Medhat	Left school around age 12
	Adel	17	6	Mechanic	Mohammed	In 1st year secondary school
	Mustafa	15	7	Car Door Repair	Hussein	Left school after two years
	Hassan	17.5	12	Paint Mixing	Ali	Completed Prep. School
	Hussein	17	11	Mechanic	Hossein	Left school after 5th year
	Sayyid	18	10	Car painting	Not interviewed	No school
Textiles	Basma (f)	22	12	Sewing	Ali	No school
	Neglaa (f)	18	15	Sewing	Ali	Completed Prep School
	Mahmoud	22	14	Sewing	Sayida	Left during last year of Prep
	Nesma (f)	16	14	Sewing	Sayida	Left school after 4th year
	Karima (f)	15	5	Carpet weaving	Nosr	No school
	Mustafa	20	6	Carpet weaving	Nosr	Left school at age 10
	Shaimaa (f)	16	6	Carpet weaving	Nosr	No school
	Wafaa (f)	18	6	Large Carpet	Khalid	Completed Tech Secondary
	Hanan (f)	17	16	Large Carpet	Khalid	Completed 4th year Primary
	Israa (f)	16	6	Large Carpet	Khalid	No school
Carpentry	Mustafa	12	10	Carpentry	Shaaban	In P1 (for a few years now)
	Abdul	10	6	Carpentry	Shaaban	In 5th Year Primary School
	Mahmoud	17	11	Carpentry	Ahmed	In 2nd year Tech Secondary
Hair Dressing	Nada (f)	17	15	Hairdressing	Karima	No school
	Sahar (f)	18	17	Hairdressing	Asharaf	Left school after a few years
	Aya (f)	12	12	Hairdressing	Buttah	In 5th year Primary School
	Aya (f)	11	11	Hairdressing	Buttah	Left school after a few years
	Dina (f)	10.5	9	Hairdressing	Magda	In 5th year Primary School

(f) = female interview subject

N.B. The formal education system in Egypt includes six years of Primary School, followed by three years of Preparatory School, followed by Three years of Secondary School prior to tertiary education.

Appendix 3.2: Interview Guides

A) Business Owners

Basic Info:
- Date, Start and end time of interview
- Name
- Business:
    - # of employees
    - type of employees (boys, girls, both)
- Educational background?
    - Last level of school completed
    - Did you go to a technical school or did you learn through experience working?
- How long have they owned the business?
- EACID Loan Size (and how many loans they have had now)

Questions:
1. OWNER'S BACKGROUND AND LEARNING PROCESS
    - How did you come to be running this business?
    - How old were you when you started learning this trade?
    - Who taught you the trade? Did you work in many businesses or one only?
    - How did your instructor teach you?
    - How long did it take you to learn everything about the trade?
    - What things did you need to know to be able to run a business on your own?
    - Through work, what things did you learn about human relationships?
    - How different or similar is the way you learned to the way the children here are learning?

2. OWNER'S EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN
    - How long (how many years) do most children stay with you in this business?
    - How do they come to work for you? (are the children related, friends' children, …?)
    - What things do you look for when hiring a child to come to work for you? How do you know that you have found a good worker?
    - Do you have a preference for hiring girls or boys? If so why?
    - If you are employing both boys and girls, is there a difference in the type of work they are doing? Is there a difference in how they learn?
    - Is there a difference in how much they get paid?
    - How many children have worked/trained here? Who trains them?
    - How long does it take to teach them everything about the job?
    - How many hours do the children work in a day? Do they go to school?

3. CHILDREN'S LEARNING PROCESS
    - Do children observe the work before they become involved in it? If so how long are they 'observers'?
    - What are the first jobs/tasks they do for you?
    - How do you know when they can do more to help out?
    - What do they do next?
    - How do they learn the technical aspects of the work?
    - Do the children work with customers?

    - When do they handle money?
    - When do they keep records of accounts?
    - When do they open and close the shop, or run it while you are gone? How do you know you can trust them when you are away?
    - When do they run errands for you?
- What happens when the children make a mistake?
- How do you reward them if they do something really well?
- Do you think that children are learning things besides this trade and business skills here with you – things that will help them in their family relationships or with others in the community?
- What qualities (fairness, honesty, patience) do you think are most important in the business you run?
    - Are the children who work with you developing these qualities? How do you teach them these things?
- Are there things that your workers have not learned about this trade (holes in their learning) that you think they should learn?
    - If so, how/where should they learn this?
- How much do children get paid when they first start, when do they get a raise in salary? Why do they get a raise? How much do they make at each level?

B) Children

Basic Info:
- Name
- Age and age you started working
- How did you come to be working here - in this shop, with this owner?
- Is this your first job, and how long have you been here now? If this is not your first job, what did you do before?
- School status (did they ever go to school? If so how far did they get? What level of education do they want to achieve?)

Questions:
1. BACKGROUND INFO
    - What time of day do you start working? When are your breaks? When do you end?
    - How much do you make in a week? How much did you make when you first started?

2. LEARNING PROCESS
    - What was your first month like?
        - How much time did you spend watching what happened in the shop?
        - What did you do?
        - How long did you do these types of things?
        - What did you do next?
    - What jobs do you do now?
        - How have you learned to do these things?
        - Who teaches you?
        - How do they teach you? (Do they show you how to do things, do they talk you through a new activity, etc)
        - How do you like to learn?
        - What happens when you make a mistake?

    - What happens when you do things the right way?
- Do you like the work you're doing?
    - Are there tasks you don't like, that you have to do?
    - How are tasks divided in the workplace?
- What jobs do you think you will start doing next? What do you want to do?
- How long do you plan to work here?
- What would you like to do in the future – do you think about opening up a shop like this someday?

3. BUSINESS AND LIFE SKILLS
- How closely do you work with customers?
- What exactly do you do? (handle money, open and close shop, etc)
- When did you start each of these things?
- Do you think you have learned the skills you need to run a business of your own? What are these skills?
- Have you begun to use the main machinery/tools in the shop? When will/did you start this?
- Do you think you are learning things besides this trade and how to run a business – things that will help you in your family relationships or with others in the community?
- What qualities (e.g. fairness, honesty, patience) do you think are most important in the business you work in? How have you learned about these qualities since you started working here?
- Are there things that you have not learned about this trade (like the theory of how an engine works) that you want to learn?
    - If so, how/where could you learn this?
- Have you had training outside the business, or, would you like to have this in the future?
    - What does the business owner think about training?
    - Would they pay for you to be trained?
    - How long would training be and where would you go for this?
- Is it important to you that the skills you learn are formally assessed at some point so you can be certified in this work?
- What is the most important thing you have learned so far?

4. TRAINING OTHER CHILDREN (If the child is older and training others)
- Do you train younger children? When did you start doing this?
- How do you train them – What do you do, what do you say?
- Do you test what your trainee has learned – ask them to show you how they do it, or leave them a big problem? How do you do this?
    - What do you do when your trainee does things correctly,
    - What do you do when they make a mistake?
    - What tells you that they're ready to do more?
- How long does training last (how many hours a day, how many months/years)
    - Is this the same amount of time for many children, (Does it depend on their starting age, learning speed, and the type of work that is available/needed within the workplace?)
- How much of the training you do is similar to the way you were trained, what do you do differently? Why do you do it differently?

Appendix 3.3: Data Collection Template

Date:
Length of Interview:

Background Info

Name:
Age (and age started working):
Business (and related business owner for children):
Hours (for children):
Work background and Educational Attainment:
Loan and Size (for business owner if applicable):

Skills Learned

Phase	**Technical Skills**	time	**Business Skills**	**Life Skills**
Phase 1: Entry-Level				
Phase 2: Junior				
Phase 3: Intermediate				
Phase 4: Senior				

Selection of Children/business

Learning Process/Methodologies
1. Technical/Business (taught by:)
2. Life skills (taught by:)

Progression from Level to Level

Teaching younger children (for older children only)

Other Information/Direct Observations

Quotes

Holes/Further Questioning

Appendix 3.4: Focus Group Discussion Guides

A) Business Owners - Facilitated by Dr. Mamdouh Foad, EACID

Introduction: 5 min

- Thanks for coming
- Why this research?
- Discussion Topics
  - learning and production
  - relationships and the learning environment
  - creating curricula/resources
  - resource centres
  - learning and technology
  - loans
- Capturing the session

Introduce participants:

1. Names, ages, and business type of each participant
2. How long each BO. has been working in the sector
3. Numbers, and ages of children currently working in each business

Topic One: Learning Through Work

1. Blending Learning and Production – 20 min
   a. Approximately how long does it take to learn everything you need to know to be a good business owner?
      i. What are the key things you need to know to be successful at your job?
      ii. When and how do you learn these things?
   b. Is there a difference between how long it takes to learn the trade and how long an apprentice works in others' businesses? If so:
      i. What is the difference/how long does each take?
      ii. What are the reasons for this?
      iii. What factors affect the speed of an apprentice's progress? (e.g., age, initiative, skill). If these are identified, how much does each affect the rate of progress?
   c. Over all, what does the relationship between training and work look like?
      i. Do these two things always build on each other, or are there times when the apprentice focuses on either training or working? (If so, when?)
      ii. What challenges do you face in creating a balance between training and work?
   d. What are barriers/challenges to learning in your business?
      i. E.g., Are there things you do not like to teach too early (secrets of the trade) because the worker may leave and share this with another business owner?
      ii. E.g., If you have many employees, is it important that you always have one child/youth in a certain level (e.g., one who can bring the tools/clean the shop/run errands, or one who can prepare the car for your work)?
      iii. How do you deal with these challenges/barriers?
      iv. In what ways could the blending of learning and work be improved?

2. Relationships and Learning Environment – 15 min
   a. What is your role in the apprenticeship process? Who all is involved in training a child worker?
      i. How does your perspective of your role compare to that of other BOs in the sector - do many people share this view?
   b. What happens when your worker makes a mistake? What happens when they do a

great job?
   i. Why have you chosen to discipline and reward them in these ways?
   ii. How does this approach impact your relationship with them?
c. What is your vision for the future of your workers?
   i. E.g. what do you want them to be able to do with you?
   ii. E.g. where do you think life will take them in the future?
d. How would you describe your relationship with your workers?
   i. How does this relationship impact your business?
   ii. How does this relationship impact their learning, and their dedication to this job
   iii. The longer someone trains with you the more valuable they may become… how do you foster the loyalty of your workers?

Topic Two: Operationalizing Findings

1. Creating a curriculum - 20 min
   a. Mamdouh to discuss common findings from interviews (similar 'phases' of training, process of life skills first, then tech, then business; how BOs test for honesty/skills before progression to higher levels) as launch into this section. Then explore with them:

What is learned	How it is learned	How Assessment occurs
Technical		
Business		
Life		
Other: history, citizenship		

   b. (In particular), how are the business skills and life skills taught?
   c. Are you interested in some form of training resource in any or all of these areas?
   d. What types of information could be shared in a training session or resource?
   e. How could this information be shared? (In a workshop, in ongoing meetings, in written documents)… and where/when could meetings be held?
   f. What else would be helpful at a monthly meeting… occasional guest speakers from the industry etc?
   g. Are there things that the BOs would prefer not being shared (what to do what not to do – trade secrets etc)
2. Resource Centres - 5 min
   a. How do you currently find workers?
   b. How do children and youth normally find employment?
   c. Is there a need to improve this informal network? If so, what are your recommendations?
3. Technology and Learning - 10 min
   a. What types of technology would be beneficial to you in your business? (If they say nothing, then we could elaborate – what do you think about the scanners etc…)
   b. Who would use new technology?
   c. How would this technology impact your business? Do many others in the field have this technology?
4. Loans – 20 min
   a. Dr Mamdouh explains how it works… and the connection between enhancing learning opportunities for youth and/or technological upgrading that will introduce new skills and getting the loan.
   b. Who is interested in this?...

B) Children - Facilitated by Reem Ali, PPIC-Work

Collect basic information about participants: names, age, where they live, if they live with their parents…

Today Sunday is your day off from work; can you tell us how children your age usually spend the day? What do they do (activities), and with whom? (Friends), Where (mobility)… Probe if doing household activities and sibling care are mostly girls' responsibilities (and intensity). How are household tasks handled during working days?

Transition from school to work

Are you in school?
If not in school - did you ever go to school?
Level reached? Can you read and write?
Why did you leave school?
How did you decide to leave school? Was it a temporary or permanent thing?
What did your family members think about you leaving school?
What about your brothers and sisters - do they go to school? Why?
Do you want/will you go back to school?
Do girls/boys need to go to school?
Do you think that going to school helps a person get a better job?
Is it important to be able to read and write for your work/For what you want to do in the future?
What are some difficulties that working kids like you can face at work if they don't know how to read and write?
What do you want to be when you grow up?
Can you become… without going to school? How?

At work

How did you come here (workplace)?
Who made the decision for you to come here? Did you want to work in this place?
Did you work in other places before? Were they the same type of businesses or different ones?
How long do you think you will stay in this job?
How many hours do you work a day?
How much are you paid?
Has your pay been raised at all?
What do you do with your money?

Learning

What is nice about your work? What don't you like about it?
What aspect of your work are you good at?
What do you want to become through this work?

Do you see stages in your learning? Describe… how long does each one take?
How do you learn a new skill at work? (who teaches you)
How do you like to learn (formal vs. non-formal methods)?
Do you think you are learning life skills through work as well as the trade?

- artistic activity – for calendars?!
- How do they learn these things?

Is there anything that you are not learning through work that you would like to learn – about the world, about technology, etc? (Interest in literacy/numeracy/computers?)
What are the difficulties/problems you face at work?
What happens when you make a mistake, what happens when you do something very well?
How do you see the BO.? How does the BO. treat you?

Gender
(Girls) Will you continue to work after you get married? Who makes that decision?
(Boys) Will your wife continue to work after you get married? Who makes that decision?
(Both) Do you see a difference between women's work and men's work… are there certain jobs that are only for men/women?
(Both) What do you think about women who work?

Searching for work
What do you look at when searching for a good job?
How do you search?
Would it be helpful to have a centre where you can go to find a certain type of job?

Final comments
Is there anything else you want to share with us – any other topics you'd like to discuss?

Appendix 5.1: "Business Owners as Instructors" Workshop Information

Workshop Objectives

1. To increase awareness among Business Owners of their role as trainers (both individually and collectively – as key mentors for the next generation of workers in these trades)
2. To discuss learning methodologies within the workplace
3. To share research findings from the 2008 LTW study and reinforce good learning methodologies and disciplinary strategies
4. To explore how EACID can continue to enhance learning in the workplace, and support the business owners and youth in the community

Workshop Outline

1. *Introduction (10 minutes)*
   - Overview of LTW program and objectives of this workshop

2. *Learning a New Skill (20-30 minutes)*
   - Participants are divided into three groups to learn a small technical skill foreign to their profession (e.g., how to sew a buttonhole and button). Each group is taught with a different method, without knowledge of how the other groups are learning.
   These methods include:
   - Guided Observation: (with the help of an expert)
   - Audio-visual: (using a PowerPoint and pictures from expert)
   - Lecture: (oral only, based on description of process by expert)

3. *Discussion of Learning Techniques: (20 minutes)*
   - The three groups come together to show each other their finished products, and discuss what makes learning easier or more difficult (e.g., patience of instructor, repetition, being yelled at and hurried by instructor).
   - Mini-role plays by Learning Through Work Staff or participants (e.g., an impatient instructor) make this portion lively and fun.

4. *Business Owners as instructors:*
   - Presentation of findings from the Doweika Study
   - Discussion of good practices
   - Suggestions for LTW implementation

5. *Conclusions*
   - Discussion of short-term impact – training and learning at work are important for your business – the employee who learns and learns effectively is more likely to stay with the business
   - Discussion of long-term impact of their work - training the next generation of trades-people (this is why teaching business skills is so important)

6. *Refreshments and informal discussion*

Key Discussion Points from BOs at first Workshop (February 2008)

a) Learning Techniques and Apprenticeships
- The BO's agreed that there is a need for practical as well as theoretical learning and education. Many youth go to technical schools now, but they won't be as good as someone who's trained in a workshop.
- they said that one needs about 8 years to become a senior in a trade
- However, finding eager workers is a problem: "Kids now-a-days don't look for a trade, they look for money. 99% of the children that come to work for you end up leaving. It's that 1% that might end up staying. Those you take under your wings and teach them everything you know about the trade."

b) Good practices
- "If you use harsh teaching methods and punishment with the kids, they'll leave you and your workshop and go elsewhere. If you teach them patiently and instil in them passion for the trade, then you end up benefiting them and therefore benefiting yourself."
- "I guide the kid through work by telling him what's wrong and right. When he does something good, I praise him with words, and when he makes a mistake, I also explain with words what he's done wrong."

c) The qualities of good apprentices
- "A young kid ("sabi") is more valuable than a senior worker ("sanay'ee"). He pushes you to work. He keeps you on your toes because you're always supervising and always teaching. He gets you the things you need or run errands for you, so you don't end up giving in to procrastination or use these trips as excuses for taking breaks. He will do the work well and will try to complete it in less time, and might even end up doing it better than you do. When he makes a mistake, with a little twist of his ear he'll listen to what you have to say and pay attention. Senior workers are senior. They know what they're doing and they don't keep you on your toes because you don't have to watch over them. They get you lazy about the work this way."

d) How EACID can help business owners
- "If you want to help, then help us in finding kids that will work. We have kids and parents asking us to work, but if I don't know them or of them then I don't trust them working for me. Many of these kids who show up are also uneducated and misbehaved" (some agreed that this is why they come to learn a trade, because if they were educated then they wouldn't bother; others disagreed that this is the case).
- "What would be beneficial to everyone is if you gather up orphaned or underprivileged children and divide them up amongst us workshop owners based on what the kids would like to do. This way everyone benefits. We will take good care of these children, you would've provided them with opportunities and they'll be better off than living the way they are right now."
- The EACID Executive Director suggested that the association can have a place where youth who are working or want to work can sign up or find out about opportunities in the community (A Referral Centre).
- Business Owners suggested that if the association would speak with the community members that they serve, they would find many youth that are willing to work (if their moms push them to get a good job).