



Child labour in Jordan

An annotated bibliography

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Work No Child's Business (WNCB).

The WNCB alliance consists of **Save the children the Netherlands; UNICEF the Netherlands and the Stop Child Labour Coalition.**

The alliance aims to achieve that children and youth are free from child labour and enjoy their rights to quality education and (future) decent work. We work in six countries: Cote d'Ivoire, India, Jordan, Mali, Uganda and Vietnam.

In Jordan, WNCB programme works with UNICEF, Save the Children, JOHUD Social Support Centre and ROWAD.

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Introduction

The purpose of this document is to provide an overview of the child labour situation in Jordan. The WNCB programme expects academic literature and scientific insights to be a valuable addition to the understanding of the complex issue of child labour. Therefore, an annotated bibliography was produced of (academic) child labour research in Jordan through desk research by students of Leiden University in the Netherlands in 2020. In 2021, the bibliographies were updated and re-organised, using both online search tools and the Al-Baqa' Applied University library in Salt, Jordan, by students Sarah Dudin and Walter Burkard, under the technical assistance of the research working group within the “Work: No Child’s Business” (WNCB) programme. This document contains 23 relevant materials published between 2001 and 2019. Recent (academic) research was not found

The materials in the annotated bibliography are categorised as follows: (1) introduction to child labour in Jordan, presenting the prevalence; (2) WNCB's focus themes of child labour which are education and gender; (3) child labour in the tourism sector and in the WNCB's focus sector of child labour in Jordan which is domestic work.

The following paragraphs present the main findings in a summary and recommendations for further research in order to create an even more holistic understanding of the child labour situation in Jordan.

Summary

All information presented and discussed in this chapter is taken from the sources as outlined in the annotated bibliography.

A lot of the research on child labour in Jordan has been conducted in relation to the influx of Syrian refugees in 2011. The number of child labourers in Jordan has doubled between 2006 and 2016 as it was hard for undocumented Syrian refugee households to obtain work permits. They also experienced intense financial pressures and when practical barriers obstructed children's access to education, child labour was the alternative. Due to the vulnerable position of Syrian refugee children, a lot of research has been focused on the exploitative nature of child labour in those communities. There are extra long hours worked and low wages: 80% of the Syrian refugee children worked 6-7 days a week and a substantial number of Syrian child workers earned below Jordan's minimum wage in hazardous

conditions.

Working in these hazardous conditions affected children's growth rate and many child labourers suffered from malnutrition and endemic diseases. Working also threatened children's mental health. Child labourers encountered physical and psychological abuse at the hands of their employers.

Another prevalent theme in the research field, as well as to be found in the annotated bibliographies, is the enforcement of laws prohibiting or restricting child labour. Enforcement is facilitated by an increasing number of labour inspectors, who are provided with specific training on child labour detection. However, regulating the informal sector is challenging and even when enforcement is possible, in striving to secure the best interests of the children, enforcement may not always be the best practice. In the cases where child labour is detected, the imposition of sanctions must have social as well as legal authority. A community is unlikely to have an appetite for imposing sanctions on an industry, irrespective of egregious child labour practices, where there exists the perception that such an action is antithetical to its functional survival. As a starting point, it is critical to publicize the rights of the child labourers, including raising awareness of families and local governmental institutions in targeted communities with respect to the dangers of child labour as neglect and abuse and to demonstrate the benefits of enforcing child labour laws.

WNCB focus themes

Education and child labour

Literature on child labour research in Jordan largely supported the substitution hypothesis, stating that school and child labour are highly substitutable activities. The resources in the annotated bibliography indeed present that most children work because they have left school. There are various reasons for children in Jordan to decide to leave school or skip school, including violence, over-crowdedness and the distance between home and school. However, school attendance rates in Jordan are high and researchers found that working children had an average of 7.3 years of education. Employed children started school later and dropped out earlier than their non-working counterparts.

Children with unemployed and uneducated parents were more at risk of child labour and school drop-out. In addition, migrant children were more likely to be employed and migrant girls are more likely to drop out of school. In relation to Syrian refugee children's access to

education, practical barriers have been detected. When schooling is not an option, child labour becomes apparent as the alternative.

Gender and child labour

When it comes to the WNCB focus theme of gender, the overwhelming majority of child labourers outside of the household are boys. These boy labourers are wage earners while most girls are unpaid family workers. Within the household there is also a gendered division of labour where girls are engaged in cooking, cleaning and caring for children and/or elderly and boys being engaged in shopping and repairs. In migrant families, girls are more likely than boys to drop out of school.

WNCB focus sectors

Most of the Syrian child labour is present in the service sector and on large farms. Within the Jordanian population, child labour is present in the domestic service sector and in the tourism industry in Petra. In the latter, child labourers are younger than child labourers in other economic sectors, and as tourist labour is intergenerational, it has been mentioned that it is difficult to escape its grasp. Child labour in tourism is seasonal. Child labourers in Petra perceive their work positively and their monthly wages are high compared with other child labour jobs in Jordan.

Recommendations for follow-up research

To create an even more holistic understanding of child labour in Jordan, there are various recommendations for follow-up research outlined below. These recommendations are derived from the sources gathered in the annotated bibliography.

The annotated bibliography presents many sources that are focused on child labour practices within the Syrian refugee communities in Jordan. Because of their vulnerable position, it is important that these communities are taken into consideration when research is done. It is recommended also to have a deeper dive into what the child labour situation has been before the Syrian refugee influx of 2011 and how the child labour phenomenon has been shaped by the influx besides the increase in child labour rates.

When a focus on the recent history of child labour practices in Jordan is applied, a clearer picture of the phenomenon is created. This will then also be of support in creating a national database with enough statistical data to develop (national) strategies and plans. It is

recommended to include an exploration on how local resources can be mobilized to root out (severe) cases of child labour.

On a last note, it is critical that follow-up research spell out the relationship between pandemic/climate change and child labour. While there is a clear idea that the current COVID-19 pandemic has worsened child labour practices in the country of Jordan, scientific research will create a clearer understanding on what these negatives exactly are and will provide input in developing a strategy to minimize these negative effects.

Annotated bibliography

Introduction

Prevalence

1. Al-Gamal, E., Hamdan-Mansour, A., Matrouk, R. & Al Nawaiseh, M. (2013). The psychosocial impact of child labour in Jordan: a national study. *International Journal of Psychology*, 48(6): 1156-1164.

Key words Health and development, CESC, psycho-educational support SDQ

Source Academic journal article

Description The authors utilized the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) and the Coping Efficacy Scale for Children (CESC) to measure the psychosocial impact of child labour in Jordan. They concluded that child labour negatively impacted the children's psychosocial health and development, and that working school children suffered the most. Psycho-educational support and problem-solving programs are needed to aid children in coping with the consequences of their work and study.

2. Alzboun, A. (2013). The social impacts of the phenomenon of child labour in North joran (an emperical study). *Journal of the social sciences*, 41(2), 123-187.

Key words Northern Jordan, media, poverty, social effects

Source Academic journal article

Description The study sought to analyse the degree of social effects of child labour phenomena in the governorates of the northern Jordan region, represented by Aljoun, Irbid, Mafraq and Jerash. The main findings are: (1) most of the working children are between the ages of 10-16, with 16 year workers representing the majority with a percentage of 87.5%; (2) more than half of working children reside in villages where parents work in the agricultural and livestock sectors; (3) half of the working individuals belong to families of 4-8 members and (4) poverty

and poor living conditions are among the most substantial reasons for child labour.

The authors also present various recommendations on eliminating child labour where it, among others, includes an active role for the media.

3. Al Tarawneh, H. & Maany, M. (2018). Evaluation of child labour social policies in Jordan. *Dirasat: Human & Social sciences*, 45(3), 119-140.

Key words	Domestic work, national strategies in eliminating child labour
Source	Academic journal article
Description	An evaluation of social policies concerned with child labour in Jordan by drawing on the international convention treaties that Jordan pledged to implement. It was found that the most dangerous and common form of child labour was domestic work. Children are more at risk of sexual abuse, forced labour, exploitation, and slavery. The article also concluded that the effectiveness of national strategies and plans in reducing child labour is because of a lack in accurate statistics on the phenomenon. And despite Jordan's commitment to international conventions on child labour, the problem remains unresolved due to the lack of economic alternatives.

4. Centre for strategic studies & University of Jordan. (2002). *Poverty and child labour in Jordan, "anthropological study"*.

Key words	Family size, refugee camps
Source	Academic workshop
Description	The workshop found that the majority of working children in Amman and Irbid come from families exceeding nine people who live in the poorest areas of the city, including refugee camps. Children were found working in unspecified small and medium industrial zones, the auto repair industry, and in wholesale or retail produce markets.

5. Gharaibeh, M. & Hoeman, S. (2003). Health hazards and risks for abuse among child labour in Jordan. *Journal of Paediatric Nursing*, 18(2): 140-147.

Key words	Abuse, health risks, Irbid,
Source	Academic journal article
Description	41 male working children in the industrial city of Irbid were interviewed in order to identify their demographic characteristics and to explore the health and abuse risks they endure due to the child labour practices. It came to the author's attention that the children never wore protective gear and that their employers repeatedly verbally abused them. Physical abuse has also been

reported. At last, the lack of a culturally specific definition of child abuse posed challenges for health professionals and policymakers who sought to demarcate a line between abusive and non-abusive behaviours.

6. Hantouleh, A. & Nisraween, M. (2017). Child labour in Jordan. *Atlas for Human Resource Development and the National Centre for Human Rights*.

Key words Age, Child labour prevalence, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Social Development

Source Report

Description A research of children working in the mechanical, painting, carpentry and blacksmith sectors. They found out that employers preferred children commenced work at age 16 because older children were more obedient and could better withstand the pressures posed by the work. Children entered the labour market to increase the family income or to assist their parents in meeting their expenses.

The Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Social Development and civil society organisations proposed mechanisms to reduce the incidence of child labour: (1) extending legislative protection; (2) extending social security to poor families; (3) extending insurance coverage to include all working children; (4) providing free legal assistance to children; (5) training legal officials in charge of regulating child labour; (6) creating a child labour database.

7. Hawamdeh, H. (2001). *The impact of child labour on health and psychosocial status of working children aged between 10 and 16 years in Jordan*. [Ph.D. dissertation, Warwick University].

Key words Health, Irbid, Jerash, mental health, North Jordan Valley. psychosocial support

Source Ph.D. dissertation

Description The author researched child labourers in Irbid, Jarash and the North Jordan valley, in the categories of work of industry, service and agriculture, in order to compare the health and psychosocial status. The thesis presents that working children had significant lower weight and height scores and that non-working children had better psychosocial status.

The author recommended the following: (1) making child labour visible in order to develop a practical plan for elimination; (2) engaging in actions to enforce legislation prohibiting child labour, including recruiting more expert inspectors and publicizing the rights of child labourers; (3) engaging in actions to enforce compulsory education and to make school curriculum more attractive; (4) providing families with educational assistance and incentives and (5) providing free health services for child labourers.

8.1 International Labour Organisation & Department of Statistics of Jordan. (2009). *Working children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: results of the 2007 child labour survey.*

Key words	National survey, poverty
Source	Report
Description	<p>Research sought to identify the prevalence of child labour in Jordan and the factors influencing child employment and schooling, and to ascertain the impact of child labour upon the children’s health and education.</p> <p>Some of the survey results are: children growing up in poorer households and with less educated parents were more likely to be employed. Migrant girls were more likely to drop out of school Children growing up in households that owned livestock also faced a higher risk of employment. 40% of employed children suffered a work-related illness or injury. In addition, 40.6% of children were found to work in unacceptable environments and 12.1% of child labourers received unfavourable treatment at work. This includes being beaten and other physical abuse.</p>

9. International Labour Organisation. (2014). *Rapid assessment on child labour in the agricultural sector in Jordan, Mafraq and Jordan Valley (Ghor) - Jordanians and Syrian working children.*

Key words	Agricultural sector, rapid assessment, survey
Source	Report
Description	<p>The authors conducted a Rapid Assessment of Jordanian and Syrian child labourers in the agricultural sector in Mafraq governorate and the Jordan Valley, surveying 368 children and 215 parents, overwhelmingly boys and fathers. 82% of the children were aged 12-17. Although only 13.6 % of children were satisfied with their work, the field work did not reveal evidence of the worst forms of labour in this region. Most working children, even if they attended school, only received a basic education. Schools are closed during harvesting seasons due to that low attendance rate. The income of working children constitutes a significant percentage of the total family’s income and there is also a cultural bias for children to work.</p>

10. International Labour Organisation. (2014). *Report of the rapid assessment on child labour in the urban informal sector in three governorates of Jordan (Amman, Mafraq and Irbid).*

Key words	Child labour causes, recommendations, The National Framework for Combatting Child Labour
Source	Report
Description	<p>The study utilised a mixed methods approach to examine the dynamics and characteristics of child labourers who reside in urban</p>

Jordan and work in the informal employment sector e.g. sell items on the street, work in cafes and restaurants, work as cleaners and as domestic workers. The study presents that informal child labour mainly impacts boys. The main causes for child labour are economic needs, attitudes devaluing education, an overcrowded and/or hostile school environment, and, for Syrians living in Jordan, child labourer is an alternative to the forms of livelihood they have lost upon displacement of their homeland.

The report also provided various recommendations to eradicate child labour: (1) school environments should incorporate extra-curricular activities; (2) to facilitate children's removal from the workplace and into school; (3) A national campaign to publicize the consequences of child labour; (4) alternative support mechanism, such as improved labour market access, vocational education and income-generating activities should be implemented; (5) The National Framework for Combatting Child Labour should be more effectively implemented and (6) national level data on school labour should be more regularly and systematically collected.

11. Karadsheh, M. (2014). Determinants of child labour in Jordan society: qualitative analytical study. *Jordan Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(3), 394-416.

Key words	Determinants, poverty, school drop-outs
Source	Academic journal article
Description	The author conducted a study on identifying the determinants of child labour in Jordanian society using the survey method by sampling 4000 samples from random families. It was found that the most important characteristics of working children in Jordan was the high rates of dropping out of school, the low level of their families' income and the large family size, and poverty.

12. Karim, T. (2008). *Child labour: An adaptive strategy among Syrian refugees* [Undergraduate thesis, University of Louisville].

Key words	Adaptive strategies, discourse, displacement, ethnography, host community, Syrian refugees
Source	Undergraduate thesis
Description	An ethnographic fieldwork, set in a host community in Irbid and the humanitarian/ government offices in Irbid and Amman in order to investigate child labour as an adaptive strategy in response to systemic barriers to socioeconomic success among Syrian refugees living in Jordan. The thesis has three central themes: (1) use of adaptive strategy through parental investment (2) discrepancies in discourse between families and workers and (3) the dynamic relationship between culture and displacement. The thesis also presents the environment-specific factors that shaped child labour among the Syrian refugee communities in Jordan.

13. Saddik, B. & Nuwayhid, I. (2006). Child labour in Arab Countries: call for action. *BMJ* 333(7573): 861-862. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.333.7573.861-b>

Key words Lack of studies on child labour

Source Academic journal article

Description The journal comments that a Pubmed search not limited by year and using the terms child labour and working children found a total of three peer reviewed studies on working children in Jordan. The authors dispute the contention that the lack of studies on child labour in Jordan reflects the less devastating conditions of child labour in the Middle East and North Africa.

14. Saif, I. (2006). *Rapid Assessment of the worst form of child labour in Jordan: Survey Analysis*. Amman: Centre for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan.

Key words Mental health, physical risk, street vendors, survey

Source Report

Description The survey interviewed 387 children aged 9-17 in six Jordanian governorates. The report presents data results on the prevalence of child labour in Jordan and how most children had only limited education until they eventually would drop out of school and work full-time. Most of the child labourers were carpenters, blacksmiths and painters and a lot of results in this survey is about the street vendors. Also, many children did not have the right to protest their exploitation as they are not legally allowed to work in the first place. On a last note, the report also outlines the physical and mental health risks for the child labourers.

15. Tamkeen Fields for Aid. (2015). *Syrian Refugee Child Labour in Jordan and the Risk of Exploitation*.

Key words Characteristics, Socioeconomic causes, Syrian refugees

Source Report

Description The report outlines various causes of child labour among Syrian refugee communities in Jordan: (1) financial pressures on the household; (2) poor access or attitudes to education; (3) cultural acceptance of children working and (4) the demand pull from employers. The report also states that Syrian child labourers have their own characteristics, which are outlined, and report on the consequences of child labour practices for this group.

16. United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. (2004). Convention on the rights of the child, third periodic report of Jordan.

Key words Apprenticeship, Amman, Balqa, Irbid, Zarqa

Source Report

Description This report states that, according to an unavailable Jordanian government study, 57% of working children were from Amman, followed by Zarqa with 21%, Irbid with 8% and Balqa with 4%. The study also revealed that about 10% of the children surveyed earned less than one Dinar per day. It was noted that 53% of the children in the study worked as an apprentice to learn a profession, and about 52% worked to assist their families.

WNCB Focus themes

Education and child labour

17. Al-Frehat, M. & Alhelalat, J. (2015). A study on the educational status of tourism child labourers in Petra, Jordan. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(4): 20-29.

Key words Characteristics, demographics, educational status, family businesses, Petra, tourism industry

Source Journal article

Description The authors utilised a large sample survey to ascertain the demographic characteristics of child labourers, including their work, family and educational status, in Petra's tourism industry. Some of the findings are: 89% of the child labourers were male, 80% of them came from a family where at least one other family member worked in tourism and 19.2% was illiterate.

The authors also presented recommendations: (1) examining the economic, educational and social aspects of child labour in Petra, (2) enforcing laws prohibiting child labour, (3) providing government or NGO initiatives to relocate Umm Saihoun child labourers from the workplace to school, (4) publicizing the children's right to education in local communities; (5) improving school environments; (6) training teachers on how to educate at-risk students and (7) conducting further research on the status of children who work in family businesses.

18.1 Hattar-Pollara, M. (2019). Barriers to education of Syrian refugee girls in Jordan: gender-based threats and challenges. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 51(3): 241-251.

Key words Farming, seasonal work, traditions, Za'atari refugee camp

Source Academic journal article

Description An examination of Syrian refugee girls' barriers to education. In all of the dropout school centres in Za'atari refugee camp, truancy among the students increased by 75% when seasonal farm work opportunities existed. Farm work as well as other seasonal paid work prevented the girls from exhibiting a sustained devotion to school, resulting in poor school performances. Also, sociocultural traditions impeded girls from exercising the same rights as their male counterparts, such as the right to an education and autonomy, yet

these same traditions were relaxed to allow girls to engage in labour activities for the financial benefit of the family.

8.2 International Labour Organisation & Department of Statistics of Jordan. (2009). *Working children in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: results of the 2007 child labour survey*.

Key words	School attendance rates
Source	Report
Description	Research sought to identify the prevalence of child labour in Jordan and the factors influencing child employment and schooling, and to ascertain the impact of child labour upon the children's health and education. The school attendance rate in Jordan is 70% among preschoolers, 97.1% among children aged 6-15 and 83.2% among aged 16-17. Except at the preschool level, attendance rates among girls were as high as among boys.

19.1 Mustafa, M.H. & Tayeh, S.N.A. (2018). Education or work: the perceptions of petra locals about tourism child labour. *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Management*, 6(1).

Key words	Bedouin culture, commercialization, generational, Petra
Source	Academic journal article
Description	Children in Petra, Jordan- mostly from the Bedul tribe and predominantly from the villages of Wadi Musa, Um Sihon, and Baidah- sold souvenirs, guided tourists by camels and donkeys, and served in small refreshment stands. This experience altered their social values, and Beduin youth attempted to imitate Westerners in dress and manners, and Bedouin culture underwent commercialization. The journal also states that tourist labour is generational where the children often adopt negative behaviour. Furthermore, the article outlines various perspectives of the local communities on child labour.

Gender and child labour

18.2 Hattar-Pollara, M. (2019). Barriers to education of Syrian refugee girls in Jordan: gender-based threats and challenges. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 51(3): 241-251.

Key words	Farming, seasonal work, traditions, Za'atari refugee camp
Source	Academic journal article
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opportunities existed. Farm work as well as other seasonal paid work prevented the girls from exhibiting a sustained devotion to school, resulting in poor school performances. Also, sociocultural traditions impeded girls from exercising the same rights as their male counterparts, such as the right to an education and autonomy, yet these same traditions were relaxed to allow girls to engage in labour activities for the financial benefit of the family.

20. Hawamdeh, H. & Spencer, N. (2001). Work, family socioeconomic status, and growth among working boys in Jordan. *Arch Dis Child*, 84(4): 311-314.

Key words	Cross-sectional survey, Irbid, Jerash, North Jordan Valley, recommendations
Source	Academic journal article
Description	The authors conducted a cross-sectional survey of 153 working children aged 10-16 in Irbid, Jerash and the North Jordan Valley, in the industrial, service and agricultural sector. They recommended a three-pronged approach to reduce the impact of child labour: (1) social policies aimed at reducing poverty and ensuring basic levels of literacy; (2) where possible, legal enforcement of laws and regulation; (3) educational and nutritional outreach of child workers.

21. Hawamdeh, H. & Spencer, N. (2002). Growth of working boys in Jordan: a cross-sectional survey using non-working male siblings as comparisons. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 28(1): 47-49.

Key words	Irbid, Jerash, North Jordan Valley.
Source	Academic journal article
Description	The authors examined the effects of work on the growth of Jordanian boys in the industrial sector in Irbid, in the service sector in Jerash and in the agricultural sector in the North Jordan Valley. They found out that the working boys were vulnerable to stunting, wasting and anaemia.

WNCB focus sectors

Tourism

17.2 Al-Frehat, M. & Alhelalat, J. (2015). A study on the educational status of tourism child labourers in Petra, Jordan. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(4): 20-29.

Key words	Characteristics, demographics, educational status, family businesses, Petra, tourism industry
Source	Academic journal article
Description	The authors utilised a large sample survey to ascertain the demographic characteristics of child labourers, including their work,

family and educational status, in Petra's tourism industry. Some of the findings are: 89% of the child labourers were male, 80% of them came from a family where at least one other family member worked in tourism and 19.2% was illiterate.

The authors also presented recommendations: (1) examining the economic, educational and social aspects of child labour in Petra, (2) enforcing laws prohibiting child labour, (3) providing government or NGO initiatives to relocate Umm Saihoun child labourers from the workplace to school, (4) publicizing the children's right to education in local communities; (5) improving school environments; (6) training teachers on how to educate at-risk students and (7) conducting further research on the status of children who work in family businesses.

22. Al-Louzi, S.H. & Halalat, K.I. (2005). Health effects of child labour in the tourism sector: a field study on Petra City. *Dirasat, University of Jordan Human and Social Sciences*, 33(3): 853-871.

Key words Petra City, risks, transportation animals

Source Academic journal article

Description The authors examined the negative risks and work injuries and diseases of 120 male children aged 7-17 who worked in Petra's tourism sector. They found that exposure to health risks increased among children who were younger, less educated, worked for longer hours and were attendants of transportation animals. They also found that work injuries and diseases were more common among children who worked more days or for more years or as attendants of transportation animals.

19.2 Mustafa, M.H. & Tayeh, S.N.A. (2018). Education or work: the perceptions of Petra locals about tourism child labour. *Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Management*, 6(1):

Key words Bedouin culture, commercialization, generational, Petra

Source Academic journal article

Description Children in Petra, Jordan- mostly from the Bedul tribe and predominantly from the villages of Wadi Musa, Um Sihon, and Baidah- sold souvenirs, guided tourists by camels and donkeys, and served in small refreshment stands. This experience altered their social values, and Bedouin youth attempted to imitate Westerners in dress and manners, and Bedouin culture underwent commercialization. The journal also states that tourist labour is generational where the children often adopt negative behaviour. Furthermore, the article outlines various perspectives of the local communities on child labour.

Domestic work

23. Frantz, E. (2013). Jordan's unfree workspace: state-sponsored bonded labour in the Arab region. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 49(8): 1072-1087.

Key words Household work, physical abuse, sexual abuse

Source Academic journal article

Description While the author didn't focus specially on child labour, it is interesting that households in Jordan were not inspected or monitored although domestic work is legally constituted as work. The authors also state that as households work remained hidden from the public eye and from government oversight, domestic workers are vulnerable to physical and/or sexual abuse.