



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Listening to Working School-youth: A Child-Centred Case-Study of
Employment Experiences of HAVO-Students in Rural Eastern Netherlands

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List of Acronyms

CBS	Central Office for Statistics (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek)
CCS	Carmel College Salland
(UN)CRC	(United Nations) Convention on the Rights of the Child
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HAVO	Senior General Secondary Education (Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs)
HBO	Higher Professional Education (Hoger Beroeps-Onderwijs)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IWGCL	International Working Group on Child Labour
MBO	Vocational Education (Middelbaar Beroeps-Onderwijs)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIBUD	National Institute for Budget Research (Nationaal Instituut voor Budget Onderzoek)
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
SIRE	Foundation for Ideal Publicity (Stichting Ideële Reclame)
(Ministry of) SZW	(Ministry of) Social Affairs & Employment (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken & Werkgelegenheid)
UDC	Under-Developed Countries
UN	United Nations
VMBO	Pre-Vocational Secondary Education (Voortgezet Middelbaar Beroeps-Onderwijs)
VWO	Pre-University Education (Voortgezet Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs)
WO	University Education

(Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs)

Abstract

This study has analysed the phenomenon of school-youth employment from a school-youth's perspective, within its relational context of the Dutch society, and within relation to the smaller settings of family, school and peers. This required conceptualising adolescence as a socially constructed period, therefore prone to generational power relations as well as other societal phenomena like gender and class. School-youth employment in rural eastern Netherlands is largely a matter of free choice; however, given the fact that school-youth's lives are increasingly monetised, paid employment seems a likely response to a reality that's not limited to the adult world only. Nevertheless, school-youth's paid employment is not regarded as such, but as a beneficial and harmless side activity limited to things like newspaper delivery and baby-sitting, which therefore receive little public attention. This study challenges this commonsense assumption by critically analysing school-youth's paid employment experiences. Although school-youth employment undeniably offers learning experiences and a rare opportunity to be part of the adult world there are clearly better and worse jobs. Since most of the Dutch school-youth start working a few years before they are legally allowed to do so, they are largely dependent on informal (family) contacts for access to jobs. This way the choice of available jobs is not only determined by age, it tends to be shaped by social background and gender as well. This observation goes beyond a narrow focus on the Dutch child labour legislation, to the larger issue of the position and role of adolescents as a social group in modern societies and how this is cross-cut by gender and class.

'The problem of adolescence for teenagers is that they must demonstrate maturity and responsibility if they are to move out of this stigmatised status, and yet because adolescence is conceived as a time of irresponsibility and lack of maturity they are given few opportunities to demonstrate these qualities which are essential for their admission as adults.'

(Hudson 1984 p: 36)

Chapter I

Introduction to the Study

This chapter provides a background to the study and links this particular study to the larger debates in the field of development, and childhood and youth studies. It furthermore sets out an argued research strategy and informs the reader about the scope and limitations within which this research should be read.

1.1 Background of the Study

This study is an attempt to contribute to the child labour debate using a child-centred approach. The focus is in particular on the issue of (secondary) school-youth, aged 12-16 and paid work in (rural¹) eastern Netherlands. Thus more specifically, this study could be seen as an off-spring of the child labour debate in so-called industrialised countries², which has recently been (re)discovered by several scholars (Dorman 2001; Frederiksen 1999; Greenberger and Steinberg 1986; Hobbs and McKechnie 1997; Lavalette 1999b; Leonard 2002, etc).

Despite higher GDP's³, higher levels of socio-economic development and higher levels of industrialisation, child labour has far from vanished from the developed world (Dorman 2001). Moreover, policies that are widely regarded, and promoted as 'solutions' to the child labour problem in the South, like compulsory, free education and child labour legislation⁴, have not led to the disappearance of this phenomenon in the West (White 2001 p: 117). In other words, this internationally widely supported route of development⁵

¹ The term rural in the context of the Netherlands is explained in 3.2.1

² I use the term 'industrialised countries' 'the West' or 'developed countries' in this paper to refer to a varied group of countries with, generally speaking, a higher GDP, higher level of socio-economic development and a higher level of industrialisation, this in contrast with an evenly loose defined group of 'developing countries', 'the South' or at times 'Third World' to refer to countries that generally perform less in these categories.

³ Gross Domestic Product

⁴ See for example the CRC article 28 and 32, and ILO convention 182.

⁵ All but two countries in the world have ratified the CRC, and all ILO member states have adopted Convention 182, while progress in socio-economic development is across ideologies generally perceived as positive achievement.

(White 2001 p: 117), has not led to the abolition of child labour in the West, but, among other things, merely transformed it. Generally speaking, from an often full-time activity not unlikely to start at primary school age, to an often part-time activity co-existing with secondary school participation (McKechnie and Hobbs 1998p: 20; Lavalette 1999a p: 68; White 2001 p: 117).

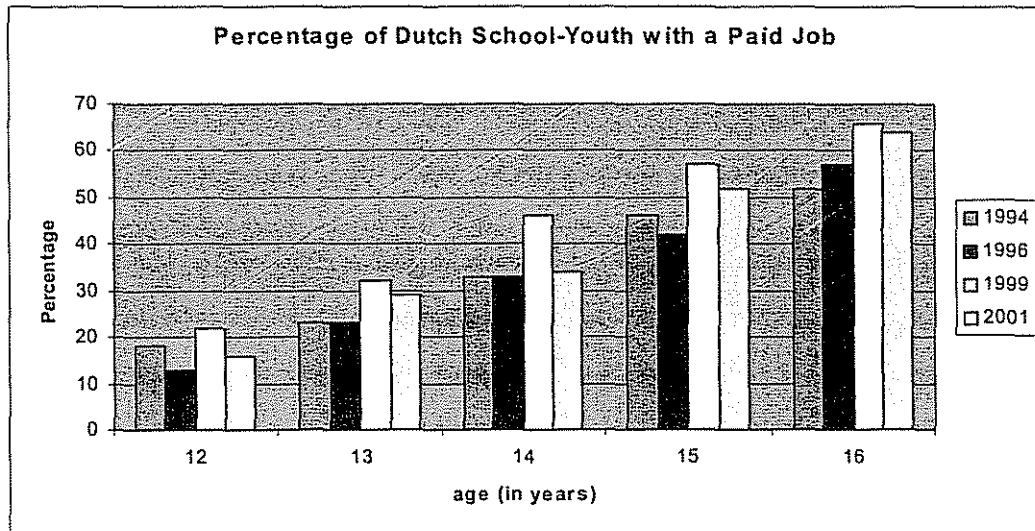
However, due to different underlying ideas on childhood and the potentially exploitative relations of adult-child and employer-worker (Lavalette 1994 p: 3), this 'evolved' version of child labour is still subject to much debate, often linked to the global debate on child labour. In this debate one could crudely distinguish between, '*liberationists*' who would argue for children's right to work, freeing them from their socially constructed cage, and '*protectionists*' who would for various reasons keep children out of the labour market (Hobbs, McKechnie et al. 1999 pp: 143-144 and 198-199).

In the Netherlands, paid employment by school-youth is a wide-spread phenomenon. Roughly seventy-five percent of Dutch secondary school-youth (aged 12-17) are engaged in paid employment of whom three quarters perform work not in line with the law (Neve and Renooy 1988 pp: 101 and 105). All this takes place in a context where virtually all children participate in full-time education, which is free and compulsory up to the age of seventeen (Berg 1997 p: 4), and where there's a principle prohibition on any kind of work done by children⁶ (SZW 2004 pp: 3-4).

However, recent studies show that the incidence of working school-youth has increased over the last decade, (see Figure 1 below). This is, according to Dutch socialist Party Chairman Jan Marijnissen, a worrisome development, leading him to note that child labour has become '*an essential element of the (Dutch) economy*' (Marijnissen 2001).

⁶ The Dutch Working Hours Act (Arbeidstijdenwet) defines anyone under 16 as a child.

Figure 1



Adapted from (NIBUD 2002 p: 32)

Apart from this rather isolated observation in the Dutch Socialist Party magazine, the general public seems to perceive child employment as a harmless often beneficial side-activity restricted to jobs particularly suitable for children (e.g. newspaper delivery, baby-sitting) since these jobs can easily be combined with children's main activity: attending school (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 48; Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 40; Stack and McKechnie 2002 p: 87), hence the notion of 'suitable jobs'. Based on these '*common sense assumptions*' (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 97) many people in the West, and the Netherlands is not an exception, are of the opinion that child labour is a problem of the Third World, successfully resolved in the West.

However, given the limited research done on the issue of children and work in industrialised countries, one has to be extremely careful with such assumptions. Especially since the sparse data that is available, is mostly quantitative in nature, thus rarely going beyond an adult observation of how many children do what, when and where. This study, inspired by some other studies (e.g. Beckhoven 1991; Frederiksen 1999; Leonard 2004) aims to contribute to fill this void since a qualitative, child-centred

dimension is essential in gaining a more complete understanding of child employment as rightly argued by IWGCL⁷ (McKechnie and Hobbs 1998 p: 20).

1.2 Relevance of the Study

This study has a relevance to the larger development agenda on which the issue of child labour still features, and focuses, in the fashion of the Population & Development specialisation, on a particular segment of the population. A specific feature of the population group studied, is the fact that they combine full-time education of reasonable quality with paid work, which also seems to be the message that major international organisation like ILO⁸ (Convention 182) and UN (CRC)⁹ have started to disseminate (White 2004 pp: 5-6) and which has been voiced by working children in developing countries, e.g. in the Kundapur Declaration (White 2003 p: 17). Therefore it's of interest to scrutinise such a reality in a context (although different) in which this is wide-spread.

Moreover this study attempts to take a child-centred approach by explicitly listening to what children as the main actors have to say about their working activities. This approach has become increasingly popular among academics and NGO's¹⁰, and is explicitly advocated for in the CRC (White 2004 p: 10). In this study, apart from giving voice to working children, the process through which these 'voices' were collected is also reflected upon.

Apart from its relevance to the global child labour debate, I believe this study is also relevant to childhood and youth studies in general. By focusing on school-youth's paid work activities, this study explicitly highlights an under-researched and under-theorised aspect of school-youth's lives in the West (Morrow 1994 p: 128). Such a focus forms, in my opinion, a very strong critique to the conventional, socially constructed, assumptions of adolescence as a period of incompetence and lack of responsibilities (Morrow 1994 p:

⁷ International Working Group on Child Labour

⁸ International Labour Organization

⁹ United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child

¹⁰ Non-Governmental Organisation

132). Thus challenging us to analyse the underlying assumptions of the dominant accounts on adolescence, and stimulating us to reconsider our understanding and thinking about contemporary school-youth (Mayall 2000 pp: 250-252), which will hopefully reflect in policies that better meet the needs of school-youth in the Netherlands.

1.3 Research Strategy

1.3.1 Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to critically analyse the lived experiences of HAVO¹¹ school-youth (aged 12-16) participation in paid employment in Raalte, from their own accounts with attention to its relation with school, family and peers. In addition, another objective is to contribute with these local findings and by reflecting on the process of data collection to the larger debates on child labour and child-centred research.

1.3.2 Research Questions

In order to achieve these objectives this study has pursued the following central research question:

1. How is the lived experience of (Dutch rural) school-youth's participation in paid-employment experienced and perceived from their own account?

This question can be broken down into the following, more specific, sub-questions:

1. How is the micro-system of work, as expressed by school-youth, parents and teachers, related to some other micro-systems that affect and are affected by the school-youth's lives in (rural) eastern Netherlands?
2. To what extent are access, mobility and experience of school-youth's (paid) employment affected by structural factors like, gender, generation and socio-economic background?

¹¹ The secondary school-system in the Netherlands is explained in detail in 3.4.

3. How do local experiences and perceptions of working school-youth in (rural) eastern Netherlands relate to, and inform, the global debate on child labour?

1.3.3 Methods & Methodology

In order to arrive at answers to the research questions stated above, one has to give voice to the main actors; the school-youth. This requires appreciating school-youth as agents who actively shape their lives (of which work is very much a part) by negotiating with the various constraints and opportunities they find on their way. Such an '*actor-oriented approach*' (Long 2001), or rather child-centred approach in this study, is taken, since it captures '*differential responses to similar structural circumstances*' (Long 2001 p: 13). This means that school-youth's agency is analysed with the awareness that it affects and is affected by '*larger frames of meaning and action*' (Long 2001 p: 14), thus going beyond the pitfall of '*methodological individualism*'¹² (Long 2001 p: 15).

With the above rational in mind this study has opted for a case study approach. By selecting a clearly described, representative context, an attempt is made to attribute greater validity to the locally lived experiences presented in this study. In addition, a literature review on the dominant theories of child labour in industrialised countries is presented to contextualise the problem studied from a theoretical perspective.

In practical terms this means that first a questionnaire survey has been conducted in one class each of year-group one, two, three and four of the HAVO department of Carmel College Salland (CCS) which comprises 110 students altogether. Secondly, in each year-group a focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted with six purposefully selected students¹³, twenty-four in total. The questionnaire and the focus group discussions served the purpose of familiarising the researcher with school-youth's opinions on, and experience with paid employment, which sharpened the analytical framework and formed the basis for selecting key-informants. It also functioned as an ice-breaker, a stimulus for

¹² Explaining social phenomena through a narrow understanding of individuals, thus losing out on structure.

¹³ Three boys and three girls of each year-group were selected, both with and without currently holding a job.

the school-youth to think and talk about paid employment, and to a lesser extent for data collection. Next, nine key-informants were purposefully selected out of the focus groups and questionnaires on the basis of consent and availability (holiday-time), while ensuring a representative spread in terms of gender, age and work-experience. Two rounds of semi-structured interviews were carried out with the nine key-informants, the first round in August on a face to face basis, the second round in September. Since school had already started in September, only three interviews could be done on a face-to-face basis, three others by email, and three students opted out¹⁴. Apart from the interviews, six out of the nine students kept for two weeks a diary about their work-related experiences, to capture with a different method school-youth's perceptions and relations regarding work.

Since '*rationality is not, according to Long (1992), a property of individuals, but is drawn from the stock of available discourses that form part of the cultural milieux of social practice*' (Lockie 1996 IN: Long 2001 p: 15), this study has also interviewed five parents of the nine key-informants, in a semi-structured way, as well as seven mentor-teacher of the first four year-groups of the HAVO department of CCS, in order to capture a glance of this '*milieux*'. A life-history approach has been taken to capture the school-youth's dynamics of frequently moving in and out of jobs, as well as parents past experiences with part-time jobs. Moreover, attempting to maximise my time in the field, I have tried to use an approach which Van Donge labelled '*the anthropological eye*' (Donge 2003 p: 170). This approach attempts to capture some of the essence of ethnographic work, by being sensitive to more than just the verbal response of the respondents. This way, various insights were gathered during the numerous informal chats by telephone with teachers and students in order to arrange meetings, as well as by visiting the respondents at their homes.

¹⁴ Due to the starting of school, sports, etc, logistically face-to-face interviews and even telephone interviews became difficult to organise. My impression is that the school-youth liked the talks more than the computer communication, therefore losing interest, and opting out.

1.4 Scope and Limitations

The CCS and the municipality of Raalte¹⁵ are in many ways representative for larger parts of ‘hardly-urbanised’¹⁶ Netherlands, particularly found in the North and East of the country. Therefore despite being a rather constrained choice¹⁷, the findings of this particular case study may carry some validity beyond the actual area studied, thus to ‘rural’ HAVO school-youth. Moreover, these findings could be used to raise further questions on school-youth’s participation in paid work as well as to illustrate this experience from the perspective of rural school-youth in eastern Netherlands.

Due to the timeframe and word-limit within which this research has been carried out constraints were faced. Firstly, only school-youth of one type of secondary school (HAVO) have been taken into the sample. Although this made inclusion of the relatively few school-youth of non-Dutch origin in rural areas unlikely, it contributed to gender balanced of the sample, which is difficult to achieve in the other popular, but vocationally oriented school: VMBO. In addition to that, a focus on school-going youth meant excluding a relatively small, but interesting, group of youth that are out of school either undocumented youth or drop-outs. Moreover, the interviews this study is based on were conducted in Dutch, however, for the sake of brevity; they are only represented in the English language. By implication, all the quotes are *my* interpretation of the Dutch version of the original responses. Furthermore, as an adult, the researcher was to a certain extent outsider to the school-youth’s lives, and especially in the school-setting easily equated with the position of teacher, which must have given way to skewed power relations that could have affected the responses. Lastly, the focus of this study has been on the current lives of school-youth, therefore little emphasis has been put on the possible long term impact of paid employment as other scholars have done (e.g. Greenberger and Steinberg 1986).

¹⁵ The municipality in which CCS is located.

¹⁶ Address density (see 3.2.1) is used to indicate degrees of urbanisation.

¹⁷ The research period collided with the summer holidays of many schools, thus limiting the choice of school.

1.5 Organisation of the Paper

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to the problem studied, complemented with an outline of the research strategy. Chapter II provides a review of the dominant debates on child labour and introduces the main concepts used in this paper, resulting in the formulation of an analytical framework used to scrutinise the phenomenon of school-youth employment in (rural) eastern Netherlands. Chapter III functions as an introduction to chapter IV. It departs from a national level analysis of being a teenager in the Netherlands and gradually zooms in to provincial and municipality level in order to contextualise the qualitative data presented in chapter IV. Chapter IV presents and analyses the findings of the case study. Chapter V, as a way of concluding, ties this study together by relating the main findings to the research questions and objectives.

Chapter II

From Child Labour to School-Youth Employment: Contextualising Theories and Concepts towards an Analytical Approach

This chapter first situates this study within the existing theories on, and approaches towards child labour in industrialised countries, before delving into the consequences a child-centred approach has in terms of conceptualising the main actors; school-youth. Drawing from this, an analytical framework is established.

2.1 Child labour in Industrialised Countries: Theories, Positions and Approaches

In the following sections a review of the dominant theoretical stands and approaches to child labour in industrialised countries is presented. Similar to many other social phenomena, child labour has been analysed from a macro perspective and from a micro perspective depending on the epistemological and ontological stands scholars subscribe to (Layder 1994). Moreover, both a macro and a micro analysis could either focus on the 'child-side' of the story, thus theorising why children opt for paid employment, or on the 'employer-side' of the story, theorising why employers would prefer children rather than adults in certain situations. These two dichotomies are used below to 'organise' and compare the various theoretical approaches to child labour in industrialised countries.

2.1.1 A Macro Level Approach to Child Labour: 'Child-side' and 'Employer-side' Perspectives

Two major theories on child labour, mainly derived from NIC and UDC¹⁸ experiences are: children as a 'reserve army of labour' or children as a 'cheaper and docile workforce' (Lavalette 1994 pp: 45-46). At first glance these two theories seem in contradiction. A 'reserve army of labour' theory would see children as a flexible workforce, thus the first

¹⁸ NIC: Newly Industrialised Countries; UDC: Under Developed Countries

to be pushed out in times of stagnant economies (Lavalette 1994 p: 45; Winkelhuis 2001 p: 2). The latter theory (economic necessity) would under those circumstances actually expect a rise in child labour in order to meet households needs, since adult employment and wages decline (Lavalette 1994 p: 46).

Empirical research by several scholars in industrialised countries has demonstrated that both theories explain only part of the reality (Lavalette 1994; McKechnie and Hobbs 1999 p: 98; Leonard 2002 p: 200). Shortcomings of these two theories are that it reduces child labour to an economic and labour market issue (Lavalette 1999b p: 67) and that children's agency is obscured by supposedly unitary household decision making processes (White 1996 p: 3).

The first critique is well incorporated by Lavalette, perhaps denying space to the second, with his emphasis on the '*relational aspect*' of child labour with '*political, ideological, cultural and socio-economic features*' (Lavalette 1999b p: 52). This way Lavalette links contemporary child employment to early 1900's European historical developments which, among other things, led to the working class acceptance of a conception of childhood incompatible with 'adult' labour (Lavalette 1999b p: 66). Thus children were pushed out of the major sectors of the labour market to so-called suitable jobs for children, resulting in the fact that child employment, is now a feature of small undercapitalised sectors of the economy (Lavalette 1994 p: 3). This would subsequently explain the phenomenon of teenage employment in seasonal agricultural work. These 'suitable jobs' are/were viewed as an ideally appropriate employment experience for school-youth based on the '*perceived health, educational, economic and psychological benefits of this type of work*', while it has distracted attention from the possible harmful effects (Lavalette 1994 p: 225).

A 'developmentalist' view, largely based on child-development theories of Erikson, Piaget and others, takes the 'child-side' from a developmental perspective. School-youth's involvement in paid work could under the right conditions be a good way to acquaint adolescents with, and prepare them for adulthood with work as a main feature

(Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 97). Such an approach directs us towards questions of possible costs and benefits (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 108), in order to find these 'right conditions' (e.g. Greenberger and Steinberg 1986). However, this developmental approach assumes a highly debatable linear and universal route to adulthood (O'Neill 2000 p: 5), and leaves commonsense assumptions of the so-called 'benefits' of paid employment¹⁹ (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 pp: 100-108) and children's agency largely under-researched and unquestioned.

Other scholars have focused on the macro perspective from the 'children's-side', by recognising children's role as consumers, and therefore the need for a disposable income (Morrow 1994 p: 141; Winkelhuis 2001 p: 1; Leonard 2004 pp: 56-57). Research in the Netherlands shows that school-youth's disposable income, mostly acquired through jobs, has indeed gone up dramatically in recent years (De Volkskrant 1999). In addition, '*leisure time is seldom 'free' time*' (Mizen, Pole et al. 2001b p: 53), since it is increasingly colonised by commercial organisations, making money a pre-requisite for taking part in social interactions, essential in social relations among school-youth (Mizen, Pole et al. 2001b pp: 53-54). Although all school-youth (and thus parents) are probably equally exposed to these life-style issues (White 1996 p: 3), parental responses probably differ. Parents could stimulate school-youth to 'earn' with school performance and/or performing domestic chores, or stimulate school-youth's participation in waged work (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 21). Apart from this latter focus on parents, this theory, following market research (Roberts 2000 p: 225), brings the focus back on children, however, this way it reduces children's agency to '*mere consumers*' (Morrow 1994 p: 141). A more balanced macro focus on the 'children's side' is put forward by Qvortrup (Qvortrup 2001b). Apart from appreciating childhood as a structural form of society which is exposed to the same societal forces as adulthood, he explicitly brings in the issue of agency by stating that childhood is co-constructed by children (Qvortrup IN: Corsaro 1997 p: 30). It is from this perspective that Qvortrup theorises child labour in modern nations and comes to the conclusion that '*everyone demands that children invest time and*

¹⁹ Like increased autonomy and personal responsibility, acquisition of work skills/ethic and awareness of money management.

energy on education, (while) their school activities are largely less prestigious (and certainly not remunerated, my addition) than wage work after school hours' (Qvortrup 2001a p: 104). This makes child employment in industrialised countries '*residual and anachronistic*' and clearly challenges our ideas about schooling (Qvortrup 2001a pp: 103-104).

2.1.2 Micro Level Approaches: Listening to Working Children

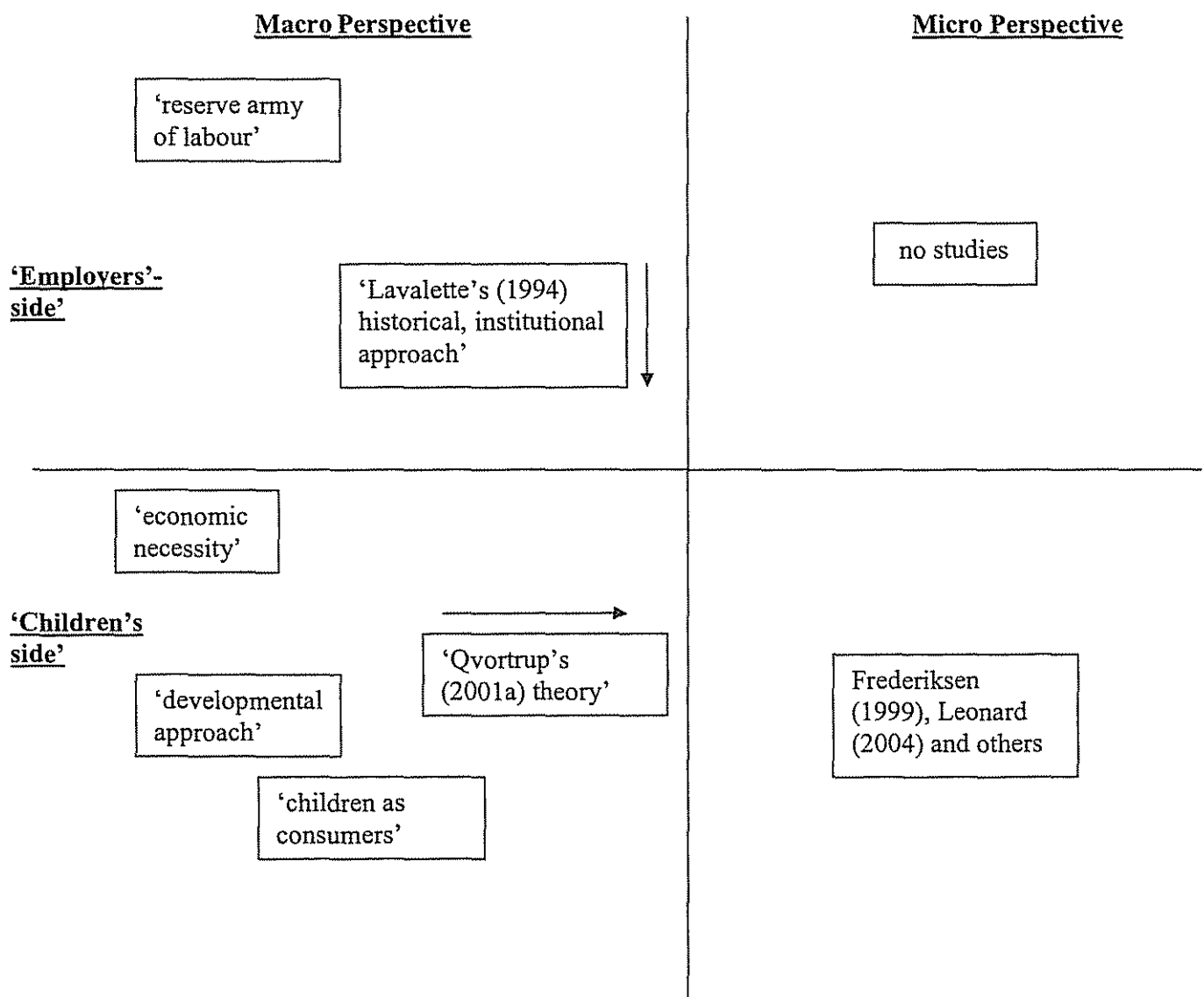
Micro approaches to the phenomenon of child employment are not too concerned with 'grand theories' but far more with focusing on agency. I'm not familiar with any such studies done on employers, which although interesting, I will leave as it is for this study. On the 'child-side', a few studies, both in developed and developing countries have taken a micro perspective approach towards studying working children (e.g. Bourdillon 2000; Frederiksen 1999; Leonard 2004). These studies have in common that, in line with the CRC, they explicitly give voice to the working children, thus working from an understanding that 'the best interest of the child' (CRC article 3) can not be achieved without listening to children (Leonard 2004 p: 47). Moreover, these studies have questioned the approach of protecting children through exclusion which seems to be the case in many industrialised countries with respect to child employment (Leonard 2004 p: 45).

2.1.3 Child Labour in Industrialised Countries: A Comparative Overview

In figure 2 below I have tried to organise the different positions from which child labour in industrialised countries has been analysed. The 'reserve army of labour' is clearly located at a macro level and leaves no room for children's agency, while Lavalette's historical, institutional approach leaves a door open for such an approach. The 'economic necessity' theory confuses the child with the household, while the other three macro approaches explicitly take children as their group of analysis. However, 'developmentalists' do that in a rather adult-determined way while 'consumerists' attribute a rather marginal agency role to the child. Qvortrup deals best with marrying the

macro and the micro, building a bridge to the scholars located in the lower right corner, the area in which also this research is located. An area that especially in the case of the Netherlands is still seriously under-researched. However, if we really want to understand children's lives, children themselves are the key who should be appreciated as active agents which might indeed upset power construction in adult minds (Ennew 2000 p: 7).

Figure 2: Theories and Perspectives on Child Labour



2.1.4 The Work vs. Labour Debate

In addition to situating this study within the larger area of child labour research, it's also important to clear some space with regard to the distinction between 'child work' and 'child labour'. From here onwards I will use the term work to refer to 'working activities' in the broadest sense; paid and unpaid work. When talking about work that is remunerated I prefer to use the term employment to make this distinction more explicit. This way I will refrain from the rather semantic 'work vs. labour' debate which largely evolves around the fact that not all work (or labour) is good, nor is all bad. Although in essence this point is well-taken and further explored throughout this study, presented as a dichotomy however, it seriously oversimplifies the complex reality (White 1996 p: 11), which is better captured by a continuum model or balance model (White 1996 p: 11; McKechnie and Hobbs 1998 pp 40-41).

2.2 The child in Question

In order to analyse the lived-experiences of working children it's essential to clearly define the child in question. So far I have mostly used the term children, and at times been more specific, using school-youth, adolescents or teenagers. Although the use of the term child is sound according to both Dutch legal language (UN 2002)²⁰, as well as UN language²¹ it lumps together a broad group of people who have very little in common, which is problematic for both analytical and policy purposes (White 2003 p: 4). Moreover, using age as *the* determining factor as is done in the law is often a late response to social reality (Dasberg 1986 p: 33). More accurate would be to look at the degree of responsibility and independency as a gradual process of leaving the '*protected environment*'²² towards adulthood (Dasberg 1986 pp 33-34). Such a view also emerged from the respondents; and is captured reasonably well by the term school-youth which I will use from here onwards. In the context of this study it refers in particular to HAVO

²⁰ However, the Dutch Working Hours Act (Arbeidstijdenwet) and Working Conditions Act (Arbeidsomstandigheden wet) distinguish between children (<15) and youth (16 and 17).

²¹ Anyone between 0-18 years of age (CRC article 1)

²² This notion also needs to be questioned, since it might not protect the child very well, or might exclude the child.

students of year-group one to four of CCS, mostly aged between twelve and sixteen years. Furthermore it's important to note that transition from primary to secondary school in the Netherlands means changing schools, often, especially in rural areas, to a different town.

'When you're fourteen you're no longer a child. Well, of course a child of your parents, but that never changes. You simply don't call a fourteen year-old a child. Children are much more playful than we are, and therefore can't work yet.'

(Two fourteen year old female respondents)

'You can't judge human beings on the basis of age; you have to look at how they behave, if they are independent and stuff, can care for themselves if their parents are not around, and if they can deal with money. If you're able to do so, you're not longer a child, but not yet an adult either.'

(Fourteen year old male respondent)

2.2.1 Childhood and Youth: From Developmental Psychology to the 'New Sociology'

This study uses the concept of adolescence to refer to the period in which the school-youth specified above find themselves. Originally this period *'was primarily seen as a phase in the development from childhood to adulthood defined by biological maturing and psychosexual development, and the challenges and problems this age group encountered were mainly explained by these bio-psychological processes'* (Regt and Komter 2003 p: 5). However, several anthropological²³ and historical²⁴ approaches (Aries 1962; Dasberg 1986 p: 29; Regt and Komter 2003 p: 6) have shown that the universality

²³ Dasberg refers in this context to Margaret Mead's (1928) research in Samoa where she didn't find a clear division between childhood and adolescence, thus hardly any 'transitory period'.

²⁴ Aries (1962) takes a historical approach to proof that modern childhood has not always existed in Europe. Moreover, Regt (2003) argues that adolescence as specific period in late childhood is an even more recent creation than childhood, caused by a prolonged period of schooling and postponement of many typical adult roles.

of such a period, assumed by focusing on 'naturalness' supported by the work of developmental psychologists like Piaget and Erikson is highly debatable. This gave way to the so-called 'new-sociology of childhood' (James, Jenks et al. 1998) which explicitly rejects the universal, and unchangeable aspect, of the assumption of childhood as a '*series of biological and cognitive stages*', but focuses on '*the social and cultural construct that places children and youth in a subordinate position*' for which biology provides not more than a context (O'Neill 2000 p: 6). Thus appreciating adolescence '*as having a status of its own, and not only as a stage in the development towards adulthood*' (Regt and Komter 2003 p: 3). This latter, socially constructed, stand implies recognising school-youth as agents which has implication for research methodology (see 1.3), and requires contextualising the study (Regt and Komter 2003 pp 4-5).

2.2.2 Social Relations of School-Youth in North-Western Europe

The '*conceptual autonomy*' (Thorne 1993 IN: Regt and Komter 2003 p: 4) granted to school-youth raises the challenge to look beyond a isolated focus on school-youth and paid employment. The phenomenon must be analysed within the relational context of contemporary school-youth's lives. In this study I've incorporated the relational aspect of the family, school and peers with regard to school-youth's paid employment. School and peers since these are the institutions school-youth engage with mostly outside the family. Family since this is the institution through which school-youth enter the wider society (Corsaro 1997 p: 24).

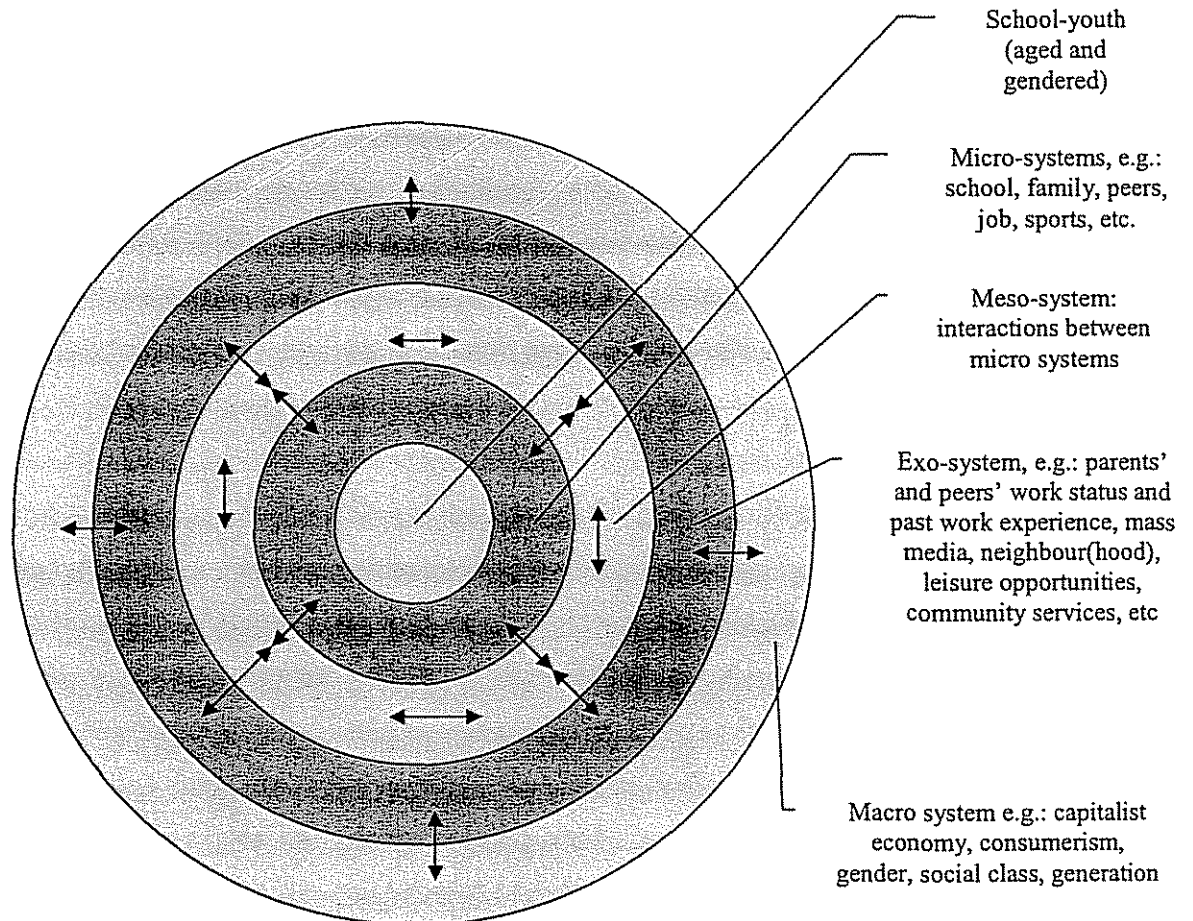
The role of school-youth in contemporary western families is worth a closer look, since till recently the household was assumed to be subordinate to a male household head. More recently, economic models have adopted a bargaining model; however this still obscures the role of school-youth within the household. Recent studies in North-Western Europe observed a trend of '*transition from a command household to a negotiation household*' (De Swaan 1991 IN: Bois-Reymond 2001 p: 68). Interestingly, this balance of power was not only observed to have changed in favour of women, but also from a generational perspective in favour of the younger generation (Bois-Reymond 2001 p: 68).

Nevertheless, this favourable change hasn't reached all levels of society to the same extent and at the same time. The traditional command-style households are still more prevalent among households of lower social class, and strong ethnic-religious background (Bois-Reymond 2001 p: 70). Furthermore, parents of so-called 'negotiation households' are more likely to cherish principles like happiness, independence and social responsibility, when raising children. 'Command households' on the other hand, value respecting elders, sense of duty and becoming a decent woman/man much more (Bois-Reymond 2001 pp: 63-64). Surely these different values towards raising children and the consequential bargaining-space for school-youth, will affect the attitudes towards, and school-youth's experiences with paid employment.

2.3 Analytical Implications

In order to come to a cohesive micro level, child-centred analysis of school-youth and paid employment it's necessary to isolate certain parts of the complex reality of school-youth's lives to an abstract level. However in order to refrain from '*methodological individualism*' (Long 2001 p: 15) it's important to conceptualise linkages with structural phenomena that might not explicitly feature at the micro level, as well as linkages between the parts of school-youth's lives that are isolated for analytical purposes only. For these analytical purposes, an adapted version of Bronfenbrenner's ecological development model (Bronfenbrenner 1979) has been used. However in contrast with Bronfenbrenner's objectives for the purpose of this study school-youth are conceptualised as a social group, not as developing individuals.

Figure 3: Analytical Framework



Adapted from R.V. Kail (Kail 2000 p: 180).

This model visualises the analytical relations pursued in this study, between social reality, as experienced by school-youth, which is affected by phenomena outside the school-youth's lives, and school-youth, conceptualised as agents, whose agency affects reality beyond their direct lives. 'Micro-systems' in this context refer to the different institutions school-youth directly participate in like school, family, peers and work (Bronfenbrenner 1979 p: 22). Naturally, these micro-systems are interlinked. The dynamics between

different micro-systems is labelled as the '*meso-system*' (Bronfenbrenner 1979 p: 25). The '*exo-system*' refers to those settings that affect, or are affected by the school-youth's lives, but in which school-youth don't directly participate, e.g. their parents' work experience (Bronfenbrenner 1979 p: 25). The '*macro-system*' could be seen as an overarching system (Bronfenbrenner 1979 pp: 25-26), in constant interaction with the underlying systems.

This study has tried to analyse the micro-system of work from the perspective of school-youth, with special reference to the way this micro system of work is at a meso-level affected by, and affects, the micro-system of peers, family and school. This is substantiated with reference to the exo-level, of (past) work experiences of school-youth's parents. The macro-level is not specifically analysed in this study, however, the micro-level observations have been analysed with respect to the various macro perspectives derived from an extensive literature review. Wherever appropriate reference is made to these macro perspectives in order to explicitly relate micro-level observations to macro-level debates.

Chapter III

Descending from the National to the Local level: Disaggregating the Data

In this chapter first some general facts and figures on children and young people in the Netherlands are analysed with particular relevance to the issue of school-youth employment. Next, the national data on school-youth employment is disaggregated by degree of urbanisation and gender. This is followed by an introduction to the municipality of Raalte and Carmel College Salland, in reference to the wider Dutch context, which forms the stage for the next chapter.

3.1 Being a Teenager in the Netherlands: In Actual and Legal Sense

3.1.1 Dutch School-youth: Postponed Adulthood and Shortened Childhood, or Reconsidering the Concepts?

As outlined in chapter II, this study focuses on the period of adolescence, however, age-wise it's not clear where childhood ends and adolescence starts (Regt and Komter 2003 p: 5). Moreover, it's debatable if such a distinction is actually helpful at all, since trends in western countries show that on the one hand children take up 'traditional' adult roles at an increasingly younger age²⁵, while on the other hand other 'traditional' adult roles are more and more postponed²⁶ (Regt and Komter 2003 pp: 6-7). Not surprisingly this leaves school-youth with an interesting contradiction. While school-youth are given '*more freedom to articulate their wishes and opinions and to pursue their own interests...at the same time...the control exerted over their time and space has increased: they are more institutionalized and put under the supervision of adults*' (Regt and Komter 2003 p: 7).

²⁵ Like: entering the labour market for part-time work, as independent consumers, access to information and media, sexuality, etc.

²⁶ Like: complete economic independence, school-leaving, parenthood, etc.

3.1.2 School-youth, Work and the Dutch Legislation

The passing of Van Houten's 'Child Law'²⁷ in 1874 had first put the issue of child employment officially on the Dutch political agenda. Already at that time this issue was prone to underlying interests. Hence the fact that employment under the age of thirteen was declared illegal, while at the same time an additional proposal for compulsory education for all eight to twelve year olds was rejected, and generous exceptions were created for the agricultural sector (Drongelen 2000 pp: 9-10 and 18).

At present, in the Dutch Working Hours Act²⁸ a distinction is made between *children*: below sixteen; *youth*: sixteen and seventeen years; and *adults*: eighteen and above (SZW 2004 p: 4). A principle prohibition on any work by children and compulsory, free, full-time education up to the same age (sixteen), makes the Dutch law clear about its ideas on childhood (Berg 1997 p: 4; SZW 2004 p: 3). Childhood is a time for playing and learning, protected from the adult-world of work, while taken care of by adults; hence the fact that child-benefit is paid to parents (<<http://www.svb.nl>>, accessed on 3-09-04), and that parents and employers, not children, are fined if children are found in illegal employment (SZW 2004 p: 5).

However, this adult perspective on the 'best interest of the child' has clearly been shaped by underlying economic²⁹, cultural³⁰ and developmental³¹ factors. This has given way to a whole range of exceptions to the principle ban on child employment, resulting in an impressive maze of *do's* and *don'ts* which is in much detail described by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the Dutch Labour Inspectorate (arbeidsinspectie 2003).

²⁷ Van Houten's Kinderwetje

²⁸ Arbeidstijdenwet

²⁹ Hence the need for a cheap and flexible labour force, which is evident from the reluctance to set a minimum-wage for 13-14 year olds, despite labour-union pressure (<<http://www.fnv.nl/bijbaan>> accessed on 6-6-04), while legally allowing 13-14 year olds to do certain types of work (NIBUD 2002, p: 11).

³⁰ Hence the greater flexibility allowed to do work on the parents' farm or shop (Drongelen 2000), and the great effort done to prove that the cultural particularity to get morning papers home-delivered isn't affecting school achievements negatively (Kessel, Vrieze, et al 2004) thus not in contradiction with European Union's guidelines, despite other possibly harmful effects (Leonard 2002). Although labelled as 'cultural', the above could also be explained from a political-economy perspective.

³¹ Hence the emphasis on the developmental value during adolescence, of the non-academic knowledge and skills learnt in the workplace (Marsh 1991 IN: Hobbs, 1997, p: 97).

An adult perspective also heavily informs the justification for a separate law with regard to children and work, mainly based on biological and psychological immaturity of children and youth like:

- Greater need for sleep, hence the prohibition to work after 8pm for children up to fifteen and a blanket ban on night-work.
- Changing physical capabilities of children and youth.
- Lesser staying power, which might lead to overestimation of own capacity. Hence the limitation on number of hours a day, and focus on rest.
- A yet undeveloped sense of responsibility and judgement of risk. Hence the need for adult supervision.
- A strong urge to explore and general inexperience. Hence the restriction from the 'main' world of work.

(Arbeidsbesluit Jeugdigen 1986 IN: Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 13)

3.1.3 Dutch School-youth: Caught between Legal Discourse and Everyday Practice

In table 1 below, the legal entitlements and responsibilities that come with age, with specific reference to work, are compared and contrasted with facts and figures of contemporary, everyday reality of children and youth in the Netherlands. This way the true motives of the law, with regard to 'the best interest of the child principle' are challenged³² and the sharp contrasts between legal discourse and daily practice surface.

³² For example one can be recruited by the army at the age of 17, but can't become a taxi driver till the age of 19 or join the fire-brigade till the age of 20 (NIZW 2001, p: 11).

Table 1: 'Being Young in the Netherlands'

Age	Legal entitlements and responsibilities <i>adapted from: (Berg 1997 p: 4; NIZW 2001 p: 11), unless indicated differently</i>	Factual information <i>adapted from: (NIBUD 2002 pp: 11 and 33; NIBUD 2003), unless indicated differently</i>	Legally allowed work ³³ <i>Adapted from (<http://www.szw.nl>, accessed on 12-04-04) unless indicated differently</i>
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Parents entitled to child benefit from 0-18 years. -Amount depends on the age and number of children. -Free, compulsory full-time education starting at 4 years. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -84% receive pocket money (€1-2 a week) -50% do occasionally do work some remunerated work (in/around the house) -11% have a mobile phone -25% have a Personal Computer -20% have a TV 	None
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -From 12 years, subject to juvenile crime law. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -95% receive money from parents -17% have (done) term-time employment -13% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr. of hours worked per week: 6.2hrs – 11.9hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €45 	Any form of employment or work is prohibited, except work carried out as a 'work-penalty' under juvenile crime law.
13		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -95% receive money from parents -30% have (done) term-time employment -22% have (had) a holiday job -48% have TV and PC in their private room -70% have a mobile phone -Average nr of hours worked per week: 6.3hrs – 17.2hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €59 	13-14 year olds are allowed to: -Assist in light, non-industrial work under adult supervision on Saturdays and weekdays under certain (time) conditions.
14		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -95% receive money from parents -35% have (done) term-time employment -26% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr of hours worked per week: 6.9hrs – 20.7hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €75 	No minimum wage applicable.

³³ Apart from these general regulations, the law makes an exception for 'kunstkinderen' (art children) and work carried out as part of the schooling process. With regard to the former, under special regulation and rules, children of any age can be part of e.g. a film production. Work as part of school must be approved by parents and can't be combined with other forms of (paid) employment during these days. From: http://home.szw.nl/navigatie/rubriek/dsp_rubriek.cfm?rubriek_id=1&subrubriek_id=104&link_id=2161#327100 > accessed on 12-04-04.

15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Entitled to minimum youth wage (€2.43)³⁴. -Entitled to own tax number. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -94% receive money from parents -53% have (done) term-time employment -41% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr of hours worked per week: 9.2hrs – 26.8hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €128 	<p>At 15 years allowed to do:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Light, non-industrial work. -(morning) newspaper delivery, after 6:00am.
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Final year of free, compulsory full-time education -Min wage: €2.80³⁴ -Min. age to order low-alcohol beverage -Allowed to drive a moped (licensed) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -91% receive money from parents -64% have (done) term-time employment -46% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr of hours work per week: 10.8hrs – 28.1hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €176 	<p>16 and 17 year olds are allowed to do:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -all kind of jobs, however more strictly regulated (time wise) than adults, and if any risk/danger is involved it must be carried out under adult supervision
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Partial compulsory education. -Final year to receive child benefit (parents) -Min wage: €3.20³⁴ -Minimum age for army recruitment³⁵ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -91% receive money from parents -71% have (done) term-time employment -48% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr of hours worked per week: 10.5hrs – 34.0hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €228 	<p>Allowed to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Work 5 days a week. -Work in nursing.
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Attain majority. -Eligible to vote. -Entitled to financial aid for students. -Apply for driving license. -Apply for unemployment benefit. -Allowed to marry without parental consent. -Min wage: €3.69³⁴. -Eligible to join the police. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -72% receive money from parents -77% have (done) term-time employment -56% have (had) a holiday job -Average nr of hours worked per week: 10.2hrs – 31.2hrs (term time – holiday) -Average total income per month: €353 	<p>Allowed to do all kind of jobs independently; adult labour status.</p>
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Entitled to minimum adult wage (€8.11)³⁴ 		
25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eligible to become a mayor. 		
30		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not longer entitled to financial government aid to study³⁶. 	

³⁴ All minimum wages in this table are gross hourly wages for 2004, calculated on the basis of a 36 hours workweek. From: <<http://www.fnv.n>>, accessed on 8-06-04.

³⁵ From: <<http://www.kindsoldaten.nl/kindsoldaten/doelstelling.htm>> , accessed on 3-09-04.

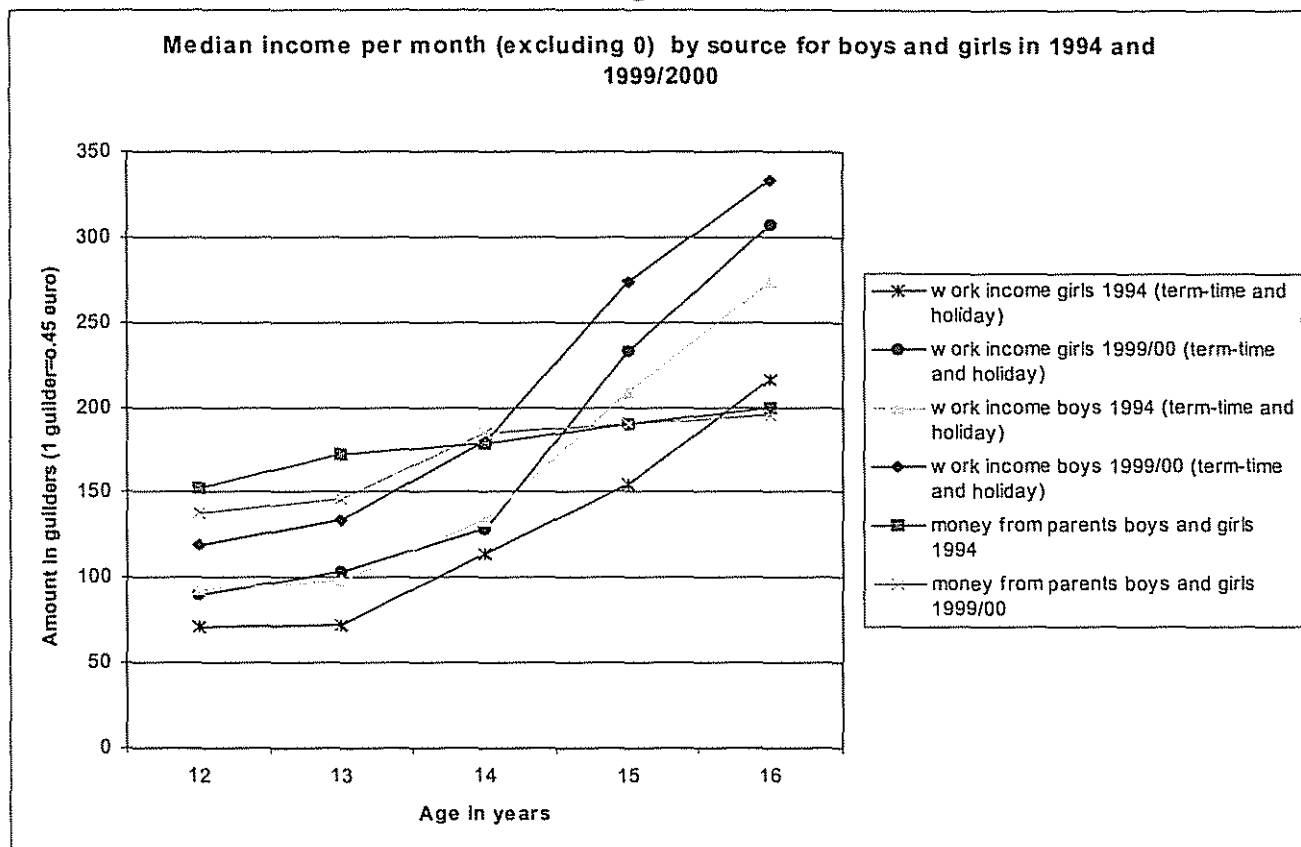
³⁶ From: <<http://www.ib-groep.nl>>, accessed on 3-09-04.

The table above clearly highlights the gap between daily lives of school youth and the legal discourse, which is likely to contribute to fact that the child employment legislation is greatly ignored (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 83; Winkelhuis 2001 pp: viii-ix). In addition, the fact that a significant percentage of the Dutch school-youth is engaged in paid employment isn't surprising since many (leisure) activities of children and school-youth simply require money. Nevertheless, this can't be a reason to just do away with or accept a hugely ineffective legislation, especially since the commonsense assumption of school-youth's part-time employment as a harmless and beneficial side activity (apparent from the Dutch word 'bijbaantje' which is the diminutive, harmless form of the word 'side-job', which is in sharp contradiction with the heavily loaded term 'kinderarbeid' used for child labour, seemingly reserved for the 'Third World') can't be simply taken for granted (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 pp: 97-98). An effective legislation however, should start with recognising school-youth's reality in order to achieve a more integrated and accepted legislation (Whitney 1999 pp: 242-244).

3.1.4 Dutch School-youth and Money

As we have seen in the paragraphs above, the majority of the Dutch children are likely to receive pocket money on a regular basis from the age of eight, while also doing the odd paid chore in and around the house from that age (NIBUD 2003). Figure 4 below shows that the significance of earned income increases rapidly, though differently for boys and girls, with age. It also shows that the total earned income has increased across ages over time. However, the amount of money received from parents stays, and has remained, more or less the same for both boys and girls and is therefore not specified by gender.

Figure 4



Adapted from: (Zwart and Warmaar 1995 pp: 93-94; Berg and Boer 2000 pp: 78-79)

The stable 'money from parents' trend suggests that parents seem reluctant to meet the likely greater need for cash as school-youth grow older. The increase of 'earned income' with age could suggest that parents stimulate or don't object to the fact that children find their own ways to earn money as a response to an increased commercialisation of their leisure time (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 p: 21; Mizen, Pole et al. 2001b pp: 53-54).

Another interesting feature is the fact that median incomes are significantly higher for boys than for girls in both surveys. This could be due to either differential pay for the same job, or perhaps more likely to differential access to jobs in the labour market. Furthermore, a sharp increase in 'earned income' for both boys and girls can be observed from the age of fifteen onwards. This could, among other things, suggest that school-

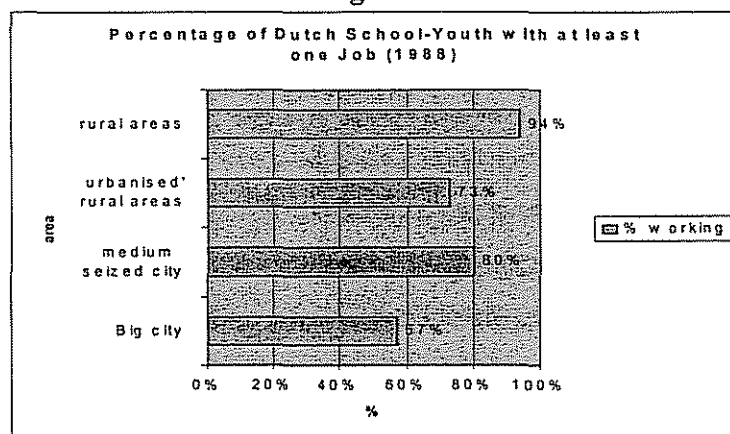
youth under the age of fifteen are ‘underpaid’, which is not unlikely since school-youth aren’t entitled to a minimum wage till they reach fifteen (<<http://www.fnv.nl/bijbaan>>, accessed on: 6-06-04).

3.2 School-Youth Employment³⁷ in the Netherlands: An Analysis by Degree of Urbanisation and Gender

3.2.1 The Incidence of School-youth Employment by Degree of Urbanisation

The national data presented in Figure 5 below, shows that the incidence of school-youth employment is significantly higher in rural areas³⁸ and in ‘urbanised-rural’ areas than in the big cities. This pattern also emerged from a comparative study of national data and provincial figures for the province of Gelderland, which is largely rural and semi-urbanised. This study reveals that the incidence of school-youth currently having a job is five percent higher while there are fewer school-youth that have never had a job in Gelderland compared with national averages (Kuil and Kregting 2004 p: 13).

Figure 5



Adapted from (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 43)

³⁷ Employment in the following paragraphs refers to both part-time employment during school-weeks and (part-time) employment during school-holidays of Dutch youth (12-18) that is often remunerated but not necessarily so.

³⁸ Neve & Renooy's 1988 study distinguishes between rural, urbanised-rural, medium sized cities and big cities, on the basis of population density and percentage of male labour force working in the agricultural sector. Recently CBS has changed to address density (average number of addresses per km² within a circle with a radius of one km) as measure of urbanisation. Extremely urbanised: 2500 addresses or more; Strongly urbanised: 1500-2500; Moderately urbanised: 1000-1500; Hardly urbanised: 500-1000; Not urbanised: fewer than 500 (CBS 2002, p: 186).

In addition, working rural and 'urbanised-rural' school-youth (especially male) are more likely to hold more than one job at the same time compared to their working peers in the big cities (Neve and Renooy 1988 pp: 47 and 130). This could among other things be due to a greater presence of the agricultural sector in rural and urbanised-rural areas, which tends to employ school-youth especially during seasonal peaks. On the other hand, other popular school-youth jobs that one would logically associate with cities, like work in bars, restaurants, newspaper delivery, babysitting etc are also commonly done by school-youth in rural and urbanised-rural areas (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 52).

3.2.2 School-youth Employment and Gender

The national data on school-youth employment reveals some interesting gender patterns. At a national level one could clearly identify typical girl's jobs like babysitting, working at a horse-riding school, in shops, etc and typical boy's jobs like working at a filling-station, factory, gardening, etc (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 50). This implies that boys are more likely than girls to be working at an enterprise while girls are more often found in the informal and household sector which seems a replica of the general adult division of labour. This gender pattern in school-youth employment is particularly strong in rural and semi-urbanised areas while in the bigger cities this differentiation is less strong or not present (Neve and Renooy 1988 pp: 50-51).

3.3 The Municipality of Raalte in Perspective

The municipality of Raalte, in which the case study was carried out, is qualified on the basis of address density as a '*hardly urbanised*'³⁹ municipality (CBS 2002 p: 189). Thus, with a statistical likelihood of a high incidence of school-youth employment in a gender segregated way. The municipality of Raalte is situated in the centre of the eastern province of Overijssel and consists of the town of Raalte and the villages Broekland, Lierderholthuis, Mariënheem, Laag Zuthem, Luttenberg, Heeten and Heino

³⁹ Urbanised-rural, surrounded by rural villages in previous CBS terminology.

(<www.raalte.nl>, accessed on 23-08-04), see Annex A. In table 2 below data with (broad) relevance to the issue of school-youth employment for the municipality of Raalte is presented alongside national and provincial figures and figures of one of the Netherlands' big cities in order to put Raalte's data into perspective.

Table 2: 'Municipality of Raalte in Perspective'

		Municipality of Raalte	Municipality of Amsterdam (CBS 2003a)	Province of Overijssel	The Netherlands
Population Figures	Population	36.632	735.526	1.094.032	16.105.285
	Address density ³⁸	569	6.088	1.175	1.865
	Percentage of the population of non-Dutch origin	5.1%	46.4%	13.5%	18.4%
Income	Disposable income (€ per person per year)	10.000	11.600	10.100	11.000
Distribution of commercial establishments across sectors	Agriculture, fishery & forestry	40.6%	0.4%	21.7%	12.9%
	Industry & Mineral Exploitation	13.8%	10.8%	15.6%	15.8%
	Commercial services	34.2%	71.9%	49%	56.2%
	Non- commercial services	11.4%	16.9%	13.6%	15%

Adapted from: (CBS 2003b pp: 8, 9 and 11), unless indicated differently.

Table 2 shows some similarities and some striking differences between an average 'rural' municipality typical for the East and North and the large cities mainly located in the West of the country. These different contexts are likely to have an impact on the issue of school-youth employment, and therefore need to be remembered when analysing the case-study in chapter IV.

Despite the high presence of commercial establishments in the agricultural sector in the municipality of Raalte this sector accounts for only a small part of the total number of jobs⁴⁰ (2.7% against 1.5% at national level). The greatest share of jobs in the municipality of Raalte are, confirm the national pattern, found in the commercial service sector (40.5%) (CBS 2003b p: 13). This could among other things suggest: a high presence of self-employed farmers, and/or a high degree of mechanisation, but could also hide 'unregistered' school-youth employment. The growth in the number of official jobs in the municipality of Raalte is, as in the whole province, on the decline since 2000 (<<http://www.prv-overijssel.nl>> accessed on 5-11-04). Although this seems related to low economic growth in the Netherlands at large during this period, its impact on school-youth jobs could be threefold. Either, fewer jobs available as is the case for adults, or a shift of jobs from adults to school-youth since the latter are cheaper, or an increased intensity of school-youth employment with an unchanged or lower incidence.

3.4 Carmel College Salland: The only School in Town in Perspective

The municipality of Raalte was selected since it hosts only one secondary school, Carmel College Salland (CCS), which is therefore likely to draw students from all social classes, religions, and surrounding villages. CCS is part of the Carmel College Foundation, a conglomerate of 13 secondary schools mainly located in the East of the Netherlands (<<http://www.carmel.nl>> accessed on 8-11-04). Like almost half of all secondary schools in the Netherlands, CCS is a so-called 'broad-based' school (<<http://www.carmel.nl>>

⁴⁰ Here, only waged and/or salaried jobs are included, thus excluding self-employed (farmers).

accessed on 8-11-04), thus offering different types of secondary schooling (Wooning 2004 pp: 112-113).

The Dutch Secondary school system consists since 1999 of four types of secondary education (Wooning 2004 p: 80):

- VMBO (pre-vocational secondary education)
- HAVO (senior general secondary education)
- VWO (pre-university education)
- Practical Training

Entrance to either of the four is largely determined by the pupil's attainment and potential demonstrated at primary level and to a lesser extent by the pupil's (and parents') choice (Wooning 2004 pp: 81-82). The 'practical training' route is the only 'terminal' type of secondary education, VMBO, HAVO and VWO all prepare students for further education. As table 3 below shows, the Dutch secondary education is a layered system. Although there are different routes possible to move from left to right through the system, most efficient would be to move through it horizontally, thus from primary education to a certain type of secondary education followed by either a vocational study (MBO), practical university (HBO), or academic university (VWO). However, alternative routes either moving up (to a higher level) or down, depending on the student's performance and interest are frequently occurring.

Table 3: 'The Dutch Education System'

4years	12/13 years	15/16 years
Primary education and special primary education (8 years)	VWO 1-3 years	VWO 4-6 years
	HAVO 1-3 years	HAVO 4-5 years
		short HBO 1 or 2 years
	VMBO years 1 and 2	VMBO years 3 and 4
		MBO 1 to 4 years
		MBO 2 or 3 Years MBO 2 or 3
	Practical training 6 years	

Adapted from (http://www.minocw.nl/onderwijs/doc/2004/eurvdice_en.pdf accessed: 31-5-04)

The different types of secondary education have for the first three years the same minimally required number of periods (Wooning 2004 p: 39) implying that all pupils have potentially (obviously other factors, like domestic obligations, also play a role) the same time available for part-time jobs. However, HAVO students in particular and girls in general tend to devote more time to their home work. VMBO students devote on average least time to their homework twenty-five minutes less than their HAVO peers (CBS 2002 p: 71).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the issue of paid employment in contemporary life-styles of Dutch school-youth, which are like adult lives, increasingly monetised. However, in the legal sense school-youth are limited in their income earning activities, although money is a pre-requisite for all kinds of social functioning in school-youth's lives. Despite these legal restrictions, a significant percentage of the Dutch school-youth is engaged in gainful employment, particularly in the countryside. Therefore Raalte, as a

hardly urbanised municipality, is selected for the case-study presented in the following chapter.

Chapter IV

School-youth and Work: Listening to the Juvenile Workers

(Qualitative Findings from a Case-Study of Employment among HAVO Students of CCS in Raalte)

This chapter presents and analyses the qualitative data of school-youth's paid employment based on a study of HAVO-students' employment experiences in the municipality of Raalte. Furthermore, paid employment is analysed in the relational sphere with school, family and peers.

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the analysis of the primary data, collected at intervals between June 2004 and October 2004, is presented. A reflection on the process of school-youth centred data collection, as described in 1.3 is woven into this. The data is analysed through the lens presented in the analytical framework (2.3), thus focusing on the micro-system of school-youth employment while analysing its relation with the micro-systems of family, school and peers at a meso-level. Furthermore, parents' contributions have been analysed from an exo-level perspective.

This chapter draws heavily from the qualitative responses of school-youth, parents and teachers obtained in various ways (see 1.3.3) and under various circumstances. The majority of the responses used come from nine key-informants, who are briefly introduced in Annex B and to whom in the quotes that follow, for the sake of brevity, is referred to with their first name only. At the time of the first interview all the nine key-informants received pocket and sometimes clothing money from their parents on a regular basis. Annex C provides a more detailed outline of the work-histories of the nine key-informants and Annex D summarises their main experiences and perception with regard to paid employment.

At this point it's relevant to mention the fact that only one of the female key-informants has baby-sitting experience is not a representative observation. From the FGD's, questionnaires and existing data emerged this job as the majority experience among (young) girls. However, parents as gate-keepers and young girls themselves were reluctant to engage with an unknown male adult researcher, therefore limiting choice. This problem was partly alleviated by meeting the girls in couples or at their parents' home.

4.2 The Micro-System of Work

4.2.1 School-youth's lived Experience of the Micro-System of Work: A Significantly different Setting?

Before we delve deeper into the issue of school-youth involvement in paid employment we first need to establish whether this is actually experienced significantly different from the other micro-systems school-youth participate in, or merely a marginal extension of it, which the notion of a 'suitable job'⁴¹ leads us to believe.

School-youth's opinions on work differed, therefore the focus group discussions (FGD) functioned for both the researcher and the participants as an exploratory exercise to build a foundation for later interviews. Jobs that were initially not mentioned often came up during later exercises. Moreover, since the fieldwork took place over several weeks, emerging dynamics and experiences were also observed. For example, Rob called himself jokingly, but also frustratingly, 'job-less' during the FGD, despite the fact that he could easily return to his previous summer-job. When I contacted him next he proudly mentioned his newly found job about which he talked with much more eager and dignity than about his previous job in the bulb-fields.

The excerpts below show that the school-youth in the sample don't experience all paid employment as significantly different from the other micro-systems they take part in. In the cases where paid employment was perceived as significantly different, these

⁴¹ Explained in 1.1

differences were more related to a different relation sphere (that of employer-employee as opposed to child-adult) than to the actual nature of the job.

'My chef called me today to ask if I could work on Saturday.'

'A colleague asked me if I could work in his place on Sunday.'

(Excerpts from Dennis' diary about his work at a restaurant)

'If 'Madam' is not around, I'm the only one speaking Dutch; 'Sir' is mostly in the kitchen and doesn't really speak Dutch.'

(Helda about her work at a Chinese take-away)

'I hate it when my boss just stands there watching me work, while complaining about how I do the work, which he never even explained to me in the first place.'

(Ronny about his uncle in whose car-garage he works)

'Working at the horse-trading stable was really great; working with horses, riding, etc. It was at my coach's stable, who's a really nice guy, so, I often stayed overnight. I also learnt a lot, and earned loads.'

(sixteen year old female respondent about the work she did in a horse-trading stable at the age of fourteen)

'Wendy asked me if I could baby-sit at her place on Saturday night.'

(Excerpt from Miranda's diary about one of her mother's friends for whom she baby-sits)

Working at C1000 is good fun; you work with only peers so we make a lot of jokes.

(sixteen year old male respondent about his work as 'shelf-filler' - *vakkenvuller*- at C1000 supermarket)

The use of terms like ‘colleague’ and ‘boss’ clearly demonstrate a break-away from the relational sphere typical for school, family and peer relations in which school-youth take part. However, this distinction doesn’t seem to apply to all jobs. In the sample, it were particularly the more formal ‘adult-type’ type of jobs (with characteristics like: hierarchically organised workplace, colleagues of different age and qualifications) that were perceived differently. The more informal and ‘traditional’ school-youth jobs like newspaper delivery, babysitting, etc were not perceived as such. Since it are especially the younger school-youth in general, and girls in particular, that do these latter type of jobs there seem to be structural constraints at play which affect the relational experience of school-youth employment. Importantly, paid employment perceived in terms significantly different from the other micro-systems, doesn’t by default make the actual job a more enjoyable experience. In the 4-HAVO (fourth year HAVO-students) FGD, when talking about what is work, this issue was addressed as follows by some boys: a regular and fixed pay as a characteristic of (formal) work was seen as a compensation for time spent in a not desirable way. That was their explanation for the fact that engagement in the informal sphere (e.g. baby-sitting, work in the family) wasn’t always paid for, and not too well-paid, since it was supposedly more fun to do.

4.2.2 School-youth Employment: A Harmless, Beneficial Side-activity limited to ‘Suitable Jobs’?

The traditional paper delivering and baby-sit jobs are still the most common jobs among school-youth (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 54; NIBUD 2002 p: 27), however, school-youth employment is not limited to it, nor in the legal sense⁴², neither in the actual sense (NIBUD 2002 pp: 27; SZW 2004). The Dutch Working Hours Act has on grounds of positive developmental and socialising effects related to work created a few exceptions to the blanket ban on work for children⁴³ (SZW 2004 p: 4). However it’s questionable if those legally permitted and supposedly ‘suitable jobs’ actually meet that rosy image of ‘harmless and innocent side-activity’ (Hobbs and McKechnie 1997 pp: 97-98). This

⁴² For a detailed overview of the size and nature of illegal employment by teenagers see: Neve (1988, pp: 82-100).

⁴³ See table 1.

concern is confirmed by a detailed study on newspaper delivery in Belfast, Ireland (Leonard 2002), and also surfaced in this sample:

'I first did a leaflet-round in a really nasty neighbourhood in which the previous deliverer also faced problems. One time they (young boys from that neighbourhood) even set my bicycle-bags on fire, and at times they locked my bicycle and threw the keys between all the leaflets.'

(Andre about his leaflet round which he did from twelve to fourteen years)

'I quite like my job, but at times it can be difficult, especially if the children don't listen to me. Especially if I've worked a lot I, I get some problems with my voice. I have to be careful with that, 'cause I also attend a musical school.'

(Miranda about her job as a baby-sitter)

'You weren't even allowed to drink something, but you got really hot working under the burning sun. Only during break which we had every two hours we got to drink something, but not even in a shed, just out there in the burning sun.'

(Rob about his last years' working experience (fourteen) in the bulb-fields)

If school-youth, as the excerpts show, don't necessarily experience the intrinsic value of the job positively the assumed positive developmental and socialising effects are likely to be adults' perceptions. Referring to aspects like: getting acquainted with characteristics that are generally associated with 'a good work ethos' like being punctual, docile and hard-working (Mortimer and Finch 1996 pp: 4-5). Unlike most adults working in formal jobs, school-youth are likely to learn these qualities the hard way since many typical school-youth jobs work pretty much on a subjective 'hire and fire' basis.

'I could start almost immediately at my uncle's; he only had to fire someone else who didn't work well. I think I'd agree with him, that guy didn't do much and was a bit lazy anyway.'

(Ronny about his work at his uncle's filling station at the age of fifteen)

'If the boss thought you weren't working hard enough or not serious enough (like throwing with flower-buds) he just cut an hour or more of your salary. If you didn't like that, well, you could choose: quit or stay! Most of them then carried on working.'

(Judy about her last year's (fourteen) job in the bulb-fields)

However, school-youth are well aware of their weak position in the labour market. This directs us towards structural constraints that school-youth seem to be facing. School-youth workers are not only likely to face the same ethnic and gender constraints as adults do (Mizen 1995 p: 63; Qvortrup 2001b pp: 227-229), they also have to deal with the subordinated position they find themselves in due to age. This is not only the case once in the workplace; it also influences their access to more desirable jobs as the excerpts below highlight.

'I don't like the job I'm doing; I rather work for a company, but they won't take a fourteen year old. In a company you at least learn something that might be of use in the future.'

(fourteen year old male respondent who occasionally works as a gardener for his teacher)

'Well, you might be able to do many things already, but you simply can't get a real job yet. That's why you only do the little things available which is annoying. Especially if people treat you as if you aren't even able to do these little things yet.'

(fourteen year old male respondent who often helps his father plastering)

'We simply can't do that much yet, for most of the nice jobs you need a diploma. Besides, we can only work for a few hours, or in the weekends.'
(sixteen year old male respondent who's currently not working)

4.2.3 School-youth Employment: Part of a Segregated Labour Market?

The previous paragraph seems to confirm the conclusion of some authors that most jobs school-youth commonly do are likely to be of a 'dead-end' (Mortimer and Finch 1986 p: 69) nature and belong to a segregated class, thus either due to the type of work, or working hours, not in the least desired by adult-workers (Morrow 1994 p: 142; Mizen 1995 p: 52). This would indeed make school-youth's working experience an experience *'of work at its most mundane, where contact with "the dullest compulsion" of capitalist economic relations is with capital at its dullest'* (Finn 1984 IN: Mizen 1995 p: 41), thus with little more to offer than the questionable 'developmental' realisation that work is *'hard, demanding and often dirty'* (Mizen 1995 p: 58). This led Mizen (1995) to conclude in line with Willis' thesis (Willis 1981) that (working class) school-youth's work experience is basically preparing the working class youth for working class jobs. This way the faith the Dutch legislation has in adult supervision on the work-floor⁴⁴ becomes debatable, since the adults working in these kinds of jobs are unlikely to give first priority to their pedagogical role.

'He (an adult colleague) just asked if I could do something on the lift truck, well, I liked that of course, but when I told my dad about it later, he got really upset and told me not to do it again since it's dangerous and requires a special training.'

'He (an adult colleague) also showed me how to drill holes in an iron pipe, he explained that I could clip the pipe, but he said he didn't bother, since it was just a waste of time. Well, I clipped the pipe before drilling that seemed much safer to me.'

⁴⁴ 13-14 Year olds can only perform 'supporting' type of labour under adult supervision. From: www.fnv.nl/bijbaan, accessed on 6-6-04.

(Rob about his current work as 'sweeping boy' in a building contractor's workshop)

Moreover, commonly done jobs, particularly at a young age and by girls in general, like delivery and baby-sitting are mostly done without any supervision at all!

4.2.4 School-youth Employment: Anything beyond Money?

If school-youth's employment is likely to be of poor intrinsic value, a logical assumption, in line with the consumerist view (see 2.1.1) would be that it's just the money that drives school-youth into paid employment. Money, especially the fact that they had earned it themselves, seemed indeed a great motivating factor as the excerpts below show.

'I will certainly carry on working, these days you can't live without money. You need money for everything. I wouldn't do a job for less than €2 an hour, I would also check if I could earn any bonus. Besides, the job has to fit into my daily schedule and I would check whether I'm not the only boy or by far the youngest working there.'

(Andre about his motivations to work)

'Last year I only had €200 left in my account, with the village festival getting near, I quickly had to earn some money. So I got a job as an ice-cream boy for two weeks through a friend of mine.'

(Dennis about his work as an ice-cream seller last year (fourteen))

'My pocket money was simply not sufficient anymore for going out, cigarettes and hobbies (tinkering with mopeds).'

(Ronny about his decision to look take up paid employment at an agricultural mechanisation company at the age of eleven)

However, contrary to this money driven image pictured above, none of the girls responded that the need for an independent disposable income was the main purpose to start looking for a job. In addition, the girls in the sample, more than boys, saved a significant part of their earned money for future purposes like travelling, holiday, moving to a student-room, driving license, etc. In general, although money was an important motivation for paid employment, it was never *the* determining factor, and in only one case the main driving force to take up the first paid job (see above).

'The families where I baby-sit pay me different amounts (€2, €2.50 and €3 per hour). I don't care about that. I prefer to work for the family whose children I like most, even though they pay me less.'

(Miranda about her work as a baby-sitter)

'I now earn €2.10 per hour, in the bulb-field I got €2.80 per hour, but I really wouldn't want to go back there.'

(Rob comparing his current job in a building contractor's workshop with his last year experience in the bulb-fields)

If then in most cases it wasn't 'just the money', nor the intrinsic value of the job, what are the other factors that stimulate school-youth to participate in paid employment? In order to answer this question it's important to distinguish analytically between the motivation to take up the first (paid) job, still free from any first hand experience with the labour market, and the motivation to stay in paid employment after this first encounter, a dynamic which is captured by a life-history approach.

In the sample, with the exception of two cases, the first job was a rather logical extension of everyday life, such as baby-sitting at friends/family, performing (paid) tasks for relatives, standing in for an older sister/brother or friend during holidays or illnesses, than an autonomous, conscious choice of the school-youth. Nevertheless the school-youth had good reasons not to object to this first job, like boredom during holidays or anxiety to enter this (slightly) 'new world', or simply trying to be helpful. Since these first jobs

were often of a highly informal character (irregular, not always paid, domestic) and money was not (yet) an important factor, school-youth were reluctant to acknowledge it (as a job) at all.

After this first job a more formal job, or an expansion of these informal activities, was perceived as the logical next step as one grows older. In these subsequent jobs money started to play a bigger role but also other elements school-youth aren't likely to experience in their school life were valued. Among that, surprisingly enough, getting acquainted with the tough requirements of working in these low quality jobs, next to other aspects, like working with a variety of people, a possibility to show competency and being part of a significantly different world were given as reasons to stay in paid employment.

'Everybody has to work eventually, so it's better to gain some experience at this age already, to see what work is really like. If you wouldn't do that till you're 18 or so, it would be quite a shock. I'm sure!'

(Judy)

'You learn to get on with it, 'cause work can be really tough. You don't learn that in school, there you can just get 'a pass', here you really have to work well.'

(Rob)

'I'm now also working in a meat processing factory, that's quite nice, you're just standing talking rubbish behind the machine. I'm the youngest there and the only girl, so I get a lot of attention, that's quite nice.'

(fifteen year old female respondent about her job in a meat processing factory)

'At the beginning of a busy night we always sit down for a coffee to divide the work. After work we can stay for some food and beer, that's really cool! I've also been invited to join the employees outing.'

(Dennis about his work as dishwasher/cleaner in a restaurant)

I most liked the job at my cousin's farm. Especially the variety and freedom, at times I was milking the cows all by myself, which was really cool.

(Ronny about his past work experience at his cousin's farm)

4.3 The Family and School-Youth employment

4.3.1 Family Influence on School-youth Employment: A Meso-system Analysis

In this section I will look at school-youth employment in relation with the family. The interaction between family and school-youth employment is analysed at two levels: at an exo-level thus at factors which aren't directly part of the school-youth's lives and at the meso-level, in which school-youth actively participate. First I will analyse the meso-level in which I've mostly looked at the role the family plays in access to jobs.

'Over the weekends I deliver my father's bills, I get €0.25 per bill, I do the addresses nearby, and my brothers do the remaining. Next year, I think I'll get more work, since one of my brothers will start university and won't have much time left anymore, to do this work.'

(twelve year old male respondent about his job delivering bills for his father, who's a doctor)

'I could start immediately, but I had to ask my parents first. They didn't let me do the round, since it was autumn already, so getting dark early, and the round was a bit outside the village. So I had to wait till a leaflet round in the centre got free. That was the case already after a few weeks,

the houses were really close together, so my parents didn't mind too much that at times it was already getting dark.'

(Dennis about how he got his leaflet round around the age of eleven)

'My mother showed me an advertisement in the paper, then I called, that's how I got my first leaflet round.'

(Andre about how he got his leaflet round)

'I never really thought about working, I think that's because my parents always went to France for six weeks over the summer, and they didn't allow me to stay behind like my brother. Besides I had my sports, piano-class, study support and school so I didn't really have that much spare time, and I also didn't really need the money.'

(Helda about why she didn't work as early as her twin brother did)

A meso-level analysis of the family influence on access to jobs shows how the school-youth's position in the family and gender is likely to affect the type, and the number of jobs that are within reach. For example, an older brother or sister could not only function as a role model, but if working, could also indirectly increase the networks of younger siblings. Moreover, although in my sample both boys and girls claim to be doing similar (unpaid) domestic chores like dish-washing, tidying rooms, gardening, etc, when it comes to doing these traditionally gendered jobs outside the family-home a different patterns emerged. Girls were more likely to be informed by their mothers about baby-sit opportunities while boys were tipped about more 'masculine' job opportunities like gardening, or factory work. However, exceptions to this pattern were also observed.

'I got my first job at the age of nine. My grandfather started having back-problems and couldn't do his garden alone anymore. Since I was his eldest grand-child he asked my father if I could help him. Later on I also did some cleaning tasks for my grandmother, which my younger sister soon took over.'

(Andre about his first job)

4.3.2 Paid Employment and its Role within Family Relations

At a more abstract level it is interesting to see how within the family as a bargaining unit, work is used by both parents and school-youth as a way to negotiate their interests and position. Although I never got the impression that this was the sole purpose of working it is definitely an issue worth looking at in more detail. Virtually all respondents were of the opinion that their parents thought more positively of them now they had a job. For some, this translated into the feeling of being treated as more independent and responsible, a view that was confirmed by some parents. However, this could also be attributed to the fact that the school-youth were simply a few years older, thus more mature than at the time they weren't working yet, as some parents and school-youth pointed out.

In addition, work was also used to achieve other goals. One teenager made the rather contradictory statement that her parents liked the fact that she was working since now she spends more time at home. Others felt that their work would be a more approved of occupation by their parents, both for the present time as well as for the future than other time-consuming activities like chatting on the internet, sports, hobbies, etc. In one case (banning) work was used as a bargaining tool to achieve higher grades while in other cases similar school advice to reduce work-hours wasn't supported by the parents.

'My parents are glad that I'm working this way I also get to do something else than singing and dancing and spend some more time at home. I think they also like it because it prepares me a bit for the future, 'cause the chances are quite small to really break thru in the musical world.'

(Miranda about her parents' opinion about her baby-sitting job)

'Last year I didn't do too well in school, my mentor at school told my parents that I shouldn't be working on Sunday nights. So I stopped doing

that for a while and when my grades improved I started working on Sunday nights again, my parents didn't mind that.'

(Dennis about his parents' opinion about school and work)

'I think they start seeing me more as an adult. If you're working you take on quite some responsibility. I can imagine that my parents look at me differently now.'

(Helda about her parents' view on her)

'I had to work quite long hours, and standing there alone wasn't always fun, but my parents often came by to buy an ice-cream. Especially if I was busy I think they really thought I had a cool job, and were quite proud of me that I could handle all that.'

(Dennis about his previous job at the age of fourteen as an ice-cream seller)

'My parents think I've become much more 'adult-like', but I can't really tell much of a difference myself. They just trust me more, they don't mind if I get back from a bar at 2 in the morning. I don't even have to tell them anymore when I get back, they just think I'm much more responsible now.'

(Rob about his parents' views on him now that he's working)

4.3.3 School-youth Employment from a Parent Perspective: Influences of the Exo-system

Besides looking at what school-youth themselves have to say about the relation between family and their employment it's useful to analyse the role of parents in this matter as well. In line with Du Bois-Reymond's statement, all (five) parents I spoke to affirmed the importance of education, regardless of their own educational background (Bois-Reymond 2001 p: 78) and all school-youth were, according to their parents, free to organise their leisure time. The views of, and expectations towards (domestic) work and money differed

widely among parents, often derived from their own early employment experiences and/or their views on society and upbringing, which are likely to be class dependent.

'Children who've never worked surely miss out on things. You can really tell the difference, I once had an apprentice in my work with mentally retarded people. She didn't even know how to do basic domestic chores. This means that school-youth don't have to do a paid job, most of these things they can easily learn at home.'

(Petra's mother, she studied beyond secondary level)

"It's absolutely positive that children gain work experience. Children have to learn that luxury and welfare come with a price, especially those well-to-do kids. You don't learn that by washing your dad's car for half an hour on a Saturday morning after having slept in till 10:30, and even getting paid for that! You learn that in the workplace!" He further explains that the kind of work children do these days isn't that hard anymore as it was in his days. Moreover, from his own experience working with school-youth at his own workplace he tells that he's really seen them growing. "First they learn to be in time, and then you just see them getting more mature."

(Rob's father, who didn't finish his basic secondary education)

'I certainly think it's positive that children have a part-time job. Of course they also have to help out at home, but there they don't really learn to do the bigger things, to really put one's shoulder to the wheel. I also had to learn that in my first job, besides, these days children have quite an easy life at home, some experience in the world of work wouldn't do much harm and would even be a good orientation on future occupations, or stimulate them to work harder in school if they really don't like it.'

(Miranda's mother, who studied beyond secondary level)

The excerpts above show that parental opinions on this topic differ. Whereas Rob's father sees great value in experiencing a 'real' adult-type job, and sees little point in things like delivering newspapers, Petra's mother doesn't see out-of-the-family-employment as a requisite, but as an additional useful experience. Miranda's mother on the other hand values the typical 'school-youth jobs' since they are, according to her, rather harmless and basic and therefore offer an ideal experience for school-youth. These different ideas about school-youth employment are likely to affect whether or not school-youth are stimulated to take up work, and if so, what kind of work. This doesn't mean however, that school-youth blindly follow these stimuli or experience the job in the same way as their parents did in the past.

4.4 School-Youth Employment and Peer-Relations

In the following section a meso-level analysis of the role of school-youth employment in peer relations is discussed. In contrast with my own expectations school-youth emphasised the instrumental role of their work in peer relations, rather than portraying jobs as object of status or envy. Although in the anonymous questionnaires answers like, *'beer!'* or *'mo' money mo' bitches'* to the question why they worked, were given by a few (male) respondents, in later stages no such responses were come across. Although these isolated responses can't be discarded as untrue they seemed more aimed at upsetting the existing power-relations between adults and school-youth, by ridiculing the questionnaires in which they didn't participate voluntary but were 'told to do' by me and their teacher. At later (voluntary) stages, when the relation between researcher and researched certainly relaxed and the respondents got more open, the school-youth actually took great pride in telling their stories as precise as possible, rather than trying to come up with 'cool' stories. Some even mentioned they liked talking about their work-experiences since hardly anyone (not even friends) ever asked about it in such detail. My apparent assumption of 'irresponsible school-youth' wasn't even confirmed when I was interviewing one respondent on a hot summer-night on a hang-out spot for youth in a village. While he was, with much laughter, planning his up-coming camping holiday with

friends he talked about his work seriously, not making it any bigger or smaller, not even in front of his peers.

Although the school-youth in the sample didn't spend much time talking about their work with each other, partly since they simply had less time to chat due to their job, they were aware of peers' jobs. Especially among thirteen, fourteen and fifteen year olds this caused some frustration since they were well aware of the fact that peers worked despite legal restrictions, however, these same restriction were felt as a (therefore unjust) limitation of their personal opportunities. Among the working school-youth paid employment had merely an instrumental function in their peer relations, enabling them to more fully participate in their peer culture by going out, dating, having a mobile phone, jewellery, clothes, smoke, etc. However, this shouldn't create the image of careless consumers since all respondents had to make conscious choices of what to buy and what not, based on their limited budget and personal preferences.

My girlfriend lives quite far away. We usually see each other in the weekends, then I travel by train to her place, for which I need money of course.

(Andre about the use of his income)

At sailing-camp I talked with several people about work. About how much they earned, etc. At such a camp you don't really know each other, and you just ask what they do apart from school. Work is then always mentioned. Besides that, I hardly talk about work with my friends; it was just during sailing camp that I talked about it a lot.

(Helda about her friends and work)

I haven't heard much from my friends these weeks, and certainly not about their work. That's because I get to speak to them less now that I'm working. And if I'm talking with them I rather talk about something else than work.

(Petra about her friends and work)

4.5 School-Youth Employment and School

A meso-system analysis of the relation between school and school-youth's paid employment enters a highly contested terrain. Much research in line with Greenberger and Steinberg's influential study highlights the detrimental impact (too much) work can have on school-youth. Their study concludes that the workplace is unlikely to *'provide environments, conducive to psychological growth and development, that working is more likely to interfere with than enhance schooling; promotes pseudo-maturity rather than maturity; is associated in certain circumstances with higher, not lower rates of delinquency and drug and alcohol use; and fosters cynical rather than respectful attitudes toward work'* (Greenberger and Steinberg 1986 p: 235).

Dutch research correlated school-motivation with part-time employment. School-motivation was found lower among working school-youth, and significantly lower if work was done for more than average number of hours (Warnaar 2000 p: 22). However, working less than the average number of hours correlated positively with appreciation for school in particular, and life in general (Warnaar 2000 pp: 22-23).

Nevertheless these correlation don't reveal causality, meaning that a poor school-motivation could either be the cause or the consequence of part-time work

4.5.1 School-youth about School and Work

This study has incorporated both school-youth's and (mentor) teachers' opinion about the relation between school and paid employment. The school-youth in the sample agreed on the fact that school, rather than their job, would be more beneficial for the future. Most of them claimed that seeing the reality of work had motivated them to work harder in school and thought that too much work would be detrimental to their school performance. However, only one respondent thought that this latter was currently the case or had been the case in the past, implying that the others were of the opinion that they were competent in arranging their time efficiently which some respondents explicitly claimed they'd learnt because they'd taken on a job. Although these majority responses might be shaped towards 'adults' ears', this doesn't hold for what follows. Surprisingly, hardly any of the

respondents claimed to be using school knowledge/skills in their job, or could apply work skill/knowledge in the school setting while all the respondents claimed they'd learnt certain (valuable) things in and through their job. This suggests that both institutions which are both valued by school-youth as, among other things, places of positive learning and experience, offer school-youth significantly different types of skills and knowledge. This is in line with Büchner and Fuhs' thesis who point out that school related and childhood related issues are often dealt with separately, both in research and in day-to-day reality (Buchner and Fuhs 2001 p: 178). However, occasionally initiatives are implemented that attempt to incorporate more of the current lives of school-youth into the largely developmental-psychologically based school-setting (Kuijpers 2004), nevertheless most of the school-youth in the sample still experienced the two as separate worlds that hardly interact:

'First I didn't like school much, sometimes I talked with my father about it and said I'd rather work than go to school. My father just had to laugh about it but I think he was right now that I have seen the kind of jobs I can do without a diploma. It's not that I don't like doing it, but doing it for the rest of my life would be very boring I think.'

(Rob comparing his work as a 'sweeping boy' in a contractor's workshop with his school work)

'Of course I'm different at school than at work. At school I take it rather easy and fool around a fair bit. You can't do that at work, you've got to be more serious since you get paid for it, that's really different from just getting some marks, like at school.'

(Ronny comparing work with school)

'There isn't really something I've learnt in school that I can really use in my job, perhaps little things like making a sandwich or explaining the meaning of some words I might do slightly better now due to practice in school. Also the things I've learnt in my job aren't really addressed in

school, well, at times we talk about things, but that are more general everyday issues. Also, I don't know if my teachers know I'm working, perhaps my mentor might have heard about it.'

(Miranda about her job as baby-sitter and school)

I really think they have something against newspaper delivering in my school. I already had problems with two mentors about this; I think they've just written it down somewhere in my folder. Those teachers only look at a few subjects that don't go too well, simply ignoring those subjects I do really well in.

(Andre about school and his job)

4.5.2 Teachers about School and Work.

Getting access to the teachers in CCS proved more difficult than access to the students. Whereas students were simply asked to follow me for the FGD's, which was an essential first step of building up a relation with school-youth, the participation of the teachers depended fully on their personal and professional interest in the topic. As a consequence I managed to speak to only one mentor-teacher in 2-HAVO, since the general opinion was that students hardly worked in this year-group, so teachers didn't see the point for an interview. However this also ensured that the teachers that gave their consent had a clear opinion about this topic which they were willing to share. Most of the mentor-teachers I interviewed, logically, took a 'teachers-perspective' to school-youth employment, thus prioritising school achievements. Those who didn't necessarily do so had different professional experiences or interests (e.g. dean, coordinator or having worked outside education). As a consequence, school-youth's jobs were not discovered by asking specifically about it (which only two mentor-teacher made a point doing), but by inquiring generally into school-youth's out of school time-spending. Logically positive and negative aspects of school-youth employment were assessed by most teacher-respondents in relation to education and learning. While none of the teachers was against school-youth employment per se, too much work (particularly in combination with

sports, going out, etc) was by most respondents perceived as problematic. Positive features, by some derived from their own school-youth employment experience, were mainly phrased in developmental terms like learning to deal with money, discipline, orientation on the future, etc. However, this led only three teacher-respondents to conclude that it might therefore be worthwhile for a school to take a closer look at the employment experiences of school-youth and whether that has anything to offer, or learn from for the school-setting. Apart from this, school and work were largely considered as real, but different parts of school-youth's lives. Money was given as the main motivating factor for school-youth employment and only a few teachers emphasised other motivating factors or the significance of 'earned' money. Moreover, although a bit of money was perceived as a positive learning experience, many teachers observed a serious risk of adapting frivolous spending habits in case too much was earned, which only one teacher mentioned applied equally to adults. If the issue of school-youth employment is discussed in CCS it is, with a few exceptions, done with reference to its potential detrimental influence on school performance⁴⁵. However, no structural attention is paid to school-youth employment in mentor-classes e.g. in the form of information on the 'rights and wrongs' of young workers. Moreover, the vast majority of the respondents felt that school-youth employment is first of all the responsibility of the parents and the child in question in which the (mentor) teachers have not more than an advisory role. One respondent suggested that junior-sections of labour unions should take a more pronounced role in this matter.

4.6 Dead-end, Low-quality Employment: Disposable Jobs of Indispensable Value

As a way of concluding this analytical chapter, I will recap the main findings and relate this to particularly the first three research questions, as stated in 1.3.2. A life-history approach and regular contact with school-youth for two-and-a-half months brought the constant dynamics of school-youth's movements in and out of jobs, as well as times

⁴⁵ Although not against work CCS makes it a point to, as matter of awareness raising, raise this issue during the 4-HAVO parents' meeting since this year is the entry point to the final and crucial stage of HAVO.

without jobs to the surface. This sheds a different light on the (adult) conception of '*dead-end jobs*' (Mortimer and Finch 1986 p: 69) since none of the school-youth had any long term aspirations to their current jobs. School-youth tend to perceive their jobs largely with regard to their current lives and near future, while to the general experience of having (had) a job, regardless its nature, some long-term value is attributed. This means that self-earned money is indeed one of the main motivations for a job; however, one can't ignore the fact that many jobs were perceived as significantly different from the familiar school, peer and family setting, thus clearly offering more than just money despite the job's low intrinsic value. The job's low intrinsic value didn't seem to compound to negative feelings towards work. The school-youth took significant pride in doing seemingly marginal, but as they pointed out, crucial jobs.

Nevertheless, school-youth's perceptions and experiences towards the jobs and the remunerations differ widely. Although with each year gained, potentially more (and better) jobs come within reach, it seemed not so much school-youth's previous work-experience that affects access to new opportunities, but rather family values towards work and family-networks, combined with school-youth's gender. These factors are indeed largely structurally determined and with respect to school-youth's work not mitigated by education since school and work hardly interact constructively. This means that for young school-youth in general and girls in particular the choice of job is rather constrained which is further reinforced by socio-economic background. However, a life-history approach revealed that these constraints are not all-determining. Within the limited space school-youth clearly demonstrated agency, constantly on the look-out for better deals, either in terms of money, type of job, working hours, colleagues, or in general relation to their current and near future lives.

Chapter V

Retracing Steps to Gain Ground: A Conclusion

As a way of concluding, this chapter briefly summarises the main findings of the study from which some conclusions are drawn. These conclusions are further elaborated on in order to address the last in the set of research question as stated under 1.3.2; what have these local findings to offer to the larger debates on child related research and school-youth and work in particular?

5.1 School-Youth Employment in Rural Eastern Netherlands: A Summary

In the previous chapters I've argued that child labour⁴⁶ in the Netherlands is not just 'a thing of the past' (Lavalette 1999b), nor can it be regarded as a marginal, harmless and well-regulated side-activity given the numerous school-youth involved in illegal employment (Neve and Renooy 1988 p: 105). On the other hand, sweat-shop conditions are unlikely, as are children working at (early) primary-school age; however this doesn't justify the lack of public⁴⁷ and academic attention to this widespread social phenomenon. On the rare occasions this topic is discussed it's mostly done with regard to the psychological and educational impact hardly ever with regard to the role of paid employment in contemporary school-youth's lives.

This latter objective has been pursued in this paper and required giving voice to school-youth, while triangulating this with quantitative data and voices of other important actors like teachers and parents. The quantitative data on school-youth reveals that school-youth's contemporary lives are increasingly monetised which is only partly backed by money from parents. It also highlights numerous aspects in school-youth's lives, like independent consumption, access to media, etc that were till recently considered as exclusively adult-characteristics, while other 'traditional' adult-behaviour like marriage

⁴⁶ The Dutch Working Hours Act regards anyone under 16 as a child, thus anyone working under 16 is by matter of simple definition involved in child labour.

⁴⁷ Hence, a recent SIRE awareness-campaign about time spending patterns among children made no mention of paid employment at all. From <www.sire.nl> accessed on 4-11-04.

and full-time jobs is increasingly postponed. Moreover it shows that school-youth's jobs are mitigated by age and gender, this latter particularly in the rural context. A qualitative approach in the form of a case-study of paid employment among HAVO school-youth in the 'hardly-urbanised' municipality of Raalte provided several insights. Employment introduced many of these school-youth to a new (relational) context, where indeed the earnings were highly valued but not the sole purpose of working, despite the fact that most of the jobs had little intrinsic value. Family networks and values were certainly important in access to jobs; however, access and the type of these first jobs were also highly affected by gender and age. Despite these constraints school-youth constantly negotiated with their changing (with age) opportunities, needs and possibilities, however, not always in a way their teachers would approve of most.

5.2 Reconsidering the Concepts to enhance Understanding

From the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data presented in chapter three and four one could draw several conclusions. Firstly, school-youth's paid employment needs to be understood in relation terms within its specific society. In the case of the Netherlands, this challenges conventional conceptions of adolescence as a transitional period towards adulthood; since school-youth's paid employment goes well beyond its perceived role as 'socialisation' into future adult roles. School-youth are not only participating in much more than the commonly perceived 'suitable jobs' like baby-sitting and delivering newspaper, they also do this mostly in a competent way. However, as is the case with adult jobs this doesn't justify a lack of monitoring. In addition to a mere process of socialisation it would be more correct to view employment as an active response to negotiate a desired social status and functioning beyond what's society (legally) providing school-youth with. Appreciating and conceptualising school-youth as active agents is indeed more threatening to traditional adult-child relations than a focus on 'substitution' of cost from the family to school-youth (Morrow 1994 p: 139; Middleton and Loumidis 2001 pp: 31-33), which links school-youth employment to family needs. However, since significant numbers of school-youth function quite competently in spheres beyond the institutions meant to socialise and educate them, there's clearly more

to learn from this topic than a narrow focus on the (detrimental) impact of school-youth employment suggests.

However, although a focus on agency seems justified one has to be careful not to lose sight of structural factors that cross-cut school-youth as a social group. In this regard a specific focus on gender, class and age is important. Since most of the school-youth jobs are acquired through informal networks, particularly the family, the school-youth social background certainly affects the available choice thus who gets the better⁴⁸ jobs. However, across social class, this is likely to be cross-cut by gender and age. Prevailing ideas about masculinity and femininity offer boys a greater choice of paid jobs before they are legally allowed to do so, while girls' choice of jobs, especially at a young age, is largely limited to the traditional reproductive sphere (e.g. baby-sitting). This not only reproduces traditional gender patterns, work in the reproductive sphere is also more likely to be underpaid due to its informal character.

5.3 Observing the Local, Rethinking the Global

Drawing from the conclusions presented above, several interesting issues for further debate could be picked up. In relations to the global debate on child labour this study shows once more that full-time education doesn't stop children's participation in the labour market. Undeniably, school is a more preferable setting than the workplace to acquire basic capabilities (Gorwin 1986 pp: 228-229). However, not everything is best learnt in the conventional school setting (Hotchkiss 1986 p: 90), nor is school, as an adult-created institution, necessarily keeping up with changing societies and emerging needs particularly for school-youth's current lives which due to globalisation are not restricted to the developed world only (White 1996 p: 3). This calls both at the local and the global level for a more interactive understanding between education and work in which children can't be overlooked as a key resource (White 2004), while not restricting

⁴⁸ The word 'better' is ambiguous; it can be applied in terms of money, or in terms of intrinsic value and sometimes both.

oneself to a narrow focus on children's voices only. Social actors, which children are, have to be understood within relation to larger frameworks.

In addition, in the case of the Netherlands, given the numerous school-youth engaged in illegal employment the Dutch child labour legislation seems highly ineffective. Banning, deregulating or maintaining the status quo don't seem appropriate measures, the solution has to come from a more responsive and integrated legislation (Whitney 1999 pp: 239-244) since school-youth workers, as their adult counterparts require protection and promotion of their rights (e.g. minimum wage) in the labour market. However, perhaps the challenge lies well beyond this and should start with seriously reconsidering the role of adolescents and children in (modern) societies? In this regard Qvortrup raised the provocative question why school-youth aren't paid for their work in school (Qvortrup 2001a), which is meant to be a full work-week after all. This certainly raises the relevant issue of '*distributive justice*' when looked at children from an intergenerational perspective (Qvortrup 2004 p: 268), particularly when taking note of the ever prolonged period of adolescence in modern societies. Are characteristics like irresponsibility, immaturity, incompetence, etc (Morrow 1994 p: 132) that are at times displayed by adolescents in 'traditional' adult dominated institutions like family and school 'natural' characteristics of adolescence? Or are these features partly a consequence of the fact that their adolescent lives are highly structured by these institutions, providing school-youth with very limited opportunities to demonstrate the opposite? If this latter thought holds any truth, the challenge for adolescent girls is especially big. Their adolescent status not only excludes them from the adult world, their gender also shapes their experience of adolescence (Hudson 1984 p: 53), as we have seen with the issue of school-youth employment.

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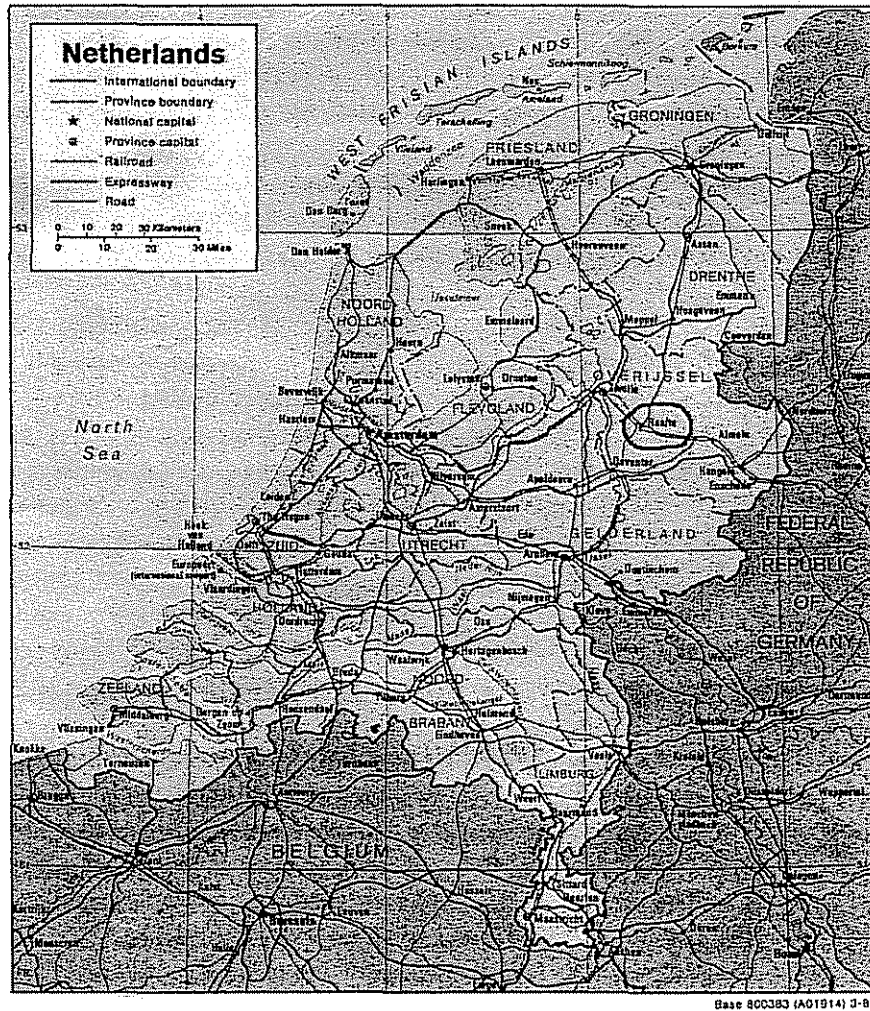
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Annex A

Maps of The Netherlands and Salland Region

The Netherlands:



Source: <http://www.informagiovani-italia.com/map_of_netherlands.htm> (accessed on 9-11-05)

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Annex B

List of key-informants:

- **Erik:** a thirteen year old first-year boy who lives in Raalte. Erik has never had a job, but has tried to get a job delivering leaflets. Erik has an older sister and a younger brother. Both his parents have studied beyond secondary level and are both working.
- **Miranda:** a fourteen year old 2-HAVO (second year of HAVO) girl who lives in Raalte. Miranda has been working from the age of twelve as a baby-sitter for several families and does some paid chores at home. The baby-sitting she does during holidays and school-weeks. Miranda has a younger brother. Both parents are working and have studied beyond secondary level.
- **Petra:** a 14 year old 2-HAVO girl who lives in Raalte. Petra has been working for a year now as an assistant-administrator and housekeeper at a study support centre. The work contains all kind of tasks like vacuum-cleaning, painting, basic administrative tasks on the computer, etc. Petra has a twin sister and a younger brother. Both her parents have studied beyond secondary level and are both working, though the mother works on a voluntary basis.
- **Dennis:** a fifteen year old 3-HAVO boy who lives in one of the surrounding villages of Raalte. Dennis has been working with intervals from the age of ten or eleven, first delivering leaflets (one round a week), then as an ice-cream seller along the road, and now as a cleaner/dishwasher in a restaurant. Dennis has an older sister. Both his parents are working and have studied beyond secondary level.
- **Judy:** a fifteen year old 3-HAVO girl who lives in one of the surrounding villages of Raalte. From the age of fourteen Judy has been working occasionally during holidays first in the bulb-fields where she had to cut flower(buds), weed, etc. Now she works at a butcher, doing things like tacking meat on pins for grilling, vacuum packing sausages, cleaning etc. Judy has an older brother and a younger sister. Both her parents have studied, her father beyond secondary level. They are both working, the mother on a voluntary basis.

- **Rob:** a fifteen year old 3-HAVO boy who lives in Raalte. Rob has been working occasionally during holidays from the age of fourteen. First in the bulb-fields (doing work like Judy), now at a building contractors' workplace where he sweeps, sorts out screws, but also works with machinery. Rob has a younger brother. Both his parents have studied up to secondary level, although his father didn't finish school. Only his father has a job.
- **Andre:** a fifteen year old 3-HAVO boy who lives in Raalte. Andre has been working from the age of nine: gardening and cleaning for his grandfather, then delivering leaflets and now (daily) delivering morning-newspaper. Andre has a younger brother and younger sister. His parents are in the process of divorcing, he's going to stay with his mother who has finished secondary education but has no paid job. His father has also finished secondary education and is working.
- **Ronny:** a sixteen year old 4-HAVO boy who lives in one of the surrounding villages of Raalte. Ronny has been working from the age of eleven for an agricultural mechanisation company where he did all kind of tasks (changing oil-filters in machines, sweeping, sorting, etc), on a farm of his cousin where he did various tasks, tiling roofs, making brick streets, at an ice-cream factory, at a filling station, in his grandmother's garden and a car garage successively. In his recent job at the garage he does the smaller jobs on the cars independently. Ronny has a younger brother and a younger sister. Both his parents have studied beyond secondary level and are both working.
- **Helda:** a seventeen year old 4-HAVO girl who lives in one of the surrounding villages of Raalte. Helda has occasionally been working from the age of fifteen as a stand-in for her friend's leaflet round, then as a teaching assistant and later administrative assistant at a study-support centre and now behind the counter at a Chinese take-away taking orders from customers, communicating this to the kitchen staff and receiving the money. Both her parents hold university degrees but have taken early retirement. Helda is the youngest; she has a twin brother, two older sisters and one older brother.

NOTE:

For the sake of privacy, the names used in this paper are not the real names of the key-informants.

Annex C
Summary of work histories of key-informants

AGE →	10	11	12	13	14
Key-informants					
Erik (13) -football -keyboard classes -no mobile -€2.50 pocket money per week -asks parents for permission for interview	-	-	-	-looking for a job, aware that peers have a job -nothing against any type of work -knows all the ins and outs of older sister's (15) job	
Miranda (14) -musical school -mobile phone (partly paid by parents) -€20 pocket money per month -uses make-up -dresses fashionably -asks mother if interview fits in her timetable	-	-	-baby sitting (one family) -too young for any 'formal' job, started baby-sitting for her mother's friend (organised by her mother)	-paid chores at home (previously unpaid, no bigger tasks paid) -baby sitting for three families (friends of the first family)	-paid chores at home -baby sitting (either €2.00, 2.50 or 3.00 per hour, depending on family) -looking for other jobs, preferably in a shop (not in bulb fields), but still too young
Petra (14) -handball -handball school -€40 pocket money per month -mobile phone (partly paid by parents) -doesn't need to check with her parents regarding the time/date of interview	-	-	-	-took occasionally care of the animals on her uncle's campsite during weekends and holidays. Her uncle gave her money for this, though she didn't want to call it a job.	-first: cleaning the study support centre -later: cleaning and administrative tasks, €4 per hour -works together with her twin sister -Her boss sponsors her handball team, and through this knows her parents as well. -the sisters divide the work among each other

	10	11	12	13	14	15
Dennis (15) -football -table tennis -no mobile phone		-leaflet round a friend also did that, and advised him how to get the job (€45 per month)	-quit his leaflet round, didn't like the job anymore, didn't need the money		-ice cream selling for one week in summer holiday, needed money, got the job through a friend, then took a break and never returned (also the end of the summer)	-dishwashing and cleaning in a restaurant, got the job through a football friend (€3.36 per hour) -sometimes assists the cook
Andre (15) -voluntary work -hobbies -girlfriend (who doesn't work) -mobile phone (pays himself) -no pocket money anymore since divorce parents	-at age of 9 started helping his grandfather gardening (paid randomly)	-grandfather's garden	-grandfather died, end of job -leaflet round (his mother showed him an advertisement)	-leaflet round	-quit leaflet round, and started newspaper round (saw an advertisement himself) which was better paid (€150 p. month), fitted better in his daily programme -extended his newspaper round, changed sequence of the addresses into a more efficient round	
Rob (15) -football -bought a mobile phone from the money of his last job -€14 p. month pocket money	-	-	-	-	-bulb fields for 4 weeks over the summer (€2.80 p. hour), his parents showed him the advertisement -hated the working conditions, will not do it again -wanted to work since summer holiday was long and boring	-found a job for the summer holiday in a constructor's workshop (€2.10 p. hour), through an uncle -was promised a continuation of the job after the summer, but told differently at the end of the summer

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Judy (15) -draught club -athletics -€12 p. month pocket money -no mobile phone	-	-	-	-didn't feel like working, didn't need the money yet	-bulb fields for two weeks in the summer holiday (€2 p. hour), together with her brother who worked there previously also. -didn't feel like continuing after 2 weeks	-works at the butcher's shop of her friends father (with her friend), €3.50 p hour, both holidays and weekends. -doesn't like the job always, but too young for many other jobs		
Ronny (16) -€23 p. month pocket money and €45 p. month for clothing -tinkering with mopeds -smoking -going out with friends -mobile phone (pays himself)	-	-started to work on Saturdays at an agricultural mechanisation company -needed money, and knew the owner, just approached him	-agricultural mechanisation company (Saturdays and holidays)	-agricultural mechanisation company -worked on his cousin's farm, job ended when winter started, too little work	Agricultural mechanisation company	-too little work at agricultural mechanisation company, thus had to leave -asked, and got a job at his uncle's filling station -worked for another uncle who's building a house (tiling) -worked in an ice-cream factory for a few weeks in the summer (heard about it through a friend)	-filling station became fully automatic, so lost his job -helped making a street for someone in the village (heard about it through a cousin) -took over his younger brother's job doing the garden of his grandmother -works at his uncle's garage (who also owns the filling station)	
Helda (17) -€25 p. month pocket money -mobile phone (pays herself) -handball -piano classes	-	-	-	-	-didn't need the money yet, older sisters didn't work, didn't feel like working	-took over a friend's leaflet round during a holiday, but didn't like it	-started as an assistant at a study support centre (at which she was enrolled herself), but had to stop since she failed VWO, after this she occasionally worked there on administration till she found a job in her village -chinese take-away job, through a friend	-more hours/tasks at the Chinese take-away

Annex D

Summary of key-informants main experiences and perceptions related to work

Erik	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Discussed working with parents and friends and thinks about it. -Checked with mother websites on delivery jobs. -Aware of peers with jobs. -Interested in work for: extra money, too much free time (bored), especially in holidays when friends travel. -Nothing against any job (like bulb-fields). -Talks with great detail about his older sister's part-time job.
Miranda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Prefer working with children over domestic work. -Baby-sitting is tougher than schoolwork, especially if children don't listen. -Parents ask her to baby-sit with short notice. -She uses school as an excuse not to work, other excuses not always taken seriously by the families. -Clear preference for certain families (likes the children more).
Petra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Proud of her current job (especially compared with friends who can't find work, do different work). -Likes the freedom (trust) she gets from her boss. -Feels competent about the job (is sure that her boss wouldn't manage housekeeping tasks by himself, his mother does his laundry). -Number of tasks are increasing, also higher levels. -Feels, her boss is happy with her since she always gets her work done and never cancels work.
Dennis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Always found jobs at own initiative with help of friends. -Money is important, but also just having a job (exploring life). -Talks with great pride about current job e.g. things he learnt (recipes, cooking, which he shows at home), part of adult life (employees outing, beers after work, etc). -No long term ambitions to current job, but in the short term he sees potential of a career in the 'kitchen' ending as assistant to the cook. -Impressed with the advantages of a legal job (different pay on Sundays, holiday allowance, etc), feels like earning without working, never experienced before.
Andre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Liked working for his grandfather, would have done it without pay. -Aware of his qualities (precise, reliable, etc), will assess if this is rewarded in potential jobs. -Extended his paper rounds with parts of other rounds, is the stand-in if someone is ill, and rearranged the sequence of his round more efficiently. -Parents are divorcing, no pocket money anymore, own income more important to maintain hobbies/lifestyle.
Rob	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Frustrated that he doesn't have a regular job.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lured into a summer job with the prospect of continuing on Saturdays, but promise broken at the end of the summer. -Found out from colleagues (after a week working) what his salary would be. -Hated the 'regime' and work in the bulb-fields. -Went with colleagues 'on strike' in the bulb-fields to demand drinking while working. Objective achieved. -Parents didn't object to working conditions in bulb fields, though were aware, and wouldn't like to see him go there again. -Likes to tell about the jokes his adult colleagues tell him in the workplace. -Doesn't envy those adult colleagues, rather studies more to keep it as a part-time job only. -Thinks he's appreciated by his colleagues since he's hard working and never complaining about orders (which some other boys do).
Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Never needed money, but suddenly started spending more at the time of first job (not sure about cause of consequence). -Two weeks in the bulb field minimum to get a bonus (many left after one day already), therefore stayed that long. -Didn't like the work, conditions and bosses in the bulb fields but liked the fact that her friends worked there. -Dislikes the butcher, only works there since the daughter is her friend. -Doesn't communicate with her boss, only through her friend. -Likes working with adult colleagues, although the job is quite repetitive and tough if done a few days at a stretch.
Ronny	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Takes every job very seriously (his brother not, therefore took over his job). -Takes work more serious than school. -All jobs found on own initiative with help from friends/cousins. -Works in adult jobs, but often get treated as incompetent. Reacts by working harder to show the opposite. -Often the first one to be squeezed out of work declined, therefore constantly on the look-out for new opportunities, sometimes ending up with too many hours, and more jobs. -Too much work might have affected his failing in HAVO 4. -Skills acquired in workplace are surely useful in later life. -Continues his recent job by changing from HAVO to car mechanic school.
Helda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Never thought about work before 16. -Never went out before 16, now she does she needs more money and is looking for more hours to work. -Likes the Chinese take away for the time being (meeting people, not too busy, etc), hated delivering leaflets (raining, cold, poorly paid, etc). -Tasks increase at Chinese take-away, e.g. introducing new colleagues to the job. -Feels she's of key importance to the Chinese take-away as a native Dutch speaker.