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Children in informal trading: Cusco, Peru

Peter Kelso Mackie

Submitted to the University of Wales in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography

Swansea University

2007

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ABSTRACT

Children in informal trading have been the subject of only a limited amount of academic research, most of which considers the broader issues of child labour, informal trading or children's geographies. This thesis brings the fields of enquiry together and investigates the geography of children in informal trading. The study is set in Cusco, a city where children's involvement in the urban informal sector is particularly visible. It aims to identify the space-time patterns of children's work in informal trading, explore their working conditions, investigate children's experiences, examine the ways in which children and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange, and consider the policy and legal contexts of child trading in Cusco. A comprehensive multi methodological approach is pursued to meet the objectives, incorporating quantitative and qualitative techniques. The results suggest that children in informal trading occupy two marginal trading niches: the stall trader and the ambulant trader. Notably, children comprise a substantial proportion of ambulant traders across central Cusco. Whilst children are apparently 'disadvantaged traders', marginalised to less serviced locations, selling less profitable goods and at less desirable times, there appears to be a generalised hierarchy amongst children, reflecting their age, gender and origin. At the lower end of this hierarchy are younger children, girls and children of rural origin. In contrast to many of the findings which suggest that these children are marginalised, there is some evidence which implies children in informal trading exhibit a degree of agency, choosing to work, determining their prices, integrating work and play and enjoying their work. Finally, the thesis establishes that current international policies on child labour have a limited impact on child traders. It is argued that children's enjoyment of work and the many benefits they experience must be taken into account for policies to be truly beneficial to the world's children.

DECLARATIONS AND STATEMENTS

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CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Declarations and Statements	2
Contents	3
List of Tables	5
List of Figures	12
List of Maps	13
Acknowledgements	14
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	15
Research aims and objectives	16
Academic research context	17
Thesis structure	19
CHAPTER 2 Literature Review	21
The informal sector	21
Informal trade	27
Informal traders	38
A focus on the child	43
Perspectives on childhoods and international child labour legislation	54
Summary comments	60
CHAPTER 3 Methodology	61
Documentary material	62
Informal discussions	62
Key informant interviews	63
Observational surveys	64
Questionnaire surveys	69
Detailed interviews	73
Visual methods	79
Summary comments	81
CHAPTER 4 The City of Cusco: Geographical Background	83
Cusco: location and city functions	83
The tourist industry in Cusco	89
The population of Cusco	95
Working children of Cusco: policies, programmes and issues	98
Summary comments	105

CHAPTER 5	Informal Trade in Central Cusco	108
	Retail space in central Cusco	108
	Understanding types of trading location in Cusco	115
	Exploring trader characteristics	136
	Changing municipal policies and their impacts	157
	Summary comments	165
CHAPTER 6	Child Ambulant Traders	167
	Child ambulant trader characteristics	167
	Types of goods handled by child ambulant traders	171
	Spatial trading patterns of child ambulant traders	182
	Temporal trading patterns of child ambulant traders	192
	Summary comments	205
CHAPTER 7	Childhood Experiences as Ambulant Traders	208
	Trading circumstances of child ambulant traders	208
	Life costs: working at the cost of play and education?	215
	Dangers of ambulant trading: accidents, theft, abuse and fear	228
	Children's positive experiences from ambulant trading	238
	Self awareness: children's assessment of their competitiveness in ambulant trading	242
	The importance of ambulant trading and possible alternatives for the future	247
	Summary comments	251
CHAPTER 8	A Shared Experience: Exchange Between Consumers and Child Ambulant Traders	254
	Dealing with the consumer: the child ambulant trader perspective	254
	Dealing with child traders: the consumer perspective	259
	The consumer perspective on children's experiences in informal trade	274
	Attitudes towards policy intervention for child ambulant traders	277
	Summary comments	285
CHAPTER 9	Conclusions	288
	The research location and objectives	289
	Informal trading and children's participation	291
	Children's occupation of marginal trading niches	293
	A generalised hierarchy of child traders	295
	Child agency in informal trading	298
	Policy and wider implications	299
	Concluding comments	302
	Appendices	305
	Bibliography	337

LIST OF TABLES

Page

CHAPTER 2

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| 1 | Principal characteristics of the informal sector | 22 |
| 2 | Classification of goods and services sold by informal traders | 36 |

CHAPTER 3

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| 3 | The characteristics of goods handled by informal traders in Cusco | 66 |
| 4 | Characteristics of broad ethnic groups observed in Cusco | 68 |

CHAPTER 4

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 5 | Numbers of national and foreign visitors travelling to specific Peruvian cities, 2001 | 90 |
| 6 | Average amounts of time and money spent by different age groups of tourists in Peru, 2001 | 91 |
| 7 | The population age structure in different geographical areas of Peru in 1993 | 96 |
| 8 | The population gender structure in different geographical areas of Peru in 1993 | 96 |
| 9 | The mother tongue of the Peruvian population in different geographical areas in 1993 | 97 |
| 10 | Aims of the PNAI to be achieved by 2010 | 101 |

CHAPTER 5

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 11 | Number of trading units at daily informal trading locations in central Cusco | 112 |
| 12 | Classes of goods on sale at daily informal trading units in central Cusco | 115 |
| 13 | Classes of goods on sale at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco | 118 |
| 14 | Types of daily informal trading locations in central Cusco where different classes of goods are on sale | 119 |
| 15 | Classes of goods on sale at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco | 121 |
| 16 | Classes of goods on sale at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco | 121 |
| 17 | Classes of goods on sale at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco | 134 |
| 18 | Types of goods on sale at daily ambulant trading units during the day and at night on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco | 135 |

19	Age groups of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco	136
20	Gender of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco	137
21	Ethnic groups of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco	138
22	Informal trading locations in central Cusco where traders of different age groups are located	139
23	Age groups of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco	140
24	Classes of goods on sale at trading units operated by informal traders of different age groups	141
25	Age groups of the principal traders selling different classes of goods at trading units in central Cusco	142
26	Age groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco	143
27	Age groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco	144
28	Age groups of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco	145
29	Age groups of traders at ambulant trading units at night and during the day time on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco	146
30	Gender of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco	147
31	Informal trading locations in central Cusco where traders of different gender are located	148
32	Gender of the principal traders at trading units handling different classes of goods in central Cusco	149
33	Classes of goods handled by male and female traders at informal trading units in central Cusco	149
34	Gender of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco	151
35	Gender of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco	151
36	Gender of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco	152
37	Ethnic groups of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco	153
38	Informal trading locations of indigenous and mestizo traders in central Cusco	153
39	Ethnic groups of the principal traders handling different classes of goods at trading units in central Cusco	154
40	Classes of goods handled by different ethnic groups at trading units in central Cusco	154
41	Ethnic groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco	155
42	Ethnic groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco	156
43	Ethnic groups of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco	157
44	The numbers of traders relocated to different market locations	160

CHAPTER 6

45	The ability to converse in a foreign language of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	169
46	Living circumstances of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	170
47	Parents' occupations of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	171
48	Locations where goods are acquired by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	172
49	Age groups of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco	173
50	Gender of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco	175
51	Origins of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco	179
52	Foreign language knowledge of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco	181
53	Age groups of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco	183
54	Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco	183
55	Gender of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco	184
56	Reasons why male and female child ambulant traders prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco	184
57	Origins of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco	185
58	Reasons why child ambulant traders of different origin prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco	185
59	Attitudes of child ambulant trader interviewees towards trading at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco	190
60	Stated reasons why child ambulant trader interviewees like to trade at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas	191
61	Stated reasons why child ambulant trader interviewees dislike trading at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas	192
62	Age groups of child traders starting work at different times of the day in central Cusco	195
63	Age groups of child traders finishing work at different times of the day in central Cusco	195
64	Age groups of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco	195
65	Gender of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco	196
66	Origin of child traders starting work at different times of the day in central Cusco	197
67	Origin of child traders finishing work at different times of the day in central Cusco	197
68	Origin of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco	197
69	Total number of days worked in a week by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	197

70	Preferred days for working of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	199
71	Reasons why particular days are preferred for working by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	199
72	Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular days for trading in central Cusco	200
73	Total number of days worked in a week by male and female child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	201
74	Reasons why male and female child traders prefer particular days for trading in central Cusco	201
75	Total number of days worked in a week in central Cusco by child ambulant trader respondents of rural and urban origins	202
76	Preferred months for working of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	203
77	Reasons why particular months are preferred for working by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco	203
78	Age groups of child ambulant traders preferring different months for working in central Cusco	204
79	Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular months for trading in central Cusco	204
80	Origin of child ambulant traders preferring different months for working in central Cusco	204

CHAPTER 7

81	Child ambulant traders' motivations for working in central Cusco	209
82	Extent to which child ambulant traders agree that they work to earn pocket money according to the age group of the child	209
83	Age groups of child ambulant traders who agree to varying extents that they work to earn pocket money	209
84	Gender of child ambulant traders who agree to varying extents that they work to earn pocket money	210
85	Types of employers of child ambulant traders of different age groups in central Cusco	212
86	Age groups of child ambulant traders working for different types of employers in central Cusco	212
87	Types of employers of male and female child ambulant traders in central Cusco	212
88	Gender of child ambulant traders working for different types of employers in central Cusco	212
89	Frequency that child ambulant traders work alongside other traders in central Cusco	214
90	Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the age group of the child	214
91	Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the gender of the child	214
92	Gender of child ambulant traders who work alone at various different frequencies	215
93	Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the origin of the child	215
94	Tasks required of child ambulant traders other than trading	216

95	Extent of the requirement for child ambulant traders to wash clothes according to the gender of the child	217
96	Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to wash clothes	217
97	Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to help their parents	218
98	Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to help their parents	218
99	Extent of the requirement for child ambulant traders to cook according to the age group of the child	219
100	Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to cook	219
101	Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to cook	219
102	Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to clean dishes	220
103	Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to clean dishes	220
104	Availability of time for child ambulant traders to play according to the origin of the child	221
105	Age groups of child ambulant traders and normal play times	222
106	Origin of child ambulant traders and normal play times	222
107	Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders in central Cusco	224
108	Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders of different gender	224
109	Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders of different origins	225
110	Extent to which child ambulant traders think they learn anything in school which helps them to trade on the street	225
111	Age groups of child ambulant traders and perceived usefulness of school education for ambulant trading	226
112	Age groups of child ambulant traders and the experience of accidents whilst trading	229
113	Origins of child ambulant traders and the experience of accidents whilst trading	229
114	Age groups of child ambulant traders and frequency of the confiscation of their goods by police officers	231
115	Gender of child ambulant traders and frequency of the confiscation of their goods by police officers	232
116	Age groups of child ambulant traders and frequency of theft of their goods by other children	235
117	Gender of child ambulant traders and frequency of the theft of their goods by other children	235
118	Age groups of child ambulant traders and amounts of money earned each week	239
119	Gender of child ambulant traders and amount of money earned each week	239
120	Gender of child ambulant traders and extent of belief that a sense of fun helps sales	245
121	Age groups of child ambulant traders and the extent of belief that appearing to be young helps sales	246
122	Age groups of child ambulant traders and the belief that the appearance of poverty helps sales	246
123	Ranking of the important entities in the lives of child ambulant traders in central Cusco	249

CHAPTER 8

124	Ages of the consumers who most frequently buy from child ambulant traders of different gender	255
125	Types of consumer who most frequently buy from child ambulant traders of different gender	256
126	The price differentiation for consumers purchasing from child ambulant traders	257
127	The perceptions of child ambulant traders of different gender regarding the attitudes of tourists towards them	258
128	The perceptions of child ambulant traders of different gender regarding the attitudes of locals towards them	259
129	The attitudes of locals and tourists towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders	260
130	The attitudes of locals and tourists of different age groups towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders	260
131	The attitudes of different types of tourist towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders	261
132	Preferences of locals and tourists between purchasing from child or adult traders	261
133	The types of goods that locals and tourists prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders	262
134	The types of goods that locals and tourists of different gender prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders	263
135	The types of goods that different types of tourist prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders	264
136	The types of goods that locals and tourists prefer to purchase from adult ambulant traders	265
137	The types of goods that different types of tourist prefer to purchase from adult ambulant traders	265
138	The perceptions of locals and tourists as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders	266
139	The perceptions of locals and tourists of different age groups as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders	267
140	The perceptions of different types of tourist as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders	267
141	The perceptions of locals and adults as to whether child ambulant traders are likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders	268
142	The perceptions of locals and tourists of different age groups as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders	268
143	The perceptions of different types of tourist as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders	269
144	The extent to which a child trader smiling and seeming to be having fun increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them	269
145	The extent to which a child trader appearing to be poor increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them	270
146	The extent to which a child trader's ability to speak a foreign language	271

	increases the likelihood that tourists of different gender will purchase from them	
147	The extent to which a child trader crying increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them	271
148	The extent to which a child trader appearing to be young increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them	272
149	The attitudes of locals and tourists of different age groups towards bartering	274
150	The attitudes of locals and tourists of different gender towards bartering	274
151	The extent to which locals and tourists agree that trading negatively affects the lives of child ambulant traders	275
152	The disadvantages of children working as ambulant traders as perceived by locals and tourists	276
153	Future local government intervention proposed by locals and tourists with regards to child ambulant traders	279
154	The opinions of locals and tourists on whether local authorities should restrict children's trading locations	281
155	The opinions of locals and tourists on where child ambulant traders should be prohibited from vending	281
156	The opinions of tourists on where child ambulant traders should be permitted to vend	283
157	The opinions of locals and tourists on when child ambulant traders should be permitted to vend	284

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
CHAPTER 2	
1 The informal sector disaggregated	25
2 Preferred trading locations of informal traders	31
3 An abandoned market infrastructure in Colombo	33
CHAPTER 4	
4 The city of Cusco: Capital of the department, province and district of the same name	86
5 Timeline of conservation events in Cusco, 1930 – 1993	94
CHAPTER 5	
6 Opening years of <i>canchones</i> on Calle Plateros and Calle Triunfo	129
7 New kiosks introduced in Cusco in 2005	165
CHAPTER 9	
8 The generalised hierarchy of informal trading in central Cusco	296
9 The generalised hierarchy of children in ambulant trading in central Cusco	297

LIST OF MAPS

	Page
CHAPTER 4	
1 The location of the city of Cusco relative to other Peruvian cities	84
CHAPTER 5	
2 Retail space in central Cusco, 2004	110
3 Market locations in central Cusco, 2004	117
4 Canchones locations in central Cusco, 2004	126
5 Land use in central Cusco, 2004	127
6 Location and density of ambulant traders in central Cusco, 2004	132
7 Years of opening of canchones in central Cusco, 2004	163
CHAPTER 6	
8 Specific trading locations on the Plaza de Armas referred to by child ambulant traders	189

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-Chapter 1-

INTRODUCTION

For centuries children have worked in a multitude of activities, in both majority and minority world countries¹. However, it was in the 19th century in much of Europe and North America that societies began to view ‘child labour’ as a social problem and consequently embarked on ‘addressing’ the issue (Liebel 2004). Having significantly reduced child labour in a minority world context, child labour is now most commonly associated with majority world countries, where children frequently work in the informal sector. Child labour is a topical and extremely controversial issue that has received a lot of attention in policy, academia and the press. At present, people are increasingly questioning the minority world perception of child labour, which regards it as a social problem and in conflict with activities perceived to be more important such as education and leisure. Any contemporary study of child labour has the potential to contribute to this current discussion. Child labour research has tended to focus on particularly ‘hazardous’ occupations such as mining and manufacturing. However, there is a need to study and improve understanding of children in less ‘hazardous’ occupations, of which informal trading is a prime example.

Informal trading is an important part of the retailing landscape in many majority world countries, particularly in Latin America. Furthermore, it is an exceptionally visible part of the retailing environment. The selected case study city of Cusco is a city where informal trading plays a key socio-economic role. Economically, informal trading provides employment and a method of distributing vast quantities of goods, whilst socially the market place is a meeting point. Notably, children can be seen to play a role in the prominent informal trading activities in Cusco, which would appear to be a contravention of current international policies that seek to eradicate child labour. To date, geographers have made important contributions to understanding children who live and work on the street and to understanding space-time patterns in informal trading. However, geographers and their academic counterparts in other fields have failed to pay significant attention to children in informal trading. Hence, it is this clearly identifiable niche that this thesis seeks to investigate.

¹ The term ‘majority world’ is adopted as a description of those parts of the world where the economy is less developed and where quality of life indicators are poor. This review does not seek to justify the use of this term, it is simply accepted as a description of these countries. For further discussion on the definition of the ‘majority world’ see Punch (2003).

Research Aim and Objectives

Based upon the research niches identified in the literature discussed in Chapter Two and on background knowledge on the geography of Cusco, the following broad research aim is identified:

To investigate the geography of children in informal trading in Cusco by closely examining the nature of their work, and their experiences as child traders, within the policy and legal context

The research aim can be divided into five, more specific research objectives that will provide direction for investigating the geography of children in informal trading:

1. To identify and explain the space-time patterns of children's work in informal trading
2. To explore the reasons why children work in informal trading, establish who their employers and colleagues are and ascertain the other activities in which children spend their time
3. To investigate the positive and negative experiences of child traders in their work, in leisure, and in education
4. To examine the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange
5. To consider the policy and legal contexts of child trading in Cusco and the extent of regulation enforcement

The research objectives are diverse, and therefore an appropriate methodology for addressing the objectives must be equally diverse. Consequently, the research adopts a mixed methodological approach, incorporating a review of documentary material, informal discussions, key informant interviews, observational surveys, questionnaire surveys, detailed interviews and visual tasks. This comprehensive methodology involved working

closely with child traders in order to gain their trust and understand their lives, whilst also taking a general overview of their work by observing all informal trading in central Cusco.

Academic Research Context

There are a number of relevant bodies of literature which provide contextual information for this thesis. They are inter-related but can coarsely be divided into literature on the informal sector, informal trading, child labour, children's geographies, consumer/trader perceptions and policy. Any investigation of informal trading or children's work is likely to draw upon and contribute to the significant amount of informal sector literature (Birkbeck 1978, Chant 1999, Fernández-Kelly & Schefner 2006, Guha-Khasnobis 2006, Sanyal 1988, Sethurman 1976, Venkatesh 2006). There have been a number of studies investigating children in a variety of informal sector activities (Boyden & Myers 1995, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Katz 1996, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Robson 1996, Weston 2005) and it is apparent that by focusing on a particular activity a more detailed understanding of children's involvement in the activity can be obtained. Informal trading is a particularly significant informal sector service activity and a major economic activity in majority world countries (Bromley 1998a).

For decades informal trading has been of interest to academics (Bromley 1978b, Bromley 1998a, Dasgupta 1992, Hays Mitchell 1990, 1994, McGee & Yeung 1977, Middleton 1989, 2003), partly because it is a very visible informal sector activity (Hays Mitchell 1994). An abundance of contextual and comparative information can be gained from this literature. Some of the relevant findings relate to spatio-temporal trading patterns and the goods traders handle. Whilst informal trading literature provides contextual information on spatio-temporal patterns, it is of limited use for informing the part of this thesis which investigates the lives of child traders. Most studies of informal trading have economic and planning foci and therefore do not explore traders' lives in any depth (Hays Mitchell 1994, Middleton 2003, Smart 1989). Those studies which at least acknowledge the heterogeneity of traders' lives frequently identify differences in trading activity according to age, gender and ethnicity (Chant 1999, Gallaway & Bernasek 2002, Harris 1995, Laurie & Bonnett 2002, Moser 1980, Radcliffe 1990, Seligmann 1993, Wade 1997). Notably, with regards to this thesis, studies have concluded that children and youth participation in the informal sector is significant (Bromley 1978b, Chant & Jones 2003, Welti 2002) but restricted to the

“lower echelons of economic activity” (Chant 1999: 517). Existing studies of informal trading will be used to devise appropriate methodologies, explain recurring patterns and where relevant contrasting findings will be explored.

Contextual information on children in informal trading can also be obtained from the ample and growing literature on child labour (Boyden & Myers 1995, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Jennings *et al* 2006, Katz 1996, Liebel 2004, Robson 1996, Young 2003) and children’s geographies (Ansell 2005, Ansell & Van Blerk 2005, Gough & Franch 2005, Hillman 2006, Holloway & Valentine 2000, James 1990, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Punch 2003, Roberts & Petticrew 2006, Weston 2005). Very little of this research specifically focuses on child traders, instead it gives a wider overview of child labour and street children. The literature provides an insight into many of the issues surrounding working children, particularly those who work on the street. There are likely to be generic characteristics used to describe working children that will aid in explaining the findings specifically associated with children in informal trading. One of the areas of investigation in recent child related literature is children’s perceptions of their work, which indicates that many children value their work highly (Jennings *et al* 2006). On the other hand, literature on adult perceptions of children’s work suggests that it is valued less than that of adults (Boyden 1991, de la Cadena 1995, Nieuwenhuys 1996). This literature will support an investigation into the perceptions held by child traders and their consumers. However, the literature does not explore, in any depth, how children perceive their consumers. Consequently, the thesis will advance discussion by exploring such perceptions.

In investigating children in informal trading, the policy and legal contexts of children’s work were also viewed as worthy of consideration. Children in informal trading are subject to key international, national and local policy interventions that seek to eradicate child labour (ILO 1973, ILO 1999, UNCRC 1989). The various policies take as their starting point the concept of minority world childhood (Boyden 1991, Holloway & Valentine 2000, Invernizzi 2003), which values play and education and disregards work (Bannerjee & Driskell 2002, Matthews & Limb 1999, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Valentine 1996a, 1997b). This has been referred to as the “global export of modern childhood” (Stephens 1995: 15). There has been recent criticism of the international perspective on child labour, arguing that working is not necessarily ‘bad’ (Invernizzi 2003, Jennings *et al* 2006, Liebel 2004,

Miljeteig 2000). This is because there is a growing understanding that “work might have beneficial effects on children” (Miljeteig 2000: 7). Therefore, it seems that there is potential for this thesis to inform international policy on child labour.

Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of nine chapters. Following this introductory chapter is a literature review, which summarises a selection of the key literature deemed relevant to the investigation. Chapter Three explains the research methodology, outlining the details of each method and how the methods were implemented. Chapter Four provides a geographical background on the city of Cusco. It describes the city’s location and its functions, it explains the prominence of the tourist industry and it describes the population. The chapter also summarises the policies, programmes and issues affecting working children in Cusco. The subsequent four chapters are themed chapters which explore the findings of the research in detail.

Chapters Five and Six address the first aim of the research in particular. Chapter Five investigates all informal trading in central Cusco, describing space-time patterns and identifying the role that children play. The chapter also summarises the history and present state of informal trading policy in central Cusco. As Chapter Five determines that ambulant trading is a key trading location for children, Chapter Six explores space-time patterns of children in ambulant trading in more detail. By listening to children’s perspectives, Chapter Seven considers their experiences as ambulant traders. It investigates their trading circumstances, the impacts of trading on education and play, the dangers they face and their positive experiences. This chapter predominantly addresses the second and third research objectives. Chapter Eight investigates the attitudes of child traders and their consumers towards each other, basically tackling the fourth objective of the research, concerning the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange. Because policy issues pervade most aspects of the research, discussion of policy is spread across a number of chapters. Policies relating to working children are discussed in Chapter Four, informal trading policy is discussed in Chapter Five, Chapter Eight investigates consumer attitudes towards policy affecting child traders and additional policy comments are made throughout the thesis.

This thesis endeavours to investigate the geographies of children in informal trading, not only by observing their activities but by participating in their lives and encouraging them to voice their opinions on the issues that affect them. The children fully embraced this research project so a great volume of information was obtained. The following chapters seek to give an accurate and objective account of the research findings.

-Chapter 2-

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review will discuss informal trading in the majority world, particularly in Latin America and with special reference to the involvement of children. Informal trading is an informal sector activity so the review first explores literature on this much researched and highly complex sector. A summary of selected literature on informal trading is then given before a discussion of the general characteristics of the traders. Penultimately, some key literature on child labour is presented and finally the review examines perspectives on child labour, including a summary of a variety of relevant international child labour legislation.

The informal sector

There is a wide literature on the informal sector (Birkbeck 1978, Bromley 1978b, Chant 1999, Fernández-Kelly & Schefner 2006, Guha-Khasnobis 2006, Hart 1973, Sanyal 1988, Sethurman 1976, Venkatesh 2006), to which this section will give a brief mention. Following a consideration of the debates surrounding the definition of the informal sector, the reasons for its existence are explored, and finally the different activities within it are disaggregated.

The 'path' to a definition of the informal sector

“The concept of the informal economy is fraught with definitional controversy and argument about coherence and internal consistency, but has nevertheless survived several decades of debate to gain recognition as a useful concept.”

Bromley (1998a: 246)

The term ‘informal sector’ was introduced into mainstream use by Keith Hart in 1970 in a paper presented on the economy of Ghana. He subsequently produced a much quoted article in 1973, which further used the term ‘informal sector’. The ILO quickly adopted the term and it has been widely used since. However, there has been much debate over the terminology adopted by Hart (1973) and the ILO. For example, early work on the informal sector described a duality between traditional and modern sectors, otherwise termed informal/formal, irregular/regular, hidden/visible, or lower-circuit/upper-circuit (Hart 1973, Henry 1993, McGee 1970, Santos 1975). More recently, Bromley (1998b) has used the

terms traditional and modern, interchangeably with the terms formal and informal, when describing Latin American retailing, while Venkatesh (2006) continues to refer to the underground economy. Obviously there remain various terms for the part of the economy that is referred to here as the informal sector. The concept of duality between formal and informal sectors has also been challenged (Aziz 1984, Bromley 1978b, Bromley 1990, Bromley 1998b, Chant 1999, Clarke & Howard 1999, de Oliveira 1972, Gilbert 1998, Guha-Khasnobis 2006, Henry 1993). For example, Bromley (1998b: 1323) notices “linkages between informal and formal sectors.” The informal sector has therefore come to be perceived as a continuum of activity from informal through to formal (Aziz 1984, Bromley 1990, Clarke & Howard 1999, Dewar & Watson 1990). Irrespective of the terminology used, or the extent of any duality, there exists a sector which consists of small-scale activities, is easy to enter, labour intensive and avoids regulation (Aziz 1984, Chant 1999, Santos 1975, Wasserman 1999). Table 1 summarises several principal characteristics that are consistently used to describe the ‘informal sector’. In this study the informal sector refers to a wide spectrum of precarious or subterranean employment frequently found in majority world countries (Chant 1999, Portes & Schauffler 1993).

Table 1 Principal characteristics of the informal sector

Principal characteristic	Sources
Avoids regulation	Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999), Gwynne & Kay (1999), Wasserman (1999)
Dynamic	Gwynne & Kay (1999)
Ease of entry / Low cost	Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999), Muskin 1997, Souza & Tokman (1976)
Incorporates a variety of activities	Gwynne & Kay (1999), Wasserman (1999)
Informally acquired skills	Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999)
Labour intensive	Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999), Muskin (1997), Santos (1975), Wasserman (1999)
Minority of workers protected by labour legislation and covered by social security	Aziz (1984), Chant (1999), Wasserman (1999)
Small-scale enterprises	Aziz (1984), Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999), Gwynne & Kay (1999), Muskin (1997), Santos (1975), Souza & Tokman (1976), Wasserman (1999)
Strong family involvement	Aziz (1984), Bromley (1978a), Chant (1999), Wasserman (1999)

Exploring reasons for the existence of the informal sector

Over the last four decades several key arguments have been proposed, explaining why the informal sector exists. Whilst many of the arguments share similarities, they also have significant disagreements. The key arguments include the ILO-PREALC approach (Bromley 1990, Rakowski 1994, Tokman 1989, Wilson 1998a), the World Systems approach (Fröbel 1982, Portes & Benton 1987, Portes & Walton 1981, Portes *et al* 1989, Rakowski 1994, Wilson 1998a) and the de Soto approach (de Soto 1989, Ghersi 1991, Rakowski 1994, Wilson 1998a). Other arguments also exist but share very strong similarities to those arguments mentioned above. The ILO-PREALC approach believes that the informal sector exists because there also exists an excess supply of labour, itself caused by industrialisation (Rakowski 1994, Tokman 1989). It assumes that as formal employment decreases due to reasons such as mechanisation, the informal sector acts as a safety net for the otherwise unemployed. This argument implies that in the long term the informal sector will diminish in the way that it initially did in most minority world countries. However, empirical evidence has invalidated agreement with the ILO-PREALC theory because the informal sector shows no sign of disappearing (Wilson 1998a). In fact, there has been a proliferation of informal sector activity in minority and majority world contexts (Crewe 2000, Crewe & Gregson 1998, Dokmeci *et al* 2006, Fernández-Kelly & Schefner 2006, Guha-Khasnobis 2006, Venkatesh 2006, Williams 2003). Cross (2000) has attributed this proliferation to “the current changes in the global economy that have been associated by many authors with postmodernity.”

According to the World Systems Theory, the informal sector is a feature of capitalism (Gwynne & Kay 1999, Portes *et al* 1989, Rakowski 1994). The theory assumes that the informal sector is exploited by the formal sector in order to make profits. It is therefore a presumption of the World Systems Theory that capital cannot be accumulated at a greater rate within the informal sector. Aziz (1984) expands on this presumption in stating that the informal sector is viewed as a holding job until the labourer can move into formal sector employment. Whilst the World Systems Theory makes interesting remarks on the exploitative relationship between informal and formal sectors it fails to take into account the many factors that contribute to an individual’s decision to work in informal trading (Smart 1989).

The de Soto approach, otherwise termed the legalist approach, provided a radical view of the role of the informal sector when it was first introduced (Rakowski 1994, Ghersi 1991). De Soto (1989) suggested that the informal sector arises due to the cost of legality and continual state intervention. It is believed that if state intervention was to stop, and the cost of legality was reduced, then the informal sector would not exist. Recently, Eversole (2003) has argued in agreement with the de Soto approach by suggesting that petty commodity producers lie at the subsistence end of a continuum because of constraints placed upon them. However, this argument, like the ILO-PREALC and World Systems arguments, ignores the possibility that for various reasons, labourers would prefer to work in the informal sector and their customers might also prefer to purchase in an informal manner, therefore providing demand for the informal sector. In the minority world there has been recent growth in alternative and informal retailing, such as car boot sales (Crewe 2000, Crewe & Gregson 1998, Williams 2003), partly because traders and consumers both enjoy the experience and not necessarily because of economic need or legal restrictions on the formal alternative. Having briefly considered the three arguments above, it is likely that there is no single reason for the existence of an informal sector, instead there are likely to be numerous, continually evolving causes.

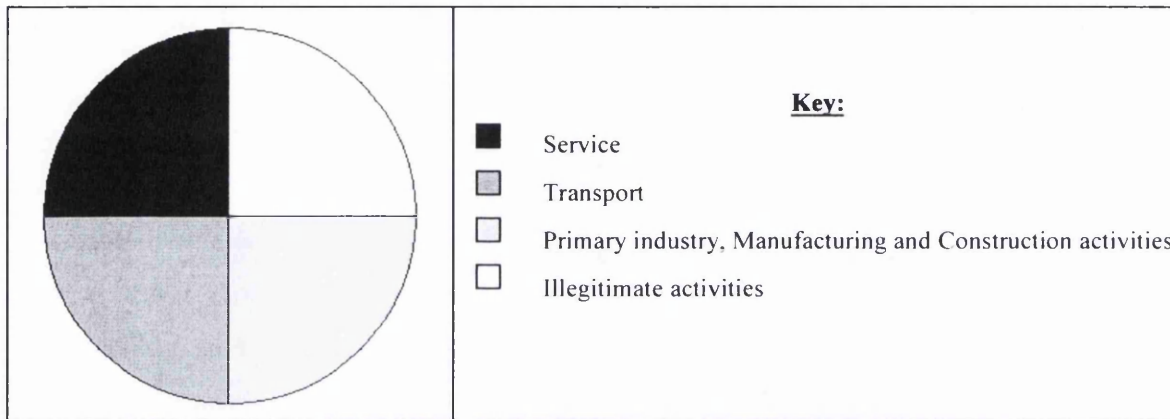
Disaggregating the informal sector

It is generally recognised that the informal sector incorporates “a wide variety of activities” (Gwynne & Kay 1999: 23) and many students of the informal sector have attempted to group these activities in a system of classification. For example, Chant (1999) divides the informal sector into service, transport and manufacturing activities. However, such a classification system ignores construction work and primary industry (Aziz 1984, Yankson 2000). Moreover, Bromley (1982), Chant (1999) and Hart (1973) single out activities such as prostitution, begging and theft, which can be termed ‘illegitimate activities’³. Therefore a more inclusive and comprehensive classification system is suggested, which incorporates all of the types of activities named above. For the purpose of this thesis primary, manufacturing and construction activities are classified as one part of the informal sector, while services, transport and illegitimate activities form additional, separate parts. Figure 1 illustrates this basic division of the activities of the informal sector. It must be noted that

³ The term ‘illegitimate activities’ is used by Hart (1973).

the sections in Figure 1 are not proportional to likely employment or revenue generated in the different categories. A brief discussion is presented on the large volume of work which has been carried out on each of the informal sector activities identified in Figure 1.

Figure 1 The informal sector disaggregated



Sources: After Aziz (1984), Bromley (1982), Chant (1999), Hart (1973) and Yankson (2000)

Service activities

Teltscher (1994) writes that service activities employ more informal sector workers than any of the other activities identified in Figure 1. Bromley (1982), and to some extent Teltscher (1994), disaggregate the service sector into retail distribution, personal services, security services and gambling services. Research exists on each of these subdivisions, but of particular interest to this thesis is the attention given to retail distribution (Bromley 1978b, Bromley 1998a, Dasgupta 1992, Dewar & Watson 1990, Findlay *et al* 1990, Hays Mitchell 1990, 1994, McGee & Yeung 1977, Teltscher 1994). According to Bromley (1998a: 246) “informal commerce is a significant part of the informal economy, and a major economic activity in Third World cities.” Therefore, a focus on informal trading is particularly relevant.

Transport activities

Whilst not essential to this review, much research has been carried out on small-scale, informal public transport, which is one form of public transport common to majority world

cities (Armstrong-Wright 1993, Baufumé & Astete 1998, Okpara 1988, Qosqo Maki 2003). Bromley (1982) describes how *motocarros*, handcarts and porters provide a cheap form of transport and are often used by informal traders for transporting goods. There are numerous jobs associated with informal transport which include operating the mode of transport, selling tickets and *cobradores*⁴. Okpara's (1988) study of the locational preferences of ticket touts in Nigeria is an example of research on ticket selling. In addition Baufumé & Astete (1998), in their study of street working children in Cusco, explored the work of child *cobradores*.

Manufacturing activities

In the 1980s there was a proliferation of literature on informal sector manufacturing activities (Benería & Roldán 1987, Fernández-Kelly 1983, Portes 1985), which perhaps led Bromley (1998a) to remark that in research on the informal sector there is a bias toward production and manufacturing sectors (Teltscher 1994, Trager & Dannhaeuser 1985). Recent literature on the manufacturing sub section of the informal sector tends to focus on the constraints, or removal of constraints, imposed upon small-scale industries (Eversole 2003, Gray & Cooley 1997, Looye 1998, Schmitz 1982). In addition, studies such as Wasserman's (1999) discuss the exposure of the workforce to serious hazards (Espinosa Torres *et al* 1994, Moure-Eraso *et al* 1997) and the tendency for high volumes of industrial waste to be reduced (Eaton 1997).

'Illegitimate activities'

'Illegitimate activities' include a number of different undertakings, such as trade of illegal goods (drugs, ivory, arms) and prostitution. Due to the sheer volume of different activities there exists a great deal of literature which is frequently set within a majority world context. Araújo (2001) and Machado (2001) both describe drug trading within the Amazon basin, highlighting the impacts of the drug trade on other parts of the economy, particularly the rubber industry. Martin (2000) and Wang (1998) analyse present-day Egyptian Ivory trade and arms transfers in Sub-Saharan Africa, respectively. Prostitution has been researched by

⁴ The role of the *cobrador* not only entails collecting money but also organising passengers and routinely shouting the destination of the bus to potential passengers on pavements.

various academics and tends to focus on the treatment of prostitutes (Beazley 1998, 2002, Bliss 2001, Lie 1995).

For reasons summarised in the introduction to the thesis and discussed in more detail later in the literature review, this thesis will focus on children in informal trading and will not explore children's involvement in other informal sector activities. Hence, the following section will explore a selection of the literature relating to informal trading.

Informal trade

Informal trading has received a large volume of interest in academia (Bromley 1978b, 2000, Bromley 1998a, Cabrales 2005, Cross 1998, 2000, Custinger 2000, Dasgupta 1992, Dokmeci *et al* 2006, Donovan 2002, Harrison & McVey 1997, Hays Mitchell 1990, 1994, Jones & Varley 1994, McGee & Yeung 1977, Middleton 1989, 2003, Morales 2000), partly because it is a very visible part of the informal sector (Hays Mitchell 1994). This review of a selection of literature on informal trade will first provide a definition of informal trading and then develop an understanding of its characteristics. The selection of literature reviewed here on the characteristics of informal trading can be considered in terms of four geographical features: levels of mobility, trading locations, temporal patterns of trading, and types of goods handled.

Several different terms, such as 'informal commerce' (Bromley 1998a) and 'petty trading' (Dasgupta 1992, Sarin 1979), have been used to refer to the informal sector activity that is referred to here as 'informal trade'. The umbrella term 'informal trade' describes various activities. Hence, Bromley (1998a: 247) comments that it "embraces a heterogeneity of small-scale trading activities, which vary according to the local context." She elucidates by making a reference to Tokman (1978) who includes small shops as part of informal trading in his study in Santiago, but in her Quito study this retail type is not included. In a second study Bromley (1998b) focuses on market-place trading and chooses not to include ambulant traders. For the purpose of this research informal trade encompasses all small-scale trading activities ranging from ambulant traders to covered market stalls but it excludes small shops.

The mobility of informal traders

Early research described the mobility of informal traders in terms of a mobile/fixed dichotomy (Bromley 1978b, de Soto 1989, Trager & Dannhaeuser 1985), whereas in reality the mobility of traders is far more varied (Bromley 2000). Hays Mitchell (1990) identified eight different types of *ambulante* selling units in Cusco, each with varying degrees of mobility, which implies that an array of mobile outlets may be expected in Cusco. Smart (1989: 63) explains that a high degree of mobility is attained by restricting the size of the operation and she specifically describes how the ground sheet allows the trader to display their goods but also lift them quickly and move on for whatever reason.

Whilst many informal traders sell from potentially mobile outlets, according to Hays Mitchell (1993: 1088) “the majority of *ambulantes* situate themselves in fairly permanent fashion along the edges of city streets or in other public spaces.” These outlets often become permanent in their location in a *de facto* sense (Bromley 2000, Hays Mitchell 1994). This is a clear example of how mobile informal trading units become effectively fixed locations. However, it is also possible, if there is a shift in public policy, to change from a fixed location to a more mobile form of trading. For example, an agglomeration of traders located in a fairly permanent fashion on a road may be forced to move in a process of urban reclamation and as a result they may become far more mobile. The impacts of public policy are discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

Trading locations of informal traders

This sub section summarises the principal types of informal trading location. It then considers the location preferences and the types of restrictions that prevent informal traders from trading in their preferred locations.

Types of informal trading locations

Trager & Dannhaeuser (1985) adopt a basic classification of informal trading locations, distinguishing itinerant vendors from market stall vendors. A more comprehensive system of classification is put forward by Bromley (1998a, 1998b) who identifies three general types of trading location in the Latin American city: the market building (*mercado*), the open-air market (*plataforma*) and the street. The market building comprises “permanent

structures used by traders who operate there every day of the week, using a fixed trading site” (Bromley 1998a: 247). Market buildings often vary in size and conditions, for example Hardoy & Dos Santos (1983) discuss how courtyards become a form of market building when they are appropriated by informal traders. Later in the thesis this particular type of informal trading location is referred to as a *canchon*. The open air market is an area of ground used for daily or less frequent market use (Bromley 1998a: 247). Bromley states of the final category: “the street...is taken to include any public open space such as the square or the park” (1998a: 247). Hays Mitchell (1994: 425) comments that street trading is “the most highly visible and numerically important component of the informal sector of most Latin American cities.” Furthermore, Hays Mitchell (1994: 425) describes that “street vending is historically rooted..., being among the earliest economic activities documented in Colonial Andean America (Mayer 1974, Murra 1980).”

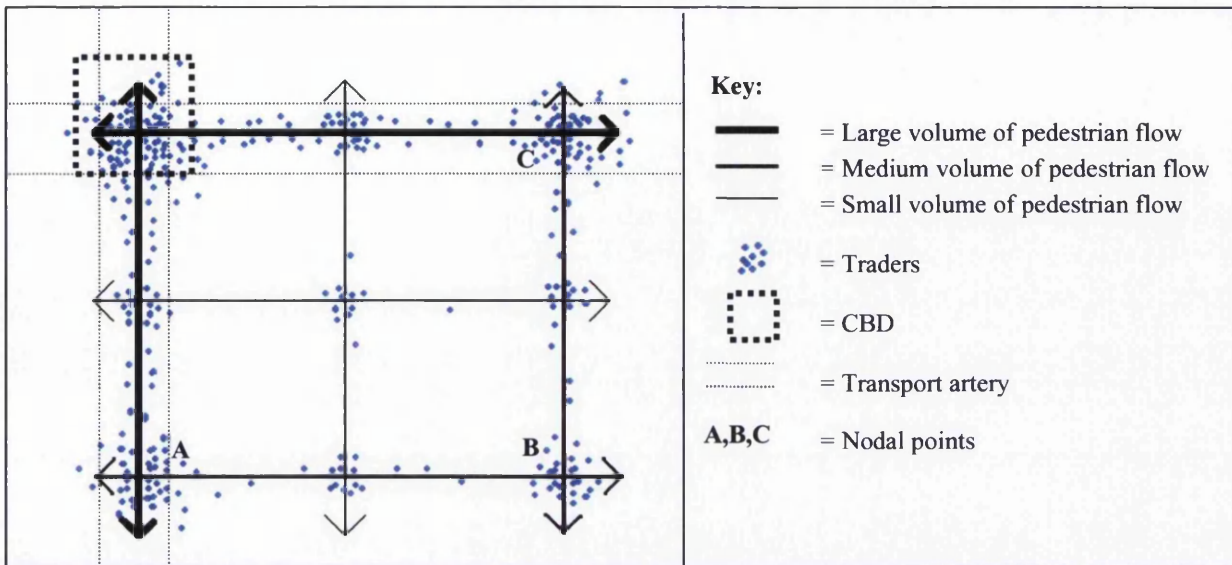
Location preferences of informal traders

Places in a market building tend to be allocated on a long-term basis. However, trading in open squares and streets is more fluid, and reflects the changing locational preferences of the individual traders. Therefore, this sub section explores why ambulant traders prefer to sell in the Central Business District (CBD), alongside transport arteries and at nodal points (Boal & Johnson 1965, Bromley 1978b, Cohen 1995, Dewar & Watson 1990, Grompone 1985, Hays Mitchell 1994). The busiest area of the Latin American city has traditionally been the central *plaza*, which is frequently the heart of the CBD (Hays Mitchell 1994, Jones & Varley 1994, Robertson 1978). As the busiest location within the city, informal traders often chose to locate there. Bromley (1978b: 1162) determined that “about 25% of the total” number of traders in Cali, were located in the “central zone.” Many other academics have concluded that in the past informal traders chose to locate on the central *plaza* (Grompone 1985, Hays Mitchell 1993, 1994, Smart 1989). In most contemporary Latin American cities, whilst there may still be a desire to trade in the CBD, stringent regulations restrict traders from occupying sites such as the central *plaza* (Bromley 2000).

A significant proportion of traders indicate a preference for working alongside transport arteries (Boal & Johnson 1965, Cohen 1995, Grompone 1985, Yankson 2000). One reason for this preference is that a large volume of customers pass by frequently and are often

unable to avoid contact with the trader. This happens regularly along roads, when drivers must stop at traffic lights, at which point a number of traders might approach the driver offering goods such as confectionery, drinks, or cigarettes. An additional reason why traders prefer transport arteries is because arteries tend to provide a long expanse of land where traders can effectively display their goods. Nodal points within a city include, amongst other features, markets, sports stadiums and transport terminals. For example, Bromley (1978b) found that around the six municipal markets of Cali there were 25% of the total number of street traders. Furthermore 4.5% of the total number of street traders worked at the stadiums and other entertainment centres. Hays Mitchell (1994) asserts that trading also takes place at train stations, where there is an opportunity for traders to take advantage of a large volume of potential customers passing through the station at particular times. This has significant implications for the temporality of trading and is discussed later.

It is widely recognised that at all the locations mentioned above (CBDs, transport arteries and nodal points) one of the key attractions is high pedestrian flow (Hays Mitchell 1994, Yankson 2000, Young 2003). Dewar & Watson (1990) devised a diagram which indirectly, but succinctly summarises the importance of high pedestrian flow in the CBD, at transport arteries and nodal points, to the location preferences of informal traders (Figure 2). The diagram has been significantly adapted to emphasise the importance of the three types of location preferred by informal traders.

Figure 2 Preferred trading locations of informal traders

Source: Adapted from Dewar & Watson (1990: 26)

Traders do not only base their decision to trade in a specific location on high pedestrian flow. Figure 2 does not recognise the influence which proximity to supply and trading site have on the choice of trading location. The literature suggests that the distance and time taken to travel to a trading location are significant contributors to the decision as to whether to trade there or not (Dewar & Watson 1990, Shaw & Panditt 2001). Distance causes friction⁵ for two key reasons, the first is that traders wish to get to their working locations as quickly as possible in order to increase the length of time trading, and to decrease the amount of 'wasted' time travelling to work. Shaw & Panditt (2001: 181) term this "the geography of everyday life." The second reason why distance causes friction is because it increases the distance from supply (Dewar & Watson 1990: 26). For these reasons traders carefully consider how far away their trading locations are from their homes and their places of supply, as well as the volume of pedestrian flow.

⁵ The friction of distance equates to the gravity model (Sayer 1971, Wilson 1974).

Restrictions on trading locations

“Studies of the informal sector are still a long way from being able to offer concrete guidelines as regards the most effective or appropriate policy interventions for the informal sector workers and enterprises without harming a sector which nevertheless provides livelihood for millions of people.”

(Evers & Mehmet 1994: 2)

Informal traders are often unable to trade at their preferred locations because they are hampered by various restrictions (Cabrales Barajas 2005). Evers & Mehmet (1994) state that there are no clear guidelines as regards appropriate intervention so a variety of different approaches have been taken by policy makers, resulting in varying impacts. Policy makers seek to intervene in the activities of informal traders for several reasons (Bromley 2000), but primarily because traders are considered “undesirable elements of the urban scene” (Hays Mitchell 1994: 434). This sub section outlines three different intervention strategies adopted by municipal governments that McGee & Yeung (1977) have observed.

The first of the interventions is relocation or restriction of informal traders. The relocation of traders has received a lot of attention over recent decades, partly because it appears to be a preferred intervention strategy and has been implemented at some point by most city governments (Bromley 2000, Cabrales Barajas 2005, Cross 1998, 2000, Custinger 2000, Dewar & Watson 1990, Donovan 2002, Jones & Varley 1994, Middleton 2003, Skinner 2004, Smart 1989). The long term relocation of traders is usually seen to be a compromise, giving a trading location for the traders and reclaiming areas for the local authorities (Middleton 2003). In the majority of cases the result is not one of mutual and equal benefit. Decisions will frequently be made, regarding the relocation of trading activity, without consulting the traders themselves (Skinner 2004). Bromley (1998a: 246) explains that informal trading becomes an “early victim” in vigorous larger campaigns for historic preservation, public space revitalisation and transport promotion. For instance, Smart (1989: 46) explores the failures of relocation projects in Hong Kong, citing problems such as “restrictions on types of goods to be sold,” “no guarantee of trading space” and “poor trading locations.” Furthermore, Custinger (2000: 69) describes how informal traders in Barbados faced relocation to a “vendor’s mall.” The relocation and subsequently increased rental prices, were predicted to have detrimental affects on their consumer base, their

temporality and consequently on traders' incomes. Bromley (2000) asserts that enforced relocation to sub-optimal fixed locations, often in a market building, frequently leads to abandonment (Figure 3). Restriction, rather than relocation, can take many forms. Examples of restriction practices include restricted trading hours (Hays Mitchell 1994) or in Lima traders were permitted to vend but only if they wore traditional dress (Seppänen 1998).

Figure 3 An abandoned market infrastructure in Colombo



Source: Dewar & Watson (1990)

A second intervention strategy is licensing. Prior to the popularity of the relocation method, most Latin American cities opted to license traders (Donovan 2002). Donovan (2002) explains that in Bogotá licensing created opportunities for corruption through bribing government officials to issue licenses. Donovan (2002) explains further that licensing is used more as a vehicle for personal enrichment of government officials than as an opportunity to improve the use of public space. Others have also discussed the ineffectiveness of licensing intervention (Cross 1998, Hays Mitchell 1994, Nelson 1992, Peña 1999, Smart 1989). Changing the behaviour of informal traders is a third possible method of intervention (Bromley 2000, McGee & Yeung 1977). One example of such action comes from Indonesia where traders were provided with technical assistance and co-

operatives were created in order to improve the socio-economic conditions for the traders and as a result the landscape of informal trading altered (Herrera & Cordova 1998, Middleton 2003). Historically, this is the method least used by municipal governments.

The three schemes mentioned above are all enforced to some extent by a municipal police force. This may involve creating a very heavy police presence and can result in heavy handedness, trader harassment, or the confiscation of goods (Bromley 1978b, 2000, Grompone 1985, Skinner 2004, Smart 1989). For example, Skinner (2004: 78) describes how policy in Bogotá is “sometimes pursued in a high-handed manner.” Significantly, Cross (2000: 43) asserts that planners and city officials should keep in mind that a good part of the problem of informal traders “lies not in the phenomenon occurring in their streets, but in their preconceived notions of the ‘appropriate’ use of public space.”

Temporal patterns of trading

“Ambulantes work long hours, on average spending 64 hours per week selling their products.”

Hays Mitchell (1993: 1088)

Space-time patterns within urban environments are presently attracting increased academic attention (Batty 2000, 2002, Bromley 2000, Bromley *et al* 2003, Harker 2005), and whilst the above quote indicates that many informal traders have a long working week, it must be acknowledged that informal trading is, however, subject to vast temporal variation. This section will consider the temporal patterns of trading at two scales: seasonal and daily.

Wasserman (1999) states that employment in the informal sector is often seasonal. More specifically, employment is frequently seasonal due to tourism (Bromley 2000). Large numbers of tourists pass through historic cities such as Quito and Cusco during the summer months of the northern hemisphere (Rachowiecki & Beech 2004). Hence, during this period there is a market which supports a large number of traders. In December and January, as in the summer months, trading activity also increases considerably. Bromley (1978b: 1163) describes how in Cali, in December, “regular street traders are supplemented by at least 700 additional sellers.” This is a significant increase in the number of traders

and illustrates the seasonal temporality of informal trading, a point reiterated by Bromley (1998a) in relation to Quito.

Daily variations in the number of visible informal traders can be either enforced (due to stringent policing) or market-led (high income-earning potential). Smart (1989: 61) asserts that for informal traders in Hong Kong “the common goal is to avoid government harassment by restricting one’s working hours to periods of safe trading when the threat of enforcement action is minimum.” Smart (1989) continues to explain that immediately after a raid is a safe period, as well as trading in less sociable hours when enforcement of legislation is reduced. Whilst this technique obviously avoids authorities, it rarely corresponds with the largest volume of consumers. Daily temporal variations are often market-led. Hays Mitchell (1994: 430) describes the temporal patterns of traders in Peru and she observes that different locations promote better sales opportunities at particular times. Hays Mitchell (1994) gives the example of increased sales prospects between 4:30pm and 7pm in Huancayo, when students and office workers are returning home at the end of the day. Authors have also pointed to the economic advantage of working at the time of train and plane arrivals. Even hospital visiting hours offer the shrewdest trader an economic opportunity (Hays Mitchell 1994). According to Teltscher (1994) the long working hours of informal trading on each day of the week is one of the key attractions of this particular form of retailing to their customers.

The goods handled by informal traders

Informal traders handle a large variety of goods (Bromley 2000, Sarin 1979, Smart 1989). This section will describe the types of goods handled by informal traders, explain how traders of complementary goods tend to agglomerate, and it will end with a brief mention of the cost of goods sold by informal traders.

Categorisation of goods

Most literature that explores the types of goods sold by informal traders makes some attempt to classify the goods. For example, Smart (1989: 118) classified “commodity groups” in Hong Kong and Hays Mitchell (1993: 1088) classified “*ambulante* sales activities” in Peru. Most classification systems very coarsely distinguish between

perishable and non-perishable items. For instance, Sarin (1979) distinguishes the sale of food, drink and tobacco from the sale of durable goods and services. In addition, Sarin (1979) groups the 'sale' of services with the sale of tangible goods under the heading "trading enterprises." However, many studies of informal trade separate the sale of services from the sale of perishable and non-perishable goods (Bromley 1982, Bromley 1998a). Table 2 combines various attempts to classify the goods handled by informal traders. The classifications shown in Table 2 will be subdivided further in the methodology chapter, in order to create an appropriate data recording table. Local circumstances in Cusco may prove to offer alternative categories, due to the diverse nature of informal trading.

Table 2 Classification of goods and services sold by informal traders

Classification of goods		
Food, drink and tobacco	Durable goods	Other
Fruit and vegetables	Household goods	Artisan goods
Raw and semi-processed foods	Manufactured items	Newspapers, books and musical recordings
Cooked and prepared foods	Electricals	Recuperated materials
Drinks	Factory and homemade clothing and shoes	Livestock
Tobacco	Paint	Services (e.g. Shoe shining)

Sources: Hays Mitchell (1993), Smart (1989), Sarin (1979)

Complementary goods agglomerations

Informal trading, like formal trading, often leads to the agglomeration of outlets selling similar, or complementary goods (Hays Mitchell 1994, Smart 1989), commonly termed "agglomeration economies" (Hays Mitchell 1994: 433). Hays Mitchell (1994) identifies two types of agglomeration in her research of ambulant traders in Peru. Firstly, informal traders who sell similar or complementary merchandise often locate side-by-side, whereas the second type of agglomeration involves informal traders operating near entrances to formal stores. Smart's (1989) research in Hong Kong provides an illustration of the first type of agglomeration mentioned by Hays Mitchell (1994). Smart (1989: 55) notices that "most hawking agglomeration(s) are made up of street hawkers selling similar commodities." Smart (1989) continues her explanation by describing the types of

complementary goods that are sold. For instance, in one location “most hawkers are retailers of wet foods such as vegetables, fruit..., fresh flowers and potted plants” (Smart 1989: 55).

The second type of agglomeration identified by Hays Mitchell is termed ‘forestalling’ and involves informal traders locating near to formal outlets (Bromley 1978b, Dasgupta 1992, Hays Mitchell 1994). According to Dasgupta (1992) the process of forestalling functions because consumers purchase cheaper, smaller and lower quality goods from ambulant traders, whereas they buy higher quality, more expensive goods from shops. However, many formal outlets perceive the presence of informal traders to be problematic. For instance, Bromley (1978b: 1163) comments that many formal shop owners consider ambulant traders “to be a nuisance, making the city look untidy and ugly... molesting passers-by” and depriving the law-abiding, tax-paying shops of trade.

The mix of products sold by any agglomeration of informal traders is dependent, according to Dewar & Watson (1990), on three things: the city location, particular needs of the community and the availability of alternative markets. If the city location is an industrial location then there may be a particularly high incidence of cooked food vendors, catering for the workers (Dewar & Watson 1990). If the agglomeration of traders is in a high-income community then it is more likely to be selling luxury items such as ornaments and pottery (Dewar & Watson 1990). Finally, if there are a large number of alternative markets available to the consumer then the degree of specialisation is likely to be less. Within any city there is likely to be a degree of informal trader agglomeration and in some cases, product specialisation.

The cost debate

Informal trading literature gives some attention to the cost, to the consumer, of buying from informal traders (Scheyvens 2002, Smart 1989, Tokman 1978). Based on research into pricing in Santiago (Chile), Tokman (1978: 1188) stated about informal outlets: they “sell goods at 10% higher prices than supermarkets.” Smart’s (1989: 118) review of trading in Hong Kong, found that “prices for the same goods were generally 10 to 18 per cent higher in shops, and 4 per cent higher in market stalls than at street hawking units.” There are

several possible explanations for the variation in prices at informal trading outlets, relative to formal outlets. Firstly, informal traders will charge more on occasions. They may vary the prices of goods relative to their market. For example, a tourist may be charged twice the amount that a local person is charged for a piece of fruit because the tourist is unaware of the local pricing. In a formal outlet a standard price is likely to be marked on the product. Informal traders sell convenience goods at convenient locations and are therefore able to charge higher prices because they are in the right place at the right time.

It is also possible that informal traders will charge a lower price. Informal traders pay less rent, if they pay at all, therefore increasing their profit margins and enabling them to reduce their prices. One characteristic of informal outlets, as mentioned previously, is that they often operate on a subsistence basis. Therefore, they are frequently under pressure to sell goods at very low prices in order to meet their sales needs for any particular day. The work of Scheyvens (2002) supports this suggestion. Scheyvens (2002) looked at the impact of backpackers on the host community and concluded that they frequently treat bartering as a game and are only interested in getting a low price, irrespective of the cost this may have to a desperate vendor.

Informal traders

Much of the existing work on informal trade has paid limited attention to the traders themselves, with the exception of several key anthropological and sociological studies (Nova 2003, Seligmann 1993, Wasserman 1999). This reflects the motives of the researchers and the economic focus of many of the studies carried out in the early 1980s and 1990s (Hays Mitchell 1994, Middleton 2003, Moser 1980, Smart 1989). In the context of current academic priorities it is important to adopt a research methodology which looks more closely at the traders themselves. Laurie & Bonnett (2002: 34) state that one of the strongest criticisms of the impacts of neoliberalism in Latin America is that those most greatly affected are women and children, "more recently, indigenous people have also been added to the category of vulnerable groups." Laurie & Bonnett (2002) identify gender, ethnicity and age to be three key characteristics that shape the identity of a person in Latin America. Hence, this section will focus on the gender, ethnicity and age of informal traders in Latin America. Whilst this review divides these trader characteristics, it must be noted

that they are inextricably linked. Women and children, for example, are often referred to in the same sentence (James 1990).

The gender divide

Whilst informal trading literature has paid limited attention to traders, the issue of gender has been a concern in informal sector research (Chant 1999, Gallaway & Bernasek 2002, Laurie & Bonnett 2002, Moser 1980, Potter & Lloyd Evans 1998, Thomas 1995, Wasserman 1999, Wilson 1998b). Moreover, several academics writing on informal trade have at least acknowledged the role of gender (Bromley 1978b, Fonchingong 2005, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Hays Mitchell 1993). Two key issues are apparent in the existing literature. The first is the feminisation of the Latin American labour force and the second is the specialised labour divide between men and women.

Feminisation of the labour force

Across Latin America, and the majority world in general, there has been a rapid increase in the number of women entering the labour market (CEPAL 1993, Chant 1999, Gonzalez *et al* 1995, UN 1994, 1995a, 1995b, Wasserman 1999). Chant (1999: 514) comments that “although the informal sector is by no means a female sector, rises in informal employment in recent decades have been linked to a phenomenon commonly referred to as the global feminization of labour.” This increase is exemplified by the fact that in Latin America, women’s share of the labour force was only 20% in 1970, rising to 34% in 1990 (UN 1995c). The increase in women’s share of the labour force in Latin America is believed to be even greater according to Wasserman (1999: 253) who asserts that “women now make up almost half of the economically active population.” Clearly there is dispute over the actual percentage of male and female involvement, however it is generally agreed that there has been a significant increase in female involvement. According to Chant (1999), employment in the agricultural industry decreased in relation to urban employment such as services. This was accompanied by high rural-urban migration, increased education and decreased fertility rates (Bullock 1994, Chant 1999, Laurie & Bonnett 2002, Manuh 1994, Safa 1995a, 1995b). All these factors reportedly contributed to the feminisation of the Latin American labour force. Furthermore, Laurie & Bonnett (2002) and Chant (1999)

observed that neo-liberal economic restructuring led to financial necessity for female involvement in the labour force.

Specialised labour divides between men and women

The work carried out by males and females differs significantly (Beazley 1998, Bromley 1978b, Fonchingong 2005, Gallaway & Bernasek 2002, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Hays Mitchell 1993). Gallaway & Bernasek (2002) observe that women are marginalised in terms of employment opportunities and are therefore more likely to work in the informal sector which is perceived as lower status and inferior to the formal alternative. Furthermore, according to Nelson (1997) there exists a gendered hierarchy within urban informal employment, where men tend to dominate the upper tiers (Bromley 1978b, Hays Mitchell 1993, Nelson 1997). It is suggested that men achieve higher status jobs within the informal sector because they, unlike women, are able to invest greater capital (Fonchingong 2005). This argument is supported by Hays Mitchell (1993) and Bromley (1978b) who both show evidence that men sell goods requiring a greater degree of capital investment, therefore leading to larger-scale trading activities. The disparities between men and women are no more apparent than in the goods that the traders sell. According to Bromley (1978b: 1162) men tend to sell “non-food items,” compared to women who sell “food items” that produce lower income (Fonchingong 2005, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Hays Mitchell 1993). The work that women do is undervalued partly because it is seen as an extension of the work they do in the home (Fonchingong 2005, Hays Mitchell 1993, Nieuwenhuys 1996).

The ethnicity of informal traders

The importance of this section is predominantly to outline the existence of different ethnic groups within Latin America, particularly the Andean regions. After outlining the different ethnic groups, this sub section will then highlight the nature of hostility towards particular ethnic groups involved in informal trading.

According to Clarke (2000: 253), “culture, history, and race frequently combine to define an ethnic group.” In Peru there are several prominent ethnic groups, namely mestizos,

Indians and black Peruvians⁶, as well as white Europeans who form a very small proportion of the population. The most common identifiers of ethnicity are the clothing worn, the languages spoken, and phenotype. Wade (1997: 37) states that studies in the twentieth century have tended to use these classifications, where “indian is a category defined by cultural signifiers (clothing, language, place of residence, etc.)” Using these cultural signifiers to distinguish a person’s ethnicity can lead to problems in fieldwork (Seligmann 1993, Wade 1997). Wade (1997: 38) notices that “some individuals dressed shabbily and smartly will be identified with different colour terms that locate the person on a scale between black and white.” Obviously Wade’s remarks will be taken into consideration in the field. Larrain (2000) observes that from very early days there has been exaggerated valuation of whiteness and negative vision of Indians and blacks in Peru. These racist attitudes are manifested in many different ways.

According to Laurie & Bonnett (2002), due to neo-liberal policies in Latin America, indigenous people have recently been added to the category of vulnerable groups. Indigenous people are vulnerable because they are socially excluded in access to employment, education and healthcare amongst other services (Figuroa *et al* 1996, Laurie & Bonnett 2002, Middleton 2003). Nova (2003) provides an excellent example of the way certain ethnic groups are treated in Tijuana, Mexico. The ethnic group in question are “migrants from the Mixteca, a poor region located in southwestern Mexico” (Nova 2003: 250). A proportion of the women and children from this group are involved in vending, and are particularly apparent to the rest of the population and to tourists who see them “sitting on the sides of the roads or wandering the streets” (Nova 2003: 249). The attitudes towards the ethnic group can be extremely hostile. “Merchants and other members of the middle classes...(perceive these vendors to be) bad mothers who profit from their children” (Nova 2003: 255). This is a racist attitude, undermining the motivations of the women and children to trade. The Mixtecan women are further undermined by the merchant elite who believe that the vendors cause “urban chaos” due to “the proliferation of informal street vendors” (Nova 2003: 252). There obviously exists a reasonable proportion of the population who have extremely negative attitudes towards the ethnic minority in question.

⁶ The term black Peruvians is adopted because “black” does not describe an ethnicity, only a colour (Lewis 2000)

These are findings that are reiterated in the work of Seligmann (1993), with reference to ethnicity amongst Peruvian market women.

The local population are not the only group revealing racist attitudes, as local authorities have also expressed paternal racism. This is evident by the fact that indigenous vendors are “expelled from the streets in order to shield them from dangerous and unrewarding conditions” (Nova 2003: 261). The authorities apply their own beliefs to the ethnic group, without actually consulting the vendors about their beliefs and attitudes. According to Larrain (2000: 198) “the existence of racism in Latin America is well documented even though it is a relatively neglected area of social sciences... There has been in Latin America an exaggerated valuation of ‘whiteness’ and negative vision of Indians and blacks.” Radcliffe & Westwood (1996) and Wade (1997) both make similar comments on racism in Latin America.

The age distribution of informal traders

This brief sub section describes the different roles played by various age groups of informal traders. Amongst adult traders a distinction between the roles of the old and the young has been noted. Moser (1980: 371) explains that older men are unable to continue within rural agriculture and often migrate to the city and are attracted to “marketing” at the end of their working lives. Obviously, for those that enter into the market near the end of their working lives there is little space for expansion of the business (Moser 1980). According to Moser (1980: 372) this is not the case for younger men who enter into trading with the intention of accumulating capital and often see trading as “a stepping stone.” Large scale operations in informal trading are dominated by 16-45 year olds who also maintain the largest percentage of the trading population (Hays Mitchell 1994).

Children and youth participation in the informal sector is also very significant (Bromley 1978b, Chant & Jones 2003, Welti 2002) but is restricted to “the lower echelons of economic activity” (Chant 1999: 517). The age distribution within informal trading is unevenly weighted in the favour of adults and the trading activities carried out are also poorly distributed amongst the age groups. Children appear to be a minority, carrying out more menial tasks in informal trading (Chant 1999). These observations may reflect the

lack of attention paid to children in informal trading and the difficulty of collecting information on their activities.

A focus on the child

In 1973 Bungé identified the need to include children in geographical studies, seeing them as our largest minority (Holloway & Valentine 2000). Today there is a growing literature on children's geographies (Ansell & Van Blerk 2005, Chant & Jones 2005, Hillman 2006, Holloway & Valentine 2000, James 1990, Punch 2003, Roberts & Petticrew 2006, Young 2003), which until recently was predominantly concerned with children in a minority world context (Halfacree 2004, Matthews 1992, Matthews & Limb 1999, Skelton & Valentine 1997, Valentine 1996a, 1996b, 1997a). McKendrick (2000), in his annotated bibliography, gives a good account of much of the literature relating to children's geographies in a minority world context. Some of the issues that have been addressed include use of space (Harker 2005, Karsten 2005), policy issues (Mcneish & Gill 2006, Roberts & Petticrew 2006, Smith 2004), education (Bradford 1991, Olweus 1993), and children's environments (Matthews 1992, Matthews & Limb 1999, Nabhan & Trimble 1994) in both rural and urban settings (Halfacree 2004, Karsten 2005, Van der Beck & Dunkley 2003, Woolley 2006). In summary, Young & Barrett (2001a: 383) state:

“Although a substantive amount of work has been conducted on children's geographies in a western context (Matthews 1992, Skelton & Valentine 1997, Valentine 1996a, 1996b, 1997a), much less work has focussed on the ‘special position of exclusion’ (Matthews *et al* 1999: 135) of children in developing countries.”

Since the comment made by Young & Barrett (2001a), although not necessarily as a direct result, there has been an increase in children's geographies literature in the majority world. Many different aspects of childhoods have been considered, including child labour (Aitken *et al* 2006, Bourdillon 2006, Boyden & Myers 1995, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Katz 1996, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Robson 1996, Weston 2005), use of space (Beazley 1998, 2000, 2002, Gough & Franch 2005, Young 2003), play (Liebel 2004, Punch 2003) and education (Dyer 2006, Punch 2003, Woodhead 1998). There is very little research which focuses on child traders. Most studies of informal trade barely acknowledge the presence of children (Hays Mitchell 1994, McGee &

Yeung 1977, Middleton 1989, 2003) and where the work of child traders is discussed it tends to be in the much wider context of child labour (Baufumé & Astete 1998, Beazley 2002, Droz 2006, Larsen 2003, Liebel 2004, Myers 1989, Thomas 1995). Hence, this section reviews research on child labourers, identifying six key issues that will form the basis for discussion: working children's use of space, the motivations for children to work, the extent to which working contributes towards children's aspirations, the degree to which a duality exists between work and play, the conflict between work and education, and an exploration of the dangers children face whilst working.

Working children and space

According to Matthews & Limb (1999) children's place use is diverse (Coffin and Williams 1989, Cunningham & Jones 1994, Cunningham *et al* 1996, Hart 1992, Matthews 1992, 1995a, 1995b, Matthews *et al* 1998, Owens 1994, Ware & Cavanagh 1992) and differs significantly from adults' place use. Children's use of place whilst working on the street in the majority world has particularly been described as diverse (Beazley 1998, Young 2003). To some extent children are able to choose to work at specific sites, however they are also limited in the levels of agency which they can demonstrate due to numerous restrictions on their working locations. This sub section will explore these two facets of working children's use of space.

Children's agency: choosing a working location

This chapter previously explored the preferred working locations of informal traders and identified several influencing factors such as consumer density and proximity to supply and trading site. While less research has focussed on the specific locational choices of working children, some similarities have been observed (Beazley 1998, Young 2003). Children particularly choose to work where the potential to earn an income is greatest (Young 2003). For example, Huggins & Rodriguez (2004) found that street working children on Paulista Avenue in São Paulo tend to work at traffic lights because a lot of drivers must stop there, which creates a substantial potential market. Children's sites of importance, such as key trading locations, have been referred to as mean centres of gravity (Beazley 1998, Matthews 1986, 1992). Although children identify specific mean centres of gravity, they are unlikely to remain in the same location for the entire working day, instead they have

“multiple place attachments” (Young 2003: 608). According to Young (2003: 608) children’s mobility “is based on the temporality of the street as the city changes from friendly to unfriendly or from productive to barren at different times of the day or night (le Roux and Smith 1998a, 1998b).”

Children cannot be discussed as a homogenous group of workers, as their preferences vary according to characteristics such as age and gender (Beazley 1998, 2002, Matthews 1986). According to Beazley (1998) street children become more aware of their environment as they get older, which therefore influences their ability to choose a working location. Moreover, Beazley (2002: 1677) also discusses “gendered geographies,” exploring the tendency for street girls to occupy different sites to street boys.

Restrictions on children’s working locations: a marginalised workforce

Whilst there is obviously a degree of agency in children’s decisions to trade in public locations, children are also a marginalised workforce. Children occupy marginal locations for several reasons, three of which are identified here. Firstly, in order to avoid harassment children often work in marginal locations, away from controlled areas (Beazley 1998, Le Roux & Smith 1998a, 1998b, Young 2003). Many of these locations do not provide the greatest income generating opportunities but they can reduce children’s preoccupation with harassment from those who seek to control their presence on the streets. Secondly, urban regeneration schemes can result in child street workers feeling and being perceived by others as ‘out of place’ (Beazley 1998, 2002, Connolly & Ennew 1996, Van Blerk 2005). As a result children are again often forced to relocate to marginal city locations (Van Blerk 2005). For instance, Van Blerk (2005) describes how street children in Kampala were made to feel out of place when the area surrounding the national theatre, which they frequented regularly, was regenerated. As a result of being out of place the children moved into alternative spaces. Beazley (2002) explains that the process of ‘improving’ public spaces and excluding street children is a colonisation of the street (Creswell 1996, Harvey 1996). Finally, children’s fear of the dangers perceived to exist on the street also restricts the working locations of street children (Bannerjee & Driskell 2002, Beazley 1998, Matthews & Limb 1999). Bannerjee & Driskell (2002) and Beazley (1998) explain that girls are particularly fearful of places as the street is a masculine space (Beazley 1998,

Weismantel 2001) and they are consequently more restricted. Beazley (1998) provides an example of girls in Indonesia being fearful of male dominated locations so they have created their own gendered spaces.

In contradiction to the argument above which finds that children are marginalised and are unable to occupy particular street locations, some academics have described how children 'colonise' the street and these 'invaded spaces' become children's 'home bases' (Matthews 1995a: 459). Furthermore, Lucchini (1996a) and Young (2003) explain that by engaging in work activities children have their presence in the urban environment legitimised. Obviously children's interaction with the street is complex and warrants further investigation.

Children's motivations to work

There exists an abundance of literature which suggests why children work (Beazley 2000, Boyden 1991, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Welti 2002). The literature can very basically be divided into economic motivations and social motivations. These will be discussed separately, although it is acknowledged that they are interlinked.

Economic motivations

The literature reviewed here on children's economic motivations for working identifies three key reasons. The first reason why children work is because there is a lack of employment after leaving formal education (Welti 2002). Nieuwenhuys (1996) found that employment opportunities are insecure even with a diploma. As a result of a lack of jobs in the formal economy, children are forced to improve their skills in activities such as trading, in order to ensure that they are able to compete in the informal economy. A second and related reason is that poor economic conditions require children to work in order to supplement family income, or to provide for themselves. Research with street working children in Asunción revealed that 63% of children work to help their family (Myers 1989). This notion of working to support the family is reported by many academics (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Nieuwenhuys 1996). The money that children earn often contributes towards the cost of their own clothing, books and food. Boyden (1991: 117) makes a general statement that "in the South, the only way the urban poor can survive is by putting

as many members of the household as possible to work... the labour of children is crucial.” It is important to acknowledge that the decision for children to work is not always a decision that is made by the child (Myers 1989). Often they decide alongside an adult or the adult decides for them.

The third and final economic motivation for children to work as informal traders differs significantly from the first two reasons. Informal trading is not simply a sector of the economy which acts as a last resort for those unable to find employment in the formal economy, nor is it necessarily the only option for families to increase their income. Some children choose to work in informal trading due to the economic benefits. Smart (1989) states that the lack of formal jobs cannot be the only reason for informal sector involvement in Hong Kong because at the time of writing Hong Kong was one of the four ‘Asian Tigers’ so the economy was extremely strong. Smart (1989: 125) explains that informal trading is attractive because it “can be a lucrative business with good profit margins and high turnovers if one does it right.” The research of Smart is both supported and contested by Myers (1989). Myers (1989: 328) states that the earnings of working children can be very low but this is not always the case, for example “in Recife, Brazil...any child could expect to make at least one to three times the minimum wage.”

Social Motivations

The vast majority of literature relating to children in the informal sector only acknowledges children’s economic motivations for working (Blunch & Verner 2000, Cartwright 1999, Cartwright & Patrinos 1999, Dar *et al* 2002). This is perhaps a reflection of the fact that most research has been carried out from a minority world perspective (discussed later), with a disregard for the socialisation potential of work (Beazley 2000, Bekombo 1981, Bourdillon 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Larsen 2003, Miljeteig 2000). Miljeteig (2000) observes that working can teach children important skills and give them a sense of self esteem and of being productive. An awareness of the socialising potential of work (Invernizzi 2003) may well motivate children to work. Larsen (2003) explains that some children work in order to be an accepted community member. This is particularly the case in many indigenous Peruvian communities, which suggests that work is an intrinsic part of growing up (Larsen 2003).

Work and its contribution towards meeting aspirations

“According to a recent survey (UNICEF 2000), children and adolescents of Latin America think that they will have a better future compared to that of their parents.”

Wolti (2002: 276)

The above quote illustrates the often high aspirations of Latin American children. Relatively little research has sought to establish whether informal trading helps children to achieve their aspirations, which is probably because it would require a longitudinal study (Invernizzi 2003). Those studies of child labour that have explored children's aspirations have found that working both positively and negatively impacts on the likelihood of meeting aspirations (Bowlby *et al* 1998, Chant & Jones 2003, Invernizzi 2003, Miljeteig 2000, Myers 1989). Therefore, these positive and negative impacts will be briefly explored in this sub section. Firstly, a positive impact of working may simply be the accumulation of capital on a short term basis enabling children to afford an education. Bowlby *et al* (1998) explain that children are constrained by their qualifications in future prospective employment, so working positively impacts upon future aspirations if it facilitates an education. Myers (1989) notes that many children aspire to keep working in informal trading and have realistic ideas of expansion, or a move horizontally from informal trading. Therefore, any trading skills learnt as a child are extremely useful in meeting future career aspirations. Invernizzi (2003) and Miljeteig (2000) have both commented on the usefulness of the skills children learn during their work, in terms of their contribution towards meeting aspirations.

Whilst informal trading enables some children to meet their aspirations, it is also a disadvantage to many. Children often have over ambitious aspirations, which require qualifications that are very likely to be unachievable. A veterinary surgeon was one aspired job title, quoted by Myers (1989). In order to achieve these future careers children cannot remain in informal trading, as significant time would need to be spent in education. If children aspire to a career which does not require further schooling it might be anticipated that experience of work would be beneficial. However, Chant & Jones (2003: 3), based on case studies in Ghana and The Gambia remark that “most of the work (children) do is of a

menial nature and does not equip them with skills which they would necessarily employ in an adult career.”

Work and play: a duality?

“It has been recognised that many children in the majority world combine both work and school (Boyden 1994, Woodhead 1998), very few studies have shown how they combine work and play (Katz 1986, 1993) and virtually none have shown how they integrate all three arenas of work, play and school (except briefly in Nieuwenhuys 1994: 53, Woodhead 1998: 157).”

Punch (2003: 281)

This sub section will explore the limited literature on how children combine work and play (Liebel 2004, Melaku 2000, Muñoz & Pachon 1980, Punch 2003, Rescaniere 1994), while the following sub section considers how work and school can be combined (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Liebel 2004, Punch 2003). First, the definitions of work and play are discussed. Punch (2003) discusses the difficulty in defining work and play as they are socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, different children may give contrasting definitions of work and play. To emphasise the ambiguity in defining the activities of children as work, Myers (1989: 324) explains how children will sometimes not admit to working as their work involves illicit substances or is socially undesirable. Myers (1989) also mentions that, in Bolivian and Brazilian studies, some children stated that they worked, whilst others did not, however it is difficult to fathom how those that stated they did not work, managed to support themselves. Nieuwenhuys (1996) reiterates the fact that children’s evaluation of their own involvement in work can be ambiguous. This review does not seek to discuss the definition in depth, it accepts the definitions used by Punch and acknowledges that this thesis will reveal, to some extent, how the child traders of Cusco define work and play.

“Play activities include those identified by Göncü *et al* (1999: 160): object play (using a toy or object), language play (words and sounds), physical play (having fun using sensory and motor actions), pretend play (using ideas or objects to represent the meaning of something else) and games (routinized activity with rules). ‘Work’ is defined as ‘activities that produce goods and services for one’s own use or in exchange for pay or support’ (Reskin and Padavic 1994: 1).”

Punch (2003: 278)

Punch (2003: 288) identifies two ways in which children integrate work and play: by alternating between them (Liebel 2004, Melaku 2000, Rescaniere 1994) and by hybridising work and play (Liebel 2004, Meiser 1997, Schildkrout 1981), although she does not use these specific terms. To exemplify the first method, Punch (2003: 288) states, in rural Bolivia “children frequently played while they were working or on the way to and from their tasks.” More specifically, Punch (2003) provides an anecdote of how a child was fetching water with her sister and on the way they saw a pigeon, which they chased, they then completed the task of fetching water.

The second method of integrating work and play involves incorporating play into work. Liebel (2004) explains that in this method work and play are not divorced and polar activities, they are in a sense one activity. The following quotation illustrates this:

“In the indigenous societies of the South American Andes, people still practise work today ‘as a playful competition between groups. Work is accompanied by song and dance, laughing and betting. Work can be an opportunity to have fun, to improvise.”

(Liebel 2004: 181)

Punch (2003: 288) uses an example of children working in crop fields, where they use the skill of catapulting stones, learnt in play, to scare off birds from the crops. Muñoz & Pachon (1980) describe how young children are able to play practical jokes on drivers by dirtying their windscreens and they profit from this by charging the driver to clean it for them.

Child workers, child learners: conflicts between work and education

“One of the most serious criticisms of economic participation by children is that it either precludes or interferes with schooling, thus condemning young workers to a life of illiteracy and unskilled labour.”

Myers (1989: 330)

The above quotation suggests that one of the key concerns of child participation in informal trading is the negative impact on education and the resultant impact upon life opportunities. This will be the topic of the first sub section. The second sub section will summarise a selection of literature which suggests that work need not necessarily impact on education and that the two can be combined.

The effects of informal trading on children's schooling

Many studies have suggested that children should be in school and not at work (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, ILO 2006, Smith & Metzger 1998). This notion stems firstly from the belief that education is an important tool in a child's development and secondly that working prevents children from gaining an effective education. Boyden (1991: 100) states “it has now become an accepted norm worldwide that people should be in school for a considerable part of their childhood and adolescence.” Furthermore, Davies (1986) suggests that at school children acquire the wherewithal to cope with life and work in a modern society. Specifically, the children must acquire literacy skills as it can be extremely debilitating in urban areas of Latin America to be illiterate (Boyden 1991).

Many authors not only believe that formal education is vital but also that working negatively impacts upon children's education. Myers (1989) points out that child traders in Lima averaged a six day working week, therefore leaving very little time for schooling. Myers (1989) develops this point further and explains that when children were asked what effect working had on their schooling, 17% replied that work took too much time away from schooling and 9% said that work left them too tired to get the most out of their classes. One of the results of poor attendance, or tiredness in school, is that children must repeat a grade, often more than once. This can affect children's morale and deter them

further from attending school (Myers 1989). Obviously work can detrimentally impact upon schooling, however this argument is based on the assumption that schooling and informal trading are “two distinct, unrelated phenomena” (Muskin 1997: 280, ILO 2006).

Combining work with schooling

Chant & Jones (2003: 4) summarise the view of young people in Ghana and The Gambia: “few hold the view that part-time work during their education negatively affects academic progress, even if for girls, in particular, heavy burdens of paid and unpaid labour reduces time for homework.” Myers (1989) supports the idea that work does not necessarily negatively affect education, sometimes it is a prerequisite in order to gain the funding for schooling. However, Green (1998: 47) finds that “some jobs are easier to combine with school than others. The hardest are mobile street traders” (Green 1998: 47). It has also been suggested that an education does not necessarily lead to obtaining a job (Welti 2002, Muskin 1997). It is therefore important to consider combining the acquisition of alternative skills as well as gaining a formal education.

The first method of combining work with school attendance is simply to work part-time, perhaps in the morning, and then attend school in the afternoon. A large number of academics have reported this type of combination of schooling and work (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Myers 1989). A survey of street working children in four Latin American countries found that “in three of the four (countries), more than three-quarters of the respondent children claimed to be attending school” (Myers 1989: 330). Alternating between work and education is a possible compromise between the two activities, however integrating work into the school syllabus is a second possibility. This may involve teaching skills such as carpentry, sewing and metal reclamation. It is rare for state schools to attempt to incorporate these forms of skills into the school syllabus so it is often charitable organisations, such as Huch’uy Ruña, in Cusco, which offer this form of integrated education (Boyden 1991).

Dangers of work

Studies of child labour frequently investigate dangers children face whilst working (Flowers 2001, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Mikhail 2002, Salazar 1998). Various dangers

have been identified and most commonly include hazardous conditions (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Salazar 1998), abuse (Beazley 1998, 2002, Salazar 1998, West 2003, Williams 1996, Woodhead 1999), impacts on health (Green 1994, Lucchini 1996b, 1998) and theft (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Myers 1989). Much of the literature on children's hazardous working conditions refers to manufacturing or primary sector activities (Salazar 1998, Woodhead 1999). For example, Salazar (1998) documents children carrying excessive loads in the mining industries of Peru and Colombia. Similarly, Woodhead (1999) describes how children get tired crawling and carrying heavy loads in the lead mines of Guatemala. However, the conditions on the street can also be hazardous as children are exposed to traffic and police brutality amongst other dangers (Aptekar 1988, Beazley 1998, 2002, Myers 1989).

Reportedly many people who have contact with working children (other working children, family members, police, other adults) physically and verbally abuse them:

“Violence was constant..., whether taking the form of fights among members of the street group itself, or with competing youth, or carried out by family members, the police or adult strangers.”

(Huggins & Rodrigues 2004: 505)

Abuse by other street or working children and youth is extremely common and according to Huggins & Rodrigues (2004) children who live on the street tend to be more violent and are viewed negatively by other street working children. Abuse by family members is also commonplace. Huggins & Rodrigues (2004: 506) outline that the majority of street children interviewed in São Paulo “suffered harsh physical discipline (from their parents), particularly when earnings fell short of family expectations.” In addition, abuse by people in authority, particularly police officers has been well documented (Ali *et al.* 2004, Beazley 1998, 2002, Green 1998, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Myers 1989, West 2003). Beazley (1998: 17) describes how the police or army regularly visit areas appropriated by street children in Indonesia to “clean up” the area, often physically abusing the children who cannot get away. The most radical form of the ‘clean up’ operation is the ‘death squad’ which is commonly associated with the killing of street children in Latin America (Green 1998). Adults other than police officers and family members are also known to abuse

working children. Bunster & Chaney (1989) outline how customers and employers expect submissive behaviour from working children and as a result consumers often treat children extremely badly. Beazley (1998) explains that it is society's negative perception of street children that invokes behaviour such as that mentioned by Bunster & Chaney (1989).

Poor health is another frequently quoted as a danger for children who work (Green 1998, Lucchini 1996b, 1998). According to Green (1998: 46) "some kinds of children's work take a horrendous toll on children's health." Green (1998: 46) further elucidates by suggesting that "growing bodies are especially vulnerable to long hours or bad workplace conditions." Although Green (1998) particularly makes reference to poor health which results from working in primary industry or in the home, poor health can also result from street work (Beazley 2002, Green 1995, Myers 1989). The most commonly reported impact on health for street working children results from drug taking. Lucchini (1996b, 1998) states that drug taking is a common activity amongst street children in Brazil, and Green (1998: 73) explains that most street children take drugs, usually glue and other inhalants and he remarks that "the effects on health are disastrous."

The final danger to be mentioned is that of theft and loss of livelihood. This is particularly a danger facing children in informal trading rather than children in other forms of work, because traders have goods that can be stolen. Bunster & Chaney (1989: 178) illicit that:

"Many small *ambulantes* confess that they live in permanent fear that some adult men, generally unemployed or alcoholic, or delinquent teenagers will rob them of their days sale, or try to cheat them or distract them in order to steal their wares."

Salazar (1998) found that girls are particularly vulnerable on the street and hence are more likely to have their goods stolen than boys.

Perspectives on childhoods and international child labour legislation

The issue of child labour has been much debated for decades (Alarcón Glasinovich 1991, Bekombo 1981, Bequele & Boyden 1988, Bourdillon 2006, Jones 2005, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Nagi 1972, Taylor 1973, Weston 2005). Most recent discussion has begun to question predominantly minority world assumptions that working is necessarily

'bad' (Aitken *et al* 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Jones 2005, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Miljeteig 2000, Panter-Brick 2002, White 2003a). This section will first discuss minority world perspectives on childhood, then describe how these perspectives are reflected in international legislation relating to children, and finally review more recent alternative approaches to childhoods and child labour in particular.

Minority world childhoods

Most of the world's children can be found living in majority world countries, and yet according to Punch (2003: 277) "majority world childhoods tend to be considered deviant when examined within the globalised model of childhood." Many academics have made similar observations, clearly identifying the predominant image of children to be that of minority world children (Boyden 1991, Holloway & Valentine 2000, Invernizzi 2003, Jones 2005). Holloway & Valentine (2000: 2) explain the concept of minority world childhoods:

"(It is assumed that children) have yet to reach biological and social maturity...quite simply they are younger than adults...As less than adults, children in the west are assumed to have the right to a childhood of innocence and freedom from the responsibilities of the adult world."

There is general agreement that minority world childhoods should include play and education but not work (Bannerjee & Driskell 2002, Matthews & Limb 1999, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Valentine 1996a, 1997b). The assumption that majority world childhoods, which might incorporate work, are necessarily deviant can have a significant impact. For example, child street workers in Brazil were until recently all perceived as vagrants, abandoned by their families. Only in the 1980s did the Brazilian government realise that most street children have families and they have little inclination toward crime (Boyden & Myers 1995).

It is important to be cautious of unquestioningly adopting the *term* 'minority world childhoods'. Bannerjee & Driskell (2002) and Beazley (2002) both state that the *concept* of 'minority world childhood' is adopted by most middle class families in majority world countries. Stephens (1995: 15) refers to this as the "global export of modern childhood." In this context, middle class families would expect their children to attend school and play

but not work, resulting in a distinct social divide with those families who allow and even encourage their children to work. It is clear that 'minority world childhoods' describe a perspective held by many people in the minority and majority world so arguably the *term* 'minority world childhoods' is inaccurate. However, for the purpose of this thesis it is not the terminology that is important, instead it is the notion of childhood which it describes. This discussion indicates that childhood is a social invention that is culturally and historically specific (Beazley 2002, James & Prout 1990).

International child legislation

"Recent years have witnessed growing international concern about child labour, especially in regard to developing countries, which is where it is today overwhelmingly concentrated."

(Boyden & Myers 1995: 1)

In the minority world, progressive state legislation resulted in the near abolition of child labour (Nieuwenhuys 1996). Moreover, the recent concern over child labour in the majority world has led to a series of legislations that seek to abolish child labour there as well (Basu 1999, Boyden & Myers 1995). Notably, these legislations commonly take as their starting point the notion of minority world childhood (Ennew 1995, Green 1998). This sub section will describe three key conventions that form the basis for the eradication of child labour, namely International Labour Office Conventions 138 (1973) and 182 (1999) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989). These conventions have now been ratified or adopted in modified versions by most countries (Nieuwenhuys 1996).

ILO conventions 138 & 182

ILO Convention 138 was introduced in 1973 and sets out the minimum age for entry into work. Its various articles state that no child below the age of 18 should work, although it permits children of 15 years and over to carry out light work so long as it has no impact on education (Basu 1999, ILO 1973). Invernizzi & Milne (2002) state that at the time of its introduction, ILO Convention 138 had little success in terms of attracting signatories and ratifications. However, in 1999 ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labour

was introduced and it gave “new life” to the Convention 138 (Invernizzi & Milne 2002) as signatories were encouraged to sign the earlier convention as well.

ILO Convention 182 seeks the eradication of the worst forms of child labour. The definition of “the worst forms of child labour” adopted by the ILO is understandably vague at times (Liebel 2004) which means that work such as trading, which is perceived as less hazardous than mining or prostitution, receives less government attention and less intervention. Liebel (2004: 11) comments that despite the relevance of ILO Convention 182 to children’s rights, “it does not perceive children as thinking and acting individuals but only as victims who are to be rehabilitated” and it considers children’s work exclusively from a negative perspective. It is clear that the effectiveness of ILO Conventions 138 and 182 is limited.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

In 1989 the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was introduced and has since been signed and ratified by every country, with the exception of Somalia and the United States of America. According to Green (1998: 191) “the speed and breadth of the ratification far outstrips any previous piece of international legislation, leading UNICEF to conclude: ‘before this century is out, there is every possibility that the convention will become the first universal law of mankind’ (UNICEF 1996).” Whilst UNICEF (1996) was not entirely accurate in its suggested timescale for complete ratification the Convention is certainly widely adopted. The Convention consists of 54 articles that deal with many aspects of children’s rights. Of particular interest to this thesis are the articles on child labour (Article 32), education (Articles 28 & 29) and leisure (Article 31). Article 32 dictates that children should be protected from economic exploitation, including any work which is hazardous or harmful to children’s education. The article also asserts that state parties must provide a minimum age of entry. Article 28 outlines children’s right to an education, which is compulsory and free to all at primary level. The article further explains that secondary schooling must adopt different forms. The following article (Article 29) gives details of the nature of the education, stating that it must teach respect and tolerance amongst other skills. Boyden and Myers (1995: 8) remark that “education is considered by many to be the single most important weapon governments can yield against child labour.”

Such an assumption is predominantly based on minority world experiences in the 19th century when child labour laws restricted admission to employment on completion of school up to a specific age. Article 31 dictates that children have the right to rest and leisure and to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child.

The UNCRC (1989) requires national legislation to be brought in line with the Convention (Green 1998). Hence, in Latin America “the convention has led to a spate of new ‘children’s codes’ in countries such as Brazil, Guatemala, Peru and Honduras” (Green 1998: 194). For example, in Peru the Children’s Legal Code was introduced in 1993 and has resulted in relatively successful projects such as DEMUNA, which is a ‘legal centre’ where children can report violence and abuse and seek legal advice (Green 1998). Whilst there have been many celebrated successes of the UNCRC (1989), it has also been criticised. Ennew (1995) states that the convention, from its inception to its implementation, takes as its starting point the concept of minority world childhood.

The international legislations outlined above are examples of minority world childhood ideals being extended to poor families worldwide (Nieuwenhuys 1996). In their attempt to ‘protect’ the world’s children these legislations do not recognise the possible advantages of working. If legislators had sought the opinions and listened to the voices of children the policies would have reflected the children’s knowledge of the potential advantages of working (Bass 2004, Bourdillon 2006, Ennew 2000, Jones 2005, Myers 2001). This subsection ends by referring to a cautionary comment made by Knight (1980: 7):

“When child labour is prohibited by law, the law cannot protect child workers since they no longer exist.”

Alternative approaches to childhoods and child labour

The final section briefly summarises what has been termed “the new social study of childhood” (Holloway & Valentine 2000). In this new perspective on the concept of childhood it is believed that there is a need to understand children’s opinions and realise that they act as individuals and can have very different views from adults (Matthews & Limb 1999). In practice this means that present legislation, which is predominantly devised

by adults, neglects the opinions of children who might value the work that they do far more highly than adults do.

Some contemporary approaches to child labour have begun to recognise the deficiencies of a minority world perspective on childhoods (Bourdillon 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Miljeteig 2000). Miljeteig (2000: 7) comments that "it can no longer be single-handedly stated that work as such is bad or harmful for children. There is a growing understanding that work might have beneficial effects on children." Governments are bound by their rigid policies, many of which result from the above mentioned international conventions. Hence, most alternative strategies to child labour are implemented by NGOs and charities. Liebel (2004: 7) observes that:

"Numerous NGOs, parts of UNICEF and a number of social scientists nowadays oppose an exclusively negative evaluation and general prohibition of children's work. They demand and practise a more varied analysis of the forms, conditions and cultural contexts of children's work."

Nieuwenhuys (1996) explains that NGOs form low cost solutions to the 'problem' of child labour, which tend to incorporate both work and school. Whilst many NGOs manage the time of children in order to allow for both education and work, they are also involved in changing the direction of the curriculum to be more appropriate to activities such as trading (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Smith & Metzger 1998). Starr (2002) describes the activities of JUCONI, an NGO whose work is orientated around providing necessary education, as well as teaching children to make goods such as puppets which might then be sold. Boyden (1991) describes how Huch'uy Ruña, a charity in Cusco, teaches basic school subjects and it introduces children to skills such as sewing, drawing and metal recycling. These skills are transferable into the world of work where the children can apply their skills in order to earn money. Although many NGOs and charities adopt these alternative approaches to child labour, they still view work as an economic necessity rather than a viable part of 'reasonable childhoods'.

Liebel (2004: 47) suggests that children "actively seek work and value it as a source of learning, social acceptance, independence, feelings of accomplishment and self-worth, or other personal benefits beyond strictly economic considerations." Similar comments have

been made by Myers & Boyden (1998) who note that children of certain cultures value work particularly highly. Liebel (2004: 48) iterates that new approaches to child labour “adopt a critical stance towards the view favoured by UNICEF and the ILO,” who see work and education as competing aspects of children’s lives, rather than two important aspects that can be reconciled to serve children’s best interests (Recknagel 2001).

Summary Comments

This literature review has touched on aspects of informal trade and child labour, as background to the thesis focus on children in informal trading. The literature review has pointed to many issues which remain poorly researched, providing justification for the selected aim and objectives of this Peruvian research. Some of the literature provides useful pointers to the development of an appropriate methodology which is the theme of the following chapter.

-Chapter 3-

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and explain the methods used for data collection. According to Valentine (2001: 43) “the choice of research methods usually flows conceptually and logically from the research questions.” The research questions for this thesis (outlined in Chapter One) address a wide variety of issues and involve a broad spectrum of participants. Therefore, a methodology is required that incorporates broad quantitative analysis as well as qualitative investigation. Hence, a multi methods¹¹ approach is adopted. The advantages of a multi method approach have been well documented (Brannen 1992, Bryman 1992, Burgess 1982, Creswell 1994, Philip 1998, Young & Barrett 2001a). For example, it is widely recognised that such an approach allows for the strengths of individual methods to compensate for the limitations of others (Philip 1998, Young & Barrett 2001a). This chapter addresses each of the field methods in the order that they were implemented, although it is recognised that methods were often used concurrently. For instance, observational surveys were sometimes interrupted in order to complete an informal discussion or a questionnaire survey. The methods that were used include: gathering documentary material, informal discussions, key informant interviews, observational surveys, questionnaire surveys, detailed interviews and visual tasks. Young & Barrett (2001b: 142) state that “methodologically there are special concerns when researching children.” Therefore, where relevant, specific attention is given to how the above named methods are used in research with children (Aitken 2001a, Barker & Smith 2001, Greig & Taylor 1999, Grover 2004, Matthews *et al* 1998, Young & Barrett 2001b).

The fieldwork was completed during two separate periods. Initial research was conducted in July and August of 2002 as part of an undergraduate study of informal trading. The information gathered from this period of research is used for comparisons of trading activity over time. The second stage of research began in July 2004 and ended in April 2005.

¹¹ The term ‘triangulation’ has also been used to describe the approach that is labeled here as ‘multi methods’ (Valentine 2001).

Documentary material

Researchers have consistently sought documentary material such as newspapers, local government documentation, and census information as part of a comprehensive research strategy (Bromley 1998a, 1998b, Dachi & Garrett 2003, Hays Mitchell 1993, 1994). These materials often provide background knowledge and current information on issues relevant to the study. However, White (2003b: 68) warns that most documentary material “has been collected by someone else, for another purpose... (and) may already have been manipulated for particular, possibly political, purposes; hence (the information) may not be entirely trustworthy.” The concerns of White (2003b) are acknowledged but there is certainly a need for the information that can be elicited from documentary material.

Four key sources of background information were identified and researched. Firstly, there are two daily newspapers that report local news in Cusco (*El Diario del Cusco*, *El Diario del Sol*). Archives of these newspapers were exhaustively searched for the period between January 1999 and January 2007. A second source of documentary material was municipal government *ordenanzas* and publications. *Ordenanzas* are basically municipal government demands and are excellent for providing an understanding of the debates around the legality of informal trading in Cusco. The third source of information is the 1993 national census, the data from which has been processed by the National Statistics Agency of Peru (INEI) and provides relatively comprehensive data on the characteristics of the Cusco population. Whilst a more recent census was conducted in 2005 the city-level data was unavailable when writing this thesis. The final source of documentary material is local research held at libraries (Centro Bartolome de las Casas, Cusco District Library, Wanchaq District Library) and the two universities of Cusco (Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco, Universidad Particular Andina). A thorough search at these sites revealed several theses and texts with information on the city of Cusco, informal trading and street working children (Baufumé & Astete 1998, Bravo & Monge 1983, Caparo 1994, Herrera 1992, Qosqo Maki 2003, Tomoeda & Flores Ochoa 1992, Villera 1973).

Informal discussions

Informal discussions have proved to be useful in previous studies of informal trading (Cohen 1995, Hays Mitchell 1994, Zinkhan *et al* 1999) and in ethnographic fieldwork with children (Dowler 2001, Punch 2001a, 2003). Therefore, they were carried out throughout

the entire fieldwork period. Several objectives for implementing informal discussions are identified below:

1. To attain a degree of familiarity with the locations and potential questionnaire survey and interview respondents
2. To gain information in order to aid in devising observational surveys, questionnaire surveys and interview scripts
3. To provide additional information that may not be revealed through formal information collection methods such as questionnaire surveys

In relation to the first objective, informal discussions revealed the locations of the key markets in Cusco, the location of an additional NGO which works with street children, and it aided in establishing the perceptions of the local community towards the researcher, which in turn could be used to address issues of positionality (discussed later). The second objective of the informal discussions was also met. For example, an additional question on foreign language ability was added to the questionnaire survey carried out with child ambulant traders because it became clear that the ability of children to speak a foreign language was a key issue. Finally, the informal discussions provided additional information on issues arising from questionnaire surveys and detailed interviews. One such example is that ambulant traders explained why there was a dramatic increase in the number of traders working in January. Informal discussions were carried out with a variety of community members including: adult informal traders, child informal traders and their parents, government officials, police officers, NGO and charity workers, the local population and tourists. All informal interviews and subsequent questionnaire surveys and detailed interviews were conducted in Spanish by the researcher. Informal discussions aided the researcher to develop proficient and localised Spanish to conduct the more detailed interviews later in the fieldwork.

Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were carried out early in the fieldwork programme in order to gain a further understanding of children in informal trading and to introduce the project to relevant people. All interviewees were adults and were selected because they represent organisations relevant to the study (Appendix A). Thirty-one interviews were carried out

with market administrators, market *sindicato*¹² representatives, officials at the Department for the Preservation of the Historic Centre, the Deputy Director of Commerce, children's NGO/charity Directors and an official in the Department of Education amongst others. Key informant interviewees frequently provided names of colleagues who could further elaborate on important issues concerning children in informal trading. Moreover, interviewees often provided access to data collection sites. For example, market administrators would not only give information on their specific market but they would also give permission for an observational survey to be carried out.

Regular contact was maintained with the key informants which enabled a second phase of interviews to be carried out with eight key informants toward the end of the study. The purpose of the second phase of interviews was to discuss issues that had arisen during the data collection phase. Therefore, informed opinions were gathered on key issues and in several instances key municipal government documentation was provided which explained some of the trading phenomena. As part of the second phase of key informant interviews and due to the unexpected proliferation of canchones, representatives at 33 canchones were also given brief interviews. Key informant interviewees gave their opinions very openly, which perhaps reflects the fairly vocal nature of Andean and Latin American politics. As a consequence, all key informant interviewees consented for their names to be presented alongside any comments made. For this reason pseudonyms are not used for key informants. Any reference to key informants gives their surname, gender, organisation and interview date.

Observational surveys

An observational survey is a method commonly used in studies of informal trading (Bromley 1998a, Cohen 1995, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Hays Mitchell 1990, 1994). This form of survey proved to be a particularly effective tool in exploring trading patterns in Cusco. Observational surveys were carried out by walking along all the streets in central Cusco and by visiting every market place. At every trading unit the location, time, date and characteristics were recorded. With regards to their location, for market place traders it was

¹² *Sindicatos* are organisations which represent groups of traders from one given locality. A locality is normally defined by a road or any other similar demarcation of territory. The *sindicatos* represent these traders in formal meetings in a role similar to trade unions.

recorded on a map of the market, whereas ambulant traders' locations were plotted on a map of Cusco's streets. Where relevant, the name of the market and the street name were also recorded. The characteristics of all 8,617 informal trading units observed in 2004 were recorded on data collection tables¹³. For every informal trading unit the observational survey recorded the following characteristics: the type of informal trading location, the type of goods being handled, and the trader characteristics. This section will describe the methods that were used to observe these characteristics, and outline the different times when surveys were carried out.

Typology of informal trading locations

The observational survey was initially reliant on the findings of existing studies for describing the different types of trading location that exist. Consequently, the pilot observational survey sheet only acknowledged three types of market, namely the market building, the open air market and the street (Bromley 1998a, 1998b). However, following a period of familiarisation, informal interviews and a pilot survey it became clear that a more appropriate typology of six types of informal trading locations could be adopted¹⁴:

1. Public covered markets
2. Public partly-covered markets
3. Private covered markets
4. Canchones
5. Ambulant traders
6. Open market squares

Classes of goods being handled

In Chapter Two it was established that informal traders handle a wide variety of goods. It would be unnecessary and too time consuming to record the specific goods sold at each unit, therefore some form of generalisation had to be made. As in previous studies, observational surveys are dependent on a goods classification system (Bromley 1982, Bromley 1998a, Sarin 1979, Smart 1989). Academics have used various classifications

¹³ An example of the data collection table used to complete the observational survey can be seen in Appendix B.

¹⁴ The characteristics of each of these markets are described in greater detail in Chapter Five.

over the past decades and whilst they demonstrate similarities, very rarely are the same classification systems used by different academics. This is partly due to the fact that the goods sold in one region will vary from those in another. Consequently, the classification attempts of several academics and the results of a comprehensive pilot survey were combined in order to establish the classification system below (Table 3). Notably, because a lot of goods are targeted at tourists in Cusco, a separate class of goods is assigned to tourist goods. Also, the class of goods described as ‘other non perishable’ includes shoe shiners because they appear to work alongside ambulant traders and in similar locations. Many previous studies have excluded this activity from their definition of informal trading (Bromley 1982, Bromley 1998a, Hays Mitchell 1993, 1994, Sarin 1979).

Table 3 The classification of goods handled by informal traders in Cusco

Fruit & Vegetables	Other Perishable	Clothing, Footwear & Textiles	Electrical, Hardware & Household	Tourist Goods	Other Non Perishable
Fruit	Drinks, confectionery, tobacco	Clothing	Electrical	Artisan (Tourist)	Artisan (Non tourist)
Vegetables	Flowers	Footwear	Hardware	Finger Puppets	Newspapers, books, stationery, music
	Freshly prepared food and drink	Textiles	Household	Postcards	Shoe shine
	Grain, root crops, nuts, preserves, bread				Toiletries
	Meat, fish, dairy				Toys & Bikes
	Wood, fuel, fodder, live animals				Unclassifiable

Sources: Bromley (1998a), Hays Mitchell (1993), Sarin (1979), Smart (1989)

Trader characteristics

At each trading unit there may be a number of traders. In previous studies of informal trading, details on each of these traders might not have been recorded and as a result, information was lost on the involvement of traders who perhaps have a less prominent role, such as children. Therefore, this study will record information on all traders and will

specifically observe the number of traders working at each operation, the age of the trader, their gender, and ethnicity. The aim of this sub section is to outline how each characteristic was observed. Gender caused minimal problems, however the other characteristics require further discussion.

Numbers of traders working at a trading unit

It is often difficult to determine whether people are working at a unit as they may simply be present at the stall. For instance, children might be under the supervision of the trader and not actually selling. This caused some difficulties in the observational survey but after a period of familiarisation it was generally clear if a person was involved in the sale of goods.

The age of the trader

Observing the age of the trader can be a difficult task as the researcher must have a good understanding of the population they seek to observe. Therefore, a significant amount of time was spent in the local community which enabled the researcher to accurately estimate the ages of the traders. The age boundaries that were used reflect the fact that children are the focus of this research. There were some difficulties in determining the age boundaries to be used because defining 'children' is a difficult concept. Studies have contested the age at which a person is no longer a child. For instance, Chant & Jones (2003) reported on youths in Ghana and The Gambia and had provisionally used 10-19 as the definition for youths. They then changed the boundaries to include 20-29 year olds as well. This was done because documentary material used the latter definitions. Basu (1999: 1085) explains the role of the ILO's Convention 138, which "specifies fifteen years as the age above which, in normal circumstances, a person may participate in economic activity." Basu (1999: 1085) continues by stating that "most studies treat a person of age less than fifteen years as a child." There are obviously exceptions. Dachi & Garrett (2003), in their study of child labour in Tanzania, prefer to use fourteen as the defining age, because fourteen is the age used in the Marriage Act and is the age of legal responsibility in Tanzania.

This thesis defines children as aged 0-17 years, which echoes previous studies of working children in Peru (Astete & Baufumé 1998, Qosqo Maki 2003, Ray 2000). In addition, very young children (<6 years), are distinguished from younger children (6-11 years) and older children (12-17). This mirrors the division in the Peruvian schooling system. Based on the

discussion above and on the pilot study of informal trading in Cusco, the following age boundaries were used:

1. <6
2. 6-11
3. 12-17
4. 18-39
5. 40+
6. Adult and Child

Ethnicity of the trader

The different ethnic groups that coexist in Cusco have already been discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore, the objective of this subsection is to describe the common characteristics of the different generalised ethnic groups that were observed working in informal trading. The ethnicity of traders was predominantly determined by the clothing that they wore, although the skin colour and languages spoken by the traders also assisted in determining their ethnicity. For example, traders commonly spoke to the researcher in the indigenous language of Quechua which provided further information on their ethnicity. However, it was not always possible to establish what languages were spoken by the traders, which highlights a key deficiency of the observational survey method. Table 4 summarises the characteristics of each of the observed ethnic groups in Cusco. It is important to note that whilst only two different ethnic groups were observed in informal trading, there are obviously other ethnic groups in the city of Cusco, which include white Peruvians and black Peruvians.

Table 4 Characteristics of broad ethnic groups observed in Cusco

Broad ethnic group	Common characteristics
Indigenous	Traditional clothing, Quechua speaking, dark skin colour
Mestizo	Western clothing, Spanish speaking, dark skin colour

Temporal observations

One of the objectives of the thesis is to observe temporal variations in informal trading. Hence, observational surveys were repeated at different times. The first comparison is between observational surveys completed at selected informal trading locations in 2002 and 2004. It provides a general overview of informal trading at a number of different locations over a two-year period. Over a similar timescale Bromley (1998a) reviewed temporal

variations in informal trading in Quito and found significant variation. The second comparison is between observational surveys of ambulant trading in September 2004 and January 2005. This comparison provides an insight into seasonal variations at ambulant trading locations. The seasonal comparison was not carried out at all types of informal trading location for two reasons. Firstly, observations only indicated significant change at ambulant trading locations. Secondly, an additional observational survey of all informal trading locations would have required more time than was available. The third and final comparison is between ambulant trading on the Plaza de Armas during the day and the evening. After completing the initial observational survey it became apparent that the Plaza de Armas was a key trading location, even though it was heavily policed. Therefore, in order to reveal temporal variations at this relatively micro scale, one survey was carried out at the location during the day and a second during the evening. Hays Mitchell (1990, 1994) also carried out separate observational surveys of ambulant trading in Cusco at different times of the day and revealed considerable differences.

Questionnaire surveys

The purpose of carrying out questionnaire surveys for this research is threefold. Firstly, they provide a broad overview of the situation of children in informal trading in Cusco. Secondly, they develop understanding of the attitudes and opinions of the wider Cusco community. Finally, the responses from the questionnaire surveys provide a valuable source of information for preparing detailed interviews with child ambulant traders (Brannen 1992). The following discussion of the questionnaire surveys describes the questionnaire design, the number of respondents, the structure of the sample population, where the questionnaire surveys were carried out, and the timetable for conducting the questionnaires.

The questionnaire design

In order to meet the objectives of the study several key topics were devised for discussion in the questionnaire survey:

1. General, specific and sensitive personal details concerning the respondent
2. Characteristics of the trading operation
3. Attitude towards informal trading

4. Attitude towards children in informal trading
5. The tourist perception of informal trading
6. Impacts of trading on children

Within each of these key topics a number of different questions were devised. The questions were predominantly closed questions, facilitating coding¹⁵ of the responses for input into SPSS and subsequent quantitative analysis. Particular questions were asked of each group of respondents. The specific groups of respondents consist of child traders, tourists and local consumers. The number of questions included in the questionnaires was restricted because children have a relatively short attention span and tourists were on their holidays and were unlikely to be willing to give up much of their day for questioning. Questionnaires to children also needed to use language which is more appropriate to children's levels. The questionnaire schedules for child traders, local consumers and tourists (English and Spanish text versions) can be found in Appendices C-G.

The intended number of respondents

By considering the methodologies of previous studies it was possible to determine an appropriate number of questionnaire respondents. Hays Mitchell (1994: 427) administered 55 "systematic interviews" to *ambulantes* in six cities of Peru, incorporating both open and closed questions. Hays Mitchell (1994) also carried out slightly modified questionnaires with 50 market traders, retail-store operators, and consumers in the six cities. In total, over a period of fifteen months, Hays Mitchell (1994) administered questionnaires to 630 respondents. Whilst Hays Mitchell's (1994) study provides guidance on the number of questionnaire surveys that might be carried out, it also indicates that a number of different groups of respondents should be sought. Myers (1989) compared four surveys of urban working children in South America. He reports on their methodologies, noting that only the viewpoint of the children is asked, failing to "corroborate the responses of the children with additional information from say, their families or employers" (Myers 1989: 325). For example, in Alarcón's (1986) Lima study, 215 young workers responded to structured interviews following a closed schedule but no other interviews were carried out. Dachi & Garrett (2003), on the other hand, administered 236 semi structured interviews with

¹⁵ Closed questions are typically considered to be easier to code than open questions (Creswell 1994)

children, household heads and head teachers in a study of child labour and its impact on children's access to and participation in primary education in Tanzania. In order to meet the objectives of this thesis and based upon the evidence of existing studies with working children, questionnaire surveys were carried out with three different groups of the population.

Based on the number of questionnaires carried out in the studies mentioned above and on the need for a viable amount of data for reasonable analysis, 100 questionnaire surveys were targeted at each of the three selected groups of the Cusco community. Therefore, the total number of questionnaire surveys completed was 300. This volume of questionnaires was also manageable within the timescale set (discussed later).

The structure of the sample population to be questioned

According to Wheeler (2001: 96) "elaborate sampling strategies were employed in the past (Berry & Baker 1968), whereas today there is little concern with representative selection." For example, Dowling (1998: 109) stated "I make no claims about the representativeness of... the interviews." Irrespective of today's common practices, one of the objectives of the questionnaire survey is to gain a representative sample of the population. There is a plethora of texts and articles outlining the different sampling methods used in social science research (Clifford & Valentine 2003, Kitchin & Tate 2000, Parrado *et al* 2005) and these have been used to identify the most appropriate method. Stratified random sampling involves dividing the data into strata, for example a population might be divided up into sex or age groups (Shirazi 2004). Once the strata are identified the sample can be taken randomly. This sampling method avoids the bias that might result from a convenience sample (Parrado *et al* 2005).

In an attempt to gain an approximately representative sample of child ambulant traders according to age, gender and goods handled, a stratified random sample of the child ambulant trader population was selected to participate in questionnaire surveys. Informal discussions and observational surveys were used to inform the structure of the child trader sample population. It was notable in the selection of respondents that an alternative sampling method might have resulted in a much higher percentage of younger boy respondents as they were particularly keen to be involved. Chapter Six, which discusses

the results of the questionnaire surveys, gives details of the precise characteristics of the structured random sample population.

Locating the questionnaire survey

Academics have written extensively on where questionnaire surveys and interviews 'should' be carried out (Alarcón 1986, Dachi & Garrett 2003, Elwood & Martin 2000), particularly with regards to interviewing children (Cameron *et al* 1999, Matthews *et al* 1998, Young & Barrett 2001a). The following discussion examines a selection of this literature in order to determine the most appropriate locations for completing questionnaire surveys and detailed interviews in Cusco. In their study of youths in West Africa, Chant & Jones (2003, 2005) mainly contacted children through schools. This was partly due to the short duration of the fieldwork and the need to gain access to a large number of respondents quickly. Interviewing children in institutional settings such as the school can influence children's willingness to talk openly and it can impact on the structure of the sample population (Matthews *et al* 1998). For these reasons Alarcón (1986) interviewed children where they were known to work (Myers 1989). Dachi & Garrett (2003) also chose not to limit their interview locations to institutional settings. They report that many of their semi-structured interviews were conducted with children "on the street or in a café" (Dachi & Garrett 2003: 6). For the purpose of this thesis and in an attempt to ensure the comfort of the children and a representative sample population, children were identified in their place of work and questionnaire surveys were carried out face-to-face in Spanish, at locations determined by the children themselves. As a result, most questionnaires and detailed interviews were carried out with children on the city streets.

The location of questionnaire surveys with tourists and local consumers also has to be considered carefully. The respondent must feel comfortable in the chosen setting but a representative sample should also be obtained (Matthews *et al* 1998). Therefore, tourists and local consumers were most commonly questioned in bars and cafés, or in their place of work. These questionnaires were similarly completed face-to-face in Spanish, or in English with tourists. Sites across the centre of Cusco were used as questionnaire survey locations in order to reflect the different locations where children are involved in trading. It became clear very early in the data collection phase that tourists and local consumers were often

engaged in other activities when on the street so they were rarely willing to complete a questionnaire survey in that location.

Timetable for conducting questionnaire surveys

Questionnaire surveys were predominantly carried out with tourists in August 2004 as this is within the peak tourist season (Municipalidad Provincial del Cusco 2002). All other questionnaire surveys were carried out between September 2004 and January 2005. Questionnaire surveys were conducted on every day of the week, with proportionate numbers being carried out on weekdays and at weekends. Observational surveys were punctuated by approximately five questionnaire surveys every day. Questionnaire surveys were asked throughout the day in order to gain a representative sample of city users.

Detailed interviews

One of the objectives of this thesis is to investigate the experiences of child traders in their work. Therefore, research methods must be used which allow children to discuss their experiences without restraint. The questionnaire survey method has particular uses and reveals some of the children's experiences but it does not encourage discussion in particular depth nor further investigation. Manning (1967: 312) comments on the weakness of the questionnaire survey as a research tool:

“As long as the survey interview (questionnaire survey) remains predominant, and we continue to accept the findings of research without a careful accounting of the social process of communication as well as our models of interpretation, sociology will continue to wander in an epistemological wilderness.”

Furthermore, it has been suggested that questionnaire surveys generate large quantities of statistical data which is inappropriate for developing an understanding of the circumstances of children (Baker *et al* 1996, Young & Barrett 2001a). The interview method, on the other hand, is a useful tool for investigating experiences in more detail and without the relative constraint of a questionnaire format. According to Lahikainen *et al* (2003) another benefit of detailed interviews is that they tend to be reliable and are least vulnerable to misinterpretation of questions by the respondent and inaccurate answers. Whilst people may be less likely to misinterpret the questions, it is important to recognise that during

detailed interviews people will sometimes state what they believe the researcher wishes to hear, rather than giving their actual experiences (Young & Barrett 2001b). Such discrepancies are overcome by making comparisons with information gathered in alternative methods such as observational surveys. Taking this reasoning into account, thirty detailed interviews were carried out with child ambulant traders toward the end of the data collection period. The detailed interviews investigated issues arising from initial investigative methods such as questionnaire surveys, whilst also integrating questions that perhaps could not be pursued as effectively through methods such as the questionnaire survey. The interview script can be seen in Appendices H and I (English and Spanish text versions respectively). According to Young & Barrett (2001a: 384) there is a “burgeoning literature on the ethics of adults researching children (Boyden & Ennew 1997, Ennew 1994, Homan 1991, Thomas & O’Kane 1998).” Such literature will be used to support a description of many ethical issues that were addressed when carrying out detailed interviews, including gaining consent, earning trust, interviewer flexibility and positionality.

Gaining consent to interview

Matthews *et al* (1998: 315) emphasise the importance of gaining consent to interview children. Gaining consent from a parent or guardian in *loco parentis* is realistic in most minority world cases. However, most child ambulant traders in Cusco are not accompanied by adults so gaining adult consent is more difficult. Whenever possible, children’s parents or guardians were consulted. Many existing studies have highlighted the difficulty of gaining consent from adult ‘gatekeepers’, particularly when the researcher is male (Barker & Smith 2001, Masson 2000, Valentine 1999). In Cusco experiences with children’s charities and NGOs varied from unquestioning acceptance, to extreme scepticism and scrutiny. It is not only the consent of adults which is important, the children themselves must also provide consent (Boyden & Ennew 1997, Ennew 1994, Young & Barrett 2001b). Before consenting to take part in an interview, children were informed of the details of the research, the limits of confidentiality and the fact that they were entitled to withdraw from participation at any point they wished, without explanation (Matthews *et al* 1998, Young & Barrett 2001b). Equally, the children were made aware that that the researcher is unlikely to be in a position to influence policy, although there may be potential impacts of the research. All this information was relayed to the children in a manner that is

understandable so they were able to make an informed decision whether or not to take part (Boyden & Ennew 1997, Ennew 1994, Young & Barrett 2001b).

Earning trust

Even when access to children has been secured, the children still need to be willing to participate in detailed interviews. This is best achieved when there is mutual trust between the researcher and the child. Young & Barrett (2001b: 150) identify the building of trust as a key ethical problem in research with children and they assert that “it is essential to spend time with the children and develop a trusting relationship.” By doing this the children gain familiarity with the researcher and the project, heightening the likelihood that they will participate. In Cusco, the researcher spent significant time teaching in two children’s charities and an NGO, partly to earn the trust of the children. The researcher’s continual presence and affiliation with the charities resulted in familiarity with a lot of children and it also led to many more children becoming aware of the research due to word of mouth. However, the researcher held an authoritative role in these organisations which is likely to have had an impact on positionality (Grover 2004). Therefore, it was felt that the researcher needed to be viewed as independent of the charities and NGO so efforts were made to participate in activities outside of these organisations. Time was spent in activities such as football matches and trips to the park. Young & Barrett (2001b) warn that in Kampala the street children often live elusive lifestyles, evading authoritative figures and making access difficult for researchers. Many children in Cusco similarly avoid authorities and often do not attend charities or NGOs. As a result, the researcher spent significant time on the streets talking with street children, often after being introduced by a child who does attend a charity. Through these various forms of participation the researcher and the research became well known and trust was earned, enabling detailed interviews to be carried out.

The interview situation

It is essential that researchers protect children and themselves by ensuring that the interview situation cannot be misconstrued. This usually requires the researcher to ensure that they are not the sole adult in a room with a child (Barker & Smith 2001, Cameron *et al* 1999, Holmes 1998). For this reason all detailed interviews were carried out on the street, or in a charity/NGO building, in the presence a research assistant. The research assistant

was a white British female, aged 24 years. She worked closely with the researcher, teaching English to the children, developing a significant degree of familiarity with them. The research assistant's familiarity with the children overcame the potential that she might deter children from discussing issues. The children would probably have been reluctant to discuss certain issues if the researcher had been accompanied by a representative from a charity or NGO. A second issue regarding the interview situation concerns the number of participants. Aitken (2001a) has described how couples can be interviewed together and it would certainly be possible to interview children in pairs or small groups (Kennedy *et al* 2001). However, Smith (1995) warns that some children might succumb to peer pressure, wanting to say something impressive in front of their friends. Thus, detailed interviews were carried out with children on their own and if other children tried to listen to, or contribute to the interview they were asked to wait some distance away so that the interviewee had reasonable privacy. The third issue concerns the use of a dictaphone. Detailed interviews were only recorded if the children consented. The dictaphone was treated as a microphone and was used by most of the children as if they were a famous celebrity participating in a television interview. Only two children chose not to use the dictaphone and notably both were older, found less enjoyment in using it and were dubious of its purpose even after it had been explained. Similar methods of making the dictaphone fun have also been appropriated by Hecht (1998) and Young & Barrett (2001b).

Interviewer flexibility

The researcher must be flexible when arranging and carrying interviews with children (Matthews *et al* 1998, Young & Barrett 2001b). Whilst arranging the interview the researcher must be flexible because children lead busy lives and cannot be expected to give up all their various activities to respond to questions (Matthews *et al* 1998). For instance, Young & Barrett (2001a: 388) agreed to meet Kampala street children at times "which would not interfere with their daily tasks." More specifically, Young & Barrett (2001a) met one group of boys every morning at 9am because they were free at this time having just finished working in the municipal market. Interestingly, Matthews *et al* (1998) comment that the majority of academics who interview adults will expect to meet the adult at a location of the interviewee's choice and at a time of their choosing, whereas the majority of academics who carry out research with children tend to disrupt the learning or play of children in order to interview them. In Cusco children were only interviewed if they had

time available, consequently interviews were completed throughout the day. Many children chose to participate during their working hours, perhaps during a lull in trading activity, but often simply because it was something different and unusual to do.

It was felt that the children's efforts should be rewarded and their valuable time remunerated. However, there are mixed attitudes towards reimbursing children monetarily or otherwise (Ensign 2003, Fischer *et al* 1996, Hutz & Koller 1999). Ensign (2003: 45) comments that "offering undue incentives invalidates informed consent because it could be seen as coercion." However, there is little consensus over what constitutes an undue incentive (Fisher *et al* 1996). According to Ensign (2003: 45) the guiding principle for remuneration for children's participation is that it "should be limited to payment for the time and inconvenience of participation; it should not be on level of risk involved in the research and should not be so high as to be coercive (Levine 1986, Sugarman *et al* 1998)." For example, Ensign (2003) provided nominal cash payments (US\$ 5-10) or prepaid phone cards to homeless youth participants as reimbursement. Kennedy *et al* (2001) also offered a cash reimbursement of a similar amount to children who participated in focus group research. However, Hutz & Koller (1999) and Jago & Bailey (2001) all decided that it is not ethically appropriate to give children money because it is likely to cloud their judgement, although they do believe that adults should be reimbursed for their inconvenience. Such an argument appears to undervalue children and is an example of a minority world perspective on childhoods. Taking into consideration the above discussion, child ambulant traders were given one Nuevo Sol (approximately 20 pence) for completing a detailed interview. This was deemed to be an appropriate and non-coercive amount as they might have earned a similar sum of money had they sold one item during the same time. It was also deemed appropriate to give cash because the children being questioned regularly deal with money during their work.

Interviewers must be particularly flexible when carrying out interviews with children (Matthews *et al* 1998). Firstly because children, possibly more than adults, will stray from the question posed. Therefore it is important to "be prepared to give way, even though (the researcher) may want to move the agenda on" (Matthews *et al* 1998: 318). During detailed interviews child ambulant traders in Cusco occasionally misinterpreted a question but their responses were always recorded and the questions were then re-worded at a later stage.

Secondly, children are likely to become tired and lose interest at a more rapid rate than adults during interviews (Matthews *et al* 1998). Matthews *et al* (1998) suggest that a number of different activities should be incorporated into the interview in order to maintain children's interest and alertness. Therefore, detailed interviews were accompanied by visual methods (discussed later), which not only maintained the children's interest but they also encouraged a number of children to participate. Detailed interviews were limited to approximately 30 minutes to further ensure that children's attention was maintained.

Positionality

A range of factors determine a researcher's position in relation to the research participants (Aitken 2001b, Dowler 2001, Esterberg 2002, Grover 2004, Ley & Mountz 2001, Skelton 2001). The factors most relevant to this study appear to have been my age, gender and ethnicity. Whilst positionality is discussed under detailed interviews, it was considered at all stages of the research. As a relatively young researcher (24/25 years), the children appeared to find me approachable. This was not only due to my age but also my character. For instance, the children often approached me on the street and talked about their day in a way that they might with an older sibling. This proved to be invaluable in earning trust and building familiarity with the children. Furthermore, my age and my appearance seemed to reduce children's perception that I was an authoritative figure, which would have made gaining consent to interview more challenging. My gender also appeared to influence the research. Cusco has a male dominated culture, hence some of the children might not have been willing to be interviewed by a female researcher. Finally, my ethnicity played a key role in my positionality. As a result of my whiteness, many government officials were more likely to provide the necessary time for an interview and discuss sensitive matters but on the other hand, some children were distrusting or they perceived me to be a tourist. My position as a tourist and an outsider altered with time spent in Cusco and by the time detailed interviews were carried out I was perceived to be an individual. Similarly, Skelton (2001: 92) found that her "whiteness was constantly referred to, admired, joked about, criticised and stared at" during her research in Montserrat. Due to her position as a visible outsider it took a significant amount of time before members of the community trusted her enough to consent to interviews. Skelton (2001) comments that she was, in that context, a disempowered researcher.

Visual methods

Following a call for researchers to become more creative and flexible in exploring children's environments (Rudestam & Newton 1992), Young & Barrett (2001b: 142) assert that "attempts have been made to make research techniques more child-friendly and participatory." Subsequently, visual methods are now used widely in research projects with children (Beazley 1998, 2002, Punch 2001a, 2003, Van Blerk 2005, Young & Barrett 2001a, 2001b) and their appropriateness in eliciting information with children has been proven (Young & Barrett 2001a). This section outlines several advantages of incorporating visual methods and summarises two visual methods that were employed in the research methodology.

One of the key advantages of using visual methods in research with children is that such methods encourage free expression (Valentine 2001, Young & Barrett 2001a, 2001b), whereas traditional written and oral methods, such as interviews, can be restrictive for children who have poor literacy or verbal skills:

"For some street children, particularly those who have had limited or no access to education, visual methods provide a forum for free expression. This is because visual methods do not confine the child to communicating verbally in a particular language or dialect that may not be the child's mother tongue."

(Young & Barrett 2001a: 389)

A second advantage of visual methods is that they can be used to prompt further discussion. For example, Young & Barrett (2001a) comment that in their research in Kampala they used mapping exercises as prompts because the street children's minds sometimes wandered due to glue sniffing. Another advantage is that visual methods are often not spontaneous like interviews. As a result, children are able to take their time and complete the visual task, making amendments if they like (Young & Barrett 2001a). A further advantage is that visual methods can be enjoyable (Young & Barrett 2001a). If children perceive visual tasks to be some form of a game their attention is likely to be maintained and they are more likely to decide to participate in the first instance. According to Young & Barrett (2001a) some Kampala street children asked to join in when they saw other children 'playing' visual methods.

Whilst there are many advantages of using visual methods, as with any method, there are limitations. Greig & Taylor (1999) warn that the greatest limitation of visual methods is that drawings are particularly susceptible to false interpretation. Therefore, it is suggested that drawings and other visual methods should be correlated with a variety of other sources of information (Greig & Taylor 1999). This supports the decision to use a multi method approach. Having established that there are significant uses of visual methods, two particular tasks were devised: a card selection game and a mapping task.

Card selection game

The card selection game was devised to establish the importance of trading in relation to other parts of child ambulant traders' lives. Thirty children participated in the card selection game before they completed the detailed interview. Nine cards were drawn to represent important parts of child ambulant traders' lives (Appendix J). The cards represent clothing, family, food, holidays, money, play, school, tourists and trading. On each card there is a very simple picture and one word indicating a particular facet of life. Lahikainen *et al* (2003: 87) also used very simple pictures, which represented only the "objects needed to concretise the topic concerned." The nine cards were laid out in front of the child ambulant trader and they were asked to pick the three cards that represent the things that are most important in their lives. After the child had picked three cards they were asked to rank the cards in order of importance.

The card selection game does not rely on children's literacy or verbal skills so all children who participated were equally able to express themselves. The task also simplified a relatively complex task as even the most capable of children might not have been able to rank important facets of life orally. The literature outlined above suggests that visual methods such as the card selection game are fun and might encourage other children to participate (Young & Barrett 2001a). This was certainly the case with child ambulant traders. The task appeared to offer a welcome distraction from trading, with some of the children wanting to play with the cards after the detailed interview had been completed. Furthermore, when it became widely known amongst children that they could play a card game many children inquired about participating.

Mapping task

The mapping task firstly sought to determine the specific locations on the Plaza de Armas where child ambulant traders like and dislike trading. Secondly, it intended to investigate why children have such preferences. Thirty children participated in the mapping task, which was carried out after the detailed interview. A basic map of the Plaza de Armas was drawn and a copy was given to the child (See Appendix K). Each child was given two coloured pencils and they were asked to colour in red the locations where they like to trade and in blue the locations where they do not like to trade. Once the child was happy with their map they were asked to explain why they had used specific colours in particular locations and these explanations were recorded on the map.

The first stage of the mapping task requires no literacy or verbal skills and therefore enabled all children to express themselves fully. The second phase of the task did demand some oral skills in giving reasons for the patterns, so explanations varied in detail. The mapping task, like the card selection game, was considered to be fun as many of the children have limited access to resources such as colouring pencils and paper. Therefore, the task also prompted children to participate. The literature suggests that visual tasks are often not spontaneous, with children spending time making amendments and carefully considering their response. This is certainly the case with the mapping task as many children asked for an eraser to change the colour they had used for a particular location. Finally, the mapping task was a useful prompt for further discussion and it maintained the children's interest until the end of the interview.

Summary comments

The decision to adopt a multi methodological approach was based on the need to meet a variety of research objectives that seek both a quantitative overview of informal trading and a detailed, more qualitative, insight into the experiences of child ambulant traders. A selection of literature was used to design an appropriate methodology that incorporates searching documentary material, informal discussions, key informant interviews, observational surveys, questionnaire surveys, detailed interviews and visual tasks.

Children are the focus of the research, which presents particular methodological concerns. The recent explosion in literature on adults researching children (Beazley 1998, 2002,

Punch 2001a, 2003, Valentine 2001, Young & Barrett 2001a, 2001b) encourages the use of more appropriate and flexible methods. Consequently, detailed interviews incorporated two visual methods which not only elicited a large volume of information, but also encouraged children to participate and maintained children's interest throughout. Before the results of the mixed methodological approach are explored in a series of themed chapters, the following chapter presents a background on the study location: the city of Cusco.

-Chapter 4-

THE CITY OF CUSCO: GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The city of Cusco is located in Andean Peru and is the country's ninth most populated city (INEI 1993). Contemporary Cusco is heavily reliant on the tourist industry (Hays Mitchell 1990, Seligmann 2000), although it also retains its traditional function as the market centre for surrounding rural areas (Bravo & Monge 1983, Fujii & del Carmen 1992, Caparo 1994). The tourism industry and the informal trading industry provide employment for much of the Cusco population, including a significant number of children. This chapter describes the city of Cusco, with reference to its location and city functions, the tourist industry, its population and finally a selection of policies and issues relating to working children.

Cusco: location and city functions

This section will describe the geographical location of the city of Cusco, its historical development and its present-day administrative role. City planning will then be considered before finally exploring city functions.

The geographical location of the city of Cusco

The city of Cusco is located in the South East of Peru in the central Andes (Map 1), the urban area covering approximately 175,280km², at an altitude of 3,399 metres above sea level (Herrera 1992). It is situated at latitude 13°30'45" and longitude 71°58'33" (Herrera 1992). The city occupies the river basin of the river Huatanay (del Pino 1998) and lies within a long and narrow depression in the mountains (del Pino 1998). The northern, western and southern limits of the city are characterised by the presence of steep slopes (del Pino 1998). Cusco's geographical location results in two fairly distinctive seasons, characterised by the amount of rainfall in each. The dry season (April-October) predominantly experiences low rainfall, sunny days and cold nights, with temperatures fluctuating between -0.7°C and 22.7°C, while the rainy season (November-March) consists of high rainfall and warmer temperatures that fluctuate between 4.8°C and 23.9°C (INEI 2001).

Map 1. The location of the city of Cusco relative to other Peruvian cities



Source: Adapted from Magellan Maps (2006)

The historical development of the city of Cusco

Cusco is cited as one of the oldest cities in the Americas (Tomoeda & Flores Ochoa 1992) and its history, which spans 3,500 years, is characterised by various civilisations and fluctuating importance in relation to the rest of Peru and neighbouring countries. According to Hardoy & Dos Santos (1983) prior to the fifteenth century Cusco was a small town, inhabited by an Inca tribe that neared annihilation. However, between 1438 and 1493, the ninth and tenth Incas (Pachacutec and Yupanqui respectively) fought to expand the Inca Empire, which centred on its capital city of Cusco. Reportedly, by 1525 the city of

Cusco had become the political, administrative and religious capital of the Inca Empire (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983).

The successful Spanish conquest of Peru in 1534 resulted in Cusco losing its pre-eminence as capital of Peru to Lima (del Pino 1998). As a colonial city the population of Cusco began to increase, with many of the new inhabitants being forced to live on the steep slopes of the city extremities. However, in 1824 Peru gained its independence from Spain (Rachowiecki & Beech 2004) and as a Republican city Cusco witnessed a decrease in its population (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983). According to Kuan Arce (1992) the population decreased by 65% between 1870 and 1925. This decrease was attributed to an inability to industrialise due to lack of sea trade and a fall in textile production (Kuan Arce 1992).

Earthquakes form a significant part of Cusco's history. The last major earthquake took place in 1950 and destroyed approximately 70% of all buildings, including many colonial monuments and a significant number of dwellings (Del Pino 1998). Following the earthquake in 1950 there was extremely high rural-urban migration in order to meet the labour demand that was required to reconstruct the city (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983, Del Pino 1998). Consequently, the total population of the city of Cusco increased and has continued to increase through to present day.

The administrative role of the city of Cusco

The city of Cusco is the capital of the department, province and district of the same name (Figure 4). The city is administered by a democratically elected mayor whose term in office is normally four years with the possibility of re-election. Most recently, Carlos Valencia Miranda was re-elected in December 2001 following his initial election into power in January 1999 (INEI 2003). In January 2007 elections were taking place, with the possibility that Carlos Valencia Miranda might be elected for a third term. The mayor heads the municipal government, which is responsible for the development and maintenance of the city. For the purpose of this thesis, key departments within the municipal government include: the Department for Tourism, Education, Culture and Environment; the Department of Social Programmes; the Department for Economic Development and Municipal Services; and the Department for Urban and Rural Development, including the Sub-Department for Support of the Historic Centre.

In the 1960s administrative and banking services were concentrated in the city of Cusco, with the construction of the Palace of Justice (1966) and various banks: *Banco de los Andes* (1963), *Caja de Ahorro* (1963) and *Banco Industrial* (1966). Hays Mitchell (1990: 70) described Cusco as “far and away the major administrative and commercial center of the relatively poor southern Andean highlands.”

Figure 4. The city of Cusco: Capital of the department, province and district of the same name

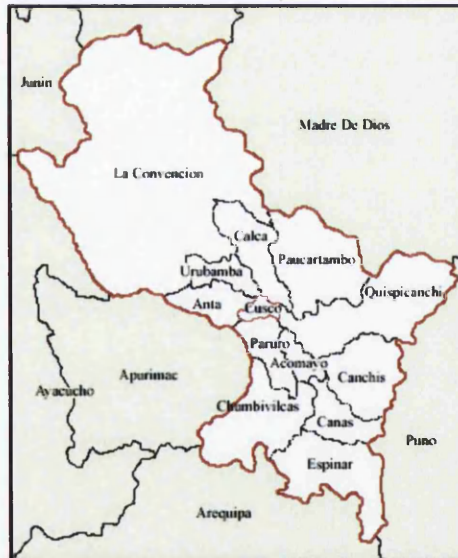
(a) The location of the department of Cusco in Peru



Source: Adapted from INEI (2006)



(b) The location of the province of Cusco in the department of Cusco



Source: Adapted from INEI (2006)



(c) The location of the district of Cusco within the province of Cusco



Source: Adapted from INEI (2006)

City planning

Flores Ochoa (1992) states that Cusco is probably the first city in the Americas to have been constructed according to predetermined plans. She suggests that during Inca rule the Inca Pachakuti first planned the urban restructuring of Cusco. However, the historical development of the city of Cusco has also involved significant unplanned expansion, where cultivated land has been abandoned for residential, commercial and industrial use (Bravo & Monge 1983). Much of the residential expansion in Cusco took place between 1950 and 1973 following the earthquake of 1950. During this period residential expansion exceeded 187 hectares in the District of Cusco (Bravo & Monge 1983) and was mostly uncontrolled, occupying the slopes surrounding the city. However, not all urban expansion in Cusco was unplanned. In 1973 a scheme for urban expansion was introduced and according to Del Pino (1998), “the accelerated urban expansion has practically precipitated the integration of the neighbouring Districts of Cusco, Santiago, Wanchaq, San Sebastian and San Jeronimo.” The impact of planned and unplanned urban expansion on residential areas has resulted in a social divide. Seligmann (2000: 24) states: “suburban residents are accorded high status, and the lowest status is attributed to the densely populated migrant *pueblos jovenes* and cooperatives that spread densely up the hillsides surrounding Cusco.”

Whilst much of the residential expansion in Cusco was effectively a form of city sprawl, the commercial and industrial expansion took place by appropriating residential land in the city centre. The use of the city centre has changed dramatically since the late 1960s, owing to an increase in international tourism. Bravo & Monge (1983) suggest that the city centre has been abandoned in terms of residential use and it is now more often associated with tourist facilities. More specifically they suggest that many colonial buildings have been appropriated for some form of commercial use (Bravo & Monge 1983), which is to be anticipated because, according to Scarpaci (2005), commercial activity is vital to historic districts.

In addition to changes in residential, commercial and industrial land-use, there have been significant changes in planned transport provision. Within the city centre of Cusco, Avenida El Sol has been converted into the main route, by which practically all transport enters the central area (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983). This transport artery is relatively wide with parking between the major traffic lanes. Moreover, Avenida El Ejercito has been

reclaimed from ambulant traders and has been re-surfaced. Both of these road links have affected the cityscape and there are reportedly plans to alter the historic centre further by pedestrianising the Plaza de Armas (Diario del Cusco, 19 & 20 January 2006).

City functions

The functions of the city of Cusco will be discussed in relation to the industries present, the service facilities available and the existing communications hubs. According to Hays Mitchell (1990) in 1990, artisanal production, tourism and commerce formed the backbone of the local economy, although Seligmann (2000) more recently noted that the biggest industry is certainly tourism. The city's distinct history makes it attractive to tourists and with an abundance of tourist facilities it is understandable that the main industry of the city is tourism. The tourist industry will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter. Although tourism is the most significant industry in the city of Cusco, other industries do play a part in the local economy. The city acts as the market centre for the surrounding region (Caparo 1994, Fujii & del Carmen 1992). Hardoy & Dos Santos (1983) comment that whilst the province of La Convención produces many of the department's agricultural goods it is the city of Cusco that re-distributes these goods within the local, national and international markets. Goods produced in La Convención include timber, coffee, coca, tea and fruits (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983), while other crops produced within the department include potatoes and maize (Caparo 1994, INEI 2001). Cusco not only acts as a market centre for agricultural goods but also for minerals excavated within the department (INEI 2001) and for imported goods. In addition to tourism and agriculture, Cusco boasts a brewery, a Coca-Cola factory, a fertilizer operation and textile factories (Hays Mitchell 1990, INEI 2001, Seligmann 2000).

Whilst Cusco is the administrative and commercial centre of the region, education, health and recreation services are concentrated in the neighbouring District of Wanchaq (Del Pino 1998). The Universidad San Antonio Abad del Cusco (UNSAAC) opened in 1955 (Bravo & Monge 1983) in the afore mentioned district and now enrolls approximately 13,300 students each term (INEI 2001). The city's second university, also located in the District of Wanchaq, is the Universidad Particular Andina, which enrolls more than 3,100 students each term (INEI 2001). Several colleges are also located outside of the city centre, including *Colegio Gacilaso*. In addition to educational services, health services such as

Hospital Regional, built in 1964, are found in the District of Wanchaq. Major recreational facilities also found in Wanchaq, include the city's football stadium and the largest park in the city (*Parque Zonal*).

Even though the city is located high in the Andean mountains there are well established and relatively well maintained transport links between the city of Cusco and other cities, towns and villages. In 1965 an airport was built in Cusco (Bravo & Monge 1983, Del Pino 1998) which has been accredited with significantly increasing international tourism (Del Pino 1998). The airport, located approximately 3km from the city centre, is at the point of saturation and is often affected by the extreme weather conditions experienced in the rainy season. Recent proposals have suggested building a new airport in the province of Urubamba, where the weather conditions are more predictable and the landing conditions are more favourable (BCRP 2006). At present flights take place between Cusco and Lima, Arequipa, Puerto Maldonado, Juliaca and La Paz in Bolivia. The city of Cusco also has two key train terminals, the first connects Cusco with Arequipa and Puno and is located adjacent to Avenida El Sol. The second leads to the village of Machu Picchu and is extremely well traveled because it is the quickest link to the historic sanctuary of Machu Picchu. Cusco has a long-distance bus terminal which is located nearly 2km from the city centre and is used by both local people and tourists. There are two main roads connecting Cusco with Lima, as well as several routes to Puno and Bolivia. There are a number of local bus terminals that connect the city of Cusco with nearby villages and towns, while travel within the city is usually dependent on *combi* vans and taxis.

The tourist industry in Cusco

Cusco has been described as “a tourist city” (Del Pino 1998: 222) and “Peru's pre-eminent tourist center” (Hays Mitchell 1990: 70). Tourism is the key function of the city and therefore this section will describe the tourist industry in Cusco, with reference to who the tourists are and what they spend, the supporting infrastructure, the tourist attractions and the conservation policies in place.

Identifying the tourists

According to the National Statistics Agency of Peru (INEI) in 2001 approximately 643,532 tourists visited Cusco (INEI 2006). However, recent newspaper reports suggest that in 2005 more than one million tourists visited Cusco (Diario del Cusco, 31 October 2005 & 5 December 2005). Cusco is the second most visited city in Peru according to the INEI (2006). Table 1 shows that more people visit Lima than Cusco, although these figures take into account business travellers, which is likely to significantly heighten the statistics for Lima. It is estimated that approximately 64% of all tourists who visit Cusco are foreign, while the remaining 36% are Peruvian (INEI 2006). Table 5 shows that in comparison to other cities in Peru, Cusco attracts far more foreign tourists as a percentage of all tourists who visit the city.

Table 5. Numbers of national and foreign visitors travelling to specific Peruvian cities, 2001

City		Peruvian tourists	Foreign tourists	Total tourists
Lima	N	5,398,524	560,357	5,958,881
	%	90.6%	9.4%	100%
Cusco	N	233,084	410,448	643,532
	%	36.2%	63.8%	100%
Arequipa	N	250,579	81,328	331,907
	%	75.5%	24.5%	100%
Puno	N	151,102	88,590	239,692
	%	63.0%	27.0%	100%

Source: Adapted from INEI (2006)

The number of tourist arrivals in Cusco varies between months. Data on all tourist arrivals shows that the busiest months are July - October (Municipalidad Provincial del Cusco 2002), which are approximately the summer months in the northern hemisphere. Informal interviews with informal traders in Cusco suggest that in the winter months of the northern hemisphere (December - February) there is an increase in the percentage of tourists from other Latin American countries (Fieldwork diary, 15 January 2005). These patterns have repercussions on the local economy as according to informal traders, tourists from Latin America rarely spend as much as their European and North American counterparts (Fieldwork diary, 15 January 2005).

The INEI (2003: 211) found that in 2002 foreign tourists stayed an average of 2.11 days in Cusco, whereas Peruvian tourists stayed for only 1.51 days. These figures show that foreign tourists are likely to generate far more income for the Department of Cusco than Peruvian tourists because they stay for a longer period of time and there are more of them. It also appears that there is an association between the age of the tourist and their impact on the Cusco economy. Table 6 illustrates that according to the national organisation for the promotion of Peru (PROMPERU), younger tourists spend much longer in Peru, so what they spend is perhaps spread across a wider geographical area of Peru. It is likely that the majority of older tourists travel as part of an organised group and will only visit a selection of places, limiting the diversity of areas benefiting from their spending. Scheyvens (2002) similarly found that young backpackers spread their spending far more widely than wealthier, older tourists. On the other hand, whilst older tourists tend to spend less time in Peru, they do spend more money in that brief period (Table 6).

Table 6. Average amounts of time and money spent by different age groups of tourists in Peru, 2001

Age group of tourist	Average amount of Time spent in Peru (days)	Average amount of Money spent in Peru (US\$)
15-24	22	714
25-34	16	755
35-44	13	753
45-54	12	778
55-64	9	926
65+	10	925

Source: PROMPERU (2001a, 2001b)

The tourist infrastructure

Since the construction of the airport in Cusco, tourist numbers have increased and the accompanying infrastructure has developed. Transport links have improved and tourist facilities such as restaurants and bars have opened. In addition, Cusco's ability to accommodate tourists has grown. Official statistics suggest that in 2000 there were approximately 396 sleeping establishments available in Cusco, which consisted of 6,786 rooms (MITINCI 2006). It is likely that these figures under represent the actual number of rooms available because there are a significant number of unregistered, informal establishments.

Tourist attractions in Cusco

This sub section will describe some of the specific attractions that have made Cusco the pre-eminent tourist site in Peru (Hays Mitchell 1990). Cusco's sites of interest can be classified as archaeological, natural, historical, *plazas* or museums (INEI 2003). The key sites under each of these classifications will be described.

Archaeological sites

The historic sanctuary of Machu Picchu is by far the best known of all attractions in the whole of Peru and is often the main reason why tourists visit the country (Rachowiecki & Beech 2004). Desforges (1997: 75) describes it as "one of the iconic sites of the continent." According to the National Institute of Culture (INC), in 2004 approximately 450,000 tourists visited the sanctuary (INC-DRC 2004). Although it is located more than 100km from the city of Cusco (INEI 2003), almost all tourists who visit Machu Picchu are likely to visit the city of Cusco. In fact, most tourists who visit the archaeological site are likely to use the city of Cusco as a base. The fort of Sacsayhuaman, a second important tourist attraction, is located on the perimeter of Cusco's historic centre and was of religious and military significance in the Inca period (INEI 2003). Furthermore, Sacsayhuaman was the site of one of the last battles between the Incas and the Spaniards and therefore has immense historical importance (Flores Ochoa 1992). Pisac is another very important archaeological site in the Department of Cusco (INEI 2003). It is located approximately 30km from the city centre and includes ruins of ancient Inca temples (Rachowiecki & Beech 2004). Many tourists visit Pisac village for the tourist goods market which is held on three days of the week.

Natural sites

Urry (1992) uses the term "the tourist gaze" to explain why tourists choose to visit picturesque sites. The most picturesque natural site in the Department of Cusco is the snow capped mountain range of Ausangate. Whilst this mountain range is a significant distance from the city of Cusco (150km), like Machu Picchu the city is often used as a base for expeditions. Other natural sites that are appropriated by tourists include the Urubamba and Apurimac rivers. These sites are not valued as picturesque sites, which command Urry's tourist gaze, instead they are appropriated for white water rafting, one of the several adventure tourism attractions in Cusco.

Historic monuments

There is an abundance of 'historic monuments' in the city of Cusco, most of which are religious buildings. The cathedral, located on the Plaza de Armas, is visible to all tourists visiting the city due to its central location. It was built by the Spanish on the ruins of an Inca palace and is reported to be "one of the most beautiful architectural monuments of Peru and Latin America" (INEI 2003: 244). In addition to the cathedral, most tourists who visit the city of Cusco also tend to visit one or more of the following churches: *Iglesia de la compañía de Jesus*, San Blas temple, San Pedro church, Santa Catalina church and the temple of Santo Domingo.

Plazas

Plazas are one of the major legacies of the Spanish on the structure of the Latin American city (Scarpaci 2005, Pacione 2005), although the main *plaza* in Cusco was actually a major part of the Inca city prior to Spanish arrival. The Plaza de Armas acts as the nucleus of the city where tourists and local people gather in often equal numbers. Of all the other *plazas* in Cusco, Plaza San Francisco is the most historically important but it is more widely used by the local population than by tourists.

Museums

There are numerous museums in Cusco, varying in size and standard. '*Museo Historico Regional Casa Garcilaso*' is one of the larger museums, while '*Museo de Santa Catalina*' and '*Museo de Sitio Koricancha*' are some of the most visited. These museums not only boast artefacts from Nazca, pre-Inca and Inca periods but the buildings themselves are often historic. Many museums in Cusco appear for only a brief period and are unable to be maintained.

At this point it is important to mention that most tourists in Cusco choose to buy the 'tourist ticket'²¹ which allows them entry to many of the above mentioned attractions. Proceeds from the tickets not only go to the participating attractions but also towards the conservation of the city's many tourist sites.

²¹ The sale of the tourist ticket is organised by the municipal government and allows tourists into key sites in Cusco. The majority of tourists purchase this ticket.

Conservation policies in Cusco

Left alone, unprotected, the historic attractions of Cusco would be lost due to natural and human causes. Therefore, during recent decades conservation policies have been implemented, predominantly in response to tourist demands and heightened international awareness (Diario del Cusco, 31 October 2005). Figure 5 shows a timeline of conservation events that took place in Cusco between 1930 and 1993 and demonstrates that the protection of historic attractions in Cusco is not a new phenomenon.

Figure 5. Timeline of conservation events in Cusco, 1930 – 1993

Decade	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Conservation event	1934 Urban Plan		1951 Kubler Plan	1964 City Zoning	1972 Urban Expansion Scheme	1987 Urban Structure Scheme	1993 Urban Development Plan
			1952 Pilot Plan		1979 Director's Plan		

Source: After del Pino (1998)

Most of the conservation policies in Figure 5 have led to the development and protection of the city of Cusco in some form. For example, the Kubler Plan (1951) restored monuments after the earthquake of 1950, whilst the Urban Structure Scheme of 1987 restructured the city and put forward plans for its future development (del Pino 1998). However, not all urban conservation schemes in Figure 5 were realised. The zoning of the city in 1964 was only partially completed, while the Urban Development Plan of 1993 was never started (del Pino 1998). Most recently, partly due to the importance of international tourism, policies have particularly focussed on the conservation of historic attractions. The policy that has received most attention is the *Plan Maestro* of 2001.

Plan Maestro of 2001

The *Plan Maestro* of 2001 considered the objectives and the outcomes of all of the previous plans mentioned in Figure 5. The overall aim of the *Plan Maestro* is to protect the historic centre of Cusco, which according to the National Institute of Culture (INC) must be protected because of its great cultural and historical value for identifying past cultures (INC-DRC 2001). The objectives of the plan include establishing instruments and actions to revert the deterioration of the historic centre, whilst incorporating the population of the

historic centre in the process of recuperation (INC-DRC 2001). The local and national government, as well as international organisations (UNESCO) are involved in the project. The results of these policies have impacted dramatically on historic attractions and subsequently on informal trade. The relocation of ambulant traders and subsequent restoration of historic buildings are an example of the work carried out as part of the Plan Maestro of 2001.

Additional conservation policies

Policies have also sought to protect individual attractions outside of the city of Cusco. UNESCO and local government both invest in the protection of the historic sanctuary of Machu Picchu. Conservation has been a key issue over recent years. Proposals for cable cars have been rejected, ancient monuments have been damaged by camera equipment, tourist numbers have been limited, and regulations on the Inca trail have been changed regularly (Cusco Weekly, 20 August 2001 & 8 March 2001). As with the historic centre of Cusco, a Master Plan was devised in order to plan the short and long term protection of this historic attraction.

The population of Cusco

Having discussed the development of the city and its functions it is logical to next consider who lives there and who works in the various economic activities, including tourism. The following sub section will describe the characteristics of the population of Cusco.

Population characteristics

The city of Cusco had a population of 27,504 at the time of the national census in 1993 (INEI 1993)²². Table 7 shows the age distribution for the city of Cusco, the Department of Cusco and the national distribution. In the city of Cusco there is a much lower percentage of young children when compared to the national pattern. By contrast, the Department of Cusco, which encompasses many rural areas, has a slightly higher percentage of 0-14 year old children than the national distribution. This variation may be explained by a higher

²² The data for the 2005 National Census has been only partially disaggregated and does not allow for analysis of data at the city level. Therefore, it was deemed most appropriate to make reference to the data from the 1993 census which permits city level analysis.

proportion of working adults attracted to a city such as Cusco, and by the greater practice of birth control in an urban context.

Table 7. The population age structure in different geographical areas of Peru in 1993

Geographical area	Population age group			Total population
		0-14	15+	
City of Cusco	No.	7,978	19,526	27,504
	%	29.0%	71.0%	100%
Department of Cusco	No.	388,872	639,891	1,028,763
	%	37.8%	62.2%	100%
Peru	No.	8,155,376	13,892,980	22,048,356
	%	37.0%	63.0%	100%

Source: INEI (1993)

The gender distribution in the city of Cusco, the Department of Cusco and in Peru at the time of the 1993 national census is summarised in Table 8. There is almost no variation in the percentages of male and female residents in the different geographical areas.

Table 8. The population gender structure in different geographical areas of Peru in 1993

Geographical area	Population gender			Total population
		Male	Female	
City of Cusco	No.	13,391	14,113	27,504
	%	48.7%	51.3%	100%
Department of Cusco	No.	517,798	510,965	1,028,763
	%	50.3%	49.7%	100%
Peru	No.	10,956,375	11,091,981	22,048,356
	%	49.7%	50.3%	100%

Source: INEI (1993)

Whilst the national census in 1993 did not include a question on ethnicity it did include an optional question on the respondent's mother tongue. This can be used to indicate the likely ethnicity of the population, as speaking Quechua is a distinguishing characteristic of the indigenous population (Seligmann 1993, Weismantel 2001). Very few mestizo residents speak Quechua as their mother tongue. The data is not available for the city of Cusco but at the district level it appears that *Spanish* is the most widely spoken language (72% of the district population), however a significant percentage of people speak Quechua (27%). When these figures are compared to those of the Department of Cusco and nationally, it is clear that there are distinct variations across Peru (Table 9). The District of

Cusco, where the city of Cusco is located, clearly has a high indigenous, Quechua speaking population. Moreover, the majority (64%) of the population of the Department of Cusco are Quechua speaking and most probably indigenous.

Table 9. The mother tongue of the Peruvian population in different geographical areas in 1993

Geographical area	Mother tongue of population			Total no. of respondents	
		Spanish	Quechua		Other
District of Cusco ²³	No.	59,887	22,234	1,503	83,624
	%	71.6%	26.6%	1.8%	100%
Department of Cusco	No.	307,920	560,101	10,952	878,973
	%	35.0%	63.8%	1.2%	100%
Peru	No.	15,405,014	3,177,938	1,048,020	19,630,972
	%	78.5%	16.2%	5.3%	100%

Source: INEI (1993)

Economic activity of the Cusco population

Official statistics from the 1993 census record 10,769 people aged 15 years and over as economically active in the city of Cusco (INEI 1993). The census also found that 276 children between the ages of six and fourteen are economically active (INEI 1993). Many (48%) of the occupations reported by the Cusco population are unclassified by the INEI. However, those occupations which are classified tend to be retail or service related (32%), while other occupations are in construction (19%) or agriculture (1%). It is likely that the statistics gained from the INEI highly under represent children’s involvement in the labour market.

Ethnicity and culture in Cusco

Much has been written by anthropologists on aspects of culture and ethnicity in Cusco (de la Cadena 1995, 2000, Seligmann 1993, 2000, Weismantel 2001) and whilst this work is not the focus of the thesis it is important to establish a basic understanding of the cultural and ethnic differences that exist in contemporary Cusco. “Modern culture (in Peru) is...diffuse, still rooted in region and race, and for most Peruvians, culture is part of daily life” (de Díaz Límaco 1998). This observation is certainly true of culture in Cusco, where the population is divided by ethnicity. Characteristics of the population such as dress,

²³ The population of the city of Cusco makes up approximately 29.5% of the total population of the district of Cusco.

language and origin, are amongst some of the personal characteristics that distinguish between ethnic groups (Seligmann 1993, Weismantel 2001). Seligmann (2000) and de la Cadena (2000) have both commented on the complexities of identity in Cusco but many anthropologists have adopted a very basic ethnic categorisation, defining the population as either white, mestizo, indigenous or black Peruvian (Radcliffe & Westwood 1996, Weismantel 2001). Furthermore, there is an ethnic hierarchy where the white population are considered to be superior, followed by mestizos, then the indigenous and black populations at the bottom (de la Cadena 1995, Weismantel 2001). In Cusco the majority of the population are mestizo, while many are indigenous and only a minority are white or black. The indigenous population are typically characterised by their distinct clothing, their rural roots and their use of the Quechua language (de la Cadena 1995, Weismantel 2001) and their involvement in urban life tends to revolve around their presence in the market place (Muñoz 1987, 1992, Seligmann 1993, Weismantel 2001). Within the city's markets and in ambulant trading, cultural differences are particularly apparent, such as the propensity for indigenous women to be accompanied by their children in the work place (Seligmann 1993, Villera 1973, Weismantel 2001). A further characteristic of the indigenous population is that they often maintain links with rural areas (Caparo 1994, Valverde 1992).

Working children of Cusco: policies, programmes and issues

Although not identified in the official census statistics, many children in Cusco work in industries such as informal trading and tourism for a source of income. The following sub section will discuss the policies, programmes and issues which relate to working children not only in Cusco but more generally in Peru as well. Policies which target children will be discussed first, followed by a description of several programmes that relate to working children, before finally exploring the opinions of key informants with regards to some of the contemporary issues believed to be affecting children in Cusco.

Child related policies in Peru

This sub section will briefly comment on two key policies which affect child traders in Cusco. The first policy to be considered is the Children and Adolescent Code (1993) which states, among other laws, that no children below the age of 12 is permitted to work and children aged between 12 and 14 years can only do certain work if they obtain legal

permission from the Ministry of Labour. As in most countries, Peruvian legislation regarding children has been at least partly informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989). The UNCRC (1989) sought to determine a set of principles which member states would establish in their own national legislation in order to protect children's rights. Escobal *et al* (2003: 9) comment that "the Children and Adolescent Code (Act 27337) brought (Peruvian) legislation in line with the standards of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child." According to Valdez (2002) the UNCRC (1989) has been used in Peru to set particular targets, one of which is to delay the entrance of children into the labour market.

The second policy to be commented upon is the Peruvian education policy. In line with articles 28 and 29 of the UNCRC (1989) the General Education Law (28004), introduced in 2003, established free and compulsory public education through until secondary school (USDOL 2006). Although this is an improvement in terms of the provision of schooling, there are still major weaknesses in education provision. Concerns remain, particularly with regards to the standard of education in rural areas and in indigenous communities. In 2005 a four year programme was initiated by UNICEF, in coordination with the Peruvian Ministry of Education, in an attempt to improve teaching standards and levels of education in rural, bi-lingual schools (UNICEF 2005). It should be noted that whilst policies and programmes in Peru suggest that schooling is free and improving in quality, in reality it is not free because students are required to pay a matriculation fee as well as buying the necessary uniforms and equipment.

Whilst there are policies which address child labour and children's education in line with international agendas, the effectiveness of these policies is questionable. Escobal *et al* (2003: 12) summarise one of the reasons why many policies have been relatively ineffective in Peru:

"There is abundant legislation in line with international conventions on children's rights. The laws recognise children's rights and protect them from violence and desertion. The constitution and the law declare the state responsible for children's health and education. In the area of administration however, the operational institutions that should provide such protection and services do so only to a limited extent. Laws geared to protection are thus reduced to declarations with little clout."

(Escobal *et al* 2003: 12)

Programmes relating to working children in Peru

In order to review several programmes relating to working children in Peru, the programmes have been divided into those relating directly to children and those that affect children but do not solely target them. For the purpose of this thesis it is important only to mention the latter programmes rather than explore them in any detail.

Programmes with direct relevance to working children

The first programme to be mentioned is the National Action Plan for Children and Youth (PNAI). The plan was prepared over two years with a participatory consultation of NGOs, civil society and children (Villar 2003). The programme began in 2002, is set to continue until 2010 and has been approved in Peruvian law number 28487. The majority of the programme's aims are in accordance with ratifications made by the Peruvian government in relation to the UNCRC (1989). Valdez (2002: 7) describes the overall aim of the PNAI:

“The principles are to promote equal opportunities for all children and adolescents, to prevent and brake the cycle of poverty, to strengthen families, and orientate the development and well being of children.”

There are nine specific aims of the PNAI, which the Peruvian government seeks to address by 2010 (Table 10). Two of the nine aims are particularly important to this thesis. Firstly, the programme seeks to eradicate the worst forms of child labour. If children are prevented from working in the worst forms of child labour, it is possible that these children will have to find alternative occupations that are considered to be less hazardous, such as trading. This would obviously impact upon the lives of children who already work as informal traders. The PNAI states that in order to eradicate the worst forms of child labour questions on child labour will be incorporated into the national census and information on child labour will be distributed nationally. The second aim which is particularly relevant to this thesis is the aim concerning improved education. More specifically, according to discussions at the summit of the Americas in 2001, the PNAI aims to ensure that 100% of children aged between 6 and 12 are enrolled in the appropriate school grade for their age and that all working children attend school (Summit of the Americas 2006).

Escobal *et al* (2003: 13) comment that although the PNAI agenda has been approved, “it is under the responsibility of the Ministry for Women and Social Development (MIMDES), which is one of the sectors with less political support, very little policy influence and a modest budget.” It is possible that the potential of the PNAI will never actually be realised. It has been observed elsewhere that programmes relating to children are often encompassed in wider family welfare programmes, to the detriment of the specific child-related programmes (Jones 2005, Pasztor & McFadden 2001).

Table 10. Aims of the PNAI to be achieved by 2010

Aim	Description
1	Improved conditions for pregnant mothers and births
2	Universal right of all children to a name and identity
3	All children younger than two years old will have access to the required nutrients
4	Children with special needs will be identified, interventions will be made and they will be rehabilitated
5	Conditions for children’s lives will be guaranteed
6	Improvement of children’s nutrition
7	Children will develop from an early age
8	Basic intercultural education of high quality for all children
9	Worst forms of child labour will be eradicated and other forms of education will be promoted

Source: Adapted from PROMUDEH (2002)

In 2005, in accordance with Peru’s ratification of ILO Convention 138 regarding the minimum working age of children and ILO Convention 182 regarding the prevention of the worst forms of child labour, the National Committee for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour (CPETI) was established (CPETI 2006). CPETI devised a national programme which is the second programme of direct relevance to working children: the National Plan for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour (PNPETI). The programme has three key objectives: prevent and eradicate child labour below the age of 14 years; prevent and eradicate the worst forms of child labour for children below the age of 18 years; protect the well-being of adolescent workers between the ages of 14 and 18 years (CPETI 2006). The potential impacts of this programme on children in informal trading are significant. Children aged younger than 14 years would no longer be able to work as informal traders and children aged between 14 and 18 years would receive greater protection whilst working in informal trading. This would take away a source of livelihood

for younger children and might need to be accompanied by appropriate economic support for the children and their families.

A further national programme which directly targets working children, particularly street working children, is the MIMDES programme: 'Educators of the Streets' (*Educadores de la Calle*). This programme provides non-conventional education and assistance to street working and street living children in Peru. The programme helps to reintegrate street children into education by contributing to school costs. Other objectives include: helping the children to change occupations, bringing families back together, protecting the children, developing their skills and helping them to stop taking drugs (MIMDES 2006).

All of the above programmes are national programmes governed by MIMDES, however there is a programme that was specific to Cusco in 2005 which targets working children. The programme is called *Manos Creadoras* and is funded by the World Bank and operated by a children's NGO named 'Coordinator of the Rights of the Child' (CODENI). The project aims to improve the situation for children living in difficult circumstances. Most of the children involved in the project are obliged to work or wander the streets and *plazas*, abandoned, therefore limiting their personal development (Jahnsen 02/02/05). In the programme children learn skills from well-known local artisans, developing their abilities in a particular trade. At the same time, the children attend school on a permanent basis. The results of the project are summarised below:

- 320 children and adolescents, between the ages of 7 and 18, living in difficult circumstances, have been taught techniques in ceramics, painting, doll making and selling products. Their options for future occupations have improved.
- Levels of schooling have been improved.
- Children have organised an association for artisan production which has been officially recognised.
- The children have participated in different activities that have aided their personal development.

(CODENI 2005)

In addition to the three governmental programmes mentioned above (PNAI, PNPETI & *Educadores de la Calle*) and the NGO programme in Cusco operated by CODENI (*Manos Creadoras*), there are several working children's movements in Peru. The Child and Adolescent Workers Movement (NATS), along with the Movement of Working Children and Christian Workers (MANTHOC) and the National Movement of the Organised Working Children and Adolescents of Peru (MNNATSOP), have all contributed to discussions on the rights of working children in Peru.

Programmes with wider relevance to working children

In addition to programmes which target children, particularly working children, there are several programmes in Peru which affect children in informal trading and also the wider population. They include the national programme against family and sexual violence (including drop in centres - DEMUNA) and social programmes which address shortages of food and drink (*Vaso de Leche & Comedores Nacionales*). All of these wider programmes are administered by MIMDES.

Contemporary issues believed to be affecting children in Cusco

Several municipal officials, market administrators and NGO representatives in Cusco were asked about the current issues regarding children in Cusco. Some of the responses related to existing government policies and programmes, but many referred to problems that do not appear to have been directly addressed by either statutory or voluntary organisations. These issues include education, health and alcohol abuse.

Poor children, poor education

One of the recurring issues that concerned interviewees (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 14/02/05 and Tunqui, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05) was the lack of education for working children. They stated that too many children were working to the detriment of their education. Other officials elaborated on this concern and explained that many children go to markets with their parents and sell goods rather than gaining a formal education (Vargas, male, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05 and Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05). Delgado (male, Mercado San Pedro, 16/08/04) spoke of the failings of the education system and how it was accepted that children worked in the markets. In many cases, children are accompanying their

parents to work and attending school later in the day, but this still impacts on the child. Mendoza (female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05), an education official, suggests that this leads to tiredness in the classroom and an inability to complete the work required of them. Children are not only going to work *with* their parents, many are going to work *instead* of their parents. Vargas (male, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05) and Mendoza (female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05) both state that “irresponsible adults” are aware that consumers are more likely to buy from children because they feel sorry for them. The parents therefore send the children to work whilst they stay at home.

According to an education official (Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05), there are problems with the training of teachers. She states that in the past, teachers were well trained and they led dynamic lessons but in 2005 the pay was extremely poor (S./500 or \$140 monthly) and fewer people were training to become teachers. Mendoza (female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05) pointed out that in rural areas many of the teachers had only completed primary education themselves and had no official teaching qualification. Therefore, perhaps the education system needs to be reviewed before it can be deemed a realistic alternative for working children.

Children's health issues

The ‘*Vaso de Leche*’ programme was designed to increase nutrition in women and children. It shows that malnutrition is a concern for the national government. However, some officials (Jahnsen 02/02/05) believe that health and nutrition problems are some of the greatest concerns regarding children in Cusco. Jahnsen (02/02/05) stated that a large proportion of children were working in very poor conditions. There are an uncountable number of potential health issues associated with working long hours on the streets of a busy city, especially for children who have not fully developed.

Very closely associated with health concerns is the issue of prostitution. Santillana (male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05) commented that poor economic conditions had led to an increase in prostitution and there were plans to create a specific area in the neighbouring District of Santiago, where this activity would be legalised. This plan had not been realised by 2006. Santillana (male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05) believes that by moving

prostitution away from the centre, children would be protected as it would no longer surround them whilst they work on the main plaza.

Children and alcohol

The chief of the municipal police stated that one of the key concerns with regards to children in Cusco is alcoholism (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05). Alcohol is very cheap to buy and is therefore affordable for almost the entire population. The government have taken action to deal with the abuse of children, relating to alcohol consumption, but little has been done to curb children's abuse of alcohol. Santillana (male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05), the chief of the municipal police force, referred to an example where a group of children were sold alcohol within the confines of a small room in central Cusco. The person selling the alcohol used the children as workers and then provided them with alcohol as payment. These children were living extremely dangerous lives and there was little the police could do as they are not permitted to enter such premises without a warrant.

The market administrator at San Pedro market also talked of the problem of children drinking alcohol (Delgado, male, Mercado San Pedro, 16/08/04). He explained that children were working in the markets, and they were surrounded by adults, many of whom were drinking nearby. The children learnt to drink alcohol at a very young age and many were also parents at a similarly young age.

Summary comments

The city of Cusco, which is located high in the Andes, is considered to be one of the oldest cities in the Americas and has seen various civilisations, including the Incas and the Spanish (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983, Tomoeda & Flores Ochoa 1992). It has witnessed periods of planned and unplanned change, including the unpredictable devastation caused by a severe earthquake in 1950 and an accompanying influx of migrants from rural areas that moved to meet temporal labour demands. Contemporary Cusco is the administrative, market and banking centre of the region (Hays Mitchell 1990) and is heavily reliant on its tourist industry (Hays Mitchell 1990, Seligmann 2000). The city has developed a relatively sound infrastructure including an 'international' airport which helps to meet the needs of nearly one million tourists who visit each year (Diario del Cusco, 31 October 2005 & 5

December 2005). In recent decades, policies have been implemented to conserve many of Cusco's tourist attractions, predominantly in response to tourist demands and heightened international awareness. One of the most recent and key conservation policies is the *Plan Maestro of 2001*, which was partly responsible for the relocation of ambulant traders from the streets of central Cusco.

There are a number of policies, programmes and issues which affect working children in Cusco. Two key policies were discussed: the Children and Adolescent Code (1993) and the General Education Law (2003). It is established that whilst these policies are in line with international conventions, the implementation of these policies is limited and the impacts are not always beneficial. Two main programmes were also considered: the National Action Plan for Children and Youth (PNAI) and the National Plan for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour (PNPETI). Both of these programmes, as with the majority of others, are under the direction of the Ministry for Women and Social Development (MIMDES), which is perhaps why there is doubt over their effectiveness. Notably, the policies and programmes concerning working children that are currently operating in Cusco are reportedly having only a limited impact.

Contemporary issues affecting children in Cusco were discussed with municipal officials, market administrators and NGO representatives. Some of the issues they identified relate to existing government policies and programmes, but other issues do not appear to have been directly addressed. One concern is that too many children are working to the detriment of their education. However, it was noted that the current school system should be reviewed for it to be a realistic alternative to working. One further key issue, as perceived by key informants, is the malnutrition and general poor health of children. Finally, alcohol abuse and prostitution were raised as issues for children in Cusco.

Cusco is a unique Latin American city. It is rich in historic attractions and is consequently engulfed in a tourist industry upon which the city is economically dependent. As a result, city officials have implemented various conservation plans which seek to protect the historic centre. These policies have significant impacts, particularly on informal trading activities which once dominated the cityscape. Consequently, the geography of informal trading in Cusco appears to be very different now, hence the following chapter begins to

explore contemporary informal trading in Cusco, with a particular focus on the role played by children.

-Chapter 5-

INFORMAL TRADE IN CENTRAL CUSCO

This chapter places children in the context of all informal trading in central Cusco and is predominantly based on the large volume of data gathered during observational surveys. The chapter first describes central Cusco's retail space in general, followed by a discussion on trading in different types of location and an exploration of the activities of different traders. Chapter Five ends by giving an account of changing municipal policies towards informal trading in central Cusco.

Retail space in central Cusco

This section of the chapter briefly sets informal trading in a wider context of other urban activities, before summarising an emerging typology of informal trading locations in Cusco and finally, it summarises the classes of goods on sale. In order to fully understand the structure of informal trading in central Cusco it must be set within the context of other activities, particularly formal retailing²⁷ and tourist activity²⁸ (Map 2). Whilst informal trade is prolific in Cusco, there is no shortage of formal retailing either. Expectedly, a key zone of formal retailing is found in the CBD, projecting west from the Plaza de Armas end of Avenida El Sol. A significant number of formal retailing outlets are also located on the arterial roads leading to the main *plaza* (Map 2). These are key routes to the city centre and are therefore ideal sites for formal retail. It is common for informal retailing to be located in close proximity to formal retailing (Dewar and Watson 1990, McGee & Yeung 1977) and this is certainly true in Cusco (Hays Mitchell 1994). Map 2 illustrates that the zone of informal retailing, which surrounds San Pedro market, overlaps with a zone of formal retailing. The map also shows two areas of informal trade that are located in zones of tourist activity. It is difficult to divorce these sites from other city functions but there is a relatively well-defined zone within which tourists are present in high numbers. The area immediately surrounding the Plaza de Armas and to the north east, near San Blas Plaza, is predominantly an area of tourist activity. To the south of the city centre there is a second concentration of tourist activity, which is also the location of a large informal tourist market

²⁷ The term 'formal retailing' encompasses all retailing outlets that would be described as 'shops' in western society.

²⁸ Tourist activity incorporates tour agencies, tourist restaurants, and sites of attraction.

(Centro Mercado Artesanal). Inevitably, where there are tourists there are informal traders (Nova 2003).

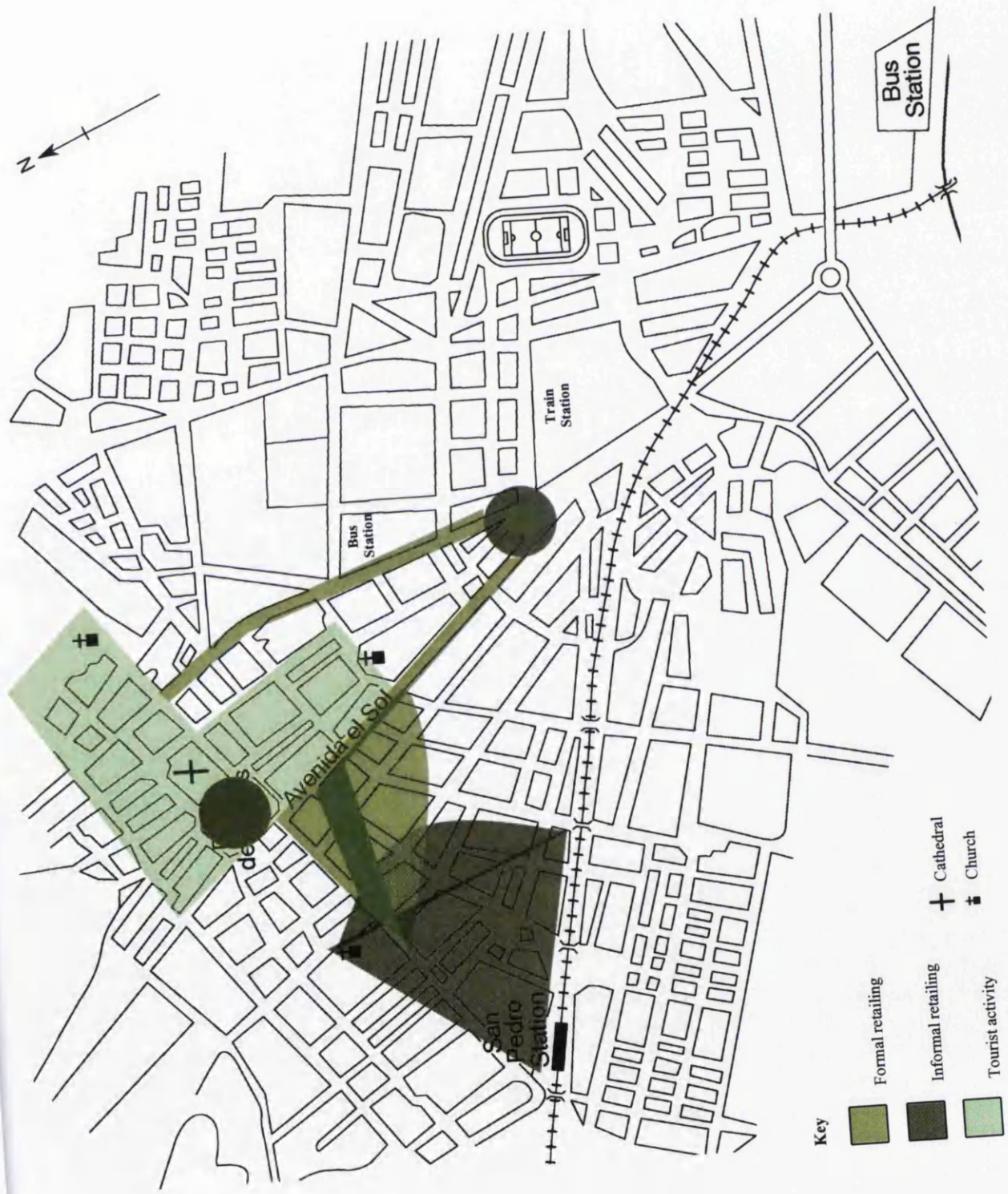
Map 2 emphasises the association between informal trading and other city functions. Informal retailing is complex and dynamic, in its variety of locations, changing temporal patterns, and fluid changes in workers. This dynamism is especially evident in Cusco, where the relocation policies of the municipal government have forced traders off the streets and into alternative trading locations.

Typology of informal trading locations in Cusco

Prior to the implementation of Mayor Carlos Valencia's relocation policy in 1999, the majority of informal traders worked on the streets of central Cusco. According to one municipal official there were approximately 6,700 ambulant traders on the streets of Cusco before they were relocated (Paredes, male, Rentas, 17/08/04). A figure of 12,000 was suggested by a second official (Vargas, male, Servicios Municipales, 13/08/04). In 2005, informal traders were found in various different types of trading location, partly due to several significant changes that have taken place since 1999. Whilst state funding has created modern markets to house some former street traders, those who remain have been left to find alternative locations, outside these market buildings. Alternative locations include rented land on the courtyard of a house (*canchones*) and partly covered market buildings that are designed to deal with large numbers of traders at a minimal cost. Therefore, as a result of recent organisational changes in Cusco's markets, six different classes of informal trading location have emerged:

- 1) Public covered markets
- 2) Public partly-covered markets
- 3) Private covered markets
- 4) Canchones
- 5) Ambulant traders
- 6) Open market squares

Map 2. General retail space in central Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

The first three categories of informal trading location concern covered or partly-covered markets. The relocation of traders in 1999 involved the construction of three new, covered markets. These were built with at least partial municipal funding and became the government's key informal trading sites. In order to house remaining traders, a large partly-covered market was constructed but it was inferior in standard to the covered markets. Further, in response to the inadequate market provision, several private covered markets were constructed by groups of traders who sought funding from lending institutions.

Outside the three types of covered and partly-covered markets, informal traders in Cusco occupy three further main types of location. *Canchones* have proliferated since 1999 in response to the forced relocations. A *canchon* can be defined as: 'a small to medium sized informal trading location (3-100 stalls), often occupying the courtyard of a house, or similar property, where rental costs are relatively high but traders avoid payment of tax.' Not all traders were able to find a vacant location in the covered or partly-covered markets, so when ordered off the streets, they rented small areas in *canchones*. Many traders have chosen to remain on the streets and others return to the streets sporadically from their fixed trading sites. The sixth type of informal trading location is the open market square. It has been present in Latin American informal trading for centuries (Hardoy *et al* 1983, Scarpaci 2005) but in central Cusco it only accommodates the weekly market. The traders at open-market squares nearly always work in one of the five alternative informal trading locations for the rest of the week and it is for this reason that survey data does not incorporate the weekly markets on open market squares. It would be misleading to record an individual trader more than once in the types of analyses pursued in this chapter.

Table 11 illustrates that following the relocation of traders, the dominant informal trading locations are covered and partly-covered public markets. This pattern has changed over the past decade. Hays Mitchell's (1993) study of ambulant trade in Cusco reported the dominance of the street as a trading location. Avenida El Ejercito was the key trading location, alongside the streets surrounding Mercado San Pedro. This remained the case until the relocation policy was enforced in 1999. Today the dominant trading locations are public-covered and partly covered markets, with private markets being the main alternative. There are relatively few ambulant traders (5%), with *canchones* proving to be more popular

(8%). The municipal authorities introduced a police force whose single role is to move traders away from the streets and confiscate their goods (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05). For these reasons trading has moved away from the streets and into the new public markets.

Table 11. Number of trading units²⁹ at daily informal trading locations in central Cusco

Type of trading location	Number of trading units	Percentage of all trading units
Public covered market	3,229	37.5%
Public partly-covered market	2,964	34.4%
Private covered market	1,258	14.6%
Canchones	726	8.4%
Ambulant traders	440	5.1%
Total trading units	8,617	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders³⁰, Cusco, 2004

Public covered markets

There are four public covered markets in the district of Cusco. San Pedro is Cusco's oldest and principal market, established in the 1920s (Delgado, male, Mercado San Pedro, 16/08/04). Previously it was a much larger agglomeration of traders. The building was surrounded by traders in all directions but following the removal of traders from the surrounding streets, San Pedro is now only a covered market, with nearly 830 stalls. In addition to San Pedro there are three new public covered markets. In April 2001 Centro Mercado Artesanal was the first of the new markets to be opened (*Diario El Sol del Cusco*, 11 April 2001). This artisan market differs from the other public covered markets because the land was donated by the national government to the local government, who then passed it onto the traders. Traders then had to borrow money to construct the market, which has approximately 560 stalls. El Molino 1 was opened one month after Centro Mercado Artesanal (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial El Molino, 18/08/04) and with 968 stalls it is one of the largest informal trading locations in Cusco. The last of the new public covered markets to be built was Centro Comercial Confraternidad, which opened in May 2004

²⁹ Where the term unit is used it refers to an individual trading site, including stalls, an area of ground, or an ambulant trader. More than one person may be present at a trading unit and more than one type of article may be on sale.

³⁰ Data collected between the hours of 9:30am and 4:00pm as these are considered to be busy periods of informal trading. Data collected on weekdays between September and December 2004.

(Fuentes, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 18/08/04) and has approximately 1080 stalls.

Public partly-covered markets

There are five public partly-covered markets in central Cusco, the majority of which have been present since the 1970s. Ccascaparo market is the oldest of these and has been operating since approximately 1970. The market changed structurally when it had to take in traders after the relocation. According to the administrator (Saravia, male, Mercado Ccascaparo, 16/08/04), a small amount of public funding was made available to improve the standard of the roofing and drainage in the market. It consists of nearly 470 stalls. Wanchaq market has also been operating since the early 1970s (Caceres, male, Oficina de Comercio y Mercados, 07/10/04) and has in the region of 860 stalls. Although the market is located just outside the district of Cusco, it is included in the study; firstly because of its proximity to the centre of Cusco, secondly because approximately 200 of the relocated traders now trade there, and thirdly because many of the customers in Wanchaq actually come from the district of Cusco. Rosaspata market opened in 1980 as a building, although there was an open market on the site several decades prior to its construction (Ayte, male, Mercado San Blas, 16/08/04). There are nearly 250 stalls in the market, approximately 30 of which are used by traders who were relocated in 1999. San Blas market has existed since 1974, however there has only been a market building present since 1987. In 2004 there were almost 190 stalls as it had been expanded to house a small influx of traders, following the relocation. By far the most recently constructed public partly-covered market is El Molino 2, which opened in 2002 in response to the need for a large increase in the number of stalls available for traders (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial El Molino, 18/08/04). El Molino 2 has more than 1,200 stalls, which is greater than any other daily market in Cusco.

Private covered markets

There are two private covered markets in the district of Cusco. In 2001 the first to be opened was Gran Central Inka Motors (Yucra, female, Mercado Gran Central Inka Motors, 18/08/04), with a capacity of more than 690 traders. The second market to be constructed was El Paraiso, which opened in 2002, with a slightly lower capacity of nearly 570 traders. The construction of both markets was funded by the traders.

Canchones

Previous research in Cusco has identified the presence of *canchones* but due to their previously small quantity, few scholars of informal trade have described the activities within them (Hardoy & Dos Santos 1983). The 2004-05 observational survey revealed that there were 13 'tourist *canchones*³¹' and 20 'local *canchones*³²' in Cusco. It is difficult to make generalisations as there are major variations between individual *canchones*. Strikingly, all of the 'local' *canchones* are found to the south west of the Plaza de Armas, whereas most tourist *canchones* are located on Avenida El Sol or to the east of it, near the Plaza de Armas. Significantly, the vast majority of *canchones* were established after the relocation (Appendix L), offering lower end goods or tourist goods. As *canchones* become more established, they expand, which is why several now resemble some of the smaller partly-covered markets.

Ambulant traders

In a survey completed in September 2004 there were 440 ambulant trading units in central Cusco, whilst in a second survey, carried out in January 2005, the total was 836³³. Such seasonal variations are not uncommon and indicate the fluidity in the numbers of ambulant traders. These figures are far lower than those witnessed prior to the municipal government's relocation initiative, when ambulant traders occupied the majority of streets in the city centre, and supposedly numbered at least 6,700.

Goods on sale

The informal trading locations described above are the places of sale for a very wide range of goods. Table 12 shows the percentages of the different classes of goods on sale in Cusco. It is very clear that perishable goods³⁴, as well as textiles, clothing and footwear are the dominant goods on sale, whilst hardware, household, electrical goods and tourist goods are sold in fewer locations. Although only 12% of trading units sell tourist goods, this is still a significant percentage, reflecting the tourist role of Cusco. Closed stalls have not been incorporated in Table 12 but it should be mentioned that 3,207 stalls of the total 8,617

³¹ 'Tourist *canchones*' are: *canchones* where the vast majority of goods on sale are targeted at tourists.

³² 'Local *canchones*' are: *canchones* where the vast majority of goods on sale are targeted at local residents.

³³ 14% of units in the September 2004 and January 2005 surveys had more than one trader but the traders were working together, with only one set of goods on display.

³⁴ The term 'Perishable goods' incorporates all goods classified as 'fruit and vegetables' or 'other perishable goods'.

trading units were recorded as being closed. There are a large number of closed stalls, partly because the local government's relocation of informal trading has forced many traders to decentralised locations where there are few customers. The traders continue to pay for their stalls in these decentralised markets but they do not occupy them (Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04). Interviews with market administrators in Centro Comercial Confraternidad, in particular, revealed that large numbers of closed stalls are a key issue of concern (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 14/02/05 and Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04).

Table 12. Classes of goods on sale at daily informal trading units in central Cusco³⁵

Classes of goods	Number of trading units where goods are sold	Percentage of all trading units where goods are sold
Fruit and vegetables	862	15.5%
Other perishable goods	1,734	31.3%
Textiles, clothing and footwear	1,163	21.0%
Hardware, household and electricals	445	8.0%
Tourist goods	647	11.7%
Other non-perishable goods	695	12.5%
Total trading units	5,546	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Understanding types of trading location in Cusco

Each of the six different types of trading location is distinctive. This sub section seeks to establish what the characteristics are at each trading location. Firstly, the locations of the trading units are discussed, followed by an analysis of the classes of goods sold. Finally, where data is available, variations in the markets over time are considered.

Public covered markets

Locations of public covered markets

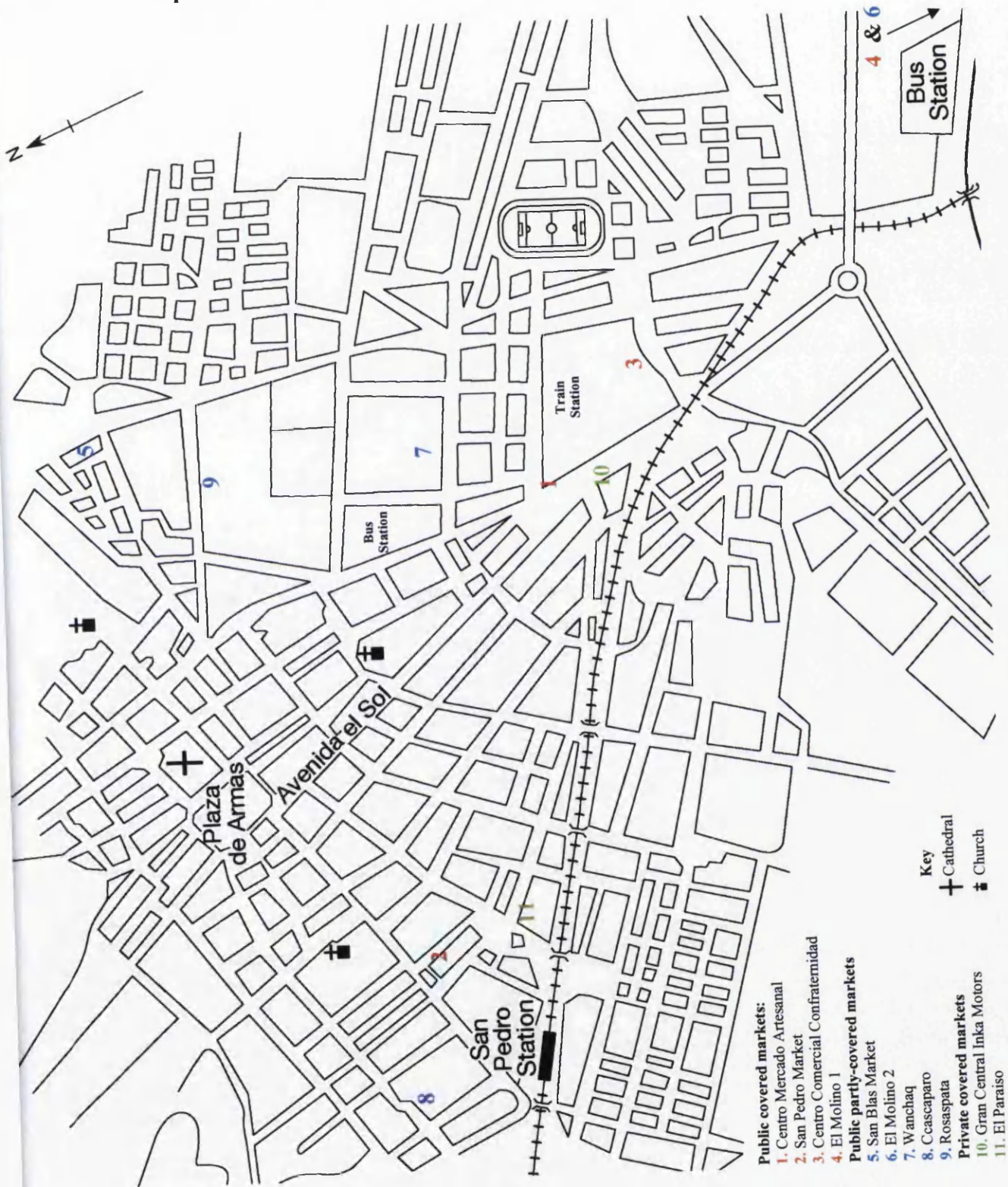
The four public-covered markets are spread widely across the city (Map 3). San Pedro is the only perishable goods market of the four and is located five blocks to the south of the Plaza de Armas, in the heart of the CBD. It is located close to San Pedro station, which

³⁵ For 200 trading units (3.4% of the total number of open stalls) more than one class of good is sold (mostly a mix of other perishable goods and other non-perishable goods). Both goods are recorded on the above table which results in a small inflation of the total number of trading units. Where two or more goods at one unit are classified into the same class, only one is recorded.

traditionally acted as the main transport link for bringing in goods. Whilst the market lies at the heart of the CBD and is ideally located for local consumers and traders, its location slightly deters tourists from shopping there because it is outside of the recognised tourist zones. Informal interviews with tourists also revealed that in August 2004 the tourist police advised tourists not to visit San Pedro market because of potential dangers (Fieldwork diary, 16 August 2004). El Molino 1 is several kilometres from the city centre, adjacent to the international bus terminal. The location of El Molino 1 on the periphery of central Cusco reduces linkages with city centre services. Centro Comercial Confraternidad is nearer to the city centre than El Molino 1 and is found on the border of the Puno/Arequipa train station, therefore providing good rail links.

The widespread locations of the public covered markets differ from the pattern of distribution of *canchones* and ambulant traders, which both tend to agglomerate in groups in the city centre. These patterns will be discussed further in the respective sections.

Map 3. Locations of covered and partly-covered markets in central Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

Classes of goods on sale in public covered markets

Table 13 demonstrates that the most common class of goods on sale in public covered markets is textiles, clothing and footwear (31% of all stalls). The importance of textiles, clothing and footwear reflects the roles of the new markets. As part of the relocation programme the municipal government built two very large markets for the sale of non-perishable items: El Molino 1 and Centro Comercial Confraternidad. Clothes can be bought very cheaply and require a smaller initial outlay than more expensive electrical goods. Frequency of sale is also higher for clothing than for goods such as electrical items, providing a more regular income for traders. Table 14 shows that of all informal outlets selling textiles, clothing and footwear in Cusco, 51% are in public covered markets. Approximately a quarter of all stalls in public covered markets sell perishable goods other than fruit and vegetables. The high percentage of 'other perishable' goods on sale in public covered markets reflects the fact that San Pedro is a perishable goods market.

Even though hardware, tourist goods and other non-perishable items are only on sale in a small percentage of stalls in public covered markets (Table 13), public covered markets are where the majority of all these goods are sold (Table 14). For example, only 14% of stalls in public covered markets sell tourist goods but this equates to 41% of all tourist goods stalls at informal trading locations in Cusco. Table 14 clearly illustrates the key role which public covered markets play in the contemporary informal retailing economy of Cusco.

Table 13. Classes of goods on sale at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco

Classes of goods	Public covered market		Public partly-covered market		Private covered market		Canchon		Ambulant Trader	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	133	7.0%	640	29.8%	1	0.2%	71	12.6%	17	3.8%
Other perishable goods	488	25.7%	908	42.3%	59	12.0%	83	14.7%	196	43.9%
Textiles, clothing and footwear	596	31.4%	259	12.1%	194	39.5%	113	20.0%	1	0.2%
Hardware, household and electricals	177	9.3%	127	5.9%	125	25.5%	12	2.1%	4	0.9%
Tourist goods	262	13.8%	20	0.9%	0	0.0%	255	45.2%	110	24.7%
Other non-perishable goods	242	12.8%	193	9.0%	112	22.8%	30	5.3%	118	26.5%
Total trading units	1898	100.0%	2147	100.0%	491	100.0%	564	100.0%	446	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 14. Types of daily informal trading locations in central Cusco where different classes of goods are on sale

Classes of goods		Public covered market	Public partly-covered market	Private covered market	Canchon	Ambulant Trader	Total trading units
Fruit and vegetables	N	133	640	1	71	17	862
	%	15.4%	74.2%	0.1%	8.2%	2.0%	100.0%
Other perishable goods	N	488	908	59	83	196	1734
	%	28.1%	52.4%	3.4%	4.8%	11.3%	100.0%
Textiles, clothing and footwear	N	596	259	194	113	1	1163
	%	51.2%	22.3%	16.7%	9.7%	0.1%	100.0%
Hardware, household and electricals	N	177	127	125	12	4	445
	%	39.8%	28.5%	28.1%	2.7%	0.9%	100.0%
Tourist goods	N	262	20	0	255	110	647
	%	40.5%	3.1%	0.0%	39.4%	17.0%	100.0%
Other non-perishable goods	N	242	193	112	30	118	695
	%	34.8%	27.8%	16.1%	4.3%	17.0%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Changes in goods on sale at specific public covered markets in 2002 and 2004

Data on three public covered markets is held for both 2002 and 2004. The three markets are San Pedro, Centro Mercado Artesanal, and El Molino 1. In 2002 San Pedro market was a partly-covered public market because the market expanded into the surrounding streets, where traders worked under plastic sheets for protection from the elements. Following the relocation initiative, San Pedro market has changed significantly in terms of its organisation, physical structure, and the diversity of the goods on sale. Traders in the market are now assigned specific stalls, for which rent is paid. Traders were educated about how to use the stalls because previously they would sit on the ground in front of the stall, rather than behind it (*Diario El Sol del Cusco*, 12 July 2000). The tax authorities (*SUNAT*) also taught the traders how to keep accounts, in order to pay correct levels of tax (*Diario El Sol del Cusco*, 31 October 2001). The market used to be an untidy, more chaotic, location where perishable goods dominated but a wide variety of other goods were also sold. The relocation of traders was used to create a market that specialised in the sale of perishable goods. In 2004 only 9% of stalls sold goods that were non-perishable³⁶ (Table 15), whereas in 2002 this figure was 49% (Table 16). There has clearly been a process of specialisation, where non-perishable goods have been moved to alternative

³⁶ The term 'non-perishable' refers to goods in the following classes: 'textiles, clothing and footwear', 'hardware and household goods', 'tourist goods' and 'other non-perishable goods'.

locations. Also, due to the fact that the market has become more formal in its layout, there are stalls which are empty. Traders have set locations so if they are unable to work on a particular day the stall will be unused. In the past, a vacant space would have been filled by other traders which is why in 2002 only 2% of stalls were closed. In 2004 this figure rose to 26%.

In Centro Mercado Artesanal almost 100% of open stalls sold tourist goods in both 2002 and 2004 (Tables 15 and 16). The only difference between 2002 and 2004 is the percentage of closed stalls, which decreased from 37% in 2002 to 27% in 2004 (Tables 15 & 16). This decrease is likely to be attributable to tourists' increased awareness of the market location. In 2002 the market had only been functioning for one year and had a very low footfall, with no propaganda provided by the municipal government (Alvarez, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 19/08/04). In 2004 the market *sindicato* had organised the production of information leaflets and the market was included on the map given to tourists on their tourist ticket. Traders in the market still complain that there is a low footfall due to a slightly decentralised position and a lack of awareness (Alvarez, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 19/08/04) and they are justifiably fearful as McGee & Yeung (1977) have observed that many new market buildings fail due to their poor location and high rents. However, there has been a decrease in the number of stalls that are closed. It is foreseeable that as awareness amongst tourists increases the number of closed stalls will decrease further.

In terms of the goods on sale in El Molino 1, there have been few changes between 2002 and 2004. Tables 15 and 16 do show an increase in the number of stalls where 'other non-perishable goods' are on sale, from 4% in 2002 to 15% in 2004. Also, there was a decrease in the percentage of stalls selling hardware and household goods between 2002 and 2004. The largest change, however, is in the percentage of closed stalls, which rose from 20% in 2002 to 42% in 2004. This may be due to the fact that in decentralised markets the provision of sites outnumbers demand.

In general, public covered markets have become more structured and now specialise in particular goods. Although they dominate the landscape of informal trading, the

decentralised positions of the three new markets may be preventing them from realising their full potential.

Table 15. Classes of goods on sale at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco

Market name		Fruit and vegetables	Other perishables	Textiles, clothing and footwear	Hardware, household goods	Tourist goods	Other non-perishable goods	Closed	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	133	407	54	7	0	10	218	829
	%	16.0%	49.1%	6.5%	0.8%	0.0%	1.2%	26.3%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	0	1	0	0	261	1	95	358
	%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	72.9%	0.3%	26.5%	100.0%
El Molino I	N	8	41	280	92	0	148	410	979
	%	0.8%	4.2%	28.6%	9.4%	0.0%	15.1%	41.9%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	0	8	64	21	0	22	573	688
	%	0.0%	1.2%	9.3%	3.1%	0.0%	3.2%	83.3%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	0	0	0	0	34	0	4	38
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	89.5%	0.0%	10.5%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	0	0	0	0	57	0	16	73
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	78.1%	0.0%	21.9%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	0	0	0	0	24	4	4	32
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	75.0%	12.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	18
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 16. Classes of goods on sale at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco

Market name		Fruit and vegetables	Other perishable goods	Textiles, clothing and footwear	Hardware, household goods	Tourist goods	Other non-perishable goods	Closed	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	526	415	418	365	0	133	30	1887
	%	27.9%	22.0%	22.2%	19.3%	0.0%	7.0%	1.6%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	0	4	0	0	212	0	129	345
	%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	61.4%	0.0%	37.4%	100.0%
El Molino I	N	0	53	332	305	0	39	179	908
	%	0.0%	5.8%	36.6%	33.6%	0.0%	4.3%	19.7%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	0	0	104	99	0	0	461	664
	%	0.0%	0.0%	15.7%	14.9%	0.0%	0.0%	69.4%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	0	0	0	0	33	0	4	37
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	89.2%	0.0%	10.8%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	0	0	0	0	69	0	5	74
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	93.2%	0.0%	6.8%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	0	0	0	0	17	0	11	28
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	60.7%	0.0%	39.3%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	0	0	0	0	16	1	2	19
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	84.2%	5.3%	10.5%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2002

Public partly-covered markets*Locations of public partly-covered markets*

As with public covered markets, the partly-covered markets are spread widely across Cusco. Ccascaparo market is found near to San Pedro market, with similarly good access roads available. It is on the edge of the CBD and the goods are considered to be slightly cheaper than in San Pedro (Saravia, male, Mercado Ccascaparo, 16/08/04). Wanchaq market is actually located in the district of Wanchaq. It is found on a main thoroughfare, leading to the local football stadium, supermarkets, and park. The street is also the location of many formal retail outlets, garages, and other public services.

Rosaspata is located on a main road and in a secure neighbourhood (Ayte, male, Mercado San Blas, 16/08/04). The market is on the edge of the district of Cusco and is therefore likely to attract customers from the neighbouring district of Wanchaq too. San Blas market is in the San Blas neighbourhood, which is an artisan quarter. The neighbourhood mainly attracts tourists but the specific location of the market is secluded and away from any main thoroughfare. This poor location and poor advertising, according to the president of the traders' *sindicato*, are responsible for low footfall (Londoño, male, Mercado San Blas, 16/08/04). El Molino 2 is located on previously abandoned land, adjacent to El Molino 1. The market floor is bare earth in many places, which causes problems in the rainy season.

Goods on sale in public partly-covered markets

The goods on sale in public partly-covered markets are predominantly perishable goods other than fruit and vegetables (42% - Table 13). In total, 72% of all stalls in these markets sell perishable goods. Table 14 demonstrates that 74% of all stalls selling fruit and vegetables in Cusco are in public partly-covered markets. Similarly, 52% of all stalls selling other perishable goods are in public partly-covered markets. Electrical items and many other non-perishable goods require protection from the elements and therefore a roof is preferable. Perishable goods do not need the same protection from the weather as non-perishable items. The municipal government made this decision when constructing El Molino 1 and El Molino 2. El Molino 1 was designed for non-perishable items and therefore has relatively good roofing. El Molino 2 was designed at the lowest possible cost for the relocated perishable goods sellers from the streets surrounding San Pedro market. A

lack of funding and the fact that many of the traders did not have licences meant that El Molino 2 was only partly-covered and to a very low standard.

Public partly-covered markets, like public covered markets, specialise in the sale of a particular type of article. Their locations are scattered across the city and those in decentralised positions, with poor access, are suffering low customer numbers.

Private covered markets

Locations of private covered markets

The two private covered markets are found in very different locations. Even though Gran Central Inka Motors is located on the main road leading from the south of the city to the Plaza de Armas, access is extremely poor. There is nowhere for cars to pull over and the road is very busy which would probably deter consumers from visiting the market. El Paraiso market is located one block from San Pedro and Ccascaparo markets. It is not, however, in competition with either of these markets owing to the goods on sale. It is located in the CBD and is near to a number of smaller shops which sell complementary goods. Access is excellent which is beneficial for transporting goods.

Classes of goods on sale in private covered markets

Private covered markets, as in public covered markets, mostly sell textiles, clothing and footwear (Table 13). It is preferable that these goods are kept dry and away from the elements. The private covered markets are funded by the traders themselves, requiring a large initial outlay and a loan from the *Caja Municipal*, or any similar lending service. In El Paraiso, high quality durable goods are also on sale, which is likely to be associated with its central location, good security, good transport links and considerable patronage. By contrast, in Gran Central Inka Motors, the vast majority of stalls were closed in 2004, probably due to a poor, decentralised location and high levels of competition from more successful markets such as El Molino 1 and El Paraiso.

Changes in goods on sale at specific private covered markets in 2002 and 2004

In Gran Central Inka Motors the number of closed stalls increased from 69% in 2002 to 83% in 2004 (Tables 15 and 16). The private covered market has been unsuccessful since

it was opened and is a prime example of how opening new markets in these circumstances frequently fails (McGee & Yeung 1977). It was a relatively new market in 2002 and it would have been anticipated that there might be some improvement in sales. However, significant decline continues. As more stalls close, fewer customers use the market, forcing the remaining traders to find work elsewhere in order to pay for the stalls which they leave closed at Gran Central Inka Motors (Yucra, female, Mercado Gran Central Inka Motors, 18/08/04). For instance, a number of the stall owners now work in alternative locations such as *canchones* as well (Yucra, female, Mercado Gran Central Inka Motors, 18/08/04). In 2002 and 2004 the majority of open stalls sold textiles, clothing and footwear, as well as hardware and household goods. As these goods do not perish they can be held for a long period of time before a sale is made.

The two private covered markets are different in terms of their successes and failures, which makes generalisation difficult. However, it appears that a city centre location is essential in gaining high sales levels and this is a pattern that also seems to have emerged in both public covered and public partly-covered markets.

Canchones

Locations of canchones

Map 4 illustrates the locations of all the *canchones* within central Cusco in September 2004. Unlike the large markets, *canchones* tend to agglomerate in groups. They usually specialise in the sale of particular items, either for tourists or perishable goods and clothing for local residents. There is a very clear geographical divide between the location of 'tourist' *canchones* and 'local' *canchones*. Nearly all of the tourist *canchones* are located to the east of Avenida El Sol and within the tourist zones, whilst all the local *canchones* are located to the south west. The three tourist *canchones* located away from the city centre, on Avenida El Sol, are very near to Centro Mercado Artesanal, where they can benefit from tourists who are visiting that market. One of the *canchones* has actually used the same name in order to attract tourists who believe they are visiting the large market. These *canchones* have become more permanent in appearance than many of the local *canchones* because tourists have a tendency to demand higher standards and better presentation than many of the local consumers.

The majority of tourist *canchones* are found on the streets surrounding the Plaza de Armas, particularly on Plateros and Triunfo, where there are six in total. Tourists are not required to walk far from the main *plaza* to buy their goods from these *canchones*, which is an advantage over the more distant *canchones* located on Avenida El Sol. The grouping of different tourist functions (restaurants and tour agencies) on Plateros (Map 5), makes it an ideal location for selling tourist goods (Dewar and Watson 1990, Bromley 1978b). In addition, Triunfo is a busy tourist thoroughfare where there is an agglomeration of formal retailing, a hotel, restaurants and three *canchones*. The street also leads to San Blas Plaza which is a well visited tourist site. Previous studies of retailing in majority world countries have found that agglomerations of trading sites and of related functions inevitably lead to heightened competition but also to greater choice for the consumer (Bromley 1998a, Dewar and Watson 1990, Findaly *et al* 1990), hence customers are likely to visit the *canchones*.

Map 4. Locations of *canchones* in central Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

Map 5. Locations of key tourist functions in central Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

Map 4 shows that local *canchones* are located a little more sporadically, although as with tourist *canchones* they tend to be in groups of at least two. Interestingly, all of the local *canchones* are found within a small area of the city, bounded by Avenida El Sol, Avenida Ejercito, and the main route from San Pedro Market to the Plaza de Armas. Further, there are very few local *canchones* on the streets closest to the Plaza de Armas or Avenida El Sol. Most are sited in the area immediately surrounding San Pedro and Ccascaparo markets. They offer an alternative to the large markets and are often closer to the city. Interviews revealed that many traders in the *canchones* used to trade on the street on which the *canchon* is located (Canchon Q/Canchon R, 08/02/05). Following the relocation, traders simply rented space in nearby buildings and the result is a marked increase in the number of *canchones*. They vary in size and standard, some to the west of San Pedro market are relatively large and have many of the facilities found in the municipal markets of Ccascaparo and San Pedro. All of the local *canchones* identified in the survey are within the CBD as they need a high volume of customers for traders to make enough money to pay high rental costs.

Classes of goods on sale in canchones

33 *canchones* were identified in the district of Cusco during a survey completed in November 2004. Many sell tourist goods (Table 13), particularly those within a short walking distance from the Plaza de Armas, or on the route to a tourist site. This pattern is partly the result of the relocation which has taken traders of tourist goods off the streets and away from the *portales* of the main *plaza* to Centro Mercado Artesanal, a new decentralised market. The number of stalls available in Centro Mercado Artesanal is not sufficient for the number of tourist goods vendors, leading to vendors returning to the streets and to *canchones* (*Diario el Sol del Cusco*, 30 May 2000). Approximately 45% of all stalls in *canchones* sell tourist goods, and moreover 39% of all stalls selling tourist goods in central Cusco are in *canchones* (Table 14). However, 27% of stalls in *canchones* sell fruit, vegetables and other perishable goods, with a further 20% selling textiles, clothing and footwear. This suggests that local *canchones* are specialising in these goods, with few traders selling hardware and similar goods. This is probably because hardware and electrical goods are likely to be too expensive to buy for traders who work in *canchones*. Also, consumers are likely to prefer to buy higher order goods from a store which offers a guarantee. In spaces of informal trading in the minority world it has also been suggested

that lower order goods are more typically purchased from informal outlets (Wrigley & Lowe 2002).

Classes of goods on sale in tourist canchones in 2002 and 2004

Data from Tables 15 and 16 indicate almost no change in the classes of goods sold between 2002 and 2004 at *canchones* on Triunfo. These *canchones* are well established. Figure 6 shows that the opening years of the three *canchones* on Calle Triunfo were 1978, 1995, and 1999. As mentioned above, these relatively well established trading locations are found on a main route between tourist sites and there are also a lot of other attractions to tourists, including: restaurants, formal retailing outlets, and services such as laundry and photo processing. With a constant flow of tourists these *canchones* remain successful.

In contrast, the *canchones* on Plateros have seen an increase in the percentage of closed stalls between 2002 and 2004, from 7% to 22%. Traders suggested that high levels of competition were to blame (Canchon Centro Artesanal Intihuatana representative, 2005). Plateros is a quieter street than Triunfo and the *canchones* are not as well established. One *canchon* opened in 1997, whilst the other two *canchones* only opened in 2000 (Figure 6). The street only attracts tourists who are intent on shopping or eating in that location as there are no tourist attractions which pull tourists to the street, as on Triunfo. It is therefore extremely likely that a high level of competition has been the main cause for an increase in the number of closed stalls.

Figure 6. Opening years of *canchones* on Calle Plateros and Calle Triunfo

Canchon Name	Canchon Location	Year of opening
Feria Artesanal Tesoros del Inka	Calle Plateros	1997
Feria Artesanal El Inka Pachacutec	Calle Plateros	2000
Centro Artesanal Intihuatana	Calle Plateros	2000
Artesanias Yachaywasi	Calle Triunfo	1978
Triunfo 4	Calle Triunfo	1995
Triunfo 1	Calle Triunfo	1999

Source: Interviews with traders at *canchones* in central Cusco (2005)

Few changes took place in terms of the goods on sale in the *canchon* called Feria Artesanal El Inka between 2002 and 2004 (Tables 15 and 16). The only significant change was the decrease in the number of closed stalls. It is likely that the increase in trading activity at El Inka is a reflection of the municipal clearance of the streets. The streets are a little safer

with fewer ambulant traders surrounding the market, therefore more tourists are encouraged to visit.

Ambulant traders

Locations of ambulant traders in central Cusco

Map 6 shows the density of ambulant traders on the streets of central Cusco in September 2004. In this study, density of traders is defined as low, medium, or high and is based upon the number of traders present per 100m of street (Hays Mitchell 1993). Low density is recorded for a large number of streets, with some streets having a medium density of traders and only a small number of sites recording a high density. There is a high density of traders on much of the busy thoroughfare of Avenida el Sol, where banks, tourist agencies and two tourist attractions are located (Map 5). These functions offer ambulant traders a relatively high number of potential clients, both local and tourist. Local people tend to have to queue outside the banks, meaning that they are likely customers for the ambulant traders.

To the north of Santo Domingo church there is a small area where a high density of ambulant traders is recorded. This is a key tourist site and is not only the site of the church but also one of the most prestigious hotels in Cusco (The Libertador). Large numbers of tourist buses stop at this church on a regular basis, offering traders frequent opportunities to sell their goods. Unlike Avenida El Sol, the clients here are nearly always tourists. Tourists and locals are both found in high numbers on the Plaza de Armas. For this reason there are always a lot of traders working in the area. However, the police presence is also much greater, which prevents traders from taking over the *portales* as they did previously. The central Calle Plateros, due to the tourist functions of restaurants and tour agencies, attracts a high density of traders who are able to move quickly amongst the tourists due to the lack of motor traffic.

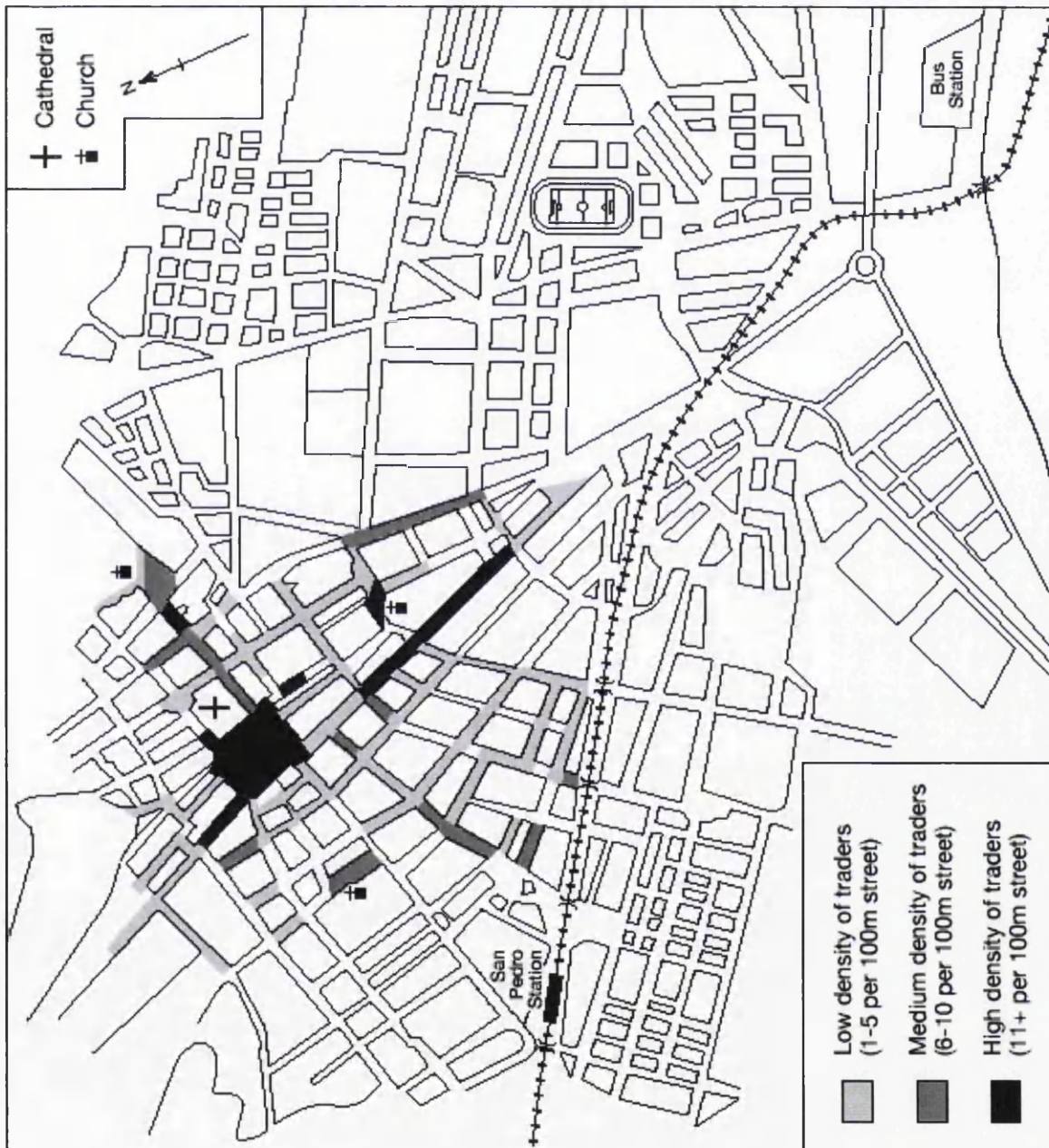
There are two other sites where a high density of traders has been recorded, the first is to the north east of the Plaza de Armas on a street leading to San Blas Plaza. There are a number of restaurants and bars, as well as hotels nearby. The street is narrow and is used a lot by cars, forcing tourists onto the narrow pavements where they cannot avoid the traders.

There are also some formal retailing outlets on this street which attract tourists. To the south of the Plaza de Armas there is a small area where traders agglomerate in large numbers. This area attracts tourists because of a colonial church, various restaurants and hotels. Locals are attracted by photocopying services, the municipal library, and a small college. Therefore, traders here are not only seeking to sell to tourists, but to local people too.

There are several sites where the density of traders is defined as medium. These locations tend to be main thoroughfares and *plazas*. Avenida Tullumayo, to the south east of the Plaza de Armas and near the bus station, is a main road into the city centre and is where a lot of local formal retailing takes place. At entrances to formal retailing sites ambulant traders are often found forestalling where they sell their goods to the customers of the formal outlets (Bromley 2000, McGee and Yeung 1977, Porter 1990). Other main routes include the main road to San Blas Plaza, and the main road from the district of Cusco to the neighbouring district of Santiago, to the south west. These routes attract tourists and local people respectively. Large flows of people offer an incentive for traders to agglomerate in higher proportions than they would on a street which only has a small number of people passing. To the south west of Avenida El Sol, two roads have a medium density of traders, both roads are near to the main *plaza* and lead to busy areas of the CBD.

On Plaza San Francisco, near the church and the secondary education college, there is also a medium density of traders. Children leaving the college and local people gathered in the *plaza*, will often buy from a trader, or take the services of a shoe shiner. Few tourists are found in the area. This site was a major concentration of informal trading for the population of Cusco until 2002. Although actual numbers have depleted, traders and customers still gather on the *plaza* in relatively high numbers. Between areas of high and medium density of traders there are often streets where only one or two traders pass. The density of traders on these streets is defined as low. In many cases the traders will be moving between busy sites and in other cases traders will be moving away from the busy areas to areas where they will have less competition. To the south west of Avenida El Sol is an example of an area with low trader density.

Map 6. Location and density of ambulant traders in Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

Classes of goods sold by ambulant traders

Ambulant traders predominantly sell perishable goods, other than fruit and vegetables (Table 13). More specifically, approximately 89% of these 'other perishable goods' are drinks, sweets, confectionery or cigarettes. These goods can be considered convenience goods and offer the consumer a quick, convenient way of purchasing small goods. The traders can easily walk the streets with the ability to move on quickly should the municipal police find them selling. Ambulant traders also sell tourist goods and other non-perishable goods in high quantities. Tourists often perceive ambulant traders to be part of Latin American culture and want to buy goods in this informal setting (Nova 2003, Tourist Interviews 1, 2 & 3³⁷). McGee and Yeung (1977) also comment that in many South East Asian cities ambulant traders contribute to the 'picturesqueness' of the cities and the traders are often regarded as a tourist attraction. Large numbers of tourists congregate around the main *plaza*, other smaller *plazas*, and the key tourist sites, and give ambulant traders an easy opportunity to make a sale.

Changes in classes of goods sold by ambulant traders between September 2004 and January 2005

In September 2004 only 4% of ambulant traders were selling fruit and vegetables, whereas in January 2005 this percentage had increased to 18% (Table 17). In January it is the Peruvian summer, whereas September is the end of the Peruvian winter. The onset of the rainy season in January, combined with some very warm weather, leads to productive agriculture. It appears that the increase in agricultural productivity is met by a seasonal increase in the labour force.

Tourist goods were sold by a greater percentage of ambulant traders in September 2004 than in January 2005. This is because September is still within the high tourist season. Statistics gained from the municipal government state that in September 1998 31,939 tourists arrived, whereas in January of the same year the figure was 27,534 (Municipalidad Provincial del Cusco, 2002). Ambulant trading is fluid, with traders selling different classes of goods throughout the year, dependent on the fluctuating market. This is a fluidity which does not exist in large markets because the class of goods a trader sells must

³⁷ Characteristics of tourists and locals responding to questionnaire surveys can be seen in Appendices M and N respectively.

be registered with the market administrator so that zones can be maintained within the market.

Table 17. Classes of goods on sale at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco

Classes of goods	Ambulant traders			
	Sep-04		Jan-05	
	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	17	3.8%	152	18.1%
Other perishable goods	196	43.9%	332	39.6%
Textiles, clothing and footwear	1	0.2%	12	1.4%
Hardware, household and electricals	4	0.9%	19	2.3%
Tourist goods	110	24.7%	136	16.2%
Other non-perishable goods	118	26.5%	187	22.3%
Total trading units	446	100.0%	838	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004-05

Types of goods handled by ambulant traders on the main plaza during the day and at night in 2004

Table 18 illustrates that in the day time there are more traders selling tourist artisan goods than any other article. Postcards were the only other goods sold by more than five traders during the day on the main *plaza*. In the day time a large variety of goods are on sale but not in a large quantity. For example, drinks and confectionery, fresh food, newspapers and books, and unclassifiable goods are all sold on the main *plaza*, but no more than two ambulant trading units were observed selling any particular item. During night-time trading there is a slightly different pattern. In total, 87% of the traders operating during the night-time survey were classified as selling drinks and confectionery, postcards, and tourist artisan goods. As in the day time, there are a wide variety of goods being sold but in the night time there is not a single dominant type of article.

Interestingly, in the evening there are more traders of drinks and confectionery which is possibly due to the fact that tourists and locals are more likely to be eating or drinking, after which they may be looking for some form of confectionery. The decrease in the percentage of traders selling tourist artisan goods during the night-time is likely to be linked with the reduced number of tourists on the main *plaza*. Tourists will walk across the Plaza de Armas in the evening but in the day time tourists will actually stop and rest, taking in the atmosphere. It is therefore much easier for traders to approach tourists in the day time

when the tourists have time to buy. In the evening, there is a heightened fear within the tourist community. Most guide books and tour agencies warn tourists of the dangers of pick-pockets. Several questionnaire interviews with tourists revealed that tour agencies were advising them not to buy anything from street traders, especially not at night-time, when there are more pick-pockets (Tourist Interviews 13 and 50, September 2004). For these reasons tourists are less likely to stop to buy artisan goods in the evening and therefore the traders sell more convenience goods, such as sweets, which can be bought easily, with little if any discussion of the price.

Table 18. Types of goods on sale at daily ambulant trading units during the day and at night on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco³⁸

Type of goods	Day		Night	
	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	0	0%	1	5%
Drinks and confectionery	1	4%	6	29%
Fresh food and drink	1	4%	0	0%
Postcards	6	22%	6	29%
Finger puppets	0	0%	1	5%
Artisan (tourist)	14	52%	6	29%
Shoeshine	2	7%	1	5%
Newspapers, books	2	7%	0	0%
Unclassifiable	1	4%	0	0%
Total trading units	27	100%	21	100%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Ambulant traders, like *canchones*, tend to agglomerate in the city centre, working in competition with each other, but also offering the consumer greater choice. Ambulant traders tend to sell drinks, sweets, confectionery, or cigarettes, all of which can be considered convenience goods. It appears that each type of trading location plays a particular role in Cusco's informal trading economy, providing specific goods in fairly well defined locations.

³⁸ Data is based on one survey carried out during the day time on Wednesday 1st September 2004 and one survey carried out at night on Thursday 2nd September 2004

Exploring trader characteristics

Observational surveys of all informal traders in central Cusco, carried out between September 2004 and January 2005, recorded several key characteristics, namely age, gender and ethnicity. Exploring the survey data provides an understanding of how age, gender and ethnicity are reflected in the different trading locations and the classes of goods on sale. This sub section will first present an overview of the characteristics of all informal traders in central Cusco.

Overview of the age, gender and ethnicity of traders

The vast majority of traders are adults younger than 40 years old. This is to be expected as this is the dominant working age group. It is illegal for children to work in Peru, but Table 19 illustrates that children do play a role in informal trading in Cusco. On 535 occasions children were observed working as the principal trader³⁹, either alone or alongside an adult. This equates to 13% of the total number of trading units, and demonstrates the significance of children in informal trading. Despite the illegality, children are an accepted part of the informal trading workforce, for whom municipal government assistance has sometimes been provided (*Diario El Sol del Cusco*, 19 July 2000).

Table 19. Age groups of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco

Age group of principal trader	Number of trading units	Percentage of all trading units
Child	246	5.8%
Adult 18-39	2,779	65.4%
Adult 40+	934	22.0%
Adult and child	289	6.8%
Total trading units	4,248	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

This study, as in previous studies on informal trading (Gilbert 1998, Weismantel 2001), has found that traders are predominantly female (75% - see Table 20). In Latin American

³⁹ 'Principal trader' refers to the trader who appears to be approaching customers and who appears to be responsible for the organisation of the stall. Where responsibility appears to be shared between an adult and a child this is recorded. Shared responsibility between adults is not recorded, the first trader to be seen is noted as the principal trader. This variation is due to the child focus of the research. In terms of gender and ethnicity, the characteristics of the adult are recorded in order to avoid complicating the study needlessly.

society women have traditionally been the traders and men have been involved in other aspects of the economy (Gallaway & Bernasek 2002). In Cusco a lot of the men work in rural areas, farming land, or in construction. An informal interview with a female ambulant trader revealed that many women travel to central Cusco to work in informal trade (Fieldwork diary, 24 January 2005). However, male involvement in informal trading cannot be ignored as a quarter of all traders in central Cusco are male. The municipal government's relocation of traders to new covered and partly-covered markets required traders to have capital to take out a loan in order to purchase the stalls. Men have far more access to capital than women in Peru (Gatica, male, Programas Sociales, 18/08/04). This has possibly led to a greater involvement of men in informal trading. However, there is a small micro-finance programme in Cusco that seeks to provide financial support to women who traditionally have been excluded from such support (Gatica, male, Programas Sociales, 18/08/04). An official from the department for the protection of the historic centre stated that working in the new markets was considered to be a respected occupation and one that you would be happy for your children to aspire to (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05). This too is a possible reason for the relatively high male involvement.

Table 20. Gender of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco

Gender of principal trader	Number of trading units	Percentage of all trading units
Male	1,046	24.6%
Female	3,202	75.4%
Total trading units	4,248	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Using a very simple two-fold classification of ethnicity, Table 21 illustrates that the majority of traders surveyed are mestizo, with only a small proportion of indigenous traders (11%). The proportion of informal traders that are defined as indigenous is likely to be much higher than the proportion of indigenous workers in any white-collar work within the city (Weismantel 2001). The indigenous population have traditionally worked as traders in the streets and in the markets of Cusco but many have found it difficult to adjust to the regulations and the functionality of the new public markets, even with the guidance classes (Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04). With the *gentrification* of

trading, as alluded to by the official from the historic centre offices (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05), indigenous traders are increasingly finding it more difficult to work as traders. One market administrator explained in an interview that there had been conflicts between the mostly mestizo traders who had not previously worked on the streets and the mostly indigenous ex-ambulant traders (Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04). He referred to the conflict as “the war of the traders” (Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04).

Table 21. Ethnic groups of the principal traders at daily informal trading units in central Cusco⁴⁰

Ethnicity of principal trader	Number of trading units	Percentage of all trading units
Indigenous	467	11.0%
Mestizo	3,780	89.0%
Total trading units	4,247	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

The above statistics suggest that the typical informal trader in Cusco is a mestizo woman, younger than 40, however there is obviously variation. Different age, gender and ethnic groups have heightened involvement in particular trading locations and in the sale of particular goods. These patterns can also vary temporally. The remainder of this section will explore such variations in relation to traders’ characteristics. The first characteristic to be considered is age.

Age

Locations where different age groups work

In public covered markets 64% of outlets are operated by adults aged 18-39 years, whilst 27% of stalls are run by older adults (40+ years). Table 22 shows that public covered markets are where most adult informal traders work. The pattern is similar in public partly-covered markets, although younger adults (18-39 years) are not so dominant. This type of trading location is less desirable because it is less serviced and consequently the older, apparently marginalised adults occupy an increased percentage of stalls.

⁴⁰ The ethnicity of one recorded trader was ‘white European’. This trader’s activities are incorporated into discussion, although for any discussion concerning ethnicity the results are omitted. Hence, the total trading units disaggregated by ethnicity is one less than when disaggregated by age or gender.

Approximately 75% of stalls in private covered markets are occupied by younger adults (Table 23). This is one type of site acquired by younger adults during the relocation when they were unable to find stalls in public markets, or they were unwilling to decentralise. Younger adults are more likely than older adults to be able to access the necessary capital to invest in private covered markets. Lending institutions favour younger adults who are capable of paying the money back, so private markets, which require high levels of investment, are mostly occupied by young adults. There is a similar pattern in *canchones*, where adults aged 18-39 years occupy at least 73% of the stalls. Again, many younger adults were required to find alternative sites at the time of the relocation and *canchones* became one of the key alternative trading locations.

Table 23 shows a very different pattern for ambulant traders. Approximately 56% of ambulant traders in the September 2004 survey were young adults, which is relatively low. The involvement of children and older adults is much higher than in any other trading location. Approximately 21% of all ambulant traders are children, either working alone or in the company of an adult. A further 23% of ambulant traders are older adults (Table 23). Table 23 shows that more 12-17 year old children are found in ambulant trade than in any other informal trading location. Both children and older adults tend to work in the less serviced location of the street. Younger adults are able to dominate the prime trading locations, marginalising children and older adults (Chant 1999).

Table 22. Informal trading locations in central Cusco where traders of different age groups are located

Type of trading location	Child						Adult				Adult and child	
	<6		6 to 11		12 to 17		18-39		40+		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Public covered market	3	42.9%	9	27.3%	56	27.2%	1,032	37.2%	439	47.0%	85	29.4%
Public partly-covered market	2	28.6%	14	42.4%	29	14.1%	847	30.5%	310	33.2%	102	35.3%
Private covered market	0	0.0%	2	6.1%	28	13.6%	292	10.5%	26	2.8%	40	13.8%
Canchon	0	0.0%	2	6.1%	31	15.0%	365	13.1%	61	6.5%	41	14.2%
Ambulant	2	28.6%	6	18.2%	62	30.1%	243	8.7%	98	10.5%	21	7.3%
Total trading units	7	100.0%	33	100.0%	206	100.0%	2,779	100.0%	934	100.0%	289	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 23. Age groups of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco

Type of trading location		Child			Adult		Adult and child	Total trading units
		<6	6 to 11	12 to 17	18-39	40+		
Public covered market	N	3	9	56	1,032	439	85	1,624
	%	0.2%	0.6%	3.4%	63.5%	27.1%	5.2%	100.0%
Public partly-covered market	N	2	14	29	847	310	102	1,304
	%	0.2%	1.1%	2.2%	64.9%	23.8%	7.8%	100.0%
Private covered market	N	0	2	28	292	26	40	388
	%	0.0%	0.5%	7.2%	75.3%	6.7%	10.3%	100.0%
Canchon	N	0	2	31	365	61	41	500
	%	0.0%	0.4%	6.2%	73.0%	12.2%	8.2%	100.0%
Ambulant	N	2	6	62	243	98	21	432
	%	0.5%	1.4%	14.4%	56.2%	22.6%	4.9%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Classes of goods handled by different age groups

Older adults predominantly handle perishable goods (55% - Table 24). Table 25 shows that even though a higher percentage of perishable goods units are run by adults aged 18-39 years, a relatively high percentage of units are run by older adults. One reason why a high percentage of older adults handle perishable goods is because they do not have the same access to capital as younger adults. Without capital, older adults are unable to invest in higher order goods such as hardware and electrical items. Again, older adult traders appear to be marginalised and left to sell goods which have a lower return. A second reason for the high percentage of older adults handling perishable goods is their traditional methods. Older traders are likely to be more acquainted with subsistence methods of buying small amounts of goods and selling them on a daily basis (Bromley 1978b, Hays Mitchell 1993, Nelson 1997), which is a method that lends itself better to dealing in lower order goods.

Younger adults mostly sell perishable goods other than fruit and vegetables, as well as textiles, clothing and footwear (Table 24). However, Table 25 illustrates that approximately 77% of all traders selling hardware, household, and electrical goods are adults aged 18-39 years. Young adults, unlike older adults, have better access to capital than any other age group, which allows them to buy higher order goods.

Table 24 shows that 12-17 year old children sell a variety of different goods. Table 25 shows that of all traders selling tourist goods, 9% are children aged 12-17 years. This is a

significant involvement and reflects the high percentage of children who work as ambulant traders. A significant number of children sell on the streets where the goods with the highest capital return are tourists goods.

Most children younger than 12 years old sell perishable goods (Table 24). This is most probably because they accompany their parents to markets, where they then sell perishable goods. In most cases, where children have to accompany family members to markets, and where the child has to work, the family is of a poorer background (Seligmann 1993). In this case the child is likely to be selling cheaper goods, such as perishable items. The family are unlikely to have the capital available to invest in higher order goods.

Table 24. Classes of goods on sale at trading units operated by informal traders of different age groups

Classes of goods	Children						Adults				Adults and children	
	<6		6 to 11		12 to 17		18-39		40+			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	1	12.5%	8	23.5%	10	4.8%	313	11.0%	206	21.4%	40	13.6%
Other perishables	3	37.5%	6	17.6%	43	20.6%	819	28.8%	327	34.0%	96	32.3%
Textiles, clothing	3	37.5%	8	23.5%	37	17.7%	687	24.1%	177	18.3%	83	27.9%
Hardware, household	0	0.0%	3	8.8%	13	6.2%	274	9.6%	46	4.8%	22	7.4%
Tourist goods	0	0.0%	2	5.9%	50	23.9%	357	12.5%	129	13.4%	33	11.1%
Other non-perishable	1	12.5%	7	20.6%	56	26.8%	398	14.0%	78	8.1%	23	7.7%
Total trading units	8	100.0%	34	100.0%	209	100.0%	2,848	100.0%	963	100.0%	297	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 25. Age groups of the principal traders selling different classes of goods at trading units in central Cusco

Classes of goods		Children			Adults		Adults and children	Total trading units
		<6	6 to 11	12 to 17	18-39	40+		
Fruit and vegetables	N	1	8	10	313	206	40	578
	%	0.2%	1.4%	1.7%	54.2%	35.6%	6.9%	100.0%
Other perishables	N	3	6	43	819	327	96	1294
	%	0.2%	0.5%	3.3%	63.3%	25.3%	7.4%	100.0%
Textiles, clothing	N	3	8	37	687	177	83	995
	%	0.3%	0.8%	3.7%	69.1%	17.8%	8.3%	100.0%
Hardware, household	N	0	3	13	274	46	22	358
	%	0.0%	0.9%	3.6%	76.6%	12.8%	6.1%	100.0%
Tourist goods	N	0	2	50	357	129	33	571
	%	0.0%	0.4%	8.8%	62.4%	22.6%	5.8%	100.0%
Other non-perishable	N	1	7	56	398	78	23	563
	%	0.2%	1.2%	9.9%	70.7%	13.9%	4.1%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Ages of traders in 2002 and 2004

The ages of traders at San Pedro market in 2002, prior to the relocations, were very different to those in 2004. In 2002 most traders were adults aged 18-39 years (71%), whereas in 2004 only 49% of all principal traders were adults aged 18-39 years. The decrease in young adult traders in this two year period reflects the fact that these traders occupied sites outside the market building in 2002 and in 2004 they had been relocated. The older traders would have had established trading locations within this municipal market, leaving younger traders to move to alternative locations.

In Centro Mercado Artesanal in 2004 there was a higher percentage of children working at the stalls than in 2002 (Tables 26 and 27). In 2002 there were no children recorded as the principal trader, whereas in 2004 8% of all principal traders were children. Also, stalls where adults and children held joint responsibility for the stall increased from 2% of stalls to 4%. The most likely cause of this increase is the finalisation of the relocation process. In 2002 there were still a relatively high number of adult traders on the streets, accompanied by their children, however in 2004 the numbers of ambulant traders dropped dramatically. For example, outside San Pedro market in 2002 there were 79 ambulant traders, 15 of whom were children (Observational Survey Data, 2002), but in 2004 there was only one trader (Observational Survey Data, 2004). It is likely that children were taken

by their parents to markets such as Centro Mercado Artesanal, where many are likely to share responsibility for sales.

In El Molino 1 the percentage of adult traders aged 18-39 years rose from 49% in 2002 to 82% in 2004. This observation reflects the situation at San Pedro market, where there was a decrease in the percentage of young adult traders. The relocation pushed younger traders, who had trading locations on the periphery of San Pedro market in 2002, to the new decentralised markets, which include El Molino 1. Similarly, in Gran Central Inka Motors, the percentage of adults aged 18-39 years also grew between 2002 and 2004.

As in many of the decentralised markets, the *canchones* on Triunfo witnessed an increase in the percentage of young adult traders between 2002 and 2004. More stringent applications of the regulations on street trading forced traders, who had not been able to find alternative locations, to work in markets such as the *canchones* on Triunfo. Interestingly, in the *canchones* on Plateros there was little change in the ages of the traders between 2002 and 2004.

Table 26. Age groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco

Market name		Child	Adults		Adult and child	Total stalls
			18-39	40+		
San Pedro	N	14	268	236	27	545
	%	2.6%	49.2%	43.3%	4.9%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	17	131	68	8	224
	%	7.5%	58.5%	30.4%	3.6%	100.0%
El Molino 1	N	9	389	55	23	476
	%	1.9%	81.7%	11.6%	4.8%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	3	58	9	7	77
	%	3.9%	75.3%	11.7%	9.1%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	3	24	3	0	30
	%	10.0%	80.0%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	3	39	9	2	53
	%	5.7%	73.5%	17.0%	3.8%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	0	15	8	3	26
	%	0.0%	57.7%	30.8%	11.5%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	1	12	2	1	16
	%	6.3%	74.9%	12.5%	6.3%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 27. Age groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco

Market name		Child	Adults		Adult and child	Total stalls
			18-39	40+		
San Pedro	N	5	1311	541	0	1857
	%	0.3%	70.6%	29.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	0	124	88	4	216
	%	0.0%	57.4%	40.7%	1.9%	100.0%
El Molino I	N	0	355	374	0	729
	%	0.0%	48.7%	51.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	0	64	138	1	203
	%	0.0%	31.5%	68.0%	0.5%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	5	17	10	1	33
	%	15.2%	51.5%	30.3%	3.0%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	12	42	13	2	69
	%	17.4%	60.9%	18.8%	2.9%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	1	12	4	0	17
	%	5.9%	70.6%	23.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	4	12	1	0	17
	%	23.5%	70.6%	5.9%	0.0%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2002

Ages of ambulant traders in September 2004 and January 2005

The total number of ambulant trading units operating at the time of the January 2005 survey was 836, whereas there were only 440 observed during the September 2004 survey. Informal discussions with traders, on one of the streets where there was a marked increase, revealed that in January the municipal police do not enforce the restrictions as rigidly as they do before Christmas and during the peak tourist season (Fieldwork diary, 20 January 2005). This allows more traders to work on the streets in January. In addition, Bromley's (1978b) study of traders in Cali suggests that this holiday period is accompanied by an overall increase in the number of traders.

The percentage of children working in January 2005 was greater than in September 2004 (Table 28). The school vacations start in December and continue until March/April. This means that children who do not normally work whilst school is in term are able to work on the streets. Equally, children who normally split their time between school and the streets are able to devote more time to working on the streets. There was also an increase in the number of children working alongside adults. This is probably related to the fact that

children were not in school and therefore had to assist their parents in trading. Significantly, this is an example of how children exhibit limited agency in their ability to choose when they trade.

Table 28. Age groups of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco

Age of trader		Sep-04		Jan-05	
		N	%	N	%
Child	<6	2	0.5%	4	0.5%
	6 to 11	6	1.4%	27	3.3%
	12 to 17	62	14.4%	157	19.0%
Adult	18-39	243	56.2%	379	45.8%
	40+	98	22.6%	194	23.4%
Adult and child		21	4.8%	66	8.0%
Total trading units		432	100.0%	827	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004-05

Ages of ambulant traders during day time trading and night time trading on the Plaza de Armas

Throughout day time and night time trading, the actual number of children trading remains relatively constant. Interestingly, the number of working children younger than 12 years old increased at night, whilst the number of older children decreased (Table 29). It is possible that there is a hierarchy amongst the children, which favours the older child and leaves the younger children to work at less productive hours. One major difference between the ages of traders in the day and at night is in the percentage of adults aged 18-39 years, dropping from 63% in the day time to 50% at night time. On the other hand, the percentage of older adults increases from 4% in the day time to 10% in the night time. This may be because younger adults monopolise the most favourable times, restricting the disempowered older adult traders to less favourable working hours. This suggests that younger adults have the ability to choose when to sell.

Table 29. Age groups of traders at ambulant trading units at night and during the day time on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco

Age of trader	Day		Night	
	N	%	N	%
<6	0	0%	0	0%
6 to 11	1	4%	5	25%
12 to 17	8	30%	3	15%
18-39	17	63%	10	50%
40+	1	4%	2	10%
Adults and children	0	0%	0	0%
Total trading units	27	100%	20	100%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

There is no doubt that the dominant working age group is adults aged 18-39 years, however it is clear that children and older adults also play a significant role. Children are important to ambulant trade, where they mostly sell small perishable items and tourist goods. Children appear to be pushed to the least profitable roles, selling goods that earn the least return and like older adults, they work in the marginal locations. This is an example of children's lack of agency (Young 2003) and the sense that they are disempowered in the informal trading economy of Cusco. This theme is pursued further in the following chapters.

Gender

Locations where male and female traders work

Previous discussions and the evidence in Table 30 demonstrate that in all informal trading locations there are more female traders than male traders. However, there are variations in the percentage of male and female involvement at different types of trading location. For example, Table 30 shows that in public covered markets at least 77% of stalls are occupied by female traders. The percentage of stalls in public partly-covered markets that are occupied by female traders is even greater (83%). According to Larson & Leon (1995) female traders have traditionally occupied market buildings whilst male traders have an increased presence on the streets. One reason why such a high percentage of females occupy stalls in partly-covered markets is because in these markets it is mostly perishable goods that are on sale and a high percentage of stalls that sell perishable goods are run by females (Fonchingong 2005, Larson and Leon 1995, Wesimantel 2001). Equally, this

explains why there are fewer stalls in public partly-covered markets that are run by male traders.

In private covered markets female traders are still dominant but to a lesser extent. Male traders occupy 32% of stalls. The high proportion of men may reflect the fact that men have greater access to capital (Fonchingong 2005), which is a necessity in private covered markets. Furthermore, private covered markets are better serviced and are therefore more desirable locations. This is an example of men’s ability to choose particular trading locations.

Amongst ambulant traders surveyed in September 2004, 42% were male (Table 30). This is a remarkably high percentage of male traders, when considering the lower proportion of male traders in all other trading sites. Nearly 18% of all male traders work as ambulant traders, compared to only 8% of female traders (Table 31). Again, this concurs with comments made by Larson & Leon (1995) regarding male presence in ambulant trading. A large proportion of ambulant traders are shoe shiners, which is a male dominated profession (Qosqo Maki 1998), with not one single female shoe shiner observed working in Cusco. Equally, the vast majority of child traders who work on the street in Cusco are boys (63% - Observational Survey Data 2004), which contributes to the high percentage of male ambulant traders. Numerous studies with street children have also found that the street is a male ‘space’ (Beazley 2002, Salazar 1998).

Table 30. Gender of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco

Type of trading location		Male	Female	Total trading units
Public covered market	N	381	1,243	1,624
	%	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
Public partly-covered market	N	225	1,079	1,304
	%	17.3%	82.7%	100.0%
Private covered market	N	125	263	388
	%	32.2%	67.8%	100.0%
Canchon	N	132	368	500
	%	26.4%	73.6%	100.0%
Ambulant	N	183	249	432
	%	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 31. Informal trading locations in central Cusco where traders of different gender are located

Type of trading location	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Public covered market	381	36.4%	1,243	38.8%
Public partly-covered market	225	21.5%	1,079	33.7%
Private covered market	125	12.0%	263	8.2%
Canchon	132	12.6%	368	11.5%
Ambulant	183	17.5%	249	7.8%
Total trading units	1,046	100.0%	3,202	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Classes of goods handled by male and female traders

Table 32 demonstrates that a very high percentage of trading units selling fruit and vegetables are run by female traders. These are traditionally goods that are sold by female traders (Fonchingong 2005, Larson & Leon 1995, Weismantel 2001) and it is likely that this is why only 5% of all units selling fruit and vegetables are run by male traders. A similar pattern is observed at units where perishable goods other than fruit and vegetables are sold.

Approximately 31% of all trading units that sell textiles, clothing and footwear are run by men. This is relatively high, when compared to male involvement in the sale of perishable goods. Table 32 illustrates that 46% of all hardware outlets are occupied by male traders. Weismantel (2001: 143) observes that “some items, like tools for construction and agriculture, are sold primarily by men.” Both textiles and hardware are traditionally more associated with men than goods such as fruit and vegetables (Bromley 1978b, Fonchingong 2005, Hays Mitchell 1993, Larson & Leon 1995, Weismantel 2001). Larson & Leon (1995: 334) describe how men are more likely to handle “luxury goods” rather than food items.

Table 32. Gender of the principal traders at trading units handling different classes of goods in central Cusco

Classes of goods	Male		Female		Total trading units
	N	%	N	%	
Fruit and vegetables	N	29	549		578
	%	5.0%	95.0%		100.0%
Other perishables	N	175	1,119		1,294
	%	13.5%	86.5%		100.0%
Textiles, clothing	N	304	691		995
	%	30.6%	69.4%		100.0%
Hardware, household	N	163	195		358
	%	45.5%	54.5%		100.0%
Tourist goods	N	157	414		571
	%	27.5%	72.5%		100.0%
Other non-perishable	N	234	329		563
	%	41.6%	58.4%		100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 33. Classes of goods handled by male and female traders at informal trading units in central Cusco

Classes of goods	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	29	2.7%	549	16.7%
Other perishables	175	16.5%	1,119	33.9%
Textiles, clothing	304	28.6%	691	21.0%
Hardware, household	163	15.4%	195	5.9%
Tourist goods	157	14.8%	414	12.6%
Other non-perishable	234	22.0%	329	9.9%
Total trading units	1,062	100.0%	3,297	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

The gender of traders working in 2002 and 2004

In San Pedro market, male involvement dropped from 31% in 2002 to only 10% in 2004 (Tables 34/35). This pattern is almost certainly associated with the relocation and the changes in the classes of goods on sale in the market. The changes enforced by the municipal government have made perishable goods the dominant class of goods sold in the market. As mentioned previously, male traders tend to sell textiles, hardware, and other non-perishable items, rather than perishables, so inevitably the percentage of male traders decreased.

By contrast, the percentage of male traders rose from 8% to 20% between 2002 and 2004 in the tourist goods market Centro Mercado Artesanal (Tables 34/35). It is likely that male traders have moved from sites such as *Canchon Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar*, where a number of stalls closed between 2002 and 2004. An interview with the wife of the president at Centro Mercado Artesanal revealed that many of the stalls in Centro Mercado Artesanal were run by women but owned by men (Tunqui, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05). Therefore it is foreseeable that the role of men in informal trading is understated. Figures from the 2004 survey in Centro Mercado Artesanal suggest a number of men now work in the market, whereas in the past men appear to have held the role of silent partner. Heightened male involvement is perhaps due to increased patronage at the market. Previously male stall owners were leaving family members to take responsibility for running the stall on a daily basis. Significantly, if women are 'guarding' stalls for their partners, it is also likely that children are carrying out similar tasks. This again highlights the fact that children, and in this instance women, are left to work in the more marginal locations, while the male trader works in better serviced locations (Chant 1999, Hays Mitchell 1994). Notably, de la Cadena (1995) has observed that the work of men is valued more highly than that of women, which is an additional reason why men occupy the better serviced locations.

In El Molino 1 and Gran Central Inka Motors there have been very few changes between 2002 and 2004 in the percentages of women and men working in the markets. El Molino 1 is a more stable market and has an established client base, as well as a relatively well established group of traders, although a change in the ages of traders was witnessed. El Molino 1 and Gran Central Inka Motors have a relatively high number of men working there and this has remained constant.

Table 34. Gender of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco

Market name		Male	Female	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	54	491	545
	%	9.9%	90.1%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	45	179	224
	%	20.1%	79.9%	100.0%
El Molino 1	N	167	309	476
	%	35.1%	64.9%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	24	53	77
	%	31.2%	68.8%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	12	18	30
	%	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	7	46	53
	%	13.2%	86.8%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	5	21	26
	%	19.2%	80.8%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	4	12	16
	%	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 35. Gender of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco

Market name		Male	Female	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	578	1279	1857
	%	31.1%	68.9%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	17	199	216
	%	7.9%	92.1%	100.0%
El Molino 1	N	229	500	729
	%	31.4%	68.6%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	63	140	203
	%	31.0%	69.0%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	10	23	33
	%	30.3%	69.7%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	12	57	69
	%	17.4%	82.6%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	2	15	17
	%	11.8%	88.2%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	11	6	17
	%	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2002

The gender of ambulant traders working in September 2004 and January 2005

The percentage of female ambulant traders increased from 58% in September 2004 to 66% in January 2005 (Table 36). Similarly, the percentage of traders selling fruit and vegetables increased (Table 17). As mentioned before, the sale of fruit and vegetables is traditionally

the work of female traders (Fochingong 2005, Wesimantel 2001), and so an increased involvement of female traders in January 2005 was expected.

Table 36. Gender of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco

Gender of trader	Sep-04		Jan-05	
	N	%	N	%
Male	183	42.4%	280	33.9%
Female	249	57.6%	547	66.1%
Total trading units	432	100.0%	827	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004-05

Informal trading is dominated by women, although male traders have a larger involvement on the streets and in locations where goods such as hardware are sold. Also, the increasing patronage of markets such as El Molino 1 and Centro Mercado Artesanal is attracting more men to covered markets.

Ethnicity

Locations where different ethnic groups work

At all trading locations in Cusco, a simple approach to ethnicity suggests that the vast majority of traders are mestizo. In private covered markets and *canchones*, indigenous traders play no significant role (Table 37). Several studies have described how indigenous people are uneasy with banking (de la Cadena 1995, Ersado 2005, Larson and Leon 1995, Seligmann 1993), which inhibits their involvement in private markets that require traders to borrow from lending institutions. Only since the relocations have significant numbers of traders begun to work in *canchones* and indigenous traders tend to be accustomed to selling in more traditional locations (Larson and Leon 1995, Seligmann 1993).

Indigenous traders are modestly represented at all informal trading locations (Table 37). The majority (94%) of indigenous traders work in public covered and partly-covered markets, as well as in ambulant trading (Table 38), which is probably because these are traditional Latin American trading sites and indigenous traders are far more likely to be

accustomed to trading here than in private markets or *canchones* (Seligmann 1993). Furthermore, Seligmann (2000) comments that indigenous traders have limited access to the capital required to invest in private covered markets or to pay the high rents at *canchones*.

Table 37. Ethnic groups of the principal traders at trading units in daily informal trading locations in central Cusco

Type of trading location		Indigenous	Mestizo	Total stalls
Public covered market	N	186	1,437	1,623
	%	11.5%	88.5%	100.0%
Public partly-covered market	N	203	1,101	1,304
	%	15.6%	84.4%	100.0%
Private covered market	N	5	383	388
	%	1.3%	98.7%	100.0%
Canchon	N	24	476	500
	%	4.8%	95.2%	100.0%
Ambulant	N	49	383	432
	%	11.3%	88.7%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 38. Informal trading locations of indigenous and mestizo traders in central Cusco

Type of trading location	Indigenous		Mestizo	
	N	%	N	%
Public covered market	186	39.8%	1,437	38.0%
Public partly-covered market	203	43.5%	1,101	29.1%
Private covered market	5	1.1%	383	10.1%
Canchon	24	5.1%	476	12.6%
Ambulant	49	10.5%	383	10.2%
Total stalls	467	100.0%	3,780	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Goods handled by different ethnic groups

Approximately 94% of stalls selling textiles, hardware, tourist goods and other non-perishable items are run by mestizo traders. However, 12% of stalls selling perishable goods other than fruit and vegetables are run by indigenous traders. Table 39 also shows that nearly 30% of stalls selling fruit and vegetables are run by indigenous traders. Table 40 illustrates that approximately 68% of all goods sold by indigenous traders are perishable. There are two key reasons: one is the connections that many still have with rural areas, where the goods are produced and can be bought relatively cheaply for resale (Caparo

1994, Valverde 1992, Wesimantel 2001). The second reason is the barrier of gaining capital in order to sell higher order goods (Figuroa *et al* 1996, Laurie & Bonnett 2002, Middleton 2003). Furthermore, de la Cadena (1995) has suggested that the indigenous population are less capable of selling the most expensive goods.

Table 39. Ethnic groups of the principal traders handling different classes of goods at trading units in central Cusco

Classes of goods	Indigenous		Mestizo	Total trading units
	N	%		
Fruit and vegetables	N	173	405	578
	%	29.9%	70.1%	100.0%
Other perishables	N	151	1,143	1,294
	%	11.7%	88.3%	100.0%
Textiles, clothing	N	59	936	995
	%	5.9%	94.1%	100.0%
Hardware, household	N	19	339	358
	%	5.3%	94.7%	100.0%
Tourist goods	N	49	522	571
	%	8.6%	91.4%	100.0%
Other non-perishables	N	29	533	562
	%	5.2%	94.8%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

Table 40. Classes of goods handled by different ethnic groups at trading units in central Cusco

Classes of goods	Indigenous		Mestizo	
	N	%	N	%
Fruit and vegetables	173	36.0%	405	10.4%
Other perishables	151	31.5%	1,143	29.5%
Textiles, clothing	59	12.3%	936	24.1%
Hardware, household	19	4.0%	339	8.8%
Tourist goods	49	10.2%	522	13.5%
Other non-perishables	29	6.0%	533	13.7%
Total trading units	480	100.0%	3,878	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

The ethnicity of the traders working in 2002 and 2004

In 2002, the early stages of the relocation process had moved ambulant traders of tourist goods away from the central *plaza*. Approximately 50% of the traders at the largest tourist goods market, Centro Mercado Artesanal, were indigenous (Table 41). Indigenous involvement decreased dramatically by 2004, when only 9% of stalls were operated by

indigenous traders (Table 42). Centro Mercado Artesanal had become a more successful trading location by 2004 and indigenous traders may have been pushed to alternative, marginal locations.

The later relocation, which saw traders moved from around San Pedro market and the surrounding streets, led to a reduction in the percentage of indigenous traders at San Pedro market (Tables 41 and 42). Power relations between indigenous traders and mestizo traders appear to mirror the national pattern which favours the mestizo community (de Diaz-Limaco 1998, de la Cadena 1995). Mestizo traders have stalls in the more successful, better serviced and desirable markets. Again, indigenous traders appear to have been pushed to the margins at the time of relocation. Similar unequal power relations are reported in Nova's (2003) research with indigenous women street vendors in Tijuana, Mexico.

Table 41. Ethnic groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2002 in central Cusco

Market name		Indigenous	Mestizo	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	948	909	1857
	%	51.1%	48.9%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	108	108	216
	%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
El Molino 1	N	62	667	729
	%	8.5%	91.5%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	0	203	203
	%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	4	29	33
	%	12.1%	87.9%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	10	59	69
	%	14.5%	85.5%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	4	13	17
	%	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	3	14	17
	%	17.6%	82.4%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2002

Table 42. Ethnic groups of principal traders at stalls in specific markets in 2004 in central Cusco

Market name		Indigenous	Mestizo	Total stalls
San Pedro	N	110	435	545
	%	20.2%	79.8%	100.0%
Centro Mercado Artesanal	N	19	204	223
	%	8.5%	91.5%	100.0%
El Molino 1	N	20	456	476
	%	4.2%	95.8%	100.0%
Gran Central Inka Motors	N	2	75	77
	%	2.6%	97.4%	100.0%
Canchones on Triunfo	N	1	29	30
	%	3.3%	96.7%	100.0%
Canchones on Plateros	N	1	52	53
	%	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal El Inka'	N	1	25	26
	%	3.8%	96.2%	100.0%
Canchon 'Feria Artesanal Portal Espinar'	N	1	15	16
	%	6.3%	93.8%	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004

The ethnicity of ambulant traders working in September 2004 and January 2005

The percentage of indigenous ambulant traders increased from 11% in September 2004 to 21% in January 2005 (Table 43). This increase is almost certainly associated with the rise in the number of ambulant traders selling fruit and vegetables, which are in greater supply in January. Many indigenous traders are able to purchase the fruit and vegetables very cheaply in rural areas and then transport them to the city where they are then sold on the streets from a wheelbarrow or from a cloth on the floor (Weismantel 2001). The increase in involvement of indigenous ambulant traders in January is most probably associated with greater supply, rather than trader agency. Mestizo traders are more highly involved in trading tourist goods, so in the low-tourist season there is a decrease in the percentage of mestizo traders.

Table 43. Ethnic groups of traders at daily ambulant trading units in September 2004 and January 2005 in the historic centre of Cusco

Ethnicity of trader	Sep-04		Jan-05	
	N	%	N	%
Indigenous	49	11.3%	176	21.3%
Mestizo	383	88.7%	651	78.7%
Total trading units	432	100.0%	827	100.0%

Source: Observational surveys of traders, Cusco, 2004-05

In all trading locations indigenous traders form only a small proportion of the total number of traders. Their involvement in informal trade revolves around more traditional subsistence methods of selling, making use of rural connections to buy and sell perishable goods in marginal locations.

Changing municipal policies and their impacts

Major changes have taken place in Cusco since the appointment of Carlos Valencia Miranda as mayor in 1999. He addressed the issue of informal trading, an issue which mayors before him had been extremely cautious about tackling (Villasante, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 20/08/04). Since 1999 the mayor has set out to reclaim and preserve the historic centre of Cusco. In order to do this there would inevitably be action taken concerning the informal traders who lined the streets and obscured the views of major city landmarks. This sub section explains why the mayor introduced the changes which have been implemented, what policies he actually chose to introduce, and the responses that were received.

Antecedents to recent policy change

For centuries informal trading has existed on the streets and *plazas* of Cusco (Seligmann 2000). However, it was during the twentieth century that major restrictions on trading locations began to be enforced. Carlos Valencia Miranda is not the first Mayor of Cusco to make dramatic changes. For years a market existed on the Plaza de Armas, however in 1925 Mayor Manuel Silvestre Frisancho bought land from the Santa Clara monastery and constructed Mercado San Pedro (previously called Mercado Santa Clara). For the first time traders were provided with a building from which they could trade their goods. Not long

after the construction of San Pedro market, informal traders began to take over the surrounding streets (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05 and Seligmann 2000).

The major earthquake of 1950 devastated Cusco and caused significant changes to the city's physical structure. Informal traders took the opportunity to further occupy the streets, and many who were not previously vendors took the opportunity to become informal traders. The proliferation of vendors grew and the municipal government did not prevent it. The number of informal traders quickly outnumbered the number of stalls available in market buildings, therefore presenting a problem to any mayor who wished to eradicate street vendors. Market-place trading and street trading are a cultural inheritance from the Spanish colonial period (Seligmann 2000). This historical and cultural heritage makes it even more difficult for any changes to be enforced because the culture of the population would need to alter in order to successfully eradicate informal trading from the streets.

In the second half of the twentieth century vast numbers of informal traders occupied the streets of Cusco. They were working with no access to basic services, with whole families spending the day at one stall (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05). They occupied major transport routes and prevented any vehicles gaining access, including emergency vehicles (Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05). Diseases were easily spread in the unhygienic conditions and municipal authorities were not willing to address the problems because of the number of people who chose to work as informal traders (Vargas, male, Servicios Municipales, 13/08/04). The various attempts to relocate or eradicate ambulant trading resulted in major and very public conflicts and consequently, it was considered political suicide for mayors to try to relocate them (Seligmann 2000). For example, it is thought that Mayor Raul Salizar Saico was not voted in for a second term in 1999 because of his attempts to remove traders from the streets. Informal traders form such a large and integral part of the community in Cusco that no mayor believed it would be possible to make significant changes without causing civil unrest. Working conditions became unsafe and negative stories about informal trade became extremely common in the local press (*El Sol del Cusco*, 8 February 2001).

Recent Municipal Policies for relocation

In 1999, Carlos Valencia Miranda introduced a policy to eradicate informal trading from the streets of Cusco. Below is a summary of the various facets of the policy and the methods of implementation.

Eradicating informal trading from the streets

In April 2001, a municipal decree (002-01-mc) was introduced that “prohibits ambulant trade in the historic centre of the city of Cusco.” Simply introducing the law did not prevent traders from selling in the streets, it did however, provide the legal basis for moving traders away from the sites which they occupied. The municipality of Cusco opted to re-locate traders to market-place locations. Previously in Peru, the municipalities of Lima and Arequipa used force to eradicate informal trading and did not offer alternative trading sites (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05). In Cusco the municipality decided that the cost of building new sites for the traders outweighed the disadvantage of rebellion and unrest amongst the highly unionised trader population (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05).

Accommodating informal traders in alternative sites

The policy of moving traders to alternative sites requires either available stalls in existing markets, or the construction of new centres. In Cusco, both alternatives were used. The municipality invested in four new markets. Looking at the characteristics outlined in previous sections of this chapter, it is clear that the mayor sought to decentralise and agglomerate the sale of certain goods. Different markets were designated for different classes of goods. El Molino 1, for example, sells non-perishable goods and is approximately 2km away from the city centre. Relocation sites for ambulant traders were dependent on what goods they sold and whether or not they held valid trading licences. The following table (Table 44) lists the number of ambulant traders who were reportedly relocated to each of the markets.

Table 44. The numbers of traders relocated to different market locations

Market	No. of former ambulant traders	Source
El Molino 1+ 2	2,000	Vargas, male, Servicios Municipales, 13/08/04
Centro Mercado Artesanal	341	Alvarez, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 19/08/04
San Blas	Less than 167	Ayte, male, Mercado San Blas, 16/08/04
Rosaspata	Less than 217	Vargas, male, Servicios Municipales, 13/08/04
Wanchaq	200	Caceres, male, Oficina de Comercio y Mercados, 07/10/04
Confraternidad	1,200	Fuentes, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 18/08/04
Ccascaparo	-	-
San Pedro	-	-

Source: Key informant interviews, Cusco, 2004

Table 44 demonstrates that the new markets (El Molino 1, El Molino 2, Confraternidad and Central Mercado Artesanal) accommodated the majority of the ambulant traders. However, the total number of stalls available is far less than the total number of informal traders. This obviously led to problems and will be discussed further in the next sub section.

Responses to recent policy changes

The period of change was initiated in 1999, when street traders were first moved from Avenida El Ejercito to El Molino 1. Prior to this forced change of location, talks were held between municipal officials and leaders of the *sindicatos*. Two years of discussions led to the plan which was executed in Cusco. Alternative plans existed, including the formalisation of trading in the streets. Roads such as Avenida El Ejercito would have been cleaned and higher quality road surfaces would have been laid, with some form of landscaping taking place as well (Vera 1995). Following the decision to relocate traders to decentralised locations there were a series of different responses.

Initial responses to relocation and the new commercial centres

Protests were held in the streets before any relocation took place (*Diario del Cusco*, 15 April 1999). These protests were not violent but they did indicate the traders' opposition to the municipal plans. On the proposed day of the relocation traders made holes in the streets to prevent vehicles gaining access to the principal roads. Clearly the new plans were met with some resistance.

The response of a number of traders to being forcefully relocated to decentralised markets was to start trading on other streets and in different districts of Cusco. There were numerous conflicts between street traders and officials in other districts, including

Wanchaq and Santiago (*Diario del Cusco*, 4 May 2004). Over a period of time neighbouring districts also began to make street trading illegal. This process was far easier to complete for neighbouring districts because they did not have the same numbers of traders to accommodate.

Reluctantly, many traders did move to their newly assigned commercial centres. El Molino 1 was the first new centre to be constructed. The market and its traders faced various problems, including much lower sales than had previously been experienced in the streets. Within several months a civil defence inspection revealed serious safety problems and the market was closed for a short period of time. The market presented a fire hazard and new exits had to be installed to increase security. Whilst problems were experienced in El Molino 1, many traders who had stalls there decided to return to the streets in order to gain an income.

In 2001 Centro Mercado Artesanal was opened for the street traders who sold tourist goods. Its location six blocks from the main *plaza*, which is further than any other tourist goods market in central Cusco, led to similar problems to those experienced at El Molino 1. Very few tourists were aware of the new market and the government did not provide any publicity to increase movement in the market (Alvarez, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 19/08/04). In 2004 the market was still suffering, with relatively low numbers of tourists passing through. Equally, in 2004 Centro Comercial Confraternidad opened and in March 2005 at least half of the stalls were shut and there was very low patronage. It is clear that a common problem exists for the new centres: there is very low initial patronage, leading to loss of sales and the cost of the stall left unpaid. The resultant problem for the municipal government is that the traders relocate themselves to the streets or to *canchones*.

Municipal responses to the return of informal traders to the streets

According to one market administrator (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 14/02/05), approximately 30% of informal traders did not have licences before the relocation which meant that they were unlikely to be assigned a stall in one of the new markets. These traders remained on the streets and faced continual harassment by the municipal police. Municipal police were given the role of enforcing the regulations set by the municipal authorities and are solely responsible for removing traders from the streets.

With a low foot fall in the new centres many traders returned to the streets, joining those who were unable to get stalls in the first instance.

Municipal authorities had spent millions of dollars on the introduction of new markets and were not prepared to allow the return of traders to the streets of the historic centre (Vargas, male, Mercado San Pedro, 14/02/05). Municipal police confiscated goods and physically moved traders off the streets (Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 14/02/05). The municipal response was clear, no trading would be allowed on the streets.

The proliferation of canchones in central Cusco

Many traders began to search for alternative sites because they found themselves unable, or unwilling, to trade in the streets or in the new markets. Within the centre of Cusco traders began to rent small plots of land in *canchones*, where there are often no services available and the roofing is poor (Appendix L). Traders pay a relatively high rent for a small plot where they can sell their goods. The *canchones* provide a city centre location where goods can be sold without the tax authorities (SUNAT) taking tax. Due to their central locations and the cheap price of goods, large numbers of people use these *canchones*.

Map 7 shows the ages of the *canchones* located in central Cusco. The map indicates that the majority of tourist *canchones*, located near the main square, were constructed in 2002 or earlier. More specifically, the older *canchones* (pre 1999 & 1999) are all located on Calle Plateros and Calle Triunfo. Further to the north are the slightly more recently built *canchones*. A group of tourist *canchones* constructed between 2003 and 2005 are found at the end of Avenida El Sol, near to Centro Mercado Artesanal. In all probability the new *canchones* opened as a result of increased movement of tourists in that specific part of the city.

Map 7. Opening years of *canchones* in central Cusco



Source: Adapted from Qosqo Maps (2006)

The majority of local *canchones* that opened between 2003 and 2005 are found within close proximity to San Pedro market. It is likely that these *canchones* benefit from the customers who use markets such as San Pedro and Ccascaparo. Moving slightly further away from San Pedro market there is a second zone of local *canchones*, all constructed between 2000 and 2002. These slightly older *canchones* are found on streets that were cleared of ambulant traders slightly earlier than those near San Pedro market. Interviews with traders in *canchones* suggest that many traders simply moved off the streets and into the nearest building (Appendix L). Interestingly, there is only one local *canchon* that was opened prior to the relocation in 1999.

Municipal response to newly emerging canchones

The traders in *canchones* and municipal officials alike seem confused about the nature of municipal policy towards *canchones* (Canchon A 08/02/05 and Castro, female, Mercado San Blas, 16/02/05). Officials are primarily concerned with the safety standards and have begun to issue documents which demand increases in the standards of safety and better services. These documents (*clausuras*) are not particularly effective and have resulted in very few, if any, closures of *canchones*. It does demonstrate the fact that municipal government is aware of the increased use of *canchones* and is trying to improve standards of safety (*Diario el Sol del Cusco*, 16 October 2004). Municipal government is not trying to eradicate these new markets. However, *canchones* draw customers away from the new centres and interfere with the market structure of the city. *Canchones* do offer an alternative location for traders who are unable to buy stalls in the new markets and at present the municipal policy is to eradicate street trading from the historic centre, so if traders locate themselves in adequately serviced *canchones* no action will be taken.

Present day policies have reshaped the city of Cusco and the successes have been widely noted. The government of Quito, Ecuador contacted the Cusco government to discuss the methods used for reclaiming the city's streets, as did the municipal government in Cajamarca (*Diario el Sol del Cusco*, 4 Feb 2004). Further to the changes that have already taken place, the municipal government of Cusco is formalising the traders who are permitted to sell from carts on specific corners of the streets. These plans include the introduction of kiosks on the street corners, rather than the more informal carts (Figure 7).

Figure 7. New kiosks introduced in Cusco in 2005

Source: *Diario el Sol del Cusco*, 16th May, 2005

Summary comments

Chapter Five explores the role of children in informal trading in central Cusco. It first establishes the characteristics of all five types of daily informal trading location and then investigates the variations in space-time trading patterns for all traders according to their age, gender and ethnicity. The chapter clearly identifies children's roles in the context of all informal trading.

As a result of municipal relocation policies there is an overwhelming dominance of large, public and private markets, both covered and partly-covered in Cusco. Six of the eleven large markets in central Cusco were constructed as a direct result of the government's decentralisation programme. The other five, already established markets, were altered to house some of the remaining street traders. Whilst the municipal government has been able to clear the majority of ambulant traders from the streets, the attempt to provide suitable alternative locations is in question. For example, approximately 58% of stalls in the new Centro Comercial Confraternidad were closed in 2004. As a partial consequence of the relocation process, different classes of goods are sold in different types of market. Consequently, electrical items are predominantly sold in large, covered, durable goods markets, such as El Molino 1, Confraternidad and El Paraiso, while tourist goods are mostly sold by ambulant traders in the city centre, in *canchones*, and in Centro Mercado Artesanal.

This chapter established that there are stark differences in the space-time trading patterns of informal traders according to their age, gender and ethnicity. In general, indigenous traders play only a small, marginalised role in informal trading in Cusco. They tend to work in less serviced locations such as partly-covered markets and sell fruits, vegetables and other perishable goods, with little involvement in the sale of higher order goods such as electrical items. Their marginal involvement is possibly attributable to their lack of access to finance, however it is also important to note that the observational method is reliant on the researcher identifying indigenous traders predominantly by their clothing. This may have resulted in a slightly lower representation of indigenous traders if their clothing was not traditional. Whilst informal trading remains numerically dominated by women, male involvement reflects the strong gender division within Andean society. For instance, female traders seem to be marginalised into handling less profitable goods such as perishables, in less serviced locations like partly-covered markets. Male traders however, are more likely to sell higher order goods than perishable goods and frequently work in private covered markets. The higher standing of male traders is partly explainable by the fact that they are more likely to have access to capital to invest in stalls and goods.

Young adults occupy the majority (65%) of trading units in central Cusco and sell a wide variety of different goods. Older adults are mostly found in public partly-covered markets and on the streets, predominantly selling perishables, textiles and clothing. Children play a varied role in informal trading and occupy 13% of all trading units. They tend to sell goods with a lower return, in less serviced locations. However, observational surveys reveal that 'children' cannot be considered as one homogenous group of traders because children of different ages play significantly different roles within trading. Children younger than 12 years old most frequently work in public partly-covered markets, selling perishable goods. These markets are usually safe and there are always adults within close proximity. Older children (12-17 years) are more independent and therefore often work in alternative locations such as the street, as well as in public covered and partly-covered markets. For instance, 30% of children aged 12-17 years work as ambulant traders and are more likely to sell tourist goods. Having identified the particularly prominent role that children play in ambulant trading in central Cusco, the following chapter develops a more detailed analysis of the role children play in this specific trading niche.

-Chapter 6-

CHILD AMBULANT TRADERS

The previous chapter established that children play a more significant role in ambulant trading than in any other informal trading location. Relatively little is known about children's involvement in ambulant trading, although literature on street children does provide an insight into many of the commonalities between the work of child ambulant traders and children who work on the street in other occupations (Beazley 1998, 2000, 2002, Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Green 1998, Liebel 2004, Myers 1989, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Salazar 1998, Young 2003). For instance, Young (2003) provides an insight into the spatio-temporality of children's street lives in Kampala, often attributing variations to the ever changing levels of danger that children face. Furthermore, Beazley (2002) describes how Indonesian street children are considered to be out of place on the streets and she discusses how these societal norms impact upon children's street presence. This chapter will explore the characteristics of child ambulant traders in Cusco, the specific types of goods they handle, as well as their spatial and temporal trading patterns.

Child ambulant trader characteristics

Questionnaire surveys were carried out with 100 child ambulant traders in central Cusco. The majority (80%) of questionnaire surveys were conducted on the Plaza de Armas, while 14% were conducted on other *plazas*, 4% in an NGO building and 2% on the street. A stratified sample of children was selected in order to ensure a variety of ages and a gender distribution that reflects the characteristics of all child ambulant traders observed. Approximately 32% of all children questioned are 6-11 years and 68% are 12-17 years. This is broadly comparable with the observed population, where 26%⁵⁵ of child ambulant traders were younger than 12 years and 74% were 12-17 years. The gender distribution of the child ambulant traders questioned also approximately reflects the gender balance of the observed population. In the stratified sample, 77% of child ambulant traders are male and 23% are female, whereas in the observed population 68% are male and 32% are female. Previous studies of child workers reiterate the finding that more boys work than girls (Nieuwenhuys 1996, Salazar 1998), particularly in ambulant trading (Boyden 1991).

⁵⁵ Of all the observed child ambulant traders younger than 12 years, 12% were aged younger than 6 years.

Invernizzi (2003) has commented that girls leave the streets at an earlier age than boys because their presence is deemed unacceptable by society. Hence, this may be one reason why a greater number of boys are found working on the street in Cusco.

Personal characteristics of child ambulant traders

Personal characteristics of the child ambulant traders were explored, including origin and ability to converse in a foreign language. Over half (58%) of the children questioned have urban origins, while as many as 42% of children have rural origins. This high representation of rural workers is not unusual in urban informal labour (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos 1997, Salazar 1998), especially in a city where rural-urban migration has been highlighted as an issue (Bravo & Monge 1983, Hardoy *et al* 1983). When asked about their origins the children were relatively quick in their response, highlighting the fact that most children are aware of the clear rural/urban distinction. Informal discussions revealed that children from rural areas, which might be only an hour from central Cusco by bus, tend to travel to central Cusco daily and then return home.

The previous chapter established that ambulant traders predominantly handle convenience goods, other non-perishable goods (mostly newspapers, books, stationery and music) and tourist goods, all of which are sold to tourists. The disproportionately high interaction between ambulant traders and tourists, when compared to traders in all other locations, prompted a question to the child ambulant traders regarding their ability to converse in a foreign language. Adopting a very basic classification system⁵⁶, the data in Table 45 can be compiled to show that 67% of child ambulant traders are able to converse in a foreign language, whereas 33% lack this ability.

⁵⁶ Children who are able to create their own sentences or know several sentences are classified as able to converse, while children who know only basic vocabulary or less are classified as unable to converse.

Table 45. The ability to converse in a foreign language of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Ability to speak a converse in a foreign language	Child traders	
	No.	%
Unable	13	13%
Knowledge of some basic vocabulary	20	20%
Knowledge of several sentences	57	57%
Able to create their own sentences	10	10%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires⁵⁷, Cusco, 2004/05

Home and family: the living situation of child ambulant traders

To develop a broader understanding of the living circumstances of child ambulant traders, questions were asked about where the children live, who they live with, and what the occupations are of those who they live with. Child ambulant traders live in districts that are spread widely across the department of Cusco. A high percentage of child ambulant trader respondents live in the district of Cusco (41%), 33% live in a different district within Cusco province and 26% live in a different province. Those children living in districts other than Cusco may have to walk a significant distance or use public transport in order to work in central Cusco. For example, a journey from the densely populated district of San Jeronimo would take at least one hour by bus and for those children who live in other provinces the journey to work in the city centre can take several hours.

The majority (58%) of child ambulant traders live with their parents and siblings, whereas a significant number of child ambulant traders (22%) live with siblings in single parent households (Table 46). The remaining 20% of children either live with other family members (8%), with their siblings⁵⁸ (8%) or alone (4%). As in Myers' (1989) study of urban working children in Latin America and Huggins & Rodrigues's (2004) study of street working children in Brazil, it appears that the vast majority of children live within some form of family unit, although there are a significant number of children living alone or without adult care (12%). Having established that the majority of children live with at least one parent, other family members, or with siblings, background knowledge would be

⁵⁷ Questionnaire surveys were carried out in mornings, afternoons and evenings on all days of the week, between October 2004 and January 2005.

⁵⁸ 'Siblings' refers to brothers or sisters below the age of 18 years. If the child stated that they lived with siblings 18 years old or over this was classified as 'other family members'.

improved by considering the occupations of these guardians and siblings. Table 47 shows the occupations of child ambulant traders' parents. One observation is that none of the children's parents are in occupations that require qualifications in further education. Many of the occupations are likely to be within the informal sector including: construction, services, agriculture and trading. The vast majority of children's parents work in poorly remunerated occupations, which may be one reason why children are involved in trading, supplementing the family income. Ali *et al* (2004) have also observed that the parents of street children are often in unskilled occupations or unemployed. There is a strong gender division in the types of work carried out by child traders' parents. Most (70%) child ambulant traders' mothers work as informal traders (Table 47), while the occupations of fathers vary but predominantly involve manual labour (construction and agriculture) or service provision⁵⁹ (67%). The majority of siblings living with child ambulant traders are also informal traders (63%). A significant percentage of siblings do not work and do not attend school, while others do not work and are students, and finally 12% work in occupations classified as 'other'.

Table 46. Living circumstances of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Living circumstances	Child traders	
	No.	%
Live with parents and siblings	58	58%
Live in single parent household with siblings	22	22%
Live with other family member	8	8%
Live with siblings only	8	8%
Live alone	4	4%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

⁵⁹ The term 'service provision' does not include 'informal trading' as it is beneficial to maintain 'informal trading' as a separate category for the purpose of this thesis.

Table 47. Parents' occupations of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco⁶⁰

Parent's occupation	Mother		Father	
	No. of child traders	% of child traders	No. of child traders	% of child traders
Informal trader	53	70%	9	15%
Construction	0	0%	22	36%
Service Industry	3	4%	12	18%
House wife/husband	11	14%	1	2%
Agriculture	5	7%	8	13%
Other	1	1%	8	13%
Unemployed	3	4%	2	3%
Total children	76	100%	62	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Types of goods handled by child ambulant traders

Whilst the stratified sample of child ambulant traders is approximately representative of the age and gender distribution of all child ambulant traders observed, the sample is not entirely representative of the observed types of goods handled by child ambulant traders. There is an over representation of children selling postcards (49%) which results in an under representation of children handling other types of goods such as, drinks, confectionery, tobacco and newspapers (19%). However, there is a relatively accurate sample of children who handle finger puppets (22%) and shine shoes (10%).

In order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of children's involvement in ambulant trading, with particular reference to the types of goods handled, this sub section will first describe where the goods are acquired and stored. Most (60%) child ambulant traders reported acquiring their goods from a number of different informal and formal trading locations (Table 48). For these children the act of purchasing goods is unplanned, with no preferred or regular supplier. However, 30% (Table 48) of child ambulant traders acquire goods from regular suppliers. There are three main shops that supply goods to child ambulant traders on a regular basis. Most child traders have heard of this 'trio of shops' and a significant percentage buy their goods there. The majority of children who buy goods in the 'trio of shops' purchase postcards. For the remaining 10% of children, at least some of their goods are produced by the child or by a family member. Interestingly the vast majority of these children are female (80%) and aged 12-17 years.

⁶⁰ The occupation of the child's family member was only recorded if the child stated that they lived with them, hence the total number of children who responded is less than 100 for mother's occupation and father's occupation. Child traders were only questioned about family members who lived with them because discussing the lives of family members with whom the child does not live may distress the child.

Table 48. Locations where goods are acquired by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Locations where goods are acquired	Child traders	
	No.	%
Bought in location other than 'Trio of shops'	60	60%
Bought in 'Trio of shops'	30	30%
At least some of the goods are produced by children or their family	10	10%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

All children are required to find a suitable location to store at least a small number of goods or in the case of shoe shiners, they must find somewhere to store their equipment. The overwhelming majority of child ambulant traders store their goods at home (89%), 9% use a rented property and only 2% use the street or a friend's house. This pattern probably reflects the fact that most of the goods being handled are small and can be easily transported. For ambulant traders who adopt a more permanent location, selling a larger quantity of goods, or larger goods, there is a greater need for overnight storage. For example, on numerous occasions adult ambulant traders were observed moving their carts from the courtyard of a city centre house. Child ambulant traders have a tendency to be involved in smaller operations which limits the need for overnight storage.

The previous chapter explored the *classes* of goods being handled by child ambulant traders of different age and gender. The purpose of this sub section is to reflect more specifically on the *types* of goods handled by child ambulant traders, according to their age, gender, origin and ability to converse in a foreign language.

Variations in types of goods handled by child ambulant traders according to age

Table 49 indicates a distinct and statistically significant ($p = <0.01$) variation in the types of goods handled by child ambulant traders according to age. Younger children (6-11 years) mostly handle finger puppets (47%), or types of goods classified as 'other'⁶¹ (31%), whilst 22% also handle postcards. The majority of older children (12-17 years) handle postcards

⁶¹ Types of goods classified as 'other' include: confectionery, tobacco, artisanry other than finger puppets, books and CDs.

(62%), while 15% shine shoes (15%), 13% handle goods classified as 'other' and 10% handle finger puppets.

Table 49. Age groups of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco

Type of goods handled	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards	7	22%	42	62%
Finger puppets	15	47%	7	10%
Shoeshiner	0	0%	10	15%
Other	10	31%	9	13%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.001 (99.9%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

One of the key differences between younger and older children, in terms of the types of goods which they handle, is that shoe shining is an activity of older children. Shoe shining appears to be a more high status occupation than trading in lower order goods. Hence, younger children are less likely to have the status which enables them to choose to shine shoes. Furthermore, shoe shining is a particularly physical task which involves carrying equipment and actually shining consumers' shoes. It is likely that older children can carry out this task more effectively than younger children. Myers (1989) suggests that child workers drift from less stable occupations to more stable occupations as they get older. Shoe shining is regarded as a more stable occupation than other forms of ambulant trading, hence a greater percentage of older children work in this activity. Salazar (1998) also concludes that as the child gets older they have a tendency to do more physically demanding work. This was echoed by the children in follow-up interviews where the following statements were made:

Child 20 Older children clean shoes because it is more difficult.
(Child ambulant trader interview 20: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 7 There is more possibility for older children to clean shoes. Little children can't.
(Child ambulant trader interview 7: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

A second major difference is that a far greater percentage of older children handle postcards, whilst a higher percentage of younger children handle finger puppets. Children

were asked why this variation might exist during detailed follow-up interviews. A number of different reasons were suggested, all of which implied varying degrees of agency on behalf of younger and older children. Four child ambulant traders stated that older children handle postcards because they need more money (Child ambulant trader interviews 2, 4, 11 and 12). This suggests that older children are able to exercise choice when deciding what goods to sell and it also implies that postcards are handled because they provide a greater return. The findings of Salazar (1998) reiterate that older children earn more money. The following quotation from an interview with a child ambulant trader succinctly summarises this opinion. It also illustrates the anticipated price of a finger puppet which is one third of the price of a postcard:

Child 8 Older children sell postcards because they sell for more. Puppets sell for 50 *centimos* (15 cents) and postcards sell for 1.50 *soles* (45 cents).
(Child ambulant trader interview 8: girl, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Another interviewee also highlighted the level of agency in older children's choices of goods, stating that they are more intelligent and have a greater ability to speak English, which means that they are more capable of selling postcards to tourists:

Child 23 Older children are more intelligent and know English. This means they sell postcards. It is simple.
(Child ambulant trader interview 23: boy, 16 years old, postcard seller)

In the above quotation the child makes the assumption that higher foreign language capability results in the child handling postcards rather than finger puppets. He also implies that selling postcards is preferred to selling finger puppets because a child with the ability to speak English is able to choose what goods they sell. In turn this implies that without any knowledge of a foreign language the child is likely to sell goods other than postcards, such as finger puppets. On the other hand, several children believe that older children do not choose to sell postcards because of higher economic return, instead they suggest that older children might choose to sell finger puppets but due to their embarrassment they cannot:

Child 16 Older children are scared to sell finger puppets.
(Child ambulant trader interview 16: boy, 15 years old, tobacco seller)

Child 27 Older children are embarrassed to sell finger puppets.
(Child ambulant trader interview 27: boy, 13 years old, postcard seller)

Child 28 They're (older children) embarrassed!
(Child ambulant trader interview 28: boy, 11 years old, postcard seller)

A number of child ambulant traders commented that younger children are not marginalised into selling finger puppets, as many of the earlier statements would suggest, instead they prefer to sell these goods. Some children stated that tourists will only buy finger puppets from younger children and not from older children. Equally, Young (2003) found that as children mature, their income generating activities change as they no longer secure adult sympathy (Hecht 1998). Hence, older children are actually excluded to a certain degree from selling finger puppets:

Child 18 Puppets are bought more from little children.
(Child ambulant trader interview 18: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

Child 30 They (tourists) will buy puppets from the little children but not from older children.
(Child ambulant trader interview 30: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

In addition to the argument that younger children choose to sell finger puppets, one child commented that younger children handle finger puppets because it is far easier for them to escape from municipal police officers whilst carrying puppets than it is with postcards. Carrying postcards involves holding a small box which is not as easily hidden as a collection of finger puppets:

Child 25 Puppets are better for little children because it's easier for them to escape.
(Child ambulant trader interview 25: boy, 16 years old, Shoeshiner)

There is a wide spectrum of opinions regarding the levels of agency in younger and older children's abilities to choose what goods they handle. Little or no argument exists over the notion that shoe shining is an occupation of older children but there are contrasting

opinions on why older children tend to handle postcards and younger children handle finger puppets. Many child ambulant traders believe that older children choose to sell postcards for economic reasons, earning a higher return and marginalising younger traders (NGO Group 2002). Other children disagree and suggest that older children are excluded from selling finger puppets. Many child ambulant traders believe that younger children make a conscious decision to sell finger puppets, based on the notion that older children cannot compete with them for customers. It is foreseeable that for those children who trade for many years of their childhood, there is a natural movement from selling finger puppets as a younger child to selling postcards, or shining shoes as an older child. Presumably this movement takes place at the time of puberty when the child is no longer 'young' or 'cute' and consumers are less sympathetic towards them. In general terms, older children trade more profitable goods. The division of labour amongst child ambulant traders in Cusco echoes Beazley's (1998) observation that street children create their own subcultures.

Variations in types of goods handled by child ambulant traders according to gender

There is a clear division of labour between male and female child ambulant traders relating to the types of goods that they handle (Table 50). Male child ambulant traders predominantly handle postcards (64%), although significant percentages also handle types of goods classified as 'other' (15%) and shine shoes (12%). The remaining 9% of male child ambulant traders handle finger puppets. In contrast, female child ambulant traders handle finger puppets (69%) and types of goods classified as 'other' (31%). Most notably, none of the girls questioned shined shoes or handled postcards.

Table 50. Gender of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco

Type of goods handled	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards	49	64%	0	0%
Finger puppets	7	9%	16	69%
Shoeshiner	9	12%	0	0%
Other	12	15%	7	31%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In an attempt to explain the division of labour between male and female child ambulant traders, it was explored further with thirty child ambulant traders in detailed follow-up interviews. The children put forward numerous reasons, which again imply varying levels of agency in the children's ability to choose the types of goods that they handle. When asked why more boys sell postcards and girls sell finger puppets, approximately seven interviewees stated that all child ambulant traders, irrespective of gender, are able to choose which goods they handle and no external influencing factors play a role in this decision. A selection of the comments is given below:

- PM** *Why do more boys sell postcards and girls sell puppets?*
- Child 16** Because they like to... no other reason.
(Child ambulant trader interview 16: boy, 15 years old, tobacco seller)
- Child 17** They (girls) like selling finger puppets and boys want to sell postcards.
(Child ambulant trader interview 17: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)
- Child 24** Boys like to sell postcards and girls like to sell puppets.
(Child ambulant trader interview 24: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)
- Child 27** Boys like postcards, girls like puppets.
(Child ambulant trader interview 27: boy, 13 years old, postcard seller)
- Child 12** Girls don't like to sell postcards.
(Child ambulant trader interview 12: boy, 10 years old, finger puppet seller)

Many child ambulant traders suggest that boys have a greater ability to choose what goods they handle. This is a finding echoed in the research of Boyden (1991: 122) who states that "boys normally have more avenues open to them." When asked why boys tend to handle postcards and girls handle finger puppets three children believe that it is because selling postcards generally earns a higher return or because when boys handle postcards they earn more than if they handle finger puppets or other goods. This mirrors comments made by a number of the respondents with regards to explaining variations in the types of goods handled according to age:

PM *Why do more boys sell postcards and girls sell puppets?*

Child 22 Selling postcards earns more.
(Child ambulant trader interview 22: boy, 15 years old, shoeshiner)

Child 30 Postcards earn more!
(Child ambulant trader interview 30: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 8 They (boys) sell more than when they sell other things so they sell postcards.
(Child ambulant trader interview 8: girl, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Further comments were made by the child ambulant trader interviewees stating that boys choose to handle postcards, in this instance it is because girls are less able to converse in a foreign language. Again, as in the discussion regarding variations according to age, handling postcards appears to be associated with the child's ability to converse in a foreign language:

PM *Why do more boys sell postcards and girls sell puppets?*

Child 2 Because girls don't speak much English.
(Child ambulant trader interview 2: boy, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Shining shoes appears to hold a relatively high status and is a highly gendered occupation. Shoe shining is a niche which girls do not appear to occupy at all. Distinct gender roles are also visible in the trading of finger puppets. Some child ambulant traders think that boys are not as free to choose to sell such goods because they are too embarrassed to handle finger puppets. This echoes Invernizzi's (2003) suggestion that boys look to occupy more masculine roles, hence they will not sell finger puppets but they will shine shoes.

PM *Why do more boys sell postcards and girls sell puppets?*

Child 21 They (boys) are embarrassed to sell them
(Child ambulant trader interview 21: boy, 12 years old, shoeshiner)

Child 28 They're embarrassed
(Child ambulant trader interview 28: boy, 11 years old, postcard seller)

Interestingly, none of the children suggested that girls could sell postcards if they wanted to. It appears to be accepted that boys and girls specialise in handling particular types of goods and there are several reasons for this. The first is that boys dominate ambulant trading and therefore handle postcards and shine shoes, earning the highest returns in the higher status occupations. Secondly, selling postcards requires a grasp of a foreign language, which appears to be more likely in boys. Finally, boys prefer to take up masculine roles and are too embarrassed to sell finger puppets, so girls dominate this niche. There seems to be a hierarchy of goods and a hierarchy amongst the children. Finger puppets are valued less by child ambulant traders, whilst postcards and shoe shining have greater prestige. By looking at who handles these goods it is clear that age and gender also sit within a hierarchy, where older male child ambulant traders have the greatest earning ability. These findings contrast those of Aptekar (1988) who determined that younger children have the highest potential earning abilities due to the fact that consumers perceived them to be 'cute' and less likely to be committing a delinquent act. However, the findings in Cusco are supported by the many studies which conclude that children form subcultures and behave differently according to characteristics such as age and gender (Beazley 2002, Nieuwenhuys 2003, NGO Group 2002, West 2003).

Variations in types of goods handled by child ambulant traders according to origin

There is no statistically significant association between the origin of a child and the goods that they handle. However, Table 51 illustrates a slight variation in that a higher percentage of urban children tend to handle postcards.

Table 51. Origins of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco

Type of goods handled	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards	18	43%	31	53%
Finger puppets	10	24%	12	21%
Shoeshiner	5	12%	5	9%
Other	9	21%	10	17%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

De la Cadena (1995) comments that indigenous traders in general are less capable of selling the more expensive goods. In the context of the goods that child ambulant traders sell, one

of the most expensive types of goods is postcards so a smaller percentage of rural children, many of whom might be considered indigenous, sell these goods. The slight variation in types of goods handled was pursued further during detailed follow-up interviews. The explanation suggested by many of the children reiterates reasoning put forward to explain patterns associated with age and gender. Nearly half of all the child ambulant traders interviewed insist that children of rural origin are not as well educated as those of urban origin and their ability to converse in a foreign language is therefore less than children from urban areas. Salazar (1998) also established that the rural poor tend to receive fewer hours of formal education. The inability of many rural children to speak a foreign language is reflected in the types of goods which they are able to sell:

PM *Why do more children of urban origin sell postcards than children of rural origin?*

Child 4 In the country they don't know English, they know Quechua.
(Child ambulant trader interview 4: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 7 Because those from the city speak more English.
(Child ambulant trader interview 7: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 9 They can speak more English.
(Child ambulant trader interview 9: girl, 9 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 24 They know how to speak more English.
(Child ambulant trader interview 24: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Variations in types of goods handled by child ambulant traders according to ability to converse in a foreign language

Children appear to believe that there is an association between foreign language ability and selling postcards. The idea that a child's ability to converse in a foreign language might be associated with the types of goods they handle is explored in Table 52. There are clear and statistically significant ($p = <0.01$) differences in the types of goods handled by child ambulant traders who are able to converse in a foreign language and those who are unable to. Approximately 66% of children who are able to converse in a foreign language handle postcards, 21% handle finger puppets, while the remaining children handle types of goods classified as 'other' (9%) or shine shoes (4%). In contrast children who are unable to

converse in a foreign language mostly handle types of goods classified as 'other' (40%), as well as finger puppets (24%), shoe shining (21%) and a minority handle postcards (15%).

Table 52. Foreign language knowledge of child ambulant traders handling different types of goods in central Cusco

Type of goods handled	Ability of a child to converse in a foreign language			
	Unable		Able	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards	5	15%	44	66%
Finger puppets	8	24%	14	21%
Shoeshiner	7	21%	3	4%
Other	13	40%	6	9%
Total children	33	100%	67	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.001 (99.9%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The questionnaire findings are mirrored in the thoughts of the child ambulant trader interviewees:

Child 1 Yes. If you speak more English you are more likely to sell postcards.
(Child ambulant trader interview 1: boy, 13 years old, cigarette seller)

Child 2 Yes. If you speak more English you are more likely to sell postcards and puppets.
Those who don't speak English don't sell much. Because you sell to tourists.
(Child ambulant trader interview 2: boy, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 8 If you can speak English you sell more goods to tourists.
(Child ambulant trader interview 8: girl, 8 years old, finger puppet seller)

The strong association between foreign language ability and handling tourist goods such as postcards and finger puppets is logical. It makes sense for a child who is able to converse in a foreign language to use that skill to their advantage to help them sell to tourists. However, there is a question whether the ability to speak a foreign language predates the decision to sell tourist goods such as postcards, or whether selling postcards to tourists leads to the ability to speak a foreign language. Child ambulant traders were asked where they learn the foreign language which helps them to sell. In total, 17 of the 30 children interviewed learn English as a foreign language on the street while selling to tourists. Far fewer children (9) learn the bulk of their English in school, or from friends, before

attempting to sell to tourists. This suggests that children decide to sell particular goods before learning a foreign language and as a result of working with tourists many children learn foreign languages.

Spatial trading patterns of child ambulant traders

The following section explores children's interactions with the street, establishing children's preferred trading locations and their reasons for such preferences. It investigates variations by age, gender and origin of the child and also looks more specifically at their particular use of sites on the Plaza de Armas as trading locations. The section predominantly draws upon geographical literature, which explains many of the gender, age and origin specific differences in locational preferences (Beazley 1998, 2000, 2002, Matthews 1980, 1992, Young 2003).

Understanding the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders according to age

In questionnaire surveys, 100 child ambulant traders were asked to state their preferred trading locations. The vast majority (75%) of all child ambulant traders prefer to trade on the Plaza de Armas, 15% prefer to trade on other *plazas* or streets, whilst only 10% prefer other trading locations or have no preference. In general there are few differences in the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders of different ages. However, Table 53 indicates that 85% of younger child ambulant traders prefer trading on the Plaza de Armas, compared to 75% of older child ambulant traders. In addition, 15% of older children prefer to trade on other *plazas* and streets, whereas only 6% of younger children prefer this location. Beazley (1998) found that older street children in Indonesia display a much broader conception of place than younger street children and there are clearly similarities in Cusco, where older children seem to be more aware of alternative trading locations. Table 54 summarises the reasons why child ambulant traders of different ages prefer particular trading locations. The results suggest that child ambulant traders' reasons for preferring particular locations do not vary significantly according to age. Nonetheless, a slightly higher percentage of older child ambulant traders prefer particular trading locations because there are fewer police. This correlates with the findings in Table 53, which show that a higher percentage of older children prefer to work on other *plazas* and streets, where there are always fewer police. Field observations suggest that the municipal police officers have

a tendency to be more aggressive towards older children (Fieldwork diary, 18/11/04), so it is more likely that older children will have greater fear of the municipal police.

Table 53. Age groups of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco

Preferred trading location	Age of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Plaza de Armas	27	85%	48	75%
Other Plaza / Street	2	6%	13	15%
Other location / No preference	3	9%	7	10%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 54. Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco

Reason for preferring a particular trading location	Age of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	15	47%	29	43%
Greater sales	8	25%	17	25%
Appearance of the area	1	3%	5	7%
Fewer police	1	3%	7	10%
Other	2	6%	4	6%
No reason given	5	16%	6	9%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Understanding the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders according to gender

There seem to be differences between the preferred trading locations of male and female child ambulant traders (Table 55). Approximately 78% of male child ambulant traders prefer the Plaza de Armas as a trading location but the figure is lower, at 65% for females. Most other male child ambulant traders (18%) prefer to trade on other *plazas* and streets, while the majority of other female child ambulant traders (31%) prefer to trade in locations classified as 'other' or they have no preference. Table 56 shows the stated reasons why male and female child ambulant traders prefer particular trading locations. There is little difference in their reasoning, although a higher percentage of female traders prefer sites because there are more tourists, whereas a higher percentage of male child ambulant traders choose sites where there are perceived greater sales. It is possible that the Plaza de Armas

is a gendered, male space, hence a significant number of female child ambulant traders prefer 'other' trading locations because there they are able to trade away from the male dominated market place. Weismantel (2001) also suggests that spaces such as the Latin American *plaza* are male gendered spaces. In addition, Beazley (1998, 2002) concludes that the street is a "masculine space," which results in "street girls" occupying different areas to "street boys."

Table 55. Gender of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco

Preferred trading location	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Plaza de Armas	60	78%	15	65%
Other Plaza / Street	14	18%	1	4%
Other location / No preference	3	4%	7	31%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 56. Reasons why male and female child ambulant traders prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco

Reason for preferring a particular trading location	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	31	40%	13	57%
Greater sales	22	29%	3	13%
Appearance of the area	5	7%	1	4%
Fewer police	7	9%	1	4%
Other	4	5%	2	9%
No reason given	8	10%	3	13%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Understanding the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders according to origin

Table 57 shows that there is almost no difference in the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders according to origin. There are however, small differences in the reasons for preferring these locations (Table 58). A higher percentage of child ambulant traders of rural origin prefer particular trading locations because there are a greater number of tourists. Children of urban origin seem to have more diverse reasons including: fewer police and the appearance of the area. Children of rural origin perhaps have a simpler approach to ambulant trading where high tourist numbers is of prime importance and all

other factors are negligible. By contrast, the more 'street wise' children of urban origin may be more aware of difficulties such as avoiding municipal police officers. De la Cadena (1995) has commented elsewhere that the indigenous population are perhaps less equipped to sell in urban areas.

Table 57. Origins of child ambulant traders preferring different trading locations in central Cusco

Preferred trading location	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Plaza de Armas	31	74%	44	76%
Other Plaza / Street	7	17%	8	14%
Other location / No preference	4	9%	6	10%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 58. Reasons why child ambulant traders of different origin prefer particular trading locations in central Cusco

Reason for preferring a particular trading location	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	22	53%	22	37%
Greater sales	11	26%	14	24%
Appearance of the area	1	2%	5	9%
Fewer police	1	2%	7	12%
Other	1	2%	5	9%
No reason given	6	15%	5	9%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The Plaza de Armas: micro-spatial trading patterns

The vast majority of child ambulant traders prefer to trade on the Plaza de Armas, irrespective of age, gender and origin. Therefore, as part of the detailed interview process, child ambulant traders were asked to map the specific locations on the Plaza de Armas where they like and dislike trading. The children were then asked to explain their preferences. A stratified sample of 30 child ambulant traders was selected to complete the interviews. The sample population consists of a slightly higher percentage of older, male child traders but it is approximately comparable to the observed population.

The child ambulant traders were asked to indicate, on a sketch map of the Plaza de Armas, where they like and dislike trading. Map 8 illustrates the different areas that the children

referred to. There are six sites where the majority of children stated that they like trading, whereas there are only two sites where the majority of children dislike trading. At the remaining three sites, children are either indifferent or fewer than 50% of interviewees stated that they like or dislike the site. The six most popular sites are preferred mostly because they offer income generating possibilities, due to high tourist numbers and greater sales opportunities. Young (2003) in her research in Kampala also highlights the importance of sites where income can be earned. The sites most important to children have been described by Beazley (1998) and Matthews (1980, 1992) as the children's "mean centres of gravity." Table 59 illustrates that 86% of children stated that they like to trade on the centre of the Plaza de Armas. Approximately 90% of the children, who like to trade on the centre of the Plaza de Armas, do so because there are high numbers of tourists (Table 60). For no other location on the Plaza de Armas do an equally high percentage of child ambulant traders state 'high tourist numbers' as the reason for liking a particular location. The centre of the Plaza de Armas is a comfortable location for tourists, where there is seating provision and pleasant scenery. The tourists are far easier to sell to when they are sat on a bench on the centre of the Plaza de Armas than when they are walking along a busy street.

Table 59 shows that 80% of child ambulant traders like to trade near the cathedral. The vast majority (79% - Table 60) explained that they prefer this location because there are high tourist numbers. It is certainly true that a lot of tourists gather outside the cathedral, either before entering on a tour, or having just visited the cathedral. A number of child ambulant traders more specifically stated that tourists leaving the cathedral often want to buy a postcard of the cathedral. The children therefore meet the tourist demand.

The next most popular location with child ambulant traders is the entrance to the supermarket. 73% of child ambulant traders like to trade there (Table 59), mostly because there are high tourist numbers (70% - Table 60), but also to a lesser extent because there are few police (10% - Table 60). The supermarket seems to be predominantly frequented by tourists, who, according to several child ambulant traders, often invite the children in to buy them sweets or similar items. No more than 60% (Table 59) of child ambulant traders like to sell at the entrances to the streets named Plateros, Triunfo and Procuradores. Attitudes towards these three streets seem approximately equal. The children who like trading at the

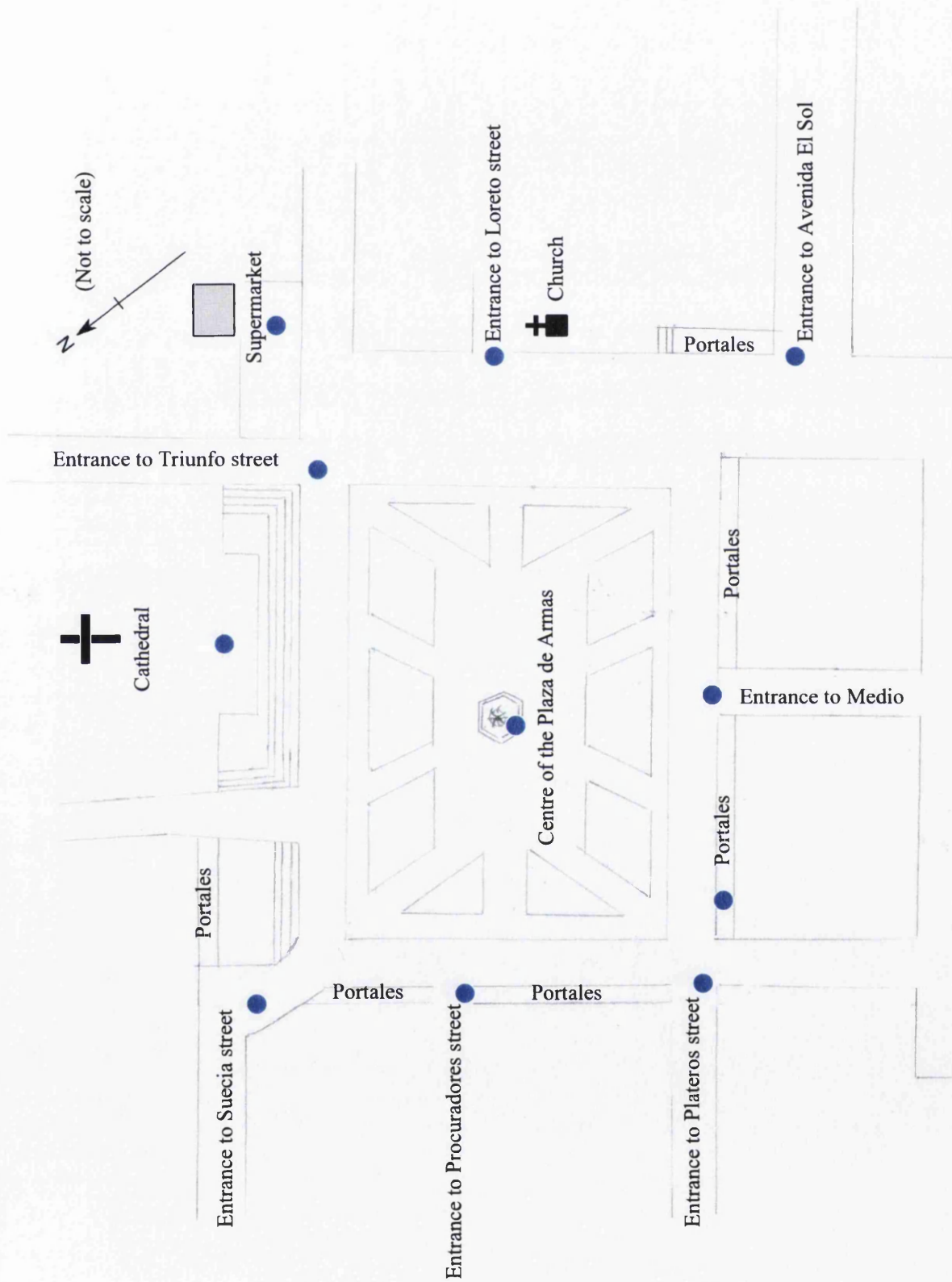
entrances to these streets do so mostly because there are high tourist numbers but there are various other reasons including, high sales frequency and fewer police (Table 60). Children more specifically state that tourists often pass the entrance to Triunfo street as they descend from Plaza San Blas. Equally, tourists use Procuradores and Plateros streets for the abundance of restaurants, following which they buy from the children.

Child ambulant traders seem to be unsure about three trading sites. It appears that the entrance to Avenida El Sol is a relatively popular location, with 50% of children stating that they like trading there (Table 59), mostly because of high tourist numbers and high sales frequency (Table 60). However, the significant percentage of children who dislike trading there (43% - Table 59) believe that there are few tourists (69% - Table 61) or there is a high police presence (23% - Table 61). This confusion may be due to the fact that tourist flows on Avenida El Sol fluctuate at different times of the day, making it an unreliable but sometimes lucrative trading location. Young (2003), in reference to the work of Le Roux and Smith (1998a, 1998b), also found that mobility and locational preferences of street children are based on the temporality of the street as the city changes from productive to barren at different times of the day.

Approximately 46% (Table 59) of children like trading at the entrance to Medio street, although most children (64% - Table 60) gave no reason for liking this site. Those who dislike the site blame low tourist numbers and a high police presence (Table 61). Medio street leads to the much smaller Plaza Recocijo, where there are some tourist facilities but far fewer than on the Plaza de Armas. It is understandable therefore that some tourists will use this street and therefore attract a number of child ambulant traders. Most children were indifferent to trading under the *portales* on the Plaza de Armas (67% - Table 59). Some children who like trading under the *portales* commented that they offer protection when it rains. Children are often involved in forestalling in front of the formal retail outlets located under the *portales*, which is a potential attraction to trading there. However, police presence is normally heightened under the *portales* so a feeling of indifference and uncertainty is to be expected. It is commonplace for ambulant traders to forestall formal outlets, although little has been written about the specific tendency of child ambulant traders to be involved in the activity (Bromley 1978b, Dasgupta 1992, Hays Mitchell 1994).

Nearly 73% of child ambulant traders dislike trading at the entrance to Suecia street, making it the second least popular trading location on the Plaza de Armas. The overwhelming majority of children (82% - Table 61) dislike the location because there are few tourists. The street leads to a large number of restaurants, hostels and travel agencies which would imply that tourists might use the street regularly. However, Procuradores street runs parallel to Suecia and is a far more popular route to these tourist facilities. Approximately 77% (Table 59) of child ambulant traders dislike trading at the entrance to Loreto street, which makes it the least desirable trading location on the Plaza de Armas. Children went on to explain that they dislike the location predominantly because there are few tourists there (78% - Table 61) but also because there is a high police presence (22% - Table 61). The street does not lead to any specific tourist sites or attractions, hence few tourists frequent the street. In addition, the street leads directly to the headquarters of the municipal police force, which means that police officers regularly pass the entrance to the street, which deters children from trading. Young (2003) explains that street children in Kampala also avoid specific areas of the city because they are less productive, or because they are well controlled, often near police stations.

Map 8. Trading locations on the Plaza de Armas identified by child ambulants traders



Source: Fieldwork, Cusco, 2004

Table 59. Attitudes of child ambulant trader interviewees⁶² towards trading at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas, Cusco

Specific trading location on the Plaza de Armas	Child traders	Attitudes of child traders towards trading at specific sites			Total child traders
		Like	Dislike	Indifferent	
Centre of the Plaza de Armas	No.	26	2	2	30
	%	86%	7%	7%	100%
Outside cathedral	No.	24	6	0	30
	%	80%	20%	0%	100%
Entrance to supermarket	No.	22	5	3	30
	%	73%	17%	10%	100%
Entrance to Plateros street	No.	18	11	1	30
	%	60%	37%	3%	100%
Entrance to Triunfo street	No.	17	10	3	30
	%	57%	33%	10%	100%
Entrance to Procuradores street	No.	16	13	1	30
	%	53%	43%	3%	100%
Entrance to Avenida El Sol	No.	15	13	2	30
	%	50%	43%	7%	100%
Entrance to Medio street	No.	14	11	5	30
	%	46%	37%	17%	100%
Portales	No.	10	0	20	30
	%	33%	0%	67%	100%
Entrance to Suecia street	No.	8	22	0	30
	%	27%	73%	0%	100%
Entrance to Loreto street	No.	3	23	4	30
	%	10%	77%	13%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader interviews, Cusco, 2005

⁶² All interviews were carried out on the Plaza de Armas on mornings, afternoons and evenings of all days of the week, in January 2005

Table 60. Stated reasons why child ambulant trader interviewees like to trade at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas

Specific trading location on the Plaza de Armas	Child traders	Stated reason for liking specific trading sites					Total child traders
		High tourist numbers	High sales frequency	Few police	Other reason	No reason	
Centre of the Plaza de Armas	No.	23	3	0	0	0	26
	%	89%	11%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Outside cathedral	No.	19	1	0	2	2	24
	%	79%	5%	0%	8%	8%	100%
Entrance to supermarket	No.	15	1	2	1	2	21
	%	70%	5%	10%	5%	10%	100%
Entrance to Plateros street	No.	11	2	1	0	4	18
	%	61%	11%	6%	0%	22%	100%
Entrance to Triunfo street	No.	13	2	2	0	0	17
	%	76%	12%	12%	0%	0%	100%
Entrance to Procuradores street	No.	11	1	1	0	3	16
	%	69%	6%	6%	0%	19%	100%
Entrance to Avenida El Sol	No.	10	4	1	0	0	15
	%	67%	26%	7%	0%	0%	100%
Entrance to Medio street	No.	3	1	1	0	9	14
	%	22%	7%	7%	0%	64%	100%
Portales	No.	6	0	0	1	3	10
	%	60%	0%	0%	10%	30%	100%
Entrance to Suecia street	No.	3	1	0	0	4	8
	%	38%	12%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Entrance to Loreto street	No.	2	0	0	0	1	3
	%	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader interviews, Cusco, 2005

Table 61. Stated reasons why child ambulant trader interviewees dislike trading at specific sites on the Plaza de Armas

Specific trading location on the Plaza de Armas	Child traders	Stated reason for disliking specific trading sites						Total child traders
		Low tourist numbers	Low sales frequency	High police presence	Wrong type of tourist	Too much competition	No reason	
Centre of the Plaza de Armas	No.	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Outside cathedral	No.	0	1	5	0	0	0	6
	%	0%	17%	83%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Entrance to supermarket	No.	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
	%	0%	40%	0%	0%	0%	60%	100%
Entrance to Plateros street	No.	8	0	1	0	0	2	11
	%	73%	0%	9%	0%	0%	18%	100%
Entrance to Triunfo street	No.	6	0	3	0	0	1	10
	%	60%	0%	30%	0%	0%	10%	100%
Entrance to Procuradores street	No.	4	1	1	5	1	1	13
	%	30%	8%	8%	38%	8%	8%	100%
Entrance to Avenida El Sol	No.	9	0	3	0	0	1	13
	%	69%	0%	23%	0%	0%	8%	100%
Entrance to Medio street	No.	7	1	2	0	0	1	11
	%	64%	9%	18%	0%	0%	9%	100%
Portales	No.	<i>No child ambulant traders dislike trading under the portales</i>						
	%							
Entrance to Suecia street	No.	18	0	1	0	0	3	22
	%	82%	0%	5%	0%	0%	13%	100%
Entrance to Loreto street	No.	18	0	5	0	0	0	23
	%	78%	0%	22%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader interviews, Cusco, 2005

Temporal trading patterns of child ambulant traders

This section will explore the temporal trading patterns of child ambulant traders. It discusses the findings of 100 questionnaire surveys conducted with children in ambulant trading. Key studies of street working children, such as Alarcon's (1986) in Lima are used to help explain many of the findings. This section of Chapter Six continues to discuss children's activities according to their age, gender and origin where relevant. With regards to different time scales, child ambulant traders were asked to comment on their working hours, days and months.

Early morning until late at night: the working hours of child ambulant traders

This sub section will first provide a general description of the working hours of child ambulant traders, taking into account their initial start time, final finishing time, total hours worked and the preferred working hours. It will then describe variations in the working hours according to age, gender and origin. Importantly, children were asked to indicate the hour when they initially started to work because it is possible that some children will have two start times in one day. For example, they might begin working at 10am, stop to attend school and then start again in the evening. This is equally applicable to children's finishing times. It appears that children initially start working in two main 'shifts': 40% of child ambulant traders start work early in the morning (before 10am), while 30% start in the afternoon (between 12:00 and 17:59). The remaining 30% of child ambulant traders start work late in the morning (between 10:00 and 11:59) or in the evening/night-time (18:00+). Not surprisingly, there also appear to be two main 'shifts' when children finally finish working: 48% finish at night-time (20:00+) and 23% finish late in the afternoon (between 14:00 and 17:59). With regards to the total number of hours that children work, they were instructed to count only those hours when they were actually working. Therefore, any child who had two start and finish times would not incorporate the intermediate period. The findings show that in a day, 48% of children work 1-5 hours in total, 36% work 6-10 hours and 16% work 11-16 hours. This differs to the situation in Pakistan according to the findings of Ali *et al* (2004) who concluded that most street working children there work between 8 and 12 hours a day. However, the findings do generally mirror Salazar's (1998) observation that children work long hours.

After establishing the actual working hours of child ambulant traders, they were asked about their preferred trading hours and their reasons for any preferences. Most children prefer to work in the morning (32%) or in the afternoon (32%), whilst a smaller number prefer to work all day (17%) or in the evening/night-time (15%). Only a small minority (4%) have no preferred trading hours. Many children who prefer to work either in the morning or afternoon do so because they have school related commitments at other times. This finding reflects the fact that the Peruvian education system only allows children to attend school either in the morning or in the afternoon (the *turno* system). A high percentage (47%) of children who prefer to work in the evening/night-time state that this is because there are a greater number of tourists. In the evening/night-time central Cusco is a

tourist honey pot because it hosts numerous restaurants, bars and night clubs. However, it has already been mentioned that at night, tourists are perhaps more reluctant to gather on the main *plaza* so those who trade at this time are more likely to wait outside restaurants and bars.

Working hours of child ambulant traders according to age

This sub section will consider the variations in the working hours of younger (6-11 years) and older (12-17 years) children. Nearly half of all younger children start working in the afternoon, whereas an approximately equal percentage of older children start working early in the morning (Table 62). It has already been mentioned that many of the child ambulant traders start at particular times because they have school related commitments at other times. Therefore, it is no coincidence that most younger children attend school in the morning session and most older children attend school in the afternoon session. Table 63 shows that, although not statistically significant ($p = >0.2$), the large majority (63%) of younger children finish at night-time, which correlates with the finding that most do not start until the afternoon. There is no such distinct pattern when considering the finishing times of older children. Significant percentages of older children finish working at all times of the day, with the highest percentage finishing at night-time (41% - Table 63).

In general there is only small, and not statistically significant ($p = >0.4$), variation in the total hours worked by younger and older child ambulant traders. However, a higher percentage of older children work 1-5 hours (52%) when compared to the 41% of younger children who work 1-5 hours (Table 64). Approximately equal percentages of younger and older children work 6-10 hours but a higher percentage of younger children work 11-16 hours (Table 64). These findings differ to those of Salazar (1998) who established that children younger than 12 years in Latin America work less than children aged 15-17 years. The time which child ambulant traders have available to play will be discussed in greater detail later in the thesis but this may help to explain why a higher percentage of younger children work 11-16 hours. A significantly higher percentage of older children play for two hours or more a day, which is likely to impact on the time which they spend trading.

Table 62. Age groups of child traders starting work at different times of the day in central Cusco

Time of the day when child starts working	Age group of child			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Early morning (before 10am)	8	25%	32	47%
Late morning (10:00 – 11:59)	6	19%	9	13%
Afternoon (12:00 – 17:59)	14	44%	16	24%
Evening/Night-time (18:00*)	4	12%	11	16%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 63. Age groups of child traders finishing work at different times of the day in central Cusco

Time of day when child finishes working	Age group of child			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Morning/Early afternoon (before 14:00)	3	9%	14	21%
Late afternoon (14:00 – 17:59)	7	22%	16	23%
Evening (18:00 – 19:59)	2	6%	10	15%
Night-time (20:00*)	20	63%	28	41%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 64. Age groups of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco

Total hours worked in a day	Age group of child			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 – 5 hours	13	41%	35	52%
6 – 10 hours	12	37%	24	35%
11 – 16 hours	7	22%	9	13%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working hours of child ambulant traders according to gender

A large percentage of male child ambulant traders start working early in the morning, whereas girls tend to start in the afternoon. Most child ambulant traders, irrespective of gender, appear to finish trading at night-time. This pattern is unlikely to be a reflectance of the role of gender, instead it is probably associated with age. Most (65%) of the female child ambulant traders interviewed were 6-11 years, whereas most (78%) of the male interviewees were 12-17 years (a probable reflection of the tendency for boys to work on

the street throughout childhood, whereas girls tend to stop working on the street at an earlier age). However, there does appear to be a statistically significant ($p = <0.1$) association between gender and the total hours worked by child ambulant traders. Approximately 66% of female child ambulant traders work 1-5 hours, whereas male child ambulant traders tend to work longer hours (Table 65). Research findings (discussed in greater detail later in thesis) and the research of Salazar (1998) and Niewenhuys (1996) provide a possible explanation for this: female child ambulant traders are involved to a greater extent in domestic labour (cooking, washing dishes, or helping their parents) and therefore spend less time trading. An additional explanation is that many male child ambulant traders work fewer days each week, when compared to females. Boys seem to work fewer but longer days, whereas girls work shorter hours more often.

Table 65. Gender of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco

Total hours worked in a day	Gender of child			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 – 5 hours	33	43%	15	66%
6 – 10 hours	32	42%	4	17%
11 – 16 hours	12	15%	4	17%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.093 (90.7%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working hours of child ambulant traders according to origin

In general child ambulant traders of rural and urban origins work similar hours each day. However a slightly higher, but not statistically significant ($p = >0.6$), percentage of children with rural origins start working in the morning (Table 66), while a higher percentage of urban children start in the afternoon or evening/night-time. It may be that children from rural areas spend less time in school and therefore start trading in the morning and work all day before returning to their homes. It was established in the previous chapter that education in rural areas is less effective than in urban areas and it was also discussed in relation to findings from interviews with child traders. Table 67 shows that although not statistically significant ($p = >0.7$), a greater percentage of children from rural areas finish work late in the afternoon and a smaller percentage of rural children finish in the evening/night-time. This may be because children from rural areas have a much longer

journey time to return home. In support of the argument that rural children perhaps spend longer trading than urban children, to the detriment of their education, Table 68 indicates that rural children work longer hours. However, the finding is not statistically significant ($p > 0.1$).

Table 66. Origin of child traders starting work at different times of the day in central Cusco

Time of day when child starts working	Origin of child			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Early morning (before 10am)	18	43%	22	38%
Late morning (10:00 – 11:59)	8	19%	7	12%
Afternoon (12:00 – 17:59)	11	26%	19	32%
Evening/Night-time (18:00*)	5	12%	10	18%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 67. Origin of child traders finishing work at different times of the day in central Cusco

Time of day when child finishes working	Origin of child			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Morning/Early afternoon (before 14:00)	6	14%	11	19%
Late afternoon (14:00 – 17:59)	12	29%	11	19%
Evening (18:00 – 19:59)	5	12%	7	12%
Night-time (20:00*)	19	45%	29	50%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 68. Origin of child traders working different numbers of hours in a day in central Cusco

Total hours worked in a day	Origin of child			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 – 5 hours	16	38%	32	55%
6 – 10 hours	17	41%	19	33%
11 – 16 hours	9	21%	7	12%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The working days of child ambulant traders

In this sub section there will be an initial description of the working days of child ambulant traders, describing the total days worked, the preferred working days and the reasons for

any preferences. There will then be an analysis of the variations in the working hours according to age, gender and origin. Table 69 shows that 43% of child ambulant traders work seven days a week. A further 32% of children work 5-6 days a week, while a quarter of all children questioned work four days or less in a week. This equates to a mean average of 5.24 days worked a week, which is approximately comparable with Alarcon's (1986) findings with urban working children in Lima, where the mean average number of days worked by children was six days. Children were also asked to give their opinions as to whether they like trading on each day of the week. The findings are summarised in Table 70 which very clearly shows that a greater percentage of children prefer to work on Saturday and Sunday. Not surprisingly, a very high percentage of children prefer to trade at the weekend because they do not have school related commitments on these days (Table 71). Similar concerns over conflicts between work and education were expressed when discussing children's working hours. There is an abundance of literature which considers the conflict between work and education (Bunster & Chaney 1989, NGO Group 2002, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Patrinos & Psacharopoulos 1997, Salazar 1998).

Table 69. Total number of days worked in a week by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Total number of days worked in a week	Child traders	
	No.	%
Did not work the previous week	1	1%
1-2 days	14	14%
3-4 days	10	10%
5-6 days	32	32%
7 days	43	43%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 70. Preferred days for working of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco⁶³

Preferred days for working	Child traders	
	No.	%
Monday	52	13.2%
Tuesday	48	12.3%
Wednesday	45	11.5%
Thursday	44	11.3%
Friday	50	12.8%
Saturday	82	21.0%
Sunday	70	17.9%
Total children	391	100.0%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 71. Reasons why particular days are preferred for working by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Reason why particular days are preferred	Child traders' preferred working days													
	Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday		Saturday		Sunday	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Greater number of tourists	3	6%	2	4%	2	4%	1	2%	6	12%	20	24%	12	17%
Greater sales	14	27%	11	23%	11	24%	12	27%	11	22%	14	17%	13	19%
School related commitments at other times	3	6%	1	2%	1	2%	1	2%	1	2%	17	21%	16	23%
Other	6	11%	6	13%	5	12%	5	11%	5	10%	4	5%	3	4%
No reason given	26	50%	28	58%	26	58%	25	58%	27	54%	27	33%	26	37%
Total children	52	100%	48	100%	45	100%	44	100%	50	100%	82	100%	70	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working days of child ambulant traders according to age

There is little variation in the total number of days worked in a week by child ambulant traders according to age. Approximately 75% of all children work more than five days a week. However, a slightly higher percentage of younger children work two days or less in a week. There is also no significant variation in child ambulant traders' preferred working days according to age. Most children prefer to work at the weekend. Although not statistically significant ($p = >0.4$), there is some difference in the reasons put forward for children of different ages preferring different days (Table 72). A much higher percentage of older children prefer specific days because they have school related commitments on other days. Findings reported in Chapter Seven illustrate that a greater percentage of older children comment that useful skills have been learnt in school. Hence, they are more concerned about poor attendance. In addition, conflict between work and education is

⁶³ Child traders were asked to state whether or not they preferred to trade on each day of the week, this means that 100 children could potentially prefer to trade on any given day. This results in an inflated total number of children.

likely to be more of a concern to children who are nearing an age when they will be leaving formal education. A lot of the older children are likely to be fearful that without qualifications they will struggle to find employment.

Table 72. Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular days for trading in central Cusco

Reason for preferred days for trading	Age group of child			
	6 – 11 years		12 – 17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	8	25%	15	22%
Greater sales	7	22%	17	25%
School related commitments on other days	3	9%	15	22%
Other	3	9%	3	4%
No reason given	11	35%	18	27%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working days of child ambulant traders according to gender

The total number of days worked by child ambulant traders varies according to gender (Table 73). Boys seem to work fewer days. Approximately 27% of boys work four days or fewer, while the figure is only 17% for girls. In addition, nearly 57% of all girls work seven days a week, in comparison to 39% of boys. It was previously established that girls tend to work fewer hours, therefore in order to make the necessary income they work more days each week. On the other hand, boys work long hours but on fewer days of the week. There is little or no variation in the specific days which children prefer to work, according to gender. However, there are key differences in the reasons put forward for preferring particular days for trading (Table 74). Boys prefer particular days because other days clash with school related commitments. Boys also prefer specific days for more economic based reasoning, such as greater numbers of tourists, or greater sales. Girls perhaps have more of a routine, where they work every day for at least a few hours but nearly always manage to attend school. The World Bank (1995) suggests that in Latin America girls receive more education than boys. Salazar (1998: 169) states that this is because a formal education is viewed as, “girls’ only possibility for entering the labour market under decent conditions.” In contrast, boys work long hours, on days when they perceive that there are a lot of tourists. Working long hours is more likely to result in boys not attending school. In fact findings show that a greater percentage of boys miss school (discussed in greater depth later in thesis).

Table 73. Total number of days worked in a week by male and female child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Total number of days worked in a week	Gender of child			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Did not work the previous week	1	1%	0	0%
1-2 days	11	14%	3	13%
3-4 days	9	12%	1	4%
5-6 days	26	34%	6	26%
7 days	30	39%	13	57%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 74. Reasons why male and female child traders prefer particular days for trading in central Cusco

Reason for preferred days for trading	Gender of child			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	17	22%	6	26%
Greater sales	22	28%	2	9%
School related commitments on other days	16	21%	2	9%
Other	2	3%	4	17%
No reason given	20	26%	9	39%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working days of child ambulant traders according to origin

Table 75 shows a slight difference in the total days worked in a week by child ambulant traders of different origins. The vast majority of children of rural origin work at least 5 days a week (83%), whereas a slightly lower proportion (69%) of children of urban origin work at least 5 days a week (Table 75). Approximately 31% of children of urban origin work four days or less a week. Earlier discussion suggested that children of rural origin receive poorer quality schooling, if any. If the children are not attending school then it is easy to understand why children of rural origin work on more days of the week. Although most children prefer to trade at the weekend, irrespective of the child's origin, children of rural origin place less value on trading on these days. In fact, the Peruvian education system incorporates weekend classes that were initiated to cater for children living in rural areas that do not have access to education during the week (Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05). This may explain why children from rural areas are equally concerned over clashes with school related commitments. However, it is also likely that many rural children fail to attend school at the week end and work in agriculture instead.

Table 75. Total number of days worked in a week in central Cusco by child ambulant trader respondents of rural and urban origins

Total number of days worked in a week	Origin of child			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Did not work the previous week	0	0%	1	2%
1-2 days	4	10%	10	17%
3-4 days	3	7%	7	12%
5-6 days	19	45%	13	22%
7 days	16	38%	27	47%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The working months of child ambulant traders

This sub section will describe the preferred working months of child ambulant traders, discuss reasons for these preferences and then explore variations associated with age, gender and origin. Overall 45% of child ambulant traders have no preferred months for trading in Cusco (Table 76), while more than half of all child ambulant traders (55%) do prefer particular months. Child ambulant traders' responses fall into three different four-month periods: June-September, October-January and February-May. The most popular months for trading are June-September (28%), closely followed by October-January (23%), whereas few children prefer February-May (4%). Table 77 indicates that those children who prefer to trade in June-September, the busiest tourist period, do so because there is a greater number of tourists and because it is the festival period. On June 24th the festival named 'Inti Raymi' takes place, attracting heightened numbers of tourists to the area. It is also a public holiday and children like trading at this time, not only for economic gain but for enjoyment as well. Children who prefer to trade in October-January do so because there are greater tourist numbers and it is the school holidays. The school holidays offer children the opportunity to trade without worrying about the cost to their education. In addition, the Christmas period is a time of spending and is a very productive period for child ambulant traders.

Table 76. Preferred months for working of child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Preferred months for working	Child traders	
	No.	%
June-September	28	28%
October-January	23	23%
February-May	4	4%
No preference	45	45%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 77. Reasons why particular months are preferred for working by child ambulant trader respondents in central Cusco

Reason why particular months are preferred	Child traders' preferred working months							
	June - September		October - January		February- May		No preference	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	13	46%	11	47%	4	100%	0	0%
Fiesta Period	13	46%	2	9%	0	0%	0	0%
School holidays	0	0%	5	22%	0	0%	0	0%
Other	2	8%	5	22%	0	0%	1	2%
No reason given	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	44	98%
Total children	28	100%	23	100%	4	100%	45	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Working months of child ambulant traders according to age, gender and origin

A higher proportion of older children prefer trading in June-September, while many younger children prefer to trade in October-January (Table 78). Younger children give a variety of different reasons for their preferences (Table 79), but older children predominantly trade in June-September because there are more tourists and it is the time of the 'Inti Raymi' festival. Younger children are perhaps less aware of the economic advantages of trading during peak tourist season and at the time of the largest annual festival.

Due to the characteristics of the sample population, the variations in the preferred working months according to gender reflect the results relating to age. A higher percentage of female traders prefer to work in October-January, while male traders prefer to work in June-September. The reasons given for these preferences are also associated with the age of the trader, rather than the gender. While there may be no association between the preferred trading months and a child's gender, there does seem to be an association with the

origin of the child. Table 80 illustrates that the vast majority of child ambulant traders of rural origin (60%) have no preferred months for trading. The rural children who do have a preference tend to prefer trading in June-September. Child ambulant traders of urban origins prefer trading in June-September and October-January. The reasons for such preferences vary according to origin only slightly. The rural child, like the younger child, is perhaps less aware of the economic advantages gained from trading during festival times and when there are more tourists. This lack of awareness disadvantages the rural child in the informal trading economy.

Table 78. Age groups of child ambulant traders preferring different months for working in central Cusco

Preferred month for trading	Age group of child trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
June – September	2	6%	26	38%
October – January	10	31%	13	19%
February – May	2	6%	2	3%
No preference	18	57%	27	40%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 79. Reasons why child traders of different age groups prefer particular months for trading in central Cusco

Reason for preferred months for trading	Age group of child trader			
	6 – 11 years		12 – 17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Greater number of tourists	5	15%	23	34%
Fiesta Period	1	3%	14	20%
School holidays	4	13%	1	2%
Other	4	13%	4	6%
No reason given	18	56%	26	38%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 80. Origin of child ambulant traders preferring different months for working in central Cusco

Preferred month for trading	Origin of child trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
June – September	11	26%	17	29%
October – January	6	14%	17	29%
March – May	0	0%	4	7%
No preference	25	60%	20	35%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Summary comments

Chapter Six predominantly investigates the space-time patterns in the work of child ambulant traders and mostly draws upon the findings from 100 questionnaires and 30 detailed interviews with child ambulant traders. In order to place child ambulant traders' lives in some context the chapter begins by describing their living circumstances, establishing that the vast majority of child ambulant traders live with at least one parent or other adult family member (88%). This mirrors findings elsewhere and dispels common assumptions that most children who work on the street are abandoned (Huggins & Rodrigues 2004).

This chapter established that there are distinct age and gender roles in relation to the goods handled by child ambulant traders. It seems that younger children and girls predominantly handle goods such as finger puppets, whereas older children and boys seem more likely to be able to choose to handle more lucrative goods such as postcards or shine shoes. This is thought to be partly due to the fact that many older children know how to converse in a foreign language.

Child ambulant traders' spatial trading patterns were explored through 100 questionnaire surveys and 30 detailed interviews as well as in a mapping task. In general, most child ambulant traders prefer to trade on the Plaza de Armas (75%), rather than other plazas and streets (15%). They particularly identify six mean centres of gravity on the Plaza de Armas, namely the centre of the Plaza de Armas, outside the cathedral, outside the supermarket and at the entrances to three streets often frequented by tourists. There are some differences in the preferred trading locations of child ambulant traders according to age and particularly gender. A slightly higher percentage of older children prefer to trade on other plazas and streets and they explain that this is because fewer police officers are present there. Arguably, this is a reflection of what Beazley (1998) terms "a broader conception of place" on behalf of older children. A relatively high percentage of girls prefer to trade in locations classified as 'other' possibly because the Plaza de Armas is a gendered male space, which excludes girls, marginalising them to alternative locations. Similar conclusions were reached by Beazley (1998, 2002) in research with street children in Indonesia.

The final part of Chapter Six explores the temporal patterns of children in ambulant trading at three scales: hourly, daily and monthly. With regards to the hours when child ambulant traders work, there are two main 'shifts' when most child ambulant traders start and finish. Most children either start early in the morning or in the afternoon and finish late in the afternoon or at night-time. The findings show that in a day, 48% of children work 1-5 hours in total, 36% work 6-10 hours and 16% work 11-16 hours. In terms of days when children work, many work seven days a week (43%), whilst 32% work 5-6 days and a quarter of all children questioned work four days or less in a week. The weekends are preferred trading days, not surprisingly because there is less conflict with education on these days. Those child ambulant traders who prefer particular months for trading, mostly prefer June-September (28%) and October-January (23%) because they are in the peak tourist season (more lucrative), or in the school holidays.

The temporal patterns of child ambulant traders vary according to the child's age, gender and origin. Firstly, children's start and finish times reflect the hours when they attend school, which in turn reflects children's ages: older children work in the morning and attend school in the afternoon, whilst the opposite is true of younger children. Older children appear to play more (Chapter Seven) which may explain why they work fewer hours each day. In addition, a greater percentage of older children report that they prefer to work at the weekend due to conflicts with education on other days. Older children appear to be more street smart as they demonstrate awareness of the economic advantages of working in June-September and October-January. West (2003) has also discussed the importance to street children of being 'street smart'. In terms of differences between boys and girls, boys work longer hours but on fewer days. Girls carry out more tasks other than trading each day (Chapter Seven), so inevitably they must restrict their trading hours. Furthermore, girls are considered out of place on the street (Beazley 1998, 2002) so they perhaps limit the time spent on it each day. Finally, rural children report that they spend more days working, which echoes comments made by local education officials that rural children miss school more regularly (Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05). Urban children seem to be more street smart, hence they prefer to trade during the most lucrative months.

Chapter Six extensively discusses the space-time patterns of children's work in ambulant trading and therefore addresses a significant part of the first research objective. However, in order to more effectively understand children in ambulant trading, the next chapter investigates their experiences.

-Chapter 7-

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES AS AMBULANT TRADERS

Existing studies that consider childhood experiences of street children often give an overview for all street children (Bass 2004, Beazley 1998, Myers 1989, Salazar 1998, Woodhead 1999, Young 2003), or where they focus on a particular occupation it is rarely informal trading (Invernizzi 2003, Qosqo Maki 1999). There has been negligible attention to the experiences of children in ambulant trading. This research gap is addressed by exploring the experiences of child ambulant traders, in terms of their trading circumstances, the life costs they experience, the dangers they face, their positive experiences and their self perceptions of working in ambulant trading. Questionnaire surveys and detailed follow-up interviews were used to explore children's experiences as ambulant traders.

Trading circumstances of child ambulant traders

Previous research with child labourers has found that they have varied motivations for working (Beazley 1998, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Myers 1989). Studies have also observed variations in who the children work for (Boyden 1991, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Nieuwenhuys 2003, West 2003, Woodhead 1999) and who they work with (Beazley 1998, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Woodhead 1999). Together these differences can be used to illustrate the working circumstances of the children. This sub section describes and explains the trading circumstances of child ambulant traders in central Cusco.

Child ambulant traders' motivations for trading

One hundred child ambulant traders were asked to what extent they agree with the statement, "I trade because I have to." The vast majority of children (89%) agree with this statement, while only 11% disagree. Child ambulant traders clearly feel that ambulant trading is a necessity, therefore the following discussion considers why. Table 81 summarises child ambulant traders' motivations for working in central Cusco. Nearly all child ambulant traders (94%) agree that they work to pay for food, approximately equal percentages of children agree that they work to earn pocket money (85%) and to pay for schooling (84%), while 75% agree that they work to maintain their families. While most children work as ambulant traders to afford the basic necessity of food, a very high percentage of children work as ambulant traders to earn pocket money. Earning pocket

money is less of a necessity in terms of survival and suggests that although most children have to work, they also gain something for themselves. Boyden (1991) found that street working children work not only to make a contribution to family income but also for personal security and independence. Most children who work for pocket money are older (Table 82). Approximately 93% (Table 83) of older children agree that they work to earn pocket money, whereas the percentage of younger children is only 66% (Table 83).

Table 81. Child ambulant traders' motivations for working in central Cusco

Extent to which child ambulant traders agree that the named motivation is their reason for working	Child ambulant traders' motivations for trading							
	To pay for food		To pay for schooling		For pocket money		To maintain family	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Totally agree	93	93%	84	84%	81	81%	70	70%
Slightly agree	1	1%	0	0%	3	3%	5	5%
Slightly disagree	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
Totally disagree	6	6%	16	16%	15	15%	24	24%
Total children	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 82. Extent to which child ambulant traders agree that they work to earn pocket money according to the age group of the child

Extent to which the child ambulant traders agree that they work to earn pocket money	Age group of child ambulant trader			Total children
		6-11 years	12-17 years	
Totally agree	No.	20	61	81
	%	24.7%	75.3%	100%
Slightly agree	No.	1	2	3
	%	33.3%	66.7%	100%
Slightly disagree	No.	1	0	1
	%	100%	0%	100%
Totally disagree	No.	10	5	15
	%	66.7%	33.3%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 83. Age groups of child ambulant traders who agree to varying extents that they work to earn pocket money

Extent to which the child ambulant traders agree that they work to earn pocket money	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Totally agree	20	62.5%	61	89.7%
Slightly agree	1	3.1%	2	2.9%
Slightly disagree	1	3.1%	0	0%
Totally disagree	10	31.3%	5	7.4%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

A similar association is seen for gender. Approximately 95% (Table 84) of boys at least slightly agree that they work for pocket money in comparison to only 48% (Table 84) of girls. There is a greater likelihood that older children and boys will work in order to earn pocket money because they are more independent of the family unit and are likely to need expendable income for their activities (Beazley 1998, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Invernizzi 2003, Rosa *et al* 1992, Salazar 1998). Salazar (1998) concludes that as children grow older they acquire more autonomy and venture further away from parental control. The autonomy referred to by Salazar requires greater financial independence which is acquired in this instance through ambulant trading. Younger children and girls are far less independent from the family than older children and boys, which is why they work to maintain the family rather than for pocket money. Nieuwenhuys (2003) supports this finding by suggesting that girls are trained early to accept feminine ideals of devotion to the family.

A significant percentage of child ambulant traders work in order to pay for schooling. Not only are children required to pay matriculation each term but they must also buy their school uniforms as well as the equipment they need. The impacts of schooling costs on child labourers have been well documented elsewhere (Myers 1989, Nieuwenhuys 2003, West 2003, Woodhead 1999). Several children commented that they work to earn money to enable them to play or to save for the future. Children in Cusco are increasingly required to pay in order to participate in the type of play that they prefer. Public parks charge an entry fee, whereas other rather limited open spaces are fortified and play is prohibited. The 21st century playing field in Cusco now includes internet cafés, which also cost money. It is clear that the cost of play creates an incentive for some child ambulant traders to work.

Table 84. Gender of child ambulant traders who agree to varying extents that they work to earn pocket money

Extent to which the child ambulant traders agree that they work to earn pocket money	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Totally agree	72	93.5%	9	39.1%
Slightly agree	1	1.3%	2	8.7%
Slightly disagree	0	0%	1	4.3%
Totally disagree	4	5.2%	11	47.9%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Employers and colleagues of child ambulant traders

The overwhelming majority of child ambulant traders (55%) work for their parents or other family members, while a significant percentage (28%) are self employed. The remaining 17% of children are partly self-employed but they also work for their parents or other family members. Notably, no children reported that they work for someone else, which is an unexpected finding. Previous studies of child labour have found that a significant percentage of children work for someone else (Binder & Scrogin 1999, West 2003, Woodhead 1999). West (2003: 10) describes a “big brother” working relationship in Asia, where street children are exploited and controlled by an overseer, who is normally hidden from public view. It appears that most child ambulant traders in Cusco work within the relatively protected and *perhaps* less exploitative family unit. There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.05$) between the age of the child ambulant trader and who they work for. Even though most child ambulant traders who work for their parents are older children (56% - Table 85), this equates to less than half (Table 86) of all older children, whereas 75% (Table 86) of younger children work for their parents. A very high percentage (82% - Table 85) of children who are self-employed are older and only 18% (Table 85) are younger children. This pattern is demonstrated further in Table 86 which shows that 34% of older children and only 16% of younger children are self employed. Again, older children seem to act independently, in this instance they choose to work for themselves, whereas younger children are more likely to be encouraged to work by their parents.

As with age, there is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.01$) between the gender of the child ambulant trader and who they work for. All child ambulant traders who are self-employed are male (Table 87), while a high proportion (35% - Table 87) of children who work for their parents and other family members are female. Approximately 83% (Table 88) of female child ambulant traders work for their parents or other family members, whereas fewer male child ambulant traders do so (47% - Table 88). This further highlights the independence of boys in their ability to choose to trade, rather than trading because their parents require them to. Invernizzi (2003), in her study of street children in Lima, has also observed that boys become more independent earlier than girls.

Table 85. Types of employers of child ambulant traders of different age groups in central Cusco

Type of employer	Age group of child ambulant trader			Total children
		6-11 years	12-17 years	
Parents/ Other family	No.	24	31	55
	%	43.6%	56.4%	100%
Self employed	No.	5	23	28
	%	17.9%	82.1%	100%
Self employed and Parents/ Other family	No.	3	14	17
	%	32.0%	68.0%	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.022 (97.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 86.** Age groups of child ambulant traders working for different types of employers in central Cusco

Type of employer	Age group of child ambulant traders			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parents/ Other family	24	75.0%	31	45.6%
Self employed	5	15.6%	23	33.8%
Self employed and Parents/ Other family	3	9.4%	14	20.6%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.022 (97.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 87.** Types of employers of male and female child ambulant traders in central Cusco

Type of employer	Gender of child ambulant trader			Total children
		Male	Female	
Parents/ Other family	No.	36	19	55
	%	65.5%	34.5%	100%
Self employed	No.	28	0	28
	%	100%	0%	100%
Self employed and Parents/ Other family	No.	13	4	17
	%	77.0%	23.5%	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.002 (99.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 88.** Gender of child ambulant traders working for different types of employers in central Cusco

Type of employer	Gender of child ambulant traders			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parents/ Other family	36	46.8%	19	82.6%
Self employed	28	36.4%	0	0%
Self employed/ Parents/ Other family	13	16.8%	4	17.4%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.002 (99.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Child ambulant traders were additionally asked about who they work with. Table 89 shows that 76% of child ambulant traders at least sometimes work alone, 60% at least sometimes

work near other children and only 26% at least sometimes work near adults. A large percentage of children work alone on the streets, which makes trading potentially more dangerous. Several investigations with street children, that have foci other than trading, found that potential dangers on the streets include: involvement in child prostitution (Flowers 2001, Mikhail 2002), substance misuse (Beazley 1998) and physical abuse (Huggins & Mesquita 1999, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004). West (2003) describes how working alone makes children especially vulnerable to exploitation by adults. Many of the dangers facing child ambulant traders are amplified for children who work alone, away from the 'protective gaze' of their parents and peers. The term 'protective gaze' is used to describe parents or family members who position themselves within a short distance of their children, partly in order to offer some form of protection. Although the term 'protective gaze' is not adopted, other academics have mentioned the role of parents and family members who oversee the activities of their children (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Invernizzi 2003).

A high percentage of child ambulant traders who always work alone are older (77% - Table 90), while most of the children who never work alone are younger (54% - Table 90). Younger children are less likely to be permitted by their parents to trade alone and working alongside friends provides security for them. Working with friends in a small group not only offers security but it increases the skills pool of the younger children and also increases the likelihood that they will enjoy themselves, as they play together whilst working (Woodhead 1999). In addition to age, there seems to be an association between the gender of the child ambulant trader and whether or not they work alone. A high percentage (86% - Table 91) of children who always work alone are male, whereas many (33% - Table 91) of the children who never work alone are female. Approximately half (52% - Table 92) of all girls never work alone, while only 16% (Table 92) of boys never work alone. There are several possible explanations why fewer girls work alone. The first is that the street has been identified as a masculine space (Beazley 1998, Bunster & Chaney 1989) so for girls to feel more 'in place' they work in the company of another girl. To exemplify the notion that the street is a masculine space, Bunster & Chaney (1989: 186) refer to a popular saying in Peru: "The man belongs in the street and the woman belongs in the house." If mainstream society's attitudes reflect the attitude expressed in this popular saying, it is no surprise that girls feel out of place on Cusco's streets. The second possible

explanation is that girls do not work alone due to fears for their own safety (Beazley 2002). By working with friends and family, girls (like younger children) feel far more secure.

The origin of the child ambulant trader also appears to be associated with whether or not they work alone. Children of urban origin are more likely to at least sometimes work alone (Table 93). This may be due to that fact that children of rural origin, like younger children and girls, are more fearful of the dangers of working on the city streets and therefore work alongside other children. This mirrors conclusions made in Chapter Six, which found that children of urban origin seem to be more street smart.

Table 89. Frequency that child ambulant traders work alongside other traders in central Cusco

Frequency that child ambulant traders work alongside other traders	Traders alongside whom children work					
	Alone		Near other children		Near adults	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Always	56	56%	29	29%	13	13%
Generally	11	11%	19	19%	11	11%
Sometimes	9	9%	12	12%	2	2%
Never	24	24%	40	40%	74	74%
Total children	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 90. Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the age group of the child

Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone	Age group of child ambulant trader			Total children
	No.	6-11 years	12-17 years	
Always	No.	13	43	56
	%	23.2%	76.8%	
Generally	No.	3	8	11
	%	27.3%	66.7%	
Sometimes	No.	3	6	9
	%	33.3%	66.7%	
Never	No.	13	11	24
	%	54.2%	45.8%	

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 91. Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the gender of the child

Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone	Gender of child ambulant trader			Total children
	No.	Male	Female	
Always	No.	48	8	56
	%	85.7%	14.3%	
Generally	No.	8	3	11
	%	72.7%	27.3%	
Sometimes	No.	9	0	9
	%	100%	0%	
Never	No.	12	12	24
	%	50.0%	50.0%	

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 92. Gender of child ambulant traders who work alone at various different frequencies

Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Always	48	62.3%	8	34.8%
Generally	8	10.4%	3	13.0%
Sometimes	9	11.7%	0	0%
Never	12	15.6%	12	52.2%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 93. Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone according to the origin of the child

Frequency that child ambulant traders work alone	Origin of child ambulant trader			Total children
	No.	Rural	Urban	
Always	No.	21	35	56
	%	37.5%	62.5%	100%
Generally	No.	3	8	11
	%	27.3%	72.7%	100%
Sometimes	No.	2	7	9
	%	22.2%	77.8%	100%
Never	No.	16	8	24
	%	66.7%	33.3%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Life costs: working at the cost of play and education?

According to the UNCRC (1989) and various Peruvian legislations⁷³, children have the right to be educated and to play. However, working inevitably impacts on the time children spend in education (ILO 2006, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Patrinos & Psacharopoulos 1997, Salazar 1998) and in play (Katz 1986, 1996, Punch 2003, Woodhead 1998). Therefore, this section will investigate children's negotiation of education, play and trading in Cusco. Moreover, child ambulant traders are required to carry out various other tasks, all of which impede on the time available for learning and playing. Therefore this section will first describe the tasks other than trading that children do.

Tasks other than trading carried out by child ambulant traders

In addition to trading, child ambulant traders have to do homework for school more than any other task. Table 94 shows that as well as trading, 91% of child ambulant traders are required to complete homework. Completing homework demands that children are able to concentrate, that there is a suitable space in which children may work and that children have the necessary time available. These three conditions for completing homework

⁷³ General Education Law (28004), Children and Adolescent Code (Act 27337).

conflict with the child's work as an ambulant trader. Firstly, the children are likely to be tired after classes in school, decreasing their ability to concentrate. Secondly, most child ambulant traders, particularly the 59% of children who live outside of the district of Cusco, will be unable to return home during the day to complete their homework. They therefore do not have a suitable work space. However, there are numerous NGOs in central Cusco that offer suitable locations where the children can do their homework. Finally, in most cases it is likely that trading takes priority over homework, which is left until late at night when children return home. Therefore children are unlikely to have sufficient time to complete their homework properly.

Table 94. Tasks required of child ambulant traders other than trading

Whether or not the child is required to do the named task	Tasks required of child ambulant traders other than trading											
	Homework		Wash clothes		Help parents		Cook		Clean dishes		Other work	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Child is required	91	91%	59	59%	29	29%	20	20%	10	10%	9	9%
Child is not required	9	9%	41	41%	71	71%	80	80%	90	90%	91	91%
Total children	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In addition to trading, 59% (Table 94) of child ambulant traders are required to wash clothes. Although not statistically significant ($p > 0.08$), there appears to be an association between the gender of the child and whether they are required to wash clothes. Most children who state that they wash clothes are male (83% - Table 95). In fact 64% (Table 96) of all boys wash clothes, while only 44% (Table 96) of girls do so. In Punch's (2001a) research with children from rural Bolivia, she found that girls tend to do more housework than boys, which includes washing clothes. Whilst this sub section will later show that in Cusco girls carry out most of the housework, washing clothes may well be a task frequently carried out by boys. Observations and informal discussions show that many male, rural-urban migrants offer laundry washing services, whereas their involvement in other housework seems less common.

Table 95. Extent of the requirement for child ambulant traders to wash clothes according to the gender of the child

Requirement of child to wash clothes	Gender of child ambulant trader		Total children	
	Male	Female		
The child is required to wash clothes	No.	49	10	59
	%	83.1%	16.9%	100%
The child is not required to wash clothes	No.	28	13	41
	%	68.3%	31.7%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 96. Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to wash clothes

Requirement of child to wash clothes	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to wash clothes	49	63.6%	10	43.5%
The child is not required to wash clothes	28	36.4%	13	56.5%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.085 (91.5%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 94 shows that as well as trading, 29% of children must help their parents. There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.05$) between the gender of the trader and whether they are required to help their parents. Table 97 shows that 48% of girls help their parents, whereas only 23% (Table 97) of boys do so. 'Helping parents' refers to housework, which is traditionally work carried out by females (Nieuwenhuys 1998, Punch 2001b, Salazar 1998), so it is to be expected that a greater percentage of girls help their parents. There is a slight, but not statistically significant ($p > 0.2$), association between the origin of the child ambulant trader and whether they are required to help their parents. Nearly 36% (Table 98) of rural children help their parents, in comparison to just 24% (Table 98) of urban children. Rural children probably return home from central Cusco with their parents or other family members, when they are likely to have to assist in various household chores. In contrast, urban children are more likely to be able to return home alone, later at night, due to the proximity of their homes. It is therefore more likely that the parents and other family members of urban children will carry out household tasks.

Table 97. Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to help their parents

Requirement of child to help their parents	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to help their parents	18	23.4%	11	47.8%
The child is not required to help their parents	59	76.6%	12	52.2%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.023 (97.7%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 98.** Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to help their parents

Requirement of child to help their parents	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to help their parents	15	35.7%	14	24.1%
The child is not required to help their parents	27	64.3%	44	75.9%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.208 (79.2%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

As well as trading, 20% of child ambulant traders are required to cook food (Table 94). Although not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$), there appears to be an association between the age of the child ambulant trader and whether they are required to cook. In fact, 31% of children under 12 years help with cooking, whereas 15% of older children do so (Table 99). Younger children are less independent of their parents and are more likely to follow their parents home when meals need to be cooked. Presumably, younger children are then required to help cook meals. According to Punch (2001b) between the ages of 10 and 14 children's tasks become highly gendered. Therefore it is foreseeable that older male children remain on the street in the more masculine 'space' while younger female children cook in the home. Punch's (2001b) findings are echoed in the statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) observation that girls are far more likely to be required to cook meals than boys in Cusco (Table 100). There is also a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) association between the origin of the child ambulant trader and whether the child is required to cook. Approximately 31% (Table 101) of rural children must cook, whereas only 12% (Table 101) of urban children do so. Again, this pattern can be explained by the fact that rural children are more likely to return home accompanied by their parents.

Table 99. Extent of the requirement for child ambulant traders to cook according to the age group of the child

Requirement of child to cook	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to cook	10	31.2%	10	14.7%
The child is not required to cook	22	68.8%	58	85.3%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.054 (94.6%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 100.** Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to cook

Requirement of child to cook	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to cook	10	13.0%	10	43.5%
The child is not required to cook	67	87.0%	13	56.5%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.001 (99.9%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 101.** Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to cook

Requirement of child to cook	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to cook	13	31.0%	7	12.1%
The child is not required to cook	29	69.0%	51	87.9%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.020 (98.0%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Only 10% of children state that they have to clean dishes as well as work in trading (Table 94). There are statistically significant associations between the gender ($p < 0.05$) and origin ($p < 0.01$) of the traders and whether they are required to clean dishes. Expectedly, a very high percentage of girls and children of rural origin are required to clean dishes (Tables 102 and 103). It is clear that girls, and to a lesser extent children of rural origin and younger children, are required to do more tasks outside of ambulant trading. Most of these additional jobs are carried out in the home.

Table 102. Gender of child ambulant traders and the requirement to clean dishes

Requirement of child to clean dishes	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to clean dishes	5	6.5%	5	21.7%
The child is not required to clean dishes	72	93.5%	18	78.3%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.032 (96.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 103.** Origin of child ambulant traders and the requirement to clean dishes

Requirement of child to clean dishes	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child is required to clean dishes	8	19.0%	2	3.4%
The child is not required to clean dishes	34	81.0%	56	96.6%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.010 (99.0%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05***Play: the right of the child to engage in play and recreational activities***⁷⁴

The UNCRC (1989), which has been ratified by the Peruvian Government, states that children have the right to engage in play and recreational activities. In Cusco, 75% of child ambulant traders reported that they have time to play during a normal week, while 25% of children do not have time to play because they have to trade and carry out other tasks. This highlights a conflict between children's rights, as defined by the UNCRC, and their need to work. There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.01$) between the origin of the child and whether they have time to play in a normal week. Table 104 shows that 64% of those children who reportedly do not have time to play in a normal week are of rural origin. Obviously the time required for children to return to rural areas will decrease the time available for play.

⁷⁴ Taken from article 31(1) of the UNCRC (1989) which states, "State parties recognise the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts."

Table 104. Availability of time for child ambulant traders to play according to the origin of the child

Extent to which child has time to play	Origin of child ambulant trader			Total children
	No.	Rural	Urban	
The child has time to play	No.	26	49	75
	%	34.7%	65.3%	100%
The child does not have time to play	No.	16	9	25
	%	64.0%	36.0%	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.010 (99.0%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In an attempt to further understand how child ambulant traders find the time to play, the 75% of children who initially stated that they normally have some time to play during a normal week were asked whether they tend to play in the morning, afternoon or evening. The majority of child ambulant traders state that they play in the afternoon (48%), 29% tend to play in the evening and 23% play in the morning. Although not statistically significant ($p > 0.5$) there seems to be an association between the age of the child ambulant trader and the time of the day when they tend to play. The previous chapter established that younger children attend school in the morning and work in the afternoon, whereas older children do the reverse. Not surprisingly, a slightly higher percentage of younger children play in the afternoon (56% - Table 105), when compared to older children (44% - Table 105). Moreover, a greater percentage of older children play in the morning (26% - Table 105), in comparison to only 16% (Table 105) of younger children. It seems that children find time to play when they are not in school, however this conflicts with the time they spend trading. Although not statistically significant ($p > 0.1$), there is also an association between the origin of the child and the time of the day when they normally play. Table 106 shows that approximately equal percentages of rural children play in the morning, afternoon and evening. In contrast, urban children mostly play in the afternoon. This is perhaps because urban children show greater awareness of how ambulant trading functions by choosing to play at the times when there are fewer tourists (afternoon) and more police officers (3pm). This is further evidence of the street smart nature of urban children.

Table 105. Age groups of child ambulant traders and normal play times

Time of the day when child has time to play	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Morning	4	16.0%	13	26.0%
Afternoon	14	56.0%	22	44.0%
Evening	7	28.0%	15	30.0%
Total children	25	100%	50	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.533 (46.7%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 106.** Origin of child ambulant traders and normal play times

Time of the day when child has time to play	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Morning	9	34.6%	8	16.3%
Afternoon	9	34.6%	27	55.1%
Evening	8	30.8%	14	28.6%
Total children	26	100%	49	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.134 (86.6%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Child ambulant traders also discussed how long they usually spend playing each day. Approximately half (51%) of all child ambulant traders who have time to play spend no more than one hour playing. Most (44%) other children spend less than three hours playing each day, while 5% of children spend more than three hours. This shows that most child ambulant traders are only able to spend a very small amount of time playing. Until this point, work and play have been treated as two separate activities, but work cannot always be considered as divorced from play because child ambulant traders regularly integrate the two. Child ambulant traders were frequently observed engaging in play between attempts at selling goods, or even whilst trying to sell goods. For example, children often use empty plastic bottles, or other suitable items, as an alternative to a football. They utilise the cityscape for impromptu play activities but often meet repression from municipal police officers, following which they return to the perhaps more illegal trading activity. West (2003) comments that public perception of street children is often poor and can lead to their chastisement even when the children are engaged in play. Whilst trying to sell goods, child ambulant traders in Cusco will often play games with potential customers. One child interviewee stated:

Child 22 They (younger children) play more and bother tourists.
(Child ambulant trader interview 22: boy, 15 years old, shoe shiner)

Play is not only a source of enjoyment for the children but it is also a technique used to engage with the customer in order to ensure a sale. The above quotation reiterates a further observation that it is younger children in particular who seem to play whilst working. Many other academics have also found that children combine the worlds of work and play (Katz 1986, 1996, Punch 2003, Woodhead 1998). It is perhaps an adult notion to divide these activities. In summary, the UNCRC (1989) states that all children have the right to engage in play but due to the need for child ambulant traders to gain an education and to work, many children, particularly those from rural areas, have no time to play at all. Those child ambulant traders who do have time to play tend to do so before or after school and only for a brief period of time. However, children appear to be able to integrate work and play, particularly younger children.

Education: compulsory at primary level and vocational at secondary level?⁷⁵

Throughout this thesis there have been references to the conflicts between children's education and child labour. The UNCRC (1989) and the General Education Law (2003) in Peru state that primary education should be compulsory and secondary education should involve vocational training. This sub section explores the extent to which the UNCRC (1989) has been implemented in Cusco by considering the time which child ambulant traders spend in school and the extent to which children perceive that the school curriculum has any relevance to the work which children do. The sub section then explores children's preferences between education and work, before finally discussing the future career aspirations of child ambulant traders.

Time spent in school by child ambulant traders

A 'normal' morning or afternoon *turno* in a school in Cusco lasts approximately 5½ hours, which is equal to 27½ hours of schooling in a week. More than half (55% - Table 107) of all child ambulant traders reported that they spend between 25 and 29 hours in school each week. Other child ambulant traders spend less than 20 hours (18%), between 20 and 24 hours (14%) or between 30 and 34 hours (13%) in school. Even though a high percentage of child ambulant traders seem to be able to attend school for the 'normal' number of hours,

⁷⁵ Taken from Article 28(1a, 1b) of the UNCRC (1989) which states; "State Parties...shall, in particular: a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education."

there are many children who do not receive the 'normal' number of hours of education in a week (less than 25 hours). The vast majority of children (84% - Table 108) who report that they spend fewer hours in school than the 'normal' hours are boys. Girls seem to attend school for longer hours. Reiterating the theme that children of rural origin receive less education, the findings indicate that 61% (Table 109) of children who spend less than 20 hours in school do in fact have rural origins. In addition, 69% (Table 110) of children who spend between 30 and 34 hours in school have urban origins. Most (84%) of the child ambulant traders spend between five and six days in school each week. This figure is surprisingly high and may be due to children's unwillingness to reveal how often they miss school. However, this is an indication that even though child ambulant traders must work, many are also able to attend school, at least for a short period of time. There is no significant variation in the number of days spent in school according to the age, gender and origin of the child.

Table 107. Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders in central Cusco⁷⁶

Hours spent in school	Child ambulant traders	
	No.	%
<20 hours	18	18%
20-24 hours	14	14%
25-29 hours	55	55%
30-34 hours	13	13%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 108. Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders of different gender

Hours spent in school	Gender of child ambulant trader			Total children
		Male	Female	
0-24 hours	No.	27	5	32
	%	84.4%	15.6%	100%
25-29 hours	No.	42	13	55
	%	76.4%	23.6%	100%
30-34 hours	No.	8	5	13
	%	61.5%	38.5%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

⁷⁶ Only full hours were recorded. If a child reported half hours or more they were rounded up to the nearest full hour.

Table 109. Hours spent in school each week by child ambulant traders of different origins

Hours spent in school	Origin of child ambulant trader		Total children	
	Rural	Urban		
<20 hours	No.	11	7	18
	%	61.1%	38.9%	100%
20-24 hours	No.	3	11	14
	%	21.4%	78.6%	100%
25-29 hours	No.	24	31	55
	%	43.6%	56.4%	100%
30-34 hours	No.	4	9	13
	%	30.8%	69.2%	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 110. Extent to which child ambulant traders think they learn anything in school which helps them to trade on the street

Extent to which child thinks he/she learns something useful in school	Child ambulant traders	
	No.	%
The child learns something useful	57	57%
The child does not learn anything useful	42	42%
The child is unsure	1	1%
Total children	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The school curriculum: a preparatory tool for ambulant trading?

Local and national government rarely encourage children to work on the streets which means that the education provided for children is not intended to be directly relevant to the work that they do. Boyden (1991) illustrates an exception from this general pattern and describes how some schools in Huancayo, Peru do teach very useful skills to street children. In general, trading is certainly not considered a vocation and therefore no directly relevant education is provided. However, Table 110 shows that more than half of all child ambulant traders (57%) in Cusco believe that they learn something in school which helps them to trade on the street. In particular, 60% of children who learn something in school which helps them to trade, state that foreign languages are most useful, 16% of children find both foreign languages and Mathematics useful, while 14% find only Mathematics useful. Most (75%) children who feel they learn something useful in school are older children, which equates to 63% of all older children (Table 111). This is not surprising as findings in Chapter Six showed that older children are more concerned about conflicts with education and are perhaps keener to appropriate skills that can be transferred into the working environment which they will soon be entering on a permanent basis. Equally,

classes in foreign languages tend to be available only in secondary schools⁷⁷. Older children are therefore more likely to have been taught a foreign language, which seems to be the most valued skill amongst child ambulant traders.

Table 111. Age groups of child ambulant traders and perceived usefulness of school education for ambulant trading

Extent to which child thinks he/she learns something useful in school	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
The child learns something useful	14	43.8%	43	63.2%
The child does not learn anything useful	18	56.2%	24	35.3%
The child is unsure	0	0%	1	1.5%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Children's preferences between school and ambulant trading

Child ambulant traders were presented with two simple statements in an attempt to assess the extent to which they value trading and schooling. The first statement was, "I prefer trading to school." No children agree with this statement, 69% disagree and 31% like trading and school equally. The fact that most children either prefer school or, to a lesser extent, like trading and schooling equally, means that where trading conflicts with schooling it is often to the detriment of what children would like to be doing. Furthermore, article 32(1) of the UNCRC (1989) demands that:

"State parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education."

The second statement presented to the children was, "I prefer trading to homework." Again, most children disagree with the statement (72%) and 19% like both equally. However, in this instance 9% of children agree. Very few children would prefer to trade over attending school or completing homework, which makes it patently clear that education is important to the children.

⁷⁷ English as a foreign language is only taught in secondary schools. Furthermore, it is not taught in all secondary schools because it is not a compulsory part of the curriculum. Therefore, the state do not fund the teachers, they must be paid for through the school funds instead.

The future career aspirations of child ambulant traders

In all probability child ambulant traders in Cusco attend school for fewer hours and on fewer days than the majority of other children, which is likely to have implications for child ambulant traders' futures, most notably on their possible career paths. Several academics have explained how reduced or no schooling damages children's life chances (Nieuwenhuys 2003, Patrinos & Psacharopoulos 1997, Weiner 1991). Huggins & Rodrigues (2004: 509) suggest that street children in São Paulo "cannot expect much positive change in their lives," a finding that is reiterated in the research of Hecht (2002). It is extremely unlikely that child ambulant traders in Cusco will be able to afford to gain a further education, therefore limiting their choices and decreasing the likelihood of 'positive change'. In order to establish whether or not a lack of education is perceived as affecting their intended future career paths, child ambulant traders were asked what they aspire to do in the future. Many of the children found this question particularly hard to address because they either felt embarrassed or unsure. For those children who were unsure, a lack of education will certainly limit their possible choices. The children suggested 21 different careers but there was one profession that was repeated by 41% of the children, a tourist guide. There can be no doubt that working so closely with tourists, developing language skills, improving their knowledge of the area and effectively acting as informal guides on occasions, has impacted on the aspirations of the children. In Peru, tourist guides must now attend university for three years in order to gain a formal qualification before they can work as a guide. As mentioned previously, it is very unlikely that child ambulant traders will be able to afford to gain a further education, which means that at least 41% of children have unrealistic aspirations.

A further 37% of children aspire to professions other than tour guiding that require qualifications in higher education, such as lawyers and doctors. Only 22% of child ambulant traders aspire to jobs that do not require a qualification in further education, although 6% of these children, unrealistically, aspire to be professional footballers. Myers (1989) states that in a study with street working children in Asunción, only 21% of children aspired to unrealistic occupations. It is perhaps the impact of tourism and a slightly more buoyant Peruvian economy that inspires child ambulant traders to have such high aspirations. Children have ambitious aspirations but there are very few children in Cusco

who seem aware that a lack of formal education will prevent them from achieving their preferred careers.

Dangers of ambulant trading: accidents, theft, abuse and fear

Children's involvement in work can expose them to numerous dangers (Flowers 2001, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Mikhail 2002). This section will describe some of the specific dangers facing child ambulant traders in Cusco such as, experiencing accidents, theft, abuse and fear.

Child ambulant traders' experiences of accidents

Most child ambulant traders (54%) say that they have never experienced an accident whilst trading, however 46% of children state that they have. This suggests that ambulant trading can be dangerous and have a negative impact on the children's lives. The types of accidents that children report usually involve falling whilst they are running. The children tend to be running for two reasons: the first is to reach a tourist as quickly as possible in a race against other traders (children and adults) and the second reason is to escape from the municipal police. In addition to falling whilst running, several children mentioned that they have been hit by a car whilst running across the road. Although not statistically significant ($p > 0.1$), there seems to be an association between the age of the child ambulant trader and whether they report the experience of an accident. Accidents are reported by a disproportionately high number of younger children. Table 112 shows that 56% of younger children say that they have experienced an accident in comparison to just 41% of older children. This is probably because younger children are not as street smart as older children and are less aware of the dangers that face them on the busy streets of central Cusco. There also seems to be an association between the origin of the child ambulant trader and whether they have experienced an accident. Again the association is not statistically significant ($p > 0.2$). Table 113 indicates that 52% of children of rural origin say that they have experienced an accident, while only 41% of urban children claim to have done so. This is perhaps because children of rural origin are also less street smart and are less accustomed to the busyness of the city centre and so they, like younger children, experience more accidents.

The child ambulant traders who had experienced an accident were asked to recall how many accidents they had experienced in the previous six months. Whilst many children say they had only experienced one accident (32%), 17% had experienced two, 23% had experienced three and 15% had experienced four or more. Only 13% of child ambulant traders who reported experiencing an accident had not done so in the previous six months. These statistics suggest that a significant percentage of children not only experience accidents but they do so on a relatively regular basis. The streets quite clearly present a danger to the children.

Table 112. Age groups of child ambulant traders and the experience of accidents whilst trading

Experience of accidents whilst trading	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Child has experienced an accident	18	56.3%	28	41.2%
Child has not experienced an accident	14	43.7%	40	58.8%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.158 (84.2%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 113. Origins of child ambulant traders and the experience of accidents whilst trading

Experience of accidents whilst trading	Origin of child ambulant trader			
	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
Child has experienced an accident	22	52.4%	24	41.4%
Child has not experienced an accident	20	47.6%	34	58.6%
Total children	42	100%	58	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.276 (72.4%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Confiscation and theft of goods on the streets of central Cusco

There are several ways in which child ambulant traders can lose their goods. Firstly, the municipal police might confiscate the children's goods and retain the goods until the child reports to the police headquarters. Legally, children are entitled to retrieve their goods after three days (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05) which limits the impact on them because lost income is restricted to this short period of time. However, child ambulant traders are usually too fearful of the police officers so when their goods are confiscated they are almost always lost permanently. Theft is the second way in which child ambulant traders might lose their goods. Children reported having their goods stolen by other children, local adults and tourists on occasions. Finally, children might misplace

or drop their goods, which is less common but certainly occurs. For instance, children sometimes drop their goods when running away from municipal police officers. The following two sub sections will discuss confiscation and theft of goods in more detail.

Confiscation

Ambulant trading is regulated against and the municipal police force takes responsibility for enforcing these regulations. It is within the powers of the municipal police officers to confiscate the goods handled by ambulant traders. Therefore avoiding capture by the municipal police is a major concern amongst child ambulant traders. Although child ambulant traders in Cusco are fearful of having their goods confiscated by the police many are not actually aware that ambulant trading is an illegal activity. During detailed interviews, 12 out of 30 child ambulant traders stated that they believe they are allowed to trade, while 14 out of 30 interviewees are aware that ambulant trading is illegal. The remaining children are unsure about the legality of ambulant trading. For example, one child believes that trading on the Plaza de Armas is illegal but it is permitted anywhere else. The naivety of the children is not taken into consideration by the municipal police who regularly confiscate their goods. Approximately 29% of child ambulant traders say that they have their goods confiscated at least once per week, 23% have goods confiscated at least once per month, 26% have goods confiscated less than once per month and 22% have never had goods confiscated. It is apparent that many child ambulant traders have their goods confiscated on a regular basis, which can have huge impacts. Children were often seen crying after losing their goods (Fieldwork diary, 29/10/04) because it means losing an investment and potentially losing the ability to earn an income. Even though the association is not statistically significant ($p>0.6$), Table 114 suggests that younger children report a greater tendency to have goods confiscated than older children.

Table 114. Age groups of child ambulant traders and frequency of the confiscation of their goods by police officers

Frequency of confiscation of goods by police officers	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
At least once per week	11	34.4%	18	26.4%
At least once per month	8	25%	15	22.1%
Less than once per month	6	18.7%	20	29.4%
Never	7	21.9%	15	22.1%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.682 (31.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

During detailed interviews child ambulant traders suggested several reasons for this. The first reason is that older children are far quicker and can escape when the municipal police chase them:

PM *Why do you think the municipal police take goods from younger children more often than they take goods from older children?*

Child 2 The older children run quicker.
(Child ambulant trader interview 2: boy, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 6 Because they can't escape.
(Child ambulant trader interview 6: girl, 10 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 26 They can't run.
(Child ambulant trader interview 26: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

A second reason why child ambulant traders believe that municipal police officers confiscate the goods of younger children more than older children is because younger children do not have the strength to defend themselves. The children suggested that older children are able to stand up for themselves and prevent the police from taking their goods, whereas younger children are far less able:

PM *Why do you think the municipal police take goods from younger children more often than they take goods from older children?*

Child 4 They don't have the strength to defend themselves.
(Child ambulant trader interview 4: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 8 Because the younger children can't defend themselves.
(Child ambulant trader interview 8: girl, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 25 They don't defend themselves much.
(Child ambulant trader interview 25: boy, 16 years old, shoe shiner)

The children also suggested that younger children are less aware of the municipal police and are therefore caught trading more often (Child ambulant trader interviews 11, 14 and 17). In addition, child ambulant traders believe that younger children tend to play with the tourists more, which causes the police to intervene, believing that the children are bothering the tourists (Child ambulant trader interviews 13 and 22). One final reason for younger children having their goods confiscated more frequently is that older children sometimes build a relationship with the police officers because they have been trading for longer; this deters the police officers from taking their goods (Child ambulant trader interview 19).

Table 115 indicates that municipal police officers also confiscate goods from a disproportionately high percentage of boys. The association between the gender of the child ambulant trader and the frequency that police officers take their goods is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Table 115. Gender of child ambulant traders and frequency of the confiscation of their goods by police officers

Frequency of confiscation of goods by police officers	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
At least once per week	25	32.4%	4	17.4%
At least once per month	20	26.0%	3	13.0%
Less than once per month	20	26.0%	6	26.1%
Never	12	15.6%	10	43.5%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.030 (97.0%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

This finding was pursued further in detailed interviews with child ambulant traders, who again suggest various different explanations. Many children think that the municipal police officers give more respect to girls and do not take their goods. Expanding on this, several children believe that the police are allowed to physically search boys for their goods but

they are not allowed to do the same to girls. If a police officer does harass a girl for goods then the girl often screams and causes more of a commotion than boys:

PM *Why do you think the municipal police take goods from boys more often than they take goods from girls?*

Child 2 Because they have more respect for the girls.
(Child ambulant trader interview 2: boy, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 10 From boys they can take goods...they can check to see if they have anything.
(Child ambulant trader interview 10: boy, 15 years old, postcard seller)

Child 7 Because if they take from girls they shout and scream.
(Child ambulant trader interview 7: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

In an interview with the chief of the municipal police (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05) he pointed out that legally the police are not allowed to touch the children, irrespective of their gender. However, he was aware that in reality it would be very difficult for them to enforce regulations if they did not manhandle the children at least occasionally. A second explanation for why the police confiscate goods from boys more frequently than they do from girls is because boys can be more abusive towards the police and the tourists:

PM *Why do you think the municipal police take goods from boys more often than they take goods from girls?*

Child 6 Because boys are annoying.
(Child ambulant trader interview 6: girl, 10 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 13 Boys are a little naughtier.
(Child ambulant trader interview 13: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

Child 27 Boys are badly behaved and assault the police.
(Child ambulant trader interview 27: boy, 13 years old, postcard seller)

It appears that the police confiscate goods more frequently from younger children because they are naive and lack the ability to avoid the police in the way that older children do. The police also take goods from boys more than from girls, mostly because the police are restricted in their ability to take goods from girls and because boys are often more aggressive towards the police. However, it is not only the police that take the children's goods without paying, other street children also present a threat.

Theft

Theft of goods amongst child ambulant traders is common (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Myers 1989). Only 46% of child ambulant traders in Cusco state that they have never had goods stolen by another child. Although not statistically significant ($p>0.08$), there seems to be an association between the age of the child ambulant trader and the frequency that other children steal their goods. Table 116 shows that goods are stolen from younger children far more frequently than from older children. This is to be expected because older children have a greater ability to escape and to defend themselves physically against other children, in the same way that they often avoid confiscation of goods by the municipal police. However, girls who are more capable of avoiding confiscation of their goods by municipal police officers, are more likely to have their goods stolen by other children (Table 117). Approximately 51% (Table 117) of boys say that they have never had their goods stolen by other children, whereas only 30% (Table 117) of girls make the same claim. This is because other children are not concerned over physical contact with the girls and are sometimes able to impose a greater physical strength or greater speed in order to steal their goods. Salazar (1998) also found that girls are far more vulnerable than boys on the streets. Whilst only a minority of children have ever had goods stolen by local adults (28%) or tourists (9%), this is an additional concern for the children who are already extremely concerned over the dangers posed by municipal police officers and other children.

Table 116. Age groups of child ambulant traders and frequency of theft of their goods by other children

Frequency of theft of goods by other children	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
At least once per week	6	18.8%	6	8.8%
At least once per month	4	12.5%	7	10.3%
Less than once per month	13	40.6%	18	26.4%
Never	9	28.1%	37	54.5%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.087 (91.3%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05**Table 117.** Gender of child ambulant traders and frequency of the theft of their goods by other children

Frequency of theft of goods by other children	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
At least once per week	9	11.7%	3	13.0%
At least once per month	8	10.4%	3	13.0%
Less than once per month	21	27.3%	10	43.5%
Never	39	50.6%	7	30.4%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05***“¡Rateros!” The abuse of child ambulant traders in their place of work***

Local people in Cusco often use abusive and derogatory language⁷⁸ towards child ambulant traders when they are approached to buy goods. Approximately two-thirds of child ambulant traders say that they have experienced some form of verbal abuse from a local person. Beazley (1998) found that street children in Indonesia also experience abuse whilst living and working on the streets. The reactions of local people and tourists in Cusco to being approached by child ambulant traders are likely to differ. Local people are accustomed to the sight of children working on the streets and often see them as a negative aspect of their culture, which deters tourists from the city (Beazley 1998, Young 2003). According to Beazley (1998), in Indonesia street children are marginalised by mainstream society's negative perceptions. Reportedly, tourists also sometimes verbally abuse children in Cusco when they are trying to sell their goods. Questionnaire surveys with 100 child ambulant traders reveal that 57% of children at least sometimes experience verbal abuse from tourists. Children will often hassle tourists, adopting various techniques (including crying), in an attempt to make a sale. Such aggressive selling techniques are likely to be what leads tourists to verbally abuse the children. Tourists probably have greater patience

⁷⁸ A term commonly used by the local population is “*rateros*,” which literally means mice.

with the children because the presence of the children working on the streets is likely to be a novelty. This may be why a greater percentage of child ambulant traders reported experiencing verbal abuse from local people. Bunster & Chaney (1989) have also commented on the ill treatment of children by their consumers. The attitudes of locals and tourists towards child ambulant traders are discussed in greater depth in Chapter Eight.

Verbal abuse is not the only type of abuse which concerns child ambulant traders (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Myers 1989, Woodhead 1999). On numerous occasions children were seen being physically abused by other children (Fieldwork diary, 04/02/05). Physical strength appears to be important amongst the children and is reflected in the child ambulant traders' hierarchy where older boys seem to have more power than younger children and girls. In general, older children and boys are likely to be stronger than younger children and girls. Beazley (2002) described how street boys in Indonesia would verbally and physically abuse street girls, while she also noted how street boys had to show greater strength than the average, non-working child (Beazley 1998). In addition to being abused by other children, child ambulant traders in Cusco are also physically abused by municipal police officers (Fieldwork diary, 21/01/05). In fact, during a key informant interview with the chief of municipal police, he commented that his police force were often heavy handed with the children (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05). The abuse of street children by people in authority, particularly by police officers, has been well documented (Ali *et al* 2004, Beazley 1998, 2002, Myers 1989, West 2003).

Fear of trading on the streets: spatio-temporal patterns

It is apparent that child ambulant traders in Cusco experience accidents, theft and abuse whilst working on the streets. Inevitably the children are therefore fearful of trading in specific locations and at specific times. Based on the responses of thirty child ambulant traders during detailed interviews, this sub-section discusses the spatio-temporal patterns associated with children's fears of trading.

Approximately 72% of child ambulant traders at least sometimes fear trading in central Cusco. The most feared and yet the most popular trading location is the Plaza de Armas. All children who fear trading on the Plaza de Armas say they do so because they are worried that municipal police officers will take their goods. The Plaza de Armas is a

preferred trading location because there are many tourists and greater sales opportunities but due to the high tourist numbers there is also a high police presence. Other locations that children fear because of high police presence include: Loreto Street, outside the cathedral and outside hotels. Children stated that they are fearful of forestalling sales outside formal outlets because this often results in the shop owners or municipal police officers taking their goods.

One child fears trading on Hospital Street because '*rateros*' are often found there. The child uses the term '*ratero*' to describe other street children who he perceives to be delinquent. In Beazley's (1998) research with street children in Indonesia she also found that particular places were associated with specific groups of street children. In her research there were divisions according to gender, as well as amongst boys. Moreover, Beazley (1998) established that other children, specifically girls, were often fearful of these locations. Huggins & Rodrigues (2004) also commented on how street children differentiate between themselves, distinguishing between delinquents and 'good ones'. Interestingly, in Cusco the child ambulant traders distinguish sub-groups amongst themselves, where the term "*ratero*" is reserved for those perceived to be particularly deviant. The local population in Cusco are often unable to distinguish between child ambulant traders and this is why many refer to all street children as '*rateros*'. Again, Beazley (1998) made similar conclusions, determining that street girls in Indonesia were seen as prostitutes and vagrants by street boys, whereas the general population made less of a distinction between the street children.

Detailed interviews with thirty child ambulant traders revealed that the vast majority (23) of children fear trading at particular times in central Cusco. Children particularly fear trading at night. According to several children, at 10pm many tourists and local people leave the bars and restaurants on the Plaza de Armas, which attracts traders of sweets and cigarettes. The municipal police are aware of this and have a particularly strong presence at this time. The children are therefore fearful. After 10pm the children are fearful for very different reasons. Children state that late at night there are no municipal police officers and therefore no security. Without police officers the "*rateros*" are reportedly free to take the other children's goods. An additional fear is that at night there are "*borrachos*," which is a term used to describe drunken men. One young child ambulant trader mentioned that he is

fearful of trading after midnight because not only are there “*borrachos*” but there are also prostitutes. Children quite clearly fear trading at night but they are also particularly fearful of trading at 3pm because at this time a large number of municipal police return from their lunch break. Fear of the municipal police is further evident in the fact that many children fear trading when there is a ‘*batida*’. A ‘*batida*’ is when many municipal police officers raid the streets and *plazas*, confiscating the goods of ambulant traders and sometimes taking the traders to prison. Beazley (1998) also describes street children’s fear of *batidas*, although she uses the more general terminology of ‘clean-up operations’. Seven children indicated that they do not fear trading at any time of the day in central Cusco. Many of these children are older boys of urban origin. This is to be expected when taking into account previous discussions regarding their street smart nature and dominance of ambulant trading amongst children.

Children’s positive experiences from ambulant trading

Policies such as those outlined in the UNCRC (1989), and particularly those of the ILO (Convention 182), seek to eradicate child exploitation and child labour but these policies usually fail to recognise the potential benefits which working might offer children (Bourdillon 2006, Cullen 2005, Kielland & Tovo 2006, White 2005). Recent research has adopted a more comprehensive view on child labour by recognising the negative impacts of child labour, whilst also considering the potential benefits to the children involved (Boyden *et al* 1998, Connolly & Ennew 1996, Invernizzi 2005, Punch 2003, Woodhead 1999). Whilst this thesis has considered the life costs and the dangers that child ambulant traders face, it also considers their positive experiences. Of particular interest to this study are: the income generated by child ambulant traders, the potential of the street as a source of informal education, and the extent to which children enjoy their work.

Ambulant trading: an important source of income

Probably the most obvious benefit of ambulant trading for children is the income which they are able to generate (Woodhead 1999). Questionnaire surveys completed with 100 child ambulant traders indicate that some children are able to earn more than 80 soles⁷⁹ (\$23) a week. The questionnaires found that 38% of children reported earning 0-19 soles a

⁷⁹ ‘Soles’, officially called ‘Nuevos Soles’, are the official currency of Peru. The value of Soles in 2005 was 3.5 soles = US\$1, or 5.8 Soles = £1.

week, 32% earn 20-39 soles and 30% earn 40 soles or more each week. While there is significant variation in the amount that children reported earning, almost all children are able to earn at least some money. There is a statistically significant association ($p < 0.01$) between children's reported earnings and their age. Table 118 suggests that 72% of older children earn 20 soles (\$6) or more each week, in comparison to just 41% of younger children. This is to be expected following the discussion in the previous chapter which established the predominance of older boys in the most profitable locations and times, selling the goods which earn the highest return. Salazar (1998) similarly found that older children tend to earn more money. There is also a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) association between children's earnings and their gender. It is clear from Table 119 that a much higher percentage of boys (69%) claim to earn 20 soles or more when compared to just 39% of girls.

Table 118. Age groups of child ambulant traders and amounts of money earned each week⁸⁰

Amount earned by child in previous week	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
0-19 soles	19	59.4%	19	27.9%
20-39 soles	8	25.0%	24	35.3%
40+ soles	5	15.6%	25	36.8%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.008 (99.2%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 119. Gender of child ambulant traders and amount of money earned each week

Amount earned by child in previous week	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
0-19 soles	24	31.2%	14	60.9%
20-39 soles	25	32.4%	7	30.4%
40+ soles	28	36.4%	2	8.7%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.013 (98.7%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In support of this finding, Myers (1989) states that girls have a tendency to earn less than boys but no explanations are given. During detailed follow-up interviews with child ambulant traders they suggest that boys earn more money due to the hours they work and the goods they handle:

⁸⁰ Only full Soles were recorded. If a child reported earning denominations of a Sol the total amount was rounded up or down to the nearest full Sol.

PM *Why do boys earn more money than girls?*

Child 19 Boys work more.

(Child ambulant trader interview 19: boy, 16 years old, postcard seller)

Child 21 If you sell postcards you earn more.

(Child ambulant trader interview 21: boy, 12 years old, shoe shiner)

Many of the child ambulant traders state that boys earn more money because they are able to converse in a foreign language. Children again seem to rate speaking a foreign language very highly, suggesting that it leads to earning a greater income:

PM *Why do boys earn more money than girls?*

Child 3 They know how to speak more English.

(Child ambulant trader interview 3: girl, 9 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 17 Boys study English with tourists and therefore they earn more money. Girls know less English.

(Child ambulant trader interview 17: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Other explanations put forward by child ambulant traders for why boys earn more money than girls include, boys are simply more able to sell, and they are also more likely to rob from tourists:

PM *Why do boys earn more money than girls?*

Child 20 They have a greater ability to sell.

(Child ambulant trader interview 20: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 8 They can rob. Girls can't.

(Child ambulant trader interview 12: girl, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Earning an income is a positive experience for the children, irrespective of age and gender, because it allows them to meet the needs which required them to work in the first instance. For 79% of children this means passing their earnings onto parents or other family

members in order to pay for necessities such as food, or to pay for schooling. However, it has been established that many child ambulant traders also work for pocket money. More than half (56%) of all child ambulant traders retain less than 10 soles (\$3) a week for themselves, although 26% retain 10-29 soles and 18% keep 30 soles or more. This extra income is mostly spent on things such as play (entry to a park or increasingly internet cabins) or sweets. Without this income children would be excluded from certain forms of play and from buying luxuries such as sweets. Older children and boys retain more money than younger children and girls, which is probably a reflection of the fact that they earn more money in total.

Ambulant trading: an informal source of education

In addition to providing an important income, ambulant trading provides an informal education for the children. The skill which child ambulant traders value most is their ability to converse in a foreign language. Child ambulant traders state that being able to converse in a foreign language leads to selling more profitable goods and inevitably earning more money. The previous chapter established that 67% of child ambulant traders in Cusco are able to converse in a foreign language and that most of these children learn their foreign language skills on the streets whilst conversing with tourists. Children learn basic but practical mathematical skills when they carry out transactions with tourists, often with very little time to make calculations because the municipal police are nearby. The children learn the type of basic mathematics that might also be of use to them in the future. As well as mathematical skills, children develop knowledge of the history of Cusco, which enables them to act as unofficial guides to tourists at sites such as the cathedral, the stone of 12 angles and Plaza San Blas. In fact, several children have recently begun to act as guides to tourists. Many of these children were ambulant traders in the past but now they choose to work as informal guides.

Child ambulant traders also learn basic information about the countries of those who visit Cusco. After establishing the nationality of a tourist, child ambulant traders regularly list a number of facts about the relevant country in an attempt to impress the tourist and build a rapport which then helps them to make a sale. The children's knowledge of different countries expands the more they talk with the tourists, which then makes the children even

more competitive as traders. There can be no doubt that the street does provide an informal source of education.

Child ambulant traders not only learn skills in mathematics, history and geography but they also learn a number of transferable skills that are likely to be of use in the future. Amongst other transferable skills, children learn to find sources of goods, manage a small budget, manage their time, attract customers, negotiate a price and carry out a sale. This process of socialisation has been explored by many academics (Bunster & Chaney 1989, Invernizzi 2003, Jennings *et al* 2006, Liebel 2004, Nieuwenhuys 2003, Woodhead 1999), who explain that street work is often valued above formal education (Nieuwenhuys 2003) because it allows young people to prepare for their future (Invernizzi 2003).

Ambulant trading: an enjoyable necessity

Children's attitudes towards working and the extent to which they enjoy it has been largely ignored in the child labour literature until now, with the exception of several research projects that suggest children enjoy working when the boundaries between work and play become unclear (Katz 1986, 1996, Punch 2003). Although trading is a necessity for most ambulant traders, the overwhelming majority of children, irrespective of age, gender and origin, state that they enjoy trading. When presented with the statement, "I enjoy trading," 80% of child traders totally agree, 14% slightly agree, 1% slightly disagree and 5% totally disagree. Invernizzi (2005) commented on the SIETI (2001) study which found that more than 90% of working children in Portugal like their job and over half of them do their job because they want to. The findings in Cusco and those of other studies (Invernizzi 2005, SIETI 2001) pose serious questions of any policies that seek to prevent children from working, such as the UNCRC (1989) and the ILO Convention 182.

Self awareness: children's assessment of their competitiveness in ambulant trading

Very little research has considered children's awareness of their competitiveness as workers and their awareness of characteristics and devices that help them to trade in particular⁸¹. This sub section will explore the self awareness of child ambulant traders. Based on the views of children, it will establish whether children perceive ambulant trading

⁸¹ One exception is a brief discussion by Beazley (1998) regarding street girls' awareness of their competitiveness in the sex industry in Indonesia.

to be easier for children or for adults, before reviewing the characteristics that children believe help them to trade.

Children's awareness of their competitiveness with adult ambulant traders

Detailed interviews with thirty child ambulant traders show that the children are unsure whether they are at an advantage or a disadvantage when compared to adult ambulant traders. Approximately half of all child ambulant traders believe that they are at an advantage, while most other children believe adults have an advantage. The majority of child ambulant traders who believe that it is easier for children to trade on the streets suggest that it is because consumers, particularly tourists, prefer to buy from children:

PM *Do you think that it's easier for a child to sell on the streets or for an adult?*

Child 1 Children, because tourists buy more from children than from adults.
(Child ambulant trader interview 1: boy, 13 years old, tobacco seller)

Child 13 Children because people buy more from them than from adults.
(Child ambulant trader interview 13: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

Child 22 Children...tourists give them money but not adults.
(Child ambulant trader interview 22: boy, 15 years old, shoe shiner)

Child 26 Children...the tourists take pity on children.
(Child ambulant trader interview 26: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

One other reason why some child ambulant traders believe it is easier for children to sell on the streets is because they are more capable of selling. This contradicts one of the reasons why several children believe ambulant trading is easier for adults. It is suggested that adults have a greater ability to speak a foreign language which makes selling on the streets far easier. This is again a further reinforcement of the value placed on being able to converse in a foreign language:

PM *Do you think that it's easier for a child to sell on the streets or for an adult?*

Child 23 Adults...they speak more English and children don't know much.
(Child ambulant trader interview 23: boy, 16 years old, postcard seller)

Child 24 Adults...they have the experience of speaking English.
(Child ambulant trader interview 24: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Child 30 Adults...they speak English very well.
(Child ambulant trader interview 30: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

The second reason why many child ambulant traders believe ambulant trading is easier for adults is because children have to study. A number of children believe that adults have an advantage because children must spend several hours in school each day and only after school are the children able to trade on the streets. This is a pattern which was established in the previous chapter. In contrast, children believe that adults are able to spend the entire day trading as they have no commitments to schooling:

PM *Do you think that it's easier for a child to sell on the streets or for an adult?*

Child 8 Adults because children have to study.
(Child ambulant trader interview 8: girl, 12 years old, finger puppet seller)

Child 21 Adults. Children have to go to school and have homework.
(Child ambulant trader interview 21: boy, 12 years old, shoe shiner)

Child 27 Adults...Children have school and shouldn't be selling.
(Child ambulant trader interview 27: boy, 13 years old, postcard seller)

There is a clear divide amongst the child ambulant traders about whether ambulant trading is easier for adults or children. However, it is apparent that amongst the community of child ambulant traders there exists a perspective on the advantages they have over adults, whilst they also believe that adults have very different advantages. Most previous research has failed to consider children's awareness of their competitiveness and instead focuses on adult awareness about the benefits of children working (Boyden 1991, NGO Group 2002, West 2003).

Children's perceptions of characteristics which help them to sell on the streets

Having discussed children's opinions on their competitiveness with adults, this section will explore their perceptions of characteristics that make children more competitive with each

other and with adults. During field observations and informal discussions it appeared that different characteristics of children make them more successful ambulant traders. In questionnaire surveys 100 child ambulant traders were asked to what extent the following characteristics influence consumers to make a purchase: ability to speak a foreign language, a sense of fun, appearing to be young, appearing to be poor and crying.

Following earlier conclusions about the importance of speaking a foreign language, it is no surprise that 93% of child ambulant traders believe speaking a foreign language at least slightly increases the likelihood that a consumer will purchase goods from them. This further demonstrates how important child ambulant traders believe speaking a foreign language is. Most child ambulant traders (90%) believe that smiling and having a sense of fun at least slightly increases the likelihood that a consumer will purchase a child's goods. Having a sense of fun helps the child to build a rapport with the consumers, making them more likely to purchase the child's goods. However, it could be argued that consumers will feel less pity for a child who appears to be playing and enjoying themselves. The perceptions of consumers are discussed in the following chapter. Boys in particular believe a sense of fun increases the likelihood that a consumer will purchase their goods (Table 120). This may be because boys are reportedly more likely to be able to converse with tourists and therefore have a greater ability to convey humour.

Table 120. Gender of child ambulant traders and extent of belief that a sense of fun helps sales

Influence of having a sense of fun	Gender of child ambulant trader			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increases a lot	63	81.8%	16	69.6%
Increases slightly	10	13.0%	1	4.3%
No influence	3	3.9%	6	26.1%
Greatly decreases	1	1.3%	0	0%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Although older children seem to sit above younger children in the hierarchy of child ambulant traders, 72% of children perceive that if the child is younger it at least slightly increases the likelihood that the consumer will make a purchase. Only 1% of children believe that being younger decreases the likelihood that a consumer will purchase their goods, while the remaining 27% of children believe that being younger has no influence.

Hecht (1998, 2002) and Young (2003) both concluded that consumers feel sympathy for younger children, which makes them more competitive traders than older children. Invernizzi (2003) found that young street working children in Lima earn more money than their older friends and family, whilst washing car windscreens, because drivers perceive young children to be innocent and “cute.” In Cusco older children in particular believe that being younger increases the likelihood of consumers making a purchase (Table 121).

Table 121. Age groups of child ambulant traders and the extent of belief that appearing to be young helps sales

Influence of appearing to be young	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increases a lot	17	53.1%	48	70.6%
Increases slightly	1	3.1%	6	8.8%
No influence	14	43.8%	13	19.1%
Greatly decreases	0	0%	1	1.5%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Exactly 62% of child ambulant traders believe that if a child appears to be poor, consumers are at least slightly more likely to make a purchase. A significant percentage of child ambulant traders (36%) believe that appearing to be poor has no influence, whereas 2% believe it greatly decreases the likelihood of a consumer making a purchase. Consumers are likely to feel compassion towards children who appear to be poor in the same way that they do towards younger children. Again, older children in particular believe the consumers are more likely to buy from those children who appear to be poor (Table 122). Older children perhaps have a greater awareness of the characteristics that help a child sell to tourists because they have traded for longer and therefore develop a greater understanding.

Table 122. Age groups of child ambulant traders and the belief that the appearance of poverty helps sales

Influence of appearing to be poor	Age group of child ambulant trader			
	6-11 years		12-17 years	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increases a lot	14	43.8%	35	51.5%
Increases slightly	3	9.4%	10	14.7%
No influence	15	46.8%	21	30.9%
Greatly decreases	0	0%	2	2.9%
Total children	32	100%	68	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

A significant percentage (44%) of child ambulant traders believe that if a child cries consumers are at least slightly more likely to purchase their goods. However, most children (55%) believe that crying has no influence on the consumer's decision and 1% of children believe that crying greatly decreases the likelihood that a consumer will purchase their goods. It became clear during questionnaire surveys and informal discussions with child ambulant traders that crying was only effective for younger children and for girls in particular. This is because consumers feel pity for younger children whereas this is less so for older children. If a younger child is crying the pity felt by the consumer is likely to increase. Crying is also a gendered action, which is far more acceptable for females than for males. In summary, child ambulant traders believe that being able to speak in a foreign language, having a sense of fun and appearing to be young and poor, all greatly increase the likelihood that a consumer will make a purchase. Older children in particular believe that many of these characteristics are important, which is likely to be a further reflectance of their greater awareness of the way ambulant trading functions.

The importance of ambulant trading and possible alternatives for the future

If child ambulant traders were to stop trading in Cusco, as several international and local policies demand (*Municipalidad del Cusco*, UNCRC 1989, ILO 1973, 1999), it is not necessarily the case that the children's lives will be improved. Hence, this sub section considers how important ambulant trading is to child ambulant traders, through means of a visual task carried out with thirty child ambulant traders, following which there is an exploration of possible alternatives to trading, as identified by child ambulant traders during detailed interviews.

Ambulant trading: an important part of children's lives?

In order to establish the importance of trading, in relation to other parts of child ambulant traders' lives, a visual task was carried out with thirty child ambulant traders. Children were only given very basic information about the research project prior to completing the visual task, with the intention of limiting any influence over the children's responses. After an initial piloting process where important issues were discussed during informal interviews with children in informal trading, nine cards were devised to represent potentially important things in child ambulant traders' lives. The nine cards (Appendix J) were presented to the children and they were asked to pick the three cards that represent the

things that are most important in their lives. After the child had picked three cards they were asked to rank the cards in order of importance. The cards represented clothing, family, food, holidays, money, play, school, tourists and trading. All entities ranked as most important by the child ambulant traders receive 3 points, entities ranked as second most important receive 2 points, those ranked third receive 1 point and those not ranked receive 0 points. The total number of points for each entity have been calculated and based on these total points the different entities are ranked by level of importance.

Table 123 summarises the level of importance of the different entities that the children were asked to rank. School is ranked by children as most important in their lives. This mirrors the comments made by child ambulant traders during questionnaire surveys, when the majority stated that they prefer school to trading. The second most important entity to child ambulant traders is family. Again this reiterates earlier findings which established that most children live in at least single parent households and work for their parents or other family members. In addition, the family unit in Cusco, and in Latin America in general, is extremely important (Invernizzi 2003) so it is not surprising that family is ranked so highly. The third most important thing in the lives of child ambulant traders is play. One reason why play is perhaps ranked so highly is because the time available for play is so limited.

After school, family and play, the next most important thing in the lives of child ambulant traders is trading. Trading enables children to attend school, support their family and engage in play. It plays a key role in the lives of child ambulant traders in Cusco. Numerous academics have concluded that work is often an important part of the lives of majority and minority world children (McKenchie *et al* 2000, Mizen *et al* 1999, Morrow 1994, Punch 2003). Trading is ranked above money and tourists, both of which are also important to many child ambulant traders. Food, holidays and clothing are given a low level of importance by most child ambulant traders. Food and clothing are perhaps seen as the responsibility of their parents, while holidays may be of little importance because there is no significant change for the children at this time.

Table 123. Ranking of the important entities in the lives of child ambulant traders in central Cusco

Entity most important in the life of the child ambulant trader	Total no. of points from child ambulant traders	Level of importance (1=most important 9=least important)
School	49	1
Family	43	2
Play	30	3
Trading	20	4
Money	17	5
Tourists	10	6
Food	5	7=
Holidays	5	7=
Clothing	1	9

Source: Child ambulant trader interviews, Cusco 2005

Alternatives to ambulant trading

In 2005 many ambulant traders (child and adult) had been moved off the streets of central Cusco. It is likely that regulations will become even more stringent in the future and child ambulant traders will be forced to move off the streets of central Cusco entirely. In addition, Peru as a country which has signed the UNCRC (1989), will seek to eradicate child labour, which may involve preventing children from trading on the streets in Cusco. However, almost all child ambulant traders need to work, therefore thirty child ambulant traders were asked, during detailed interviews, what they would do to get money if they were no longer able to trade on the streets. A number of children stated that they would help their parents, which might involve working at their parents' place of work, or working at their own home. Other children stated that they would seek work in other people's houses, or wash clothes:

Child 14 Help my mother and father in agriculture.

(Child ambulant trader interview 14: boy, 15 years old, postcard seller)

Child 6 I would go to work in a house.

(Child ambulant trader interview 6: girl, 10 years old, finger puppet seller)

- Child 3** Wash clothes.
(Child ambulant trader interview 3: girl, 9 years old, finger puppet seller)

The type of work mentioned above is likely to be poorly remunerated and may not provide sufficient income to allow the children to attend school, or buy the goods that they are able to buy with their present incomes. Some children suggested that they would be able to get work in more formal locations, such as shops and restaurants. Again, this work would be poorly remunerated and the working conditions are likely to be poor:

PM *If you didn't sell what would you do to get money?*

- Child 16** Work in a shop.
(Child ambulant trader interview 16: boy, 15 years old, tobacco seller)

- Child 29** Work in a restaurant.
(Child ambulant trader interview 29: boy, 14 years old, postcard seller)

Additionally, no more than two child ambulant traders suggested carpentry and cleaning plates in a market as alternatives to trading. A significant number of children suggested desperate alternatives such as begging and robbing:

PM *If you didn't sell what would you do to get money?*

- Child 21** Beg from tourists.
(Child ambulant trader interview 21: boy, 12 years old, shoe shiner)

- Child 30** I would rob.
(Child ambulant trader interview 30: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Most beggars are moved away from central Cusco so begging is an unlikely alternative to trading. Theft is illegal and those caught stealing items would be punished far more severely than if they were caught trading. The most desperate suggestion, however, was not begging or theft. Instead one child stated that if he was unable to trade he would probably die because he would be unable to afford to eat:

PM *If you didn't sell what would you do to get money?*

Child 5 Die. I wouldn't eat.

(Child ambulant trader interview 5: boy, 12 years old, postcard seller)

Most children perceive that there are alternatives to trading. However the alternatives which they suggest all tend to be far more poorly remunerated and in worse working conditions than trading. Therefore, if local or national government enforce anti-trading laws more stringently in the future, without firstly providing alternative sources of income for the children and their families, child ambulant traders will be forced into alternative and perhaps more desperate income generating activities. Similar conclusions were reached by Boyden (1991) and Invernizzi (2005).

Summary comments

Chapter Seven explores the experiences of children in ambulant trading. It first describes their trading circumstances, establishing that the vast majority (89%) of child ambulant traders work on the streets because of economic need and that most (72%) work for their parents or other family members. Interestingly, no children stated that they work for a 'big brother' figure, who oversees their activities, whereas other studies have found such a figure to be a prominent employer (West 2003). It is also revealed that no fewer than 76% of children at least sometimes work alone. According to comments made by child ambulant traders, their trading circumstances vary considerably according to age, gender and origin. For instance, a greater percentage of older children, boys and urban children state that they work to earn pocket money and they work alone. This finding probably reflects the fact that these children are particularly independent (Beazley 1998, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Invernizzi 2003, Rosa *et al* 1992, Salazar 1998). In addition, girls perhaps work in groups because they feel out of place on the streets when they work alone.

In addition to trading, child ambulant traders are also required to complete a number of other tasks such as homework, washing clothes, helping their parents, cooking and cleaning dishes. Girls, and to a lesser extent younger children and rural children, have a tendency to do more tasks when they are not trading. This is perhaps because housework is a gendered

task, while for younger children and rural children, they are less independent of the family unit and therefore play a more significant role in housework.

Chapter Seven investigates children's life costs of working in informal trading. Trading and carrying out other tasks impacts on the time children have to play and on the time they spend in school. Most child ambulant traders (75%) do have time to play, normally for one hour or less and often hybridised with work. A significant percentage of child ambulant traders (25%) do not have time to play and 32% report spending less than the 'normal' number of hours in school each week. This demonstrates a violation of children's rights as laid out in the UNCRC (1989). Rural children in particular do not have time to play, while boys and rural children spend less time in school. Such impacts on life chances are partly responsible for the fact that only 16% of children had realistic future career aspirations.

Trading presents numerous dangers to children. Nearly half (46%) of all child ambulant traders reported experiencing an accident whilst working, particularly the less street smart young and rural children. Most children (78%), especially younger children, claim they have their goods stolen at least occasionally. Child ambulant traders suggest that this is because younger children are not quick enough to escape, they are weaker and more playful with tourists. Whilst more boys than girls claim that the police confiscate their goods, a greater percentage of girls suggest that other children steal their goods. This is probably because the police give more respect to girls, whereas other children give less respect to girls and use physical strength to overpower them. Child ambulant traders are also faced with verbal and physical abuse on the streets from their potential consumers. Such abuse stems from poor perceptions of the work carried out by children and their continual harassment of tourists. Physical abuse tends to come from municipal police officers and other street children. Notably, physical strength plays a key role in reinforcing the hierarchy amongst child ambulant traders. The abundance of dangers facing child ambulant traders leads them to fear trading in particular locations and at specific times. The Plaza de Armas is simultaneously the most popular trading location (because of the high consumer flow) and the most feared (because of the high police presence). Child ambulant traders particularly fear working after 10pm because there are far fewer police officers and therefore inadequate protection from *rateros* and *borrachos*. Older boys report being less fearful of trading, probably because they are more street smart.

Even though ambulant trading presents significant dangers, children also gain positive experiences from their involvement, such as earning an income, gaining an informal education and socialisation. Older children and boys earn the highest incomes, which further demonstrates their dominance. These positive experiences contribute to the statistic that 94% of child ambulant traders questioned at least slightly enjoy their work.

The penultimate section of this chapter provides an insight into children's awareness of their competitiveness as traders. In general, child ambulant traders have clear perspectives on many of the advantages they have over adult traders, such as the tendency for consumers to purchase from them. Furthermore, children acknowledge that adults may have very different advantages, which include greater knowledge of foreign languages. Child ambulant traders also discussed what makes them effective traders. They suggest that speaking a foreign language, having a sense of fun and appearing to be young are all characteristics that improve a child's ability to sell. In particular, older children and boys, the more street smart children, seem to believe in the importance of these characteristics.

Chapter Seven ended by considering how important trading is to child ambulant traders in Cusco. Children ranked trading behind school, family and play, showing that whilst trading is important it is not the most important thing in their lives. If international and local legislation succeeds in stopping children's involvement in trading, without alternative measures being in place, the impacts on children could be dramatic. Children noted that they would be forced into poorly remunerated occupations, exposing them to more hazardous conditions. Chapter Seven made several observations regarding the interaction between child ambulant traders and their consumers. However, little detail is known about this interaction, therefore Chapter Eight discusses more comprehensively, the ways children and their consumers relate to each other and particularly explores the implications of a 'minority world' approach to childhood which is held by many consumers and policy makers.

-Chapter 8-

A SHARED EXPERIENCE: EXCHANGE BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND CHILD AMBULANT TRADERS

“The act of buying and selling is fluid...those who buy...take part in conversation. It is not just an act of buying and selling.”

(Interview: Rivas, male, Oficina de Centro Histórico, 31/01/05)

The above comment was made by a government official in Cusco during a detailed interview. He suggests that the exchange which takes place between child ambulant traders and consumers is a shared experience. Furthermore, Seligmann (1993) comments that market-place exchanges between different ethnic groups in Cusco can be extremely complex. Therefore, it is anticipated that the exchange between consumers and child ambulant traders is complex. This chapter explores the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange. The chapter first describes and explains how child ambulant traders view and deal with consumers, before investigating the buying preferences of consumers. This is followed by a review of consumers' perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of trading for children. Finally the chapter examines the attitudes of consumers, government officials and other key informants towards potential policy interventions in the lives of child ambulant traders.

Dealing with the consumer: the child ambulant trader perspective

Although the previous chapter explored the experiences of child ambulant traders it did not discuss, in any detail, children's interactions with the consumer. This section seeks to understand who makes purchases from child ambulant traders, how children differentiate between consumers by charging different prices and how children think consumers feel towards them.

Distinguishing between consumers

During questionnaire surveys 100 child ambulant traders were asked to recall the age group of the consumers who most frequently purchase from them. The vast majority of child ambulant traders (80%) consider that there is no specific age group of consumer that purchases from them. However, male child ambulant traders, more so than females, state that there are some specific groups who will purchase from them (Table 124). For instance,

13% of boys state that their most frequent consumers are older, 10% report that most are young and 1% states that most are middle aged. The ability of boys to differentiate between consumers of different ages is perhaps a further illustration of their street smartness and awareness. The overwhelming majority of child ambulant traders (95%) comment that male and female consumers purchase from them equally. In general children do not perceive the gender of the consumer to be significantly reflected in the frequency that consumers make a purchase.

In the questionnaire survey, children reported that tourist consumers are those who purchase from them most frequently. This is an inevitable reflection of the fact that almost all questionnaire surveys were carried out on the Plaza de Armas and adjacent streets where tourists are found. In this location, Table 125 shows that 78% of child traders comment that tourists are their most frequent customers. Table 125 also shows that there is a relationship between the gender of the child ambulant trader and the type of consumer that they say most frequently buys their goods. While boys and girls both assert that their most frequent consumers are tourists, boys are a little more likely to make this claim (Table 125). Nearly 81% (Table 125) of boys report that tourists buy from them the most, whereas this is the case for fewer (70%) girls. This difference is likely to be because boys are aware of the greater income which can be generated from selling to tourists. It has already been established that boys are more street smart so they are better equipped to sell to tourists (Beazley 1998, NGO Group 2002, Salazar 1998).

Table 124. Ages of the consumers who most frequently buy from child ambulant traders of different gender

Age of consumer	Child traders			
	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Young	8	10.4%	1	4.3%
Middle aged	1	1.3%	0	0%
Old	10	13.0%	0	0%
All ages	58	75.3%	22	95.7%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 125. Types of consumer who most frequently buy from child ambulant traders of different gender

Type of consumer	Child traders					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tourist	62	80.5%	16	69.6%	78	78%
Local	5	6.5%	1	4.3%	6	6%
All equally	10	13.0%	6	26.1%	16	16%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Different consumers, different prices

Many child ambulant traders differentiate between their consumers. This sub section discusses children's reported strategies for charging different prices to different consumers. Child ambulant traders were asked whether or not they always charge a standard price for their goods or if they vary their prices. The vast majority (72%) of child ambulant traders say they always charge different prices, many (22%) comment that they always charge a standard price and 6% sometimes charge different prices. The children were also asked which consumers are charged the highest prices. It was anticipated that some children might charge tourists more than locals because many tourists appear to have more money. However, the results show even more specific differentiation by the children. Table 126 illustrates which consumers are charged the highest prices. Approximately 58% of child ambulant traders assert that they charge only American and English tourists the highest prices, while 36% of child ambulant traders charge all tourists the highest prices. During questionnaire surveys the children revealed that they are able to identify the nationality of a tourist by asking about their origin, or they observe clothing, or they listen to the tourist's accent and dialect (Child ambulant trader questionnaires 4 & 21). Most children justify their decision to charge American and English tourists more because they believe American and English tourists are particularly wealthy (Child ambulant trader questionnaires 16, 80 & 90). Child ambulant traders probably base their perception of Americans and English on personal experience and media representations. Most children have access to the internet or to television where they gain an impression of culture in the minority world. Attitudes of child ambulant traders towards price differentiation do not seem to vary according to trader age, gender and origin.

Table 126. The price differentiation for consumers purchasing from child ambulant traders⁹¹

Consumers who are charged the highest price	Child traders	
	No.	%
All tourists	28	35.9%
American and English tourists	45	57.7%
Others (inc. elderly, men & locals)	5	6.4%
Total children	78	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Child ambulant trader perception of the tourist opinion

This sub section covers child ambulant trader perception of tourist opinion towards children in informal trading. It specifically considers children's perceptions of the attitudes of different types of consumer, namely tourists and locals. The children were presented with a series of statements describing potential tourist attitudes and they were asked to what extent they agree. For purposes of comparison the scale of agreement has been simplified to, agree or disagree. Table 127 shows that most (58%) child ambulant traders believe tourists feel sad for them. Table 127 also shows that a significant percentage (26%) of children believe tourists are annoyed by them and 13% are happy for them. Only a very small (3%) percentage of child ambulant traders believe that tourists are indifferent to them. However, when tourists were questioned it was evident that 74% of tourists feel sad for child ambulant traders, 13% are annoyed by the children and the remaining 13% of tourists are indifferent. This suggests that children are relatively aware of the tourist opinion, although they seem to underestimate the proportion of tourists who feel sad for them and overestimate the percentage who are annoyed. Table 127 shows that boys particularly believe tourists feel sad for them. Approximately 62% of boys and 44% of girls make this assumption. Table 127 indicates that 39% of girls believe tourists are annoyed by them, whereas a smaller percentage of boys (22%) believe this. It is possible that boys are more resilient to tourists refusing to buy their goods, while girls may feel that this is an indication of the tourists being annoyed. This is perhaps another example of boys' street smartness and greater awareness of the consumer attitude.

⁹¹ Only 78 child ambulant traders chose to respond to this question because the remaining 22 children charge a standard price to their consumers

Table 128 illustrates how child ambulant traders perceive the attitudes of local consumers. Approximately 38% of child ambulant traders think that locals are annoyed by them, while 27% believe locals feel sad for them. In contrast to the perceived attitudes of tourists, a significant percentage of children (27%) believe locals feel indifferently towards them. When local consumers were asked how they feel towards child ambulant traders approximately 40% admitted to feeling annoyed, 37% were indifferent and 23% said that they feel sad. Child ambulant traders are clearly well aware of the attitudes of local consumers towards them. Young (2003) describes how locals in Kampala are not always sympathetic to the plight of street children because the children take drugs and hassle them. Similarly in Cusco, many locals are annoyed by them or indifferent to their situation. Locals are far more accustomed to the sight of children working on the streets so it is understandable that many children believe locals feel indifferently towards them. Moreover, being accustomed to the sight of children working means locals are less likely than tourists to feel sad for them. Table 128 shows that although not statistically significant ($P>0.4$) there seems to be some association between the gender of the child ambulant trader and what they believe locals think about them. Boys particularly believe locals feel annoyed (39%) and sad (30%), while girls believe locals are indifferent (39%) and annoyed (35%). In this instance boys and girls both appear to be relatively accurate in their understanding of how locals feel towards child ambulant traders.

Table 127. The perceptions of child ambulant traders of different gender regarding the attitudes of tourists towards them

Perceived tourist attitude	Child traders					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sad for the children	48	62.3%	10	43.5%	58	58%
Annoyed by the children	17	22.1%	9	39.1%	26	26%
Happy for the children	9	11.7%	4	17.4%	13	13%
Indifferent towards the children's situation	3	3.9%	0	0%	3	3%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%	100	100%

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 128. The perceptions of child ambulant traders of different gender regarding the attitudes of locals towards them

Perceived local attitude	Child traders					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sad for the children	23	29.8%	4	17.4%	27	27%
Annoyed by the children	30	39.0%	8	34.8%	38	38%
Happy for the children	6	7.8%	2	8.7%	8	8%
Indifferent towards the children's situation	18	23.4%	9	39.1%	27	27%
Total children	77	100%	23	100%	100	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.432 (56.8%)

Source: Child ambulant trader questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Dealing with child traders: the consumer perspective

This section explores the consumer perspective on child ambulant traders. It first considers the consumer attitude towards buying from children, before describing the goods that consumers prefer to buy from children. The characteristics of a child which potentially increase the likelihood of a consumer making a purchase are then discussed. Finally, consumer attitude towards bartering is summarised.

Buying from children or adults: consumer preference

This sub section discusses the attitudes of consumers towards buying from child ambulant traders. It considers the attitudes of tourist and local consumers, with some reference to varying attitudes according to the age and gender of the consumer. Moreover, the attitudes of backpackers and non-backpackers will be considered where relevant. Table 129 shows that a greater percentage of locals (89%) than tourists (58%) are willing to purchase goods from child ambulant traders. Locals are more accustomed to the presence of children and are more comfortable about making a purchase. Tourists are less accustomed to the sight of children working on the street and many are warned by tour agency representatives and in guide books of the dangers of buying from child ambulant traders (Tourist questionnaires 13, 49 & 50). During questionnaire surveys some tourists expressed their dislike of buying from children as they believe it encourages children to continue to work on the streets (Tourist questionnaires 12 & 16). In this instance working on the street is perceived by tourists to be negative.

Table 129. The attitudes of locals and tourists towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders

Attitude of consumer	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Will make a purchase	89	89%	58	58%
Will not make a purchase	11	11%	42	42%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

There seems to be an association between the age of the local consumer and whether or not they will purchase goods from child ambulant traders. Table 130 shows that 94% of younger local consumers (<30 years) will purchase from children, whereas fewer (78%) older local consumers (≥ 40 years) will do so. There is a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) association between the type of tourist consumer and whether they are willing to purchase from a child ambulant trader. Table 131 demonstrates that 73% of backpackers will make a purchase from children, while this is only true for 49% of non-backpackers. Scheyvens (2002) made similar conclusions with regards to backpackers in her study of backpacker tourism in the majority world. Backpackers are more likely to be independent of an organised tour and are therefore less likely to be advised to avoid buying from children.

Table 130. The attitudes of locals and tourists of different age groups towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders

Attitude of consumer	Local						Tourist					
	<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years		<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Will make a purchase	58	93.5%	24	82.8%	7	77.8%	32	56.1%	16	61.5%	10	58.8%
Will not make a purchase	4	6.5%	5	17.2%	2	22.2%	25	43.9%	10	38.5%	7	41.2%
Total respondents	62	100%	29	100%	9	100%	57	100%	26	100%	17	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 131. The attitudes of different types of tourist towards purchasing goods from child ambulant traders

Attitude of consumer	Tourist			
	Backpacker		Non-backpacker	
	No.	%	No.	%
Will make a purchase	27	73.0%	31	49.2%
Will not make a purchase	10	27.0%	32	50.8%
Total respondents	37	100%	63	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.020 (98.0%)

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Having established that not all consumers are willing to purchase from children, there follows a brief discussion on whether consumers prefer to purchase from adults or children. The questionnaire survey showed that 38% (Table 132) of local consumers questioned prefer to purchase from children, 30% have no preference, 23% are dependent on the types of goods they wish to buy and 9% prefer to buy from adults. This differs significantly from tourist preferences. Many tourists are advised not to buy from children which obviously influences tourists because approximately 44% prefer to purchase from adults, 28% have no preference, 21% are dependent on the types of goods they wish to buy and 7% prefer to buy from children. In general local consumers are far more likely to purchase from children, whereas tourists are far more likely to buy from adults.

Table 132. Preferences of locals and tourists between purchasing from child or adult vendors

Preferred vendor	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Child trader	38	38%	7	7%
Adult trader	9	9%	44	44%
Dependent on the type of goods	23	23%	21	21%
No preference	30	30%	28	28%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Goods sold by children and adults: consumer preferences

A significant percentage of local (23%) and tourist (21%) consumers state that they will purchase particular types of goods from children and adults. Therefore this sub section explores, in more detail, what types of goods consumers will buy from children and adults. At this point it is important to recall that most child ambulant traders handle postcards and finger puppets, as well as other goods such as sweets and confectionery. Table 133 shows that the majority of locals (54%) will buy sweets and confectionery from children. It seems that locals are functional shoppers (Newby 1993) which means that they buy convenience goods at times and in locations that suit the consumer. When making a purchase from a child, tourists will buy postcards, finger puppets and artisan goods (29%), cheap goods (24%) or they will not buy anything (38%). Tourists are more likely to be leisure shoppers than locals because tourists are on holiday with more leisure time and in search of souvenirs (Newby 1993).

Table 133. The types of goods that locals and tourists prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders

Preferred type of goods	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards, finger puppets, artisan goods	8	14.8%	17	29.4%
Sweets & Confectionery	29	53.7%	5	8.6%
All goods	6	11.1%	0	0%
Cheap goods	4	7.4%	14	24.1%
None	7	13.0%	22	37.9%
Total respondents	54	100%	58	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires⁹², Cusco, 2004/05

Table 134 illustrates that the gender of the tourist is associated with the goods they buy from children. Approximately 45% of female tourists will not buy any goods from children, while a further 39% say that they will buy postcards, finger puppets and artisan goods, 13% buy cheaper goods and 3% are prepared to buy sweets and confectionery. However, the pattern for male tourists is a little different: 37% of male tourists will buy cheap goods from children, 30% will buy anything, 19% buy postcards, finger puppets and

⁹² Not all of the 100 tourist and 100 local consumers gave an answer to every question. This is because on occasions consumers have no preference or are uncertain about the answer to the question posed. Hence, the total number of respondents is occasionally less than 100.

artisan goods and 15% are prepared to buy sweets and confectionery. Female tourists appear to be leisure shoppers because they prefer to buy souvenirs and more expensive goods, whereas male tourists appear to be functional shoppers who buy cheap, mostly convenience goods (Newby 1993). There also appears to be an association between tourist type and the goods that tourists prefer to buy from children. Table 135 demonstrates that 37% of backpackers prefer to buy postcards, finger puppets and artisan goods from children, while this is only true for 23% of non-backpackers. Furthermore, 33% of non-backpackers and only 15% of backpackers will buy cheap goods from children. Backpackers display similar shopping habits to female tourists. It may be that backpackers enjoy immersing themselves in the perceived local culture by purchasing goods from children, the majority of whom sell finger puppets and postcards. Non-backpackers, like male tourists, may simply purchase convenience goods.

Table 134. The types of goods that locals and tourists of different gender prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders

Preferred type of goods	Local				Tourist			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards, finger puppets, artisan goods	3	12.0%	5	17.3%	5	18.5%	12	38.7%
Sweets & Confectionery	12	48.0%	17	58.6%	4	14.8%	1	3.2%
All goods	4	16.0%	2	6.9%	0	0%	0	0%
Cheap goods	2	8.0%	2	6.9%	10	37.0%	4	12.9%
None	4	16.0%	3	10.3%	8	29.7%	14	45.2%
Total respondents	25	100%	29	100%	27	100%	31	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 135. The types of goods that different types of tourist prefer to purchase from child ambulant traders

Preferred type of goods	Tourist			
	Backpacker		Non-backpacker	
	No.	%	No.	%
Postcards, finger puppets, artisan goods	10	37.0%	7	22.6%
Sweets & Confectionery	1	3.7%	4	12.8%
All goods	0	0%	0	0%
Cheap goods	4	14.9%	10	32.3%
None	12	44.4%	10	32.3%
Total respondents	27	100%	31	100%

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Locals and tourists will purchase very different goods from adult ambulant traders. Table 136 shows the key difference is that a much greater percentage of tourists will reportedly purchase tobacco. Local consumers are more likely to buy artisan goods. Many tourists commented on the relatively low price of tobacco in Cusco, when compared to prices in most minority world countries. This explains why such a high percentage of tourists purchase tobacco, which is mostly bought from adult ambulant traders because very few children sell it. During several questionnaire surveys with child ambulant traders they commented that children do not sell tobacco because they are not permitted. It is interesting to note that many children feel they should not sell tobacco because it is illegal for them to do so and yet they are not legally permitted to sell anything from the streets. There is also some difference in the types of goods backpackers and non-backpackers will purchase from adult ambulant traders (Table 137). For instance, most backpackers will buy all goods from adults ambulant traders. Non-backpackers will particularly buy tobacco. This again highlights the tendency for backpackers to spread their spending evenly as they buy many different goods from adult and child ambulant traders.

Table 136. The types of goods that locals and tourists prefer to purchase from adult ambulant traders

Preferred type of goods	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Artisan goods	21	60.0%	6	10.9%
Sweets & Confectionery	1	2.9%	1	1.8%
All goods	6	17.1%	26	47.3%
Tobacco	7	20.0%	22	40.0%
Total respondents	35	100%	55	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 137. The types of goods that different types of tourist prefer to purchase from adult ambulant traders

Preferred type of goods	Tourist			
	Backpacker		Non--backpacker	
	No.	%	No.	%
Artisan goods	1	3.8%	5	17.2%
Sweets & Confectionery	1	3.8%	0	0%
All goods	16	61.6%	10	34.5%
Tobacco	8	30.8%	14	48.3%
Total respondents	26	100%	29	100%

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Consumer perception of the authenticity and cost of goods handled by child ambulant traders

In order to further understand consumer perceptions of the activities of child ambulant traders, consumers were asked in a closed question, to what extent they believe children sell more authentic local goods than their adult counterparts. Tourists and locals have similar perspectives on the authenticity of the goods handled by child ambulant traders (Table 138). Approximately 60% of all consumers believe that children and adults are equally likely to sell authentic local goods (Table 138). However, a significant percentage of locals (26%) and tourists (30%) believe that children are less likely to sell authentic local goods than adults. Few consumers think that children are more likely to sell authentic local goods. Consumers' belief that children are less likely to sell authentic local goods may relate to general attitudes which value the work of adults above that of children (Boyden 1991, de la Cadena 1995, Nieuwenhuys 1996). In fact very little is known about the authenticity of the goods children handle. Weismantel (2001) notes that most perishable

items are grown locally but the vast majority of non-perishable items sold by adult informal traders in Cusco are imported from countries such as Colombia and China. However, child ambulant traders mostly sell tourist goods such as finger puppets that have been produced locally, or postcards which mostly come from a 'trio' of local shops. Therefore child ambulant traders are equally or even more likely to sell authentic local goods.

Table 138. The perceptions of locals and tourists as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling authentic local goods	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	15	15%	9	9%
Equally likely	59	59%	61	61%
Less likely	26	26%	30	30%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 139 shows that the age of the consumer is partly associated with their perception of the authenticity of ambulant traders' goods. Approximately 29% of older tourists (≥ 40 years) believe children are more likely to sell authentic local goods, whereas this is only true of 4% of younger tourists (< 30 years). Table 140 shows a similar but more dramatic distinction in the perceptions of backpackers and non-backpackers. Although the association is not statistically significant ($p > 0.085$), nearly 41% of backpackers believe child ambulant traders are less likely to sell authentic local goods, whereas only 24% of non-backpackers believe the same. It seems that that younger tourists, most of whom are backpackers, are less aware of the authenticity of the goods handled by child ambulant traders.

Table 139. The perceptions of locals and tourists of different age groups as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling authentic local goods	Local						Tourist					
	<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years		<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	12	19.4%	1	3.4%	2	22.2%	2	3.5%	2	7.7%	5	29.4%
Equally likely	34	54.8%	20	69.0%	5	55.6%	35	61.4%	18	69.2%	8	47.1%
Less likely	16	25.8%	8	27.6%	2	22.2%	20	35.1%	6	23.1%	4	23.5%
Total respondents	62	100%	29	100%	9	100%	57	100%	26	100%	17	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 140. The perceptions of different types of tourist as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell authentic local goods than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling authentic local goods	Tourist			
	Backpacker		Non-backpacker	
	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	1	2.7%	8	12.7%
Equally likely	21	56.8%	40	63.5%
Less likely	15	40.5%	15	23.8%
Total respondents	37	100%	63	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.085 (91.5%)

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In addition to asking consumers about the perceived authenticity of child ambulant traders' goods, they were asked about the prices children charge. Questionnaire surveys with child traders determined that children more frequently charge higher prices, discriminating negatively against tourists. This paragraph highlights that pricing strategies are complex and that consumers are relatively unaware of the strategies used by traders, particularly by children. Table 141 shows that locals and tourists are both unsure about whether children charge more elevated prices than adults, while Table 142 demonstrates that younger tourists (<30 years) believe children are less likely to sell goods at an elevated price and tourists in older age groups think that children and adults are equally likely to sell goods at an elevated price. This may not be due to younger traders' lack of awareness, as child ambulant traders revealed that sometimes older tourists are charged more, while younger tourists and

backpackers are charged less because children perceive that they have less money (Child ambulant trader questionnaires 30, 57, 88 & 93).

Table 143 shows that a greater percentage of non-backpackers than backpackers believe children are likely to elevate their prices. The association between tourist type and their perception of the pricing activity of traders is not statistically significant ($p > 0.2$). The backpacker perception may again be explained by children's tendency to charge backpackers and younger tourists less.

Table 141. The perceptions of locals and adults as to whether child ambulant traders are likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling goods at more elevated prices than adults	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	28	28%	23	23%
Equally likely	55	55%	49	49%
Less likely	17	17%	28	28%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 142. The perceptions of locals and tourists of different age groups as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling goods at an elevated price	Local						Tourist					
	<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years		<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	17	27.4%	7	24.1%	4	44.5%	11	19.3%	8	30.8%	4	23.5%
Equally likely	33	53.2%	18	62.1%	4	44.5%	22	38.6%	16	61.5%	11	64.7%
Less likely	12	19.4%	4	13.8%	1	11.0%	24	42.1%	2	7.7%	2	11.8%
Total respondents	62	100%	29	100%	9	100%	57	100%	26	100%	17	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 143. The perceptions of different types of tourist as to whether child ambulant traders are more likely to sell goods at a more elevated price than adult ambulant traders

Likelihood of children selling goods at an elevated price	Tourist			
	Backpacker		Non-backpacker	
	No.	%	No.	%
More likely	7	18.9%	16	25.4%
Equally likely	16	43.3%	33	52.4%
Less likely	14	37.8%	14	22.2%
Total respondents	37	100%	63	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.240 (76.0%)

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Influencing the consumer to buy from a child ambulant trader

Chapter Seven discussed the opinions of child ambulant traders on what characteristics they believe increase the likelihood of a consumer making a purchase. This sub section explores the perceptions of consumers, allowing comparisons to be made and therefore gaining further insight into the extent that child ambulant traders and their consumers understand each other. Table 144 shows that locals and tourists are strongly influenced by whether or not the child trader has a sense of fun as more than 70% of locals and tourists are more likely to make a purchase from a child ambulant trader if the child appears to smile and have a sense of fun. If a child appears this way, the child and the consumer are more likely to be able to build a rapport which increases the likelihood of a purchase being made. The majority of child ambulant traders are aware that smiling and having a sense of fun increases the likelihood of making a sale.

Table 144. The extent to which a child trader smiling and seeming to be having fun increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them

Likelihood of making a purchase	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increased likelihood	72	72%	71	71%
No influence	22	22%	22	22%
Decreased likelihood	6	6%	7	7%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 145 illustrates that if a child appears to be poor, most locals (64%) and tourists (50%) are more likely to purchase from them. For some tourists (17%) this decreases the likelihood that they will purchase a child's goods. Child ambulant traders are relatively accurate in their awareness of how effective it is to appear to be poor. Chapter Seven concluded that 62% of children think that if they appear to be poor they will sell more goods.

Table 145. The extent to which a child trader appearing to be poor increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them

Likelihood of making a purchase	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increased likelihood	64	64%	50	50%
No influence	31	31%	33	33%
Decreased likelihood	5	5%	17	17%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Chapters Six and Seven both conclude that to child ambulant traders the ability to speak a foreign language is immensely important. Approximately 93% of children state that being able to converse in a foreign language increases the likelihood that tourists will purchase from them. Table 146 shows that in reality, 61% of tourists are more likely to buy from a child if the child is able to converse with them. Therefore child ambulant traders rate speaking a foreign language more highly than their consumers. The ability of the child to speak a foreign language appears to particularly influence male tourists. Although the association is not statistically significant ($p > 0.07$), Table 146 suggests that 72% of male tourists are more likely to purchase from a child who is able to converse with them, whereas this is only true for 50% of female tourists. Male tourists seem less interested in purchasing the types of goods most frequently handled by children (artisan goods, finger puppets and postcards) so children must make a degree of effort in order to make a sale. Therefore, children who can converse with the male tourist are far more likely to engage with them and make a sale.

Table 146. The extent to which a child trader’s ability to speak a foreign language increases the likelihood that tourists of different gender will purchase from them

Likelihood of making a purchase	Tourist					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Increased likelihood	36	72.0%	25	50.0%	61	61%
No influence	11	22.0%	18	36.0%	29	29%
Decreased likelihood	3	6.0%	7	14.0%	10	10%
Total respondents	50	100%	50	100%	100	100%

Pearson Chi Square: 0.072 (92.8%)

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Interestingly, Table 147 shows distinct differences in the attitudes of local consumers and those of tourists towards buying from children who are crying. More than half (55%) of all locals are more likely to buy from a child if they are crying, whereas if a child cries it decreases the likelihood of 41% of tourists making a purchase. This difference may be because children only cry around locals when they are genuinely upset, whereas child ambulant traders often cry in an attempt to gain sympathy from tourists. It is often apparent to tourists that the children are not genuinely crying so it deters tourists from purchasing a child’s goods. Again, child ambulant traders seem relatively aware of the impact of crying. The previous chapter found that only 44% of child ambulant traders think crying increases the likelihood of a consumer making a purchase.

Table 147. The extent to which a child trader crying increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them

Likelihood of making a purchase	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increased likelihood	55	55%	26	26%
No influence	39	39%	33	33%
Decreased likelihood	6	6%	41	41%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Many locals and tourists are more likely to buy from a child who appears to be young (Table 148). However, for an equal number of tourists a child appearing to be young decreases the likelihood that they will make a purchase.

Table 148. The extent to which a child trader appearing to be young increases the likelihood that locals and tourists will purchase from them

Likelihood of making a purchase	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Increased likelihood	49	49%	35	35%
No influence	39	39%	31	31%
Decreased likelihood	12	12%	34	34%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

For local consumers it is normal to see children working on the street so a young child perhaps attracts more sympathy. For tourists, who are less accustomed to seeing children working on the streets, it may be that they feel young children certainly should not be working and they therefore do not want to exacerbate what they see as a major problem. One tourist commented:

“I particularly don’t think five year old children should be working.”

(Tourist questionnaire 16: Female, 30-39 years, Non-backpacker)

Notably, most child ambulant traders (72%) believe that if they appear to be young, consumers are more likely to make a purchase. This is a thought echoed in the findings of Hedt (1998, 2002), Young (2003) and Invernizzi (2003). However, in Cusco tourists seem to be more concerned about buying from young children, perhaps due to warnings given by tour agency representatives. It is clear that child ambulant traders are not entirely aware that appearing to be young has a limited impact on tourists.

Overall it seems that child ambulant traders are highly aware of the characteristics and devices which help them to sell to consumers. They recognise the impacts of appearing to be poor, and having a sense of fun, and they acknowledge the limited impact of crying, whilst they perhaps over rate the ability to converse in a foreign language and the impact of appearing to be young.

The bartering consumer

Child ambulant traders often charge different prices to their consumers. However, Latin American culture and the practise of informal trading allows for prices to be discussed, therefore empowering the consumer with an ability to reduce the initial price. In fact, Scheyvens (2002) states that tourists, backpackers in particular, often treat bartering as a game and reduce traders' profit margins dramatically. This sub section therefore explores the attitudes of consumers towards bartering. Many locals (49%) and most tourists (55%) are willing to barter. This implies that they expect to have to discuss the price of goods. However, a greater percentage of tourists enjoy bartering (28%) when compared to just 3% of locals. This mirrors the comments of Scheyvens (2002). In fact, many locals (48%) dislike bartering. Bartering is likely to be an enjoyable novelty for most tourists, who have plenty of leisure time available to discuss prices. On the other hand, locals are likely to have less time available to barter and may prefer fixed prices. Table 149 shows that younger (<30 years) and middle aged (30-39 years) local consumers dislike bartering more than older locals (≥ 40 years), which is also potentially because younger and middle aged consumers have less time available for bartering as they are more likely to have time consuming commitments such as work and family.

There is an association between the gender of the consumer and their attitude towards bartering. Male local consumers dislike bartering more than female local consumers (Table 150). This may also be due to the time required to negotiate a reasonable price. In Cusco men play a more significant part in the urban workforce and may have less time to barter. While 50% of male tourists and 60% of female tourists are willing to barter, a significant percentage of male tourists (38%) and only 18% of female tourists agree that they enjoy bartering. This might be because female tourists feel more sympathetic to the economic needs of ambulant traders and therefore dislike bartering over a price, whereas male tourists may particularly enjoy obtaining a reduced price, irrespective of the consequences for the trader.

Table 149. The attitudes of locals and tourists of different age groups towards bartering

Attitude towards bartering	Local						Tourist					
	<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years		<30 years		30-39 years		≥ 40 years	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Enjoy	2	3.2%	1	3.4%	0	0%	19	33.3%	7	26.9%	2	11.8%
Willing	28	45.2%	14	48.3%	7	77.8%	27	47.4%	15	57.7%	13	76.4%
Dislike	32	51.6%	14	48.3%	2	22.2%	11	19.3%	4	15.4%	2	11.8%
Total respondents	62	100%	29	100%	9	100%	57	100%	26	100%	17	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 150. The attitudes of locals and tourists of different gender towards bartering

Attitude towards bartering	Local				Tourist			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Enjoy	3	7.0%	0	0%	19	38.0%	9	18.0%
Willing	17	39.5%	32	56.1%	25	50.0%	30	60.0%
Dislike	23	53.5%	25	43.9%	6	12.0%	11	22.0%
Total respondents	43	100%	57	100%	50	100%	50	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The consumer perspective on children's experiences in informal trade

This section reviews the opinions of consumers on the impacts of trading on child ambulant traders. Previous studies have focused on the negative impacts of child labour (Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Nieuwenhuys 1996), although there have been some studies that recognise potential benefits (Bass 2004, Bourdillon 2006, Boyden *et al* 1998, Connolly & Ennew 1996, Kielland & Tovo 2006), namely socialisation (Invernizzi 2003, Nieuwenhuys 2003). This section seeks a balanced discussion of the perceived impacts of informal trading on children's lives.

Consumer perspective on the disadvantages of working for children in informal trade

This sub section explores the diverse opinions of consumers on perceived negative impacts of trading on children. Consumers interact with child ambulant traders so they are well qualified to comment on the negative impacts of working on the streets such as trips and falls as well as verbal and physical abuse. Therefore it is no surprise that more than 80%

(Table 151) of locals and tourists believe that trading negatively affects the lives of child ambulant traders.

Table 151. The extent to which locals and tourists agree that trading negatively affects the lives of child ambulant traders

Extent of agreement	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Definitely agree	60	60%	58	58%
Slightly agree	22	22%	28	28%
Slightly/definitely disagree	18	18%	14	14%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In an open-ended question consumers were asked what specific disadvantages they believe child ambulant traders experience. Table 152 summarises the perceived disadvantages and reveals that there are clear differences in the opinions of locals and tourists. While 35% of locals do not believe that there are specific disadvantages of trading for children, according to 31% of locals, dangers such as having accidents and being badly treated by the municipal police are key disadvantages of working on the streets. An additional 20% of locals state that child ambulant traders receive a poor education and miss out on their childhood because they are working. Finally, 14% of locals think that one of the disadvantages of working as an ambulant trader is that children become thieves. Understandably, many child ambulant traders are concerned by the fact that so many locals perceive child ambulant traders to be '*rateros*'.

A very high percentage of tourists (67%) comment that the key disadvantage of children working as ambulant traders is that they receive a poor education and they miss out on their childhood. Other tourists believe there are no specific disadvantages (20%) and some (10%) believe that dangers faced on the streets are a disadvantage of being an ambulant trader. Tourists raise the issue of a poor education and a missed childhood, which are typical minority world concerns. Minority world populations predominantly place an emphasis on children's education and have an idealised view of childhood (Boyden 1991, Penn 2005, Young 2003). The local population in Cusco are more concerned with the dangers faced on a daily basis by child ambulant traders. Weismantel (2001) comments

that it is normal for indigenous people in Cusco to treat their children as labour. It is apparent that locals and tourists have different perspectives on the disadvantages of trading for children. The concerns of locals and tourists are echoed in the UNCRC (1989) which includes articles on abuse (article 19), education (articles 28 & 29) and child labour (article 32).

Table 152. The disadvantages of children working as ambulant traders as perceived by locals and tourists

Disadvantages	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Poor education/missed childhood	20	20%	67	67%
Dangers	31	31%	10	10%
Becoming thieves	14	14%	3	3%
No disadvantages	35	35%	20	20%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Consumer perspective on the benefits of children working in informal trade

It is clear from Chapter Seven that child ambulant traders believe there are some benefits of working on the streets. This sub section investigates the views of consumers on what the potential benefits of trading are for children in Cusco. Consumers were given the opportunity to describe possible benefits in an open-ended question. The vast majority of local consumers (78%) feel that trading provides no benefits for children, whereas a much lower percentage of tourists (43%) believe this. In general locals are more accustomed than tourists to seeing child ambulant traders. Therefore the skills that children demonstrate are everyday skills from the perspective of local consumers which may be why fewer of them believe that there are benefits of trading. Many tourists (39%) and only 4% of locals think that trading helps children to learn skills such as languages and entrepreneurship. A significant percentage of child ambulant traders have a decent grasp of foreign languages and they also have reasonable knowledge of facts about key European countries and the USA. Children also exhibit excellent selling methods and therefore impress tourists. Tourists who have less experience of dealing with child ambulant traders and who have a vision of minority world childhood, where children play, attend school and do not work, are obviously impressed by the abilities shown by the children. It is possibly for these reasons

that a significant percentage of tourists believe child ambulant traders benefit from trading. However, it may be that locals are in fact more aware because an education official commented that:

“Apparently to tourists they (child ambulant traders) seem smart because their learning is based on street knowledge but as far as their formal education is concerned they don’t know much and cannot do simple maths...”

(Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05)

The same percentages of locals (18%) and tourists (18%) think that trading benefits children because it provides them with money and it allows them to support their family. Considering that 71% of locals and 89% of tourists think that children only work to earn money it is surprising that so few locals and tourists believe that trading brings the benefit of an increased income.

Attitudes towards policy intervention for child ambulant traders

Child ambulant traders are at the mercy of recent policy interventions in Cusco which have changed the landscape of informal trading. This section discusses the attitudes of consumers and local officials towards contemporary policies on ambulant trading before finally exploring opinions on possible future interventions in the lives of child ambulant traders.

Contemporary policy in the historic centre of Cusco

Prior to 1999 the streets of the historic centre of Cusco were dominated by ambulant traders. However, during Mayor Carlos Valencia Miranda’s first term in office he began a relocation process which moved between 6,700 and 12,000 ambulant traders from street locations to market locations by 2004. He introduced a new municipal law (002-01-mc) which prohibits ambulant trade in the historic centre of the city of Cusco. Furthermore, in keeping with Peru’s ratification of ILO conventions 138 and 182 it is illegal for children to work below the age of 14. Local officials were asked how they believe child ambulant traders have been affected by the changes in the historic centre.

Several local officials suggest that the changes that took place in the historic centre have had negative impacts on child ambulant traders. The comments below are from detailed interviews. They illustrate that some local officials believe the increased presence of municipal police officers and the lack of protection for child ambulant traders has led to physical maltreatment of children. This reiterates comments made by child ambulant traders when they expressed great fear of the municipal police.

All day the municipal police officers fight with the children
(Interview: Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05)

The municipal police officers... treat the children very badly
(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

Local officials also suggest another negative impact of the changes in the historic centre:

It is harder for children to work now.
(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

Officials believe that it is harder for children to work because the vast majority of adult ambulant traders have been relocated to covered and partly-covered market buildings, whereas children are left with very few locations where they can work. Children are not legally allowed to work in markets or on the streets and these regulations are enforced to some degree by the municipal police force. The changes in the historic centre have made child ambulant traders more visible which is simultaneously a negative impact (as described above) and a positive impact.

The higher visibility of child ambulant traders allows for municipal police officers to prevent children from working and to protect them from the dangers they would face on the streets. One market official in Cusco commented that identifying children who work on the streets enables local government to ensure that they return to education.

There are children that sell with their parents, sometimes these children don't go to school. You can find these children easier now and help educate them.
(Interview: Tunqui, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05)

According to local officials the policy changes in the historic centre have had mixed impacts on the lives of child ambulant traders. The same officials were also asked about possible future interventions in the lives of child ambulant traders.

Possible interventions in the lives of child ambulant traders

Many local officials believe that local government has little interest in intervening in the lives of child ambulant traders. The following quotations from detailed interviews summarise this viewpoint:

The state does not worry about these (street) children
(Interview: Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05)

The state is not worried. State policies look good on paper but not one initiative has been completed.
(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

Actually the government is very corrupt. So there is no good help for the children.
(Interview: Pantigozo, male, Centro Comercial Confraternidad, 14/02/05)

This sub section first explores whether consumers believe that local government should intervene in the lives of child ambulant traders. It then specifically considers attitudes towards restricting the trading locations and the times when children can trade. Table 153 shows that locals and tourists feel very differently towards government intervention into the lives of child ambulant traders.

Table 153. Future local government intervention proposed by locals and tourists with regards to child ambulant traders

Proposed intervention	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Support them	60	60%	25	25%
Do nothing	5	5%	7	7%
Discourage them (inc. relocate them)	35	35%	68	68%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

In answering a closed question, approximately 60% of locals believe that local government should support child ambulant traders, whereas only 25% of tourists believe this. Whilst it is illegal for children to work in Peru it is generally accepted that the prevailing economic circumstances necessitate children's involvement in the local economy:

They (child ambulant traders) should be studying but there is a need to work and I would be happier if they didn't need to. I have to accept that they will because if not they would be hungry.

(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

Therefore, it is likely that locals are more aware that children need to work and they would like to see a greater degree of support for the children. In contrast, tourists are likely to be more idealistic and have preconceived ideas of minority world childhoods, which do not include labour (Boyden 1991, Nieuwenhuys 1996). Penn (2005) suggests that early childhood in minority world countries "is a time when children are protected, and over playfulness and curiosity is encouraged," they are certainly not expected to carry out paid labour. Hence, 68% of tourists believe that local government should discourage children from working as ambulant traders. Notably, very few locals and tourists believe that local government should not intervene in the lives of child ambulant traders.

Consumer perspective on children's trading locations

Consumers were asked whether they believe local government should enforce more stringent restrictions on the locations where child ambulant traders work. Table 154 shows that most locals (57%) and tourists (55%) agree that there should be restrictions in place. Only 9% of locals and 12% of tourists think that there should be no restrictions on children's trading locations. Table 155 shows the types of locations where consumers believe child ambulant traders should be prohibited from vending. Here there is a difference in attitude between the two types of consumer.

Table 154. The opinions of locals and tourists on whether local authorities should restrict children's trading locations

Opinion on restriction of locations	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Restrict locations	57	57%	55	55%
Do not restrict locations	9	9%	12	12%
Uncertain	34	34%	33	33%
Total respondents	100	100%	100	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Table 155. The opinions of locals and tourists on where child ambulant traders should be prohibited from vending

Locations to be prohibited	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Tourist areas	55	83.3%	10	22.2%
Unsafe areas	9	13.6%	19	42.2%
All areas	2	3.1%	16	35.6%
Total respondents	66	100%	45	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

The majority of locals (83%) would like to see child ambulant traders prohibited from vending in tourist areas. This is probably because locals are aware of the significance of the tourist industry and believe that tourists are annoyed by child ambulant traders. One local commented that children's trading locations should be restricted because:

Children in the street are a bad sight. You do not get this in other places.

(Interview: Tunqui, female, Centro Mercado Artesanal, 14/02/05)

A further 14% of locals would like to see children prohibited from vending in unsafe areas but the impact on tourism is clearly more significant to locals than the safety of the children. Tourists seem to be less concerned about the sight of children working on the streets and more concerned about their welfare. Table 155 illustrates that 42% of tourists would like to see children prevented from trading in unsafe areas and 36% would like to see all areas of the city prohibited.

Most locals (73%) would like to see children permitted to trade in market buildings. The remaining 27% of locals would like children to be permitted to trade in other areas such as tourist areas and parks. The general attitude of local consumers is echoed by many local officials who recognise that some children must work but they would prefer potential dangers to be reduced by providing a secure market location and ensuring that some form of education is provided. The following comments were made by officials during detailed interviews:

The municipal government would like to rent a children's commercial centre but we can't because the newspapers would not be happy at all. The law would not permit such a building.

(Interview: Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05)

If children are working they should be working in good conditions. They should not be exploited or treated badly. It would be better if they worked in secure locations. However, if there was a central, secure location we would be seen to encourage child labour but it would also be safer. It is a vicious cycle.

(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

They need a site for the children to sell at. They should buy some land and start to teach the children how to do different things such as building and carpentry. They can also include a home for the children in this building.

(Interview: Vargas, male, Mercado San Pedro, 14/02/05)

Tourists have very different opinions from locals on where child ambulant traders should be permitted to trade. Table 156 shows many tourists (39%) feel that children should not be permitted to trade anywhere. This is likely to reflect tourists' lack of awareness of the local economic situation which necessitates children's involvement in the workforce. It is an idealistic approach which assumes that the concept of minority world childhood is 'best' (Penn 2005). An almost equal percentage of tourists (32%) think that children should be permitted to trade in safe areas. This again highlights the desire tourists have for children to be protected.

Table 156. The opinions of tourists on where child ambulant traders should be permitted to vend

Permitted trading locations	Tourist	
	No.	%
Safer areas	14	31.8%
Tourist areas	8	18.2%
Markets	4	9.1%
Everywhere	1	2.3%
Nowhere	17	38.6%
Total respondents	44	100%

Source: Tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Consumer perspective on children's trading times

Most consumers believe that there should be restrictions on the times when children are permitted to trade. For instance, 50% of locals and 82% of tourists would like to see children's trading times restricted. Only 12% of locals and 9% of tourists do not think that there should be restrictions, while 38% of locals and 9% of tourists are unsure. A far greater percentage of tourists than locals would like to see children's trading times restricted. Again this may reflect tourists' lack of understanding of the local situation which requires children to work and it may reflect tourists' desire to protect the children.

Table 157 demonstrates that 55% of tourists and 47% of locals think that children should not be permitted to trade at night time. Chapter Seven established that child ambulant traders are particularly fearful of trading at night. Tourists and locals are mostly concerned about children's immediate safety. A significant percentage of locals (42%) and many tourists (34%) are also concerned about children missing out on education because they think children should only be permitted to trade before or after school. Notably, Chapter Six concluded that many children do only work before or after school as the *turno* system enables this.

Table 157. The opinions of locals and tourists on when child ambulant traders should be permitted to vend

Permitted trading times	Local		Tourist	
	No.	%	No.	%
Before or after school	23	41.8%	25	34.2%
Not at night	26	47.3%	40	54.8%
Other	6	10.9%	8	11.0%
Total respondents	55	100%	73	100%

Source: Local & tourist population questionnaires, Cusco, 2004/05

Additional consumer ideas on possible interventions in the lives of child ambulant traders

In addition to suggesting restrictions on locations and times when children might trade, local officials in Cusco put forward a number of possible interventions. The first of the three additional interventions concerns the municipal police force. The chief of the municipal police suggests:

We wish to start a programme where there are police that children can trust. This project is worth realising. The project is designed to establish who is exploiting these children.

(Interview: Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05)

Santillana (male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05) suggests that by providing a police force that children can trust, they will be better protected whilst they work and those who organise the children will be reported. However, this research has found that none of the child ambulant traders questioned actually work for anyone else, most work within and for the family unit. It is the parents that are the subject of the second proposed additional intervention. Mendoza (female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05), an education official, believes:

They (children) shouldn't be selling... Their parents should be notified by the authorities 'if we see your children we'll fine you, or put you in prison, or take your children and put them with foster families.' If you have children you have to be responsible. Parents send children to sell when they're at home.

(Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05)

By targeting the children's parents, Mendoza (female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05) believes that many child ambulant traders would no longer have to trade. The last of the additional interventions is suggested by the director of a children's NGO in Cusco (CODENI). The NGO Director would like to see children made more aware of their rights. De Jahnsen (female, CODENI, 02/02/05) states:

The most important theme is informing the children about their rights. At the moment they don't know their rights and also their responsibilities. They are at present treated more like objects...

Children need to be involved in decision making. They need to participate.

(Interview: de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05)

If children are involved in weighing-up the benefits and disadvantages of trading and if they are able to comment on potential changes, with an awareness of their entitlements, de Jahnsen (female, CODENI, 02/02/05) suggests that child ambulant traders' lives would be improved.

Summary comments

The chapter explores the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange. It first discusses how children differentiate between their customers by charging higher prices to tourists, particularly American and English tourists. Chapter Eight then finds that child ambulant traders are relatively aware of how consumers feel towards them. Boys in particular seem highly aware of the intricacies of consumer behaviour. Chapter Eight finds that local consumers are more willing than tourists to purchase from a child ambulant trader. This may be due to the fact that locals more readily accept the role of child ambulant traders, whereas tourists, particularly non-backpackers, are uncomfortable purchasing from them.

Many consumers will buy particular goods from child ambulant traders. Locals appear to be functional shoppers (Newby 1993) who buy convenience goods such as sweets and confectionery from them, whereas tourists who are on their holidays and have more leisure time available, are leisure shoppers (Newby 1993) who buy postcards, finger puppets and artisan goods, as well as cheap goods. More specifically, it is female shoppers and backpackers who could be described as leisure shoppers.

This chapter also explored consumers' perceptions of the authenticity and prices of goods handled by child ambulant traders. Most (60%) consumers (locals and tourist) think that children and adults are equally likely to sell authentic local goods, whereas most other consumers believe that children are less likely to sell authentic local goods. In reality, it seems that child ambulant traders are equally, if not more likely, to handle authentic local goods. The attitude of consumers, which rates adults' goods more highly than children's, probably reflects a general adult attitude which values the work of adults above that of children (Boyden 1991, de la Cadena 1995, Nieuwenhuys 1996). Locals and tourists are also relatively unaware of the pricing strategies of child ambulant traders. Approximately half of all consumers believe that children and adults are equally likely to elevate their prices. In reality the survey evidence suggests that a much higher percentage of children than adults elevate their prices.

Chapter Seven explored children's perceptions of techniques that aid them to sell. Chapter Eight considered consumer perceptions of the same characteristics. In comparing the perceptions of both groups, children appear to be fairly aware that locals and tourists are more likely to make a purchase if they appear smiling and having fun and if they appear to be poor. Furthermore, child ambulant traders realise that crying has a limited effect. On the other hand, children think that conversing in a foreign language and appearing to be young are important characteristics but in fact tourists are less affected by these characteristics than children believe.

Chapter Eight investigated consumer perceptions of the positive and negative impacts of trading on children. Consequently, most consumers (80%) think that trading negatively affects the lives of child ambulant traders. However, locals and tourists have very different perspectives on the specific disadvantages children experience as traders. For instance, locals are most concerned by immediate dangers, while most tourists think that the major disadvantage is a missed childhood and a lack of education. Most local consumers (78%) and far fewer tourists (43%) think that trading offers no benefits to child ambulant traders. This might be because tourists are amazed by the language skills and street knowledge that child ambulant traders demonstrate.

The final section of the chapter considers the perceived impacts of recent changes in the historic centre and possible future interventions as perceived by consumers and local officials. In summary, the recent changes in the historic centre are thought to have had mixed impacts on child ambulant traders. It is suggested that children are more often abused by municipal police officers and that there are few trading opportunities left for them. However, a reduction in possible trading sites is also viewed as a positive change because it reduces the number of children who are working.

With regard to possible future interventions, locals and tourists have different opinions on where children should be permitted to trade. Most locals would like to see children prohibited from trading in tourist areas and permitted in market buildings. Many tourists (39%) think that children should be prohibited from trading everywhere, which perhaps reflects tourists' lack of understanding of the prevailing economic situation. A further 32% of tourists think that children should be allowed to trade in safe areas, which highlights the desire of tourists to protect the children. Local officials and an NGO representative proposed possible interventions in addition to spatio-temporal restrictions, including: introducing a trusted and approachable police force (Santillana, male, Servicios Municipales, 31/01/05), targeting children's parents (Mendoza, female, Ministerio de Educación, 08/02/05) and educating children about their rights (de Jahnsen, female, CODENI, 02/02/05).

In discussing the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange, Chapter Eight has addressed the remaining facets of the research objectives. Therefore, the final chapter will draw together the key findings of the thesis in a series of conclusions.

-Chapter 9-

CONCLUSIONS

Children in informal trading are under researched and therefore poorly understood in an academic context. Research on informal trading, child labour and children's geographies (Beazley 1998, 2000, 2002, Bourdillon 2006, Boyden & Myers 1995, Bromley 1978b, Chant 1999, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Gough & Franch 2005, Katz 1996, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Robson 1996, Weston 2005, Young 2003) make some contributions to the limited knowledge that exists on this particular group of working children but they do not provide an in depth understanding. It is this significant research niche which this thesis has begun to address.

A review of a selection of informal trading literature provided contextual information for this research (Bromley 1978b, Bromley 1998a, 1998b, Chant 1999, Fonchingong 2005, Gonzalez *et al* 1995, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Trager & Dannhaeuser 1985). The literature explored spatio-temporal trading patterns and the goods that traders handle. Moreover, the literature revealed methods which were adapted appropriately for this research. Most studies of informal trading recognise that age, gender and ethnicity of traders are reflected in their activities. However, the lives of traders receive little attention, with the exception of several key anthropological studies (Nova 2003, Seligmann 1993, Wasserman 1999).

The growing literature on children's geographies (Ansell & Van Blerk 2005, Hillman 2006, Holloway & Valentine 2000, James 1990, Jones & Varley 1994, Punch 2003, Roberts & Petticrew 2006, Young 2003), some of which is set in a majority world context and investigates child labour (Beazley 1998, 2000, 2002, Boyden & Myers 1995, Chant & Jones 2003, 2005, Evans 2006, Gough & Franch 2005, Katz 1996, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Robson 1996, Weston 2005, Young 2003), also provided contextual information on children in informal trading. Such literature did not directly provide an understanding of child traders' work, it did however give insight into many of the issues surrounding working children in general. For example, academics have discussed the degree to which children exhibit agency in choosing their working/street locations (Beazley 1998, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Van Blerk 2005, Young 2003), what motivates them to work (Beazley 2000, Boyden 1991, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Welti 2002), how work contributes

to future aspirations (Bowlby *et al* 1998, Chant & Jones 2003, Invernizzi 2003, Miljeteig 2000, Myers 1989), whether work, school and play can be combined (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Liebel 2004, Melaku 2000, Muñoz & Pachon 1980, Punch 2003, Rescaniere 1994), and what the dangers are of working (Flowers 2001, Huggins & Rodrigues 2004, Mikhail 2002, Salazar 1998). This thesis contributes to the wider body of work on child labour, whilst providing more specific understanding of children in informal trading.

Children's work in informal trading is subject to key international policy interventions that seek to eradicate child labour (ILO 1973, ILO 1999, UNCRC 1989). The various policies take as their starting point the concept of minority world childhood (Bourdillon 2006, Boyden 1991, Cullen 2005, Holloway & Valentine 2000, Invernizzi 2003, Jones 2005, White 2003a, 2005) which values play and education and largely disregards work (Bannerjee & Driskell 2002, Matthews & Limb 1999, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Valentine 1996a, 1997b). Stephens (1995: 15) refers to this as the "global export of modern childhood." Relatively recently, academics and NGOs have begun to criticise the international perspective on child labour, questioning whether work is necessarily 'bad' (Bourdillon 2006, Invernizzi 2003, Jennings *et al* 2006, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004, Miljeteig 2000). There is a growing understanding that "children have a right to the benefits arising from work appropriate to their age (whether paid or unpaid), and that vulnerable children are often harmed rather than protected by being prevented from working, and particularly from earning money" (Bourdillon 2006: 1201). This thesis informs the ongoing argument and particularly highlights implications for policies relating to children in informal trading.

The research location and objectives

Cusco is characterised by its prominent informal trading industry, relatively high levels of poverty, a vast tourism industry and by its distinctive people and their cultures. Cusco is the regional market centre for the distribution of goods and informal trading is the prominent method of distributing these goods. Informal trading has been a significant part of local culture for centuries. Informal trading locations are not only centres of economic exchange but they are also meeting places, where social interactions are complicated. As a relatively poor Latin American city, many children work in the markets and on the streets, even though they are prohibited by national and international laws. In Cusco, children's

involvement is particularly visible because they often try to sell their goods to the thousands of tourists who occupy the city's central streets and *plazas*.

The overall aim of the doctoral research was to investigate the geography of children in informal trading in Cusco by closely examining the nature of their work, and their experiences as child traders, within the policy and legal context. Emerging from the literature and the niches identified within it, in addition to understanding circumstances particular to Cusco, five research objectives were identified:

1. To identify and explain the space-time patterns of children's work in informal trading
2. To explore the reasons why children work in informal trading, establish who their employers and colleagues are and ascertain the other activities in which children spend their time
3. To investigate the positive and negative experiences of child traders in their work, in leisure, and in education
4. To examine the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange
5. To consider the policy and legal contexts of child trading in Cusco and the extent of regulation enforcement

A multi methodological approach was deemed appropriate for eliciting the information required to meet the research objectives (Philip 1998, Valentine 2001, Young & Barrett 2001a, 2001b). Consequently, documentary material was gathered from an array of sources including: municipal government departments, market administrators, INEI, the city and district libraries, university libraries, NGOs and charities. Informal discussions were held with a variety of informants on a daily basis and summarised in a fieldwork note book. Thirty-one key informant interviews were carried out, including a selection of follow-up interviews. Observational surveys were implemented across central Cusco, describing

more than 8,600 trading units. Questionnaire surveys were carried out with 300 respondents, including 100 with child traders, 100 with local consumers and 100 with tourist consumers. Finally, 30 detailed interviews were implemented with child traders, including two visual tasks during each 30 minute interview. Utilising such a broad range of methods led to insightful, yet comprehensive findings.

The findings were presented in several thematic chapters, ensuring a more thorough and logical exploration of the emergent themes than would have been gained from a discussion structured according to the research objectives. Chapter Five provided an overview of informal trading in central Cusco, which addressed a significant part of the first objective. It became clear that children were particularly involved in ambulant trading, hence Chapter Six explored this in greater depth, comprehensively meeting the remaining facets of the first objective. Chapter Seven looked at the experiences of child ambulant traders, which dealt with the second and third objectives in detail. Chapter Eight explored the ways in which child traders and their consumers relate to each other during the act of exchange. This mostly addressed the fourth objective but it also contributed significantly to discussion on local policies. The fifth objective, which focused on policy, was addressed in varying detail in all chapters, as it was apparent that policy could more effectively be dealt with in relation to the findings in each chapter. From the findings, five broad conclusions have been drawn, that again do not necessarily address a specific objective or a particular themed chapter; instead they agglomerate key related findings in a manner deemed most appropriate for this research.

Informal trading and children's participation

By focussing on children this research has clarified their role in informal trading. It has quantified the hidden and minority role that children play. Consequently, the research makes an important contribution to the limited literature on children in informal trading.

Chapter Five established that in central Cusco children were working as the principal trader, either alone or alongside an adult in 535 of 8,617 observed trading units. This equates to 13% of the total 4,248 observed trading units in central Cusco where a trader

was present. More specifically, children were recorded as working alone at 246 units, which is 6% of all observed informal trading units where a trader was present, highlighting their significant but minority role in informal trading. Chapter Five found that children are particularly prominent in ambulant trading. Based on the evidence from an observational survey completed in September 2004, children working either alone or alongside an adult occupied 91 ambulant trading units, approximately 21% of all observed ambulant trading units. In particular, it is older (12-17 years), perhaps more independent children who work in ambulant trading. In fact, a greater percentage of older children (30%) work in ambulant trading than any other location. Most goods handled in informal trading by both adult and child traders are fruit and vegetables (16%), other perishables (31%), or textiles, clothing and footwear (21%). Children handle a variety of these goods, however a relatively high percentage (9%) of all traders who sell tourist goods are older children, who frequently work on their own on the streets in tourist areas. In general, younger children (<12 years) handle perishables and clothing and accompany their parents to work in markets. With regards to temporal variations in the ages of informal traders in central Cusco, in September 2004, 21% of ambulant trading units were occupied by children or children and adults, whereas children's involvement increased to approximately 31% in January 2005. This probably reflects the timing of school vacations, which start in December and continue until March/April.

Whilst quantifying children's role in informal trading, the study reinforced previously established conclusions regarding age, gender and ethnic roles of all informal traders (Bromley 1978b, Fonchingong 2005, Gallaway and Bernasek 2002, Gilbert 1998, Greenow & Muñiz 1988, Hays Mitchell 1993, Moser 1980, Seligmann 1993, Weismantel 2001). Hence, informal trading in central Cusco is numerically dominated by young adults (65%), females (75%) and mestizos (89%). Young adults occupy a variety of trading locations and sell many different types of goods. By contrast, most older adults (80%) are found in public covered and partly-covered markets, where many (55%) handle fruit and vegetables and other perishable goods. With regards to gender, females occupy the majority of stalls at all locations, but male traders are more highly represented in better serviced locations such as private covered markets, where they are found in 32% of all occupied trading units. In addition, male traders are present at only 17% of all occupied trading units in partly-covered markets. Male traders also appear to handle more profitable goods such as

hardware, household and electrical items, as well as other non-perishable goods. For instance, 46% of all traders observed handling hardware, household and electrical items were male, whereas male traders occupy just 5% of stalls where fruit and vegetables are sold and 14% of stalls where other perishable goods are sold. This is partly a reflectance of men's greater access to capital for purchasing goods and investing in market stalls. Finally, most indigenous traders (83%), like older adults, seem to occupy public partly-covered and covered markets. Most (68%) also sell lower order goods such as fruit and vegetables and other perishables. This is again probably a reflection of lack of access to capital for investment. Moreover, it might be associated with stronger links with rural, farming networks.

The quantification of children's role in informal trading is a significant contribution to the informal trading literature. Most studies of informal trade barely acknowledge the presence of children (Hays Mitchell 1994, McGee & Yeung 1977, Middleton 1989, 2003), whereas this study has highlighted their role within the context of all informal trading in central Cusco.

Children's occupation of marginal trading niches

Children can be seen to occupy three positions in informal trading: the cared for child, the stall trader, and the ambulant trader. The latter two positions are marginal trading niches and were explored in the research.

Arising from the observational surveys of informal trading units in central Cusco, it seems that children occupy three positions in informal trading. The cared for child is present at the trading unit but they are not the principal trader and they do not assist in the trading process. They appear to be younger, often a baby and are probably there because parents or guardians cannot afford, cannot find, or do not wish to find alternative childcare arrangements during the working day. In this thesis the cared for child was not investigated in any detail as they were not seen as active participants in informal trading and it allowed a greater focus on the two positions which were seen to constitute marginal trading niches. The first marginal trading niche that children occupy is 'the stall trader'. It seems that for some children, as soon as they are capable, they occupy this niche, in which they assist in

running the stall or they act as the sole, principal trader. This concurs with findings from previous studies of informal trading which established that children often learn to trade by accompanying their parents to the markets (Nova 2003, Seligman 1993). The second niche that children occupy is 'the ambulant trader'. Questionnaire surveys with child ambulant traders revealed that 80% live with at least one of their parents. Many of these parents are also informal traders. For instance, 70% of mothers work in markets or as ambulant traders. It seems that for children in ambulant trading, if their mother works in informal trading then her trading location influences the child. Reportedly, 41% of child ambulant traders' mothers work as ambulant traders as well, whereas far fewer (29%) work in markets. For those children in ambulant trading whose parents occupy market stalls, there is likely to be some form of linkage between the street and the market, where children might inherit the stall in the future.

Superficially children are marginalised into the less profitable and less serviced niches: they occupy illegal locations and are, in a sense, 'disadvantaged traders'⁹⁵. For instance, younger children frequently occupy units in public partly-covered markets and older children work as ambulant traders, the two least serviced locations. However, children are actually well suited to working at many of the locations which they occupy and they therefore capitalise on their situation. Notably, children who work as ambulant traders are better suited to selling to local consumers because interview evidence revealed that many locals (38%) would rather buy from children on the street, while only 9% would prefer to buy from adults. Furthermore, most (78%) child ambulant traders commented during questionnaire surveys that tourists are their main consumers which is probably because tourists' presence on the streets is greater than in markets. Questionnaire surveys discovered that child ambulant traders tend to be aware that tourists feel sad for them and children also show awareness of many of the personal traits that would help them to sell. They are acutely aware that appearing to be poor and having a sense of fun make an impact. Child ambulant traders, in their visual tasks associated with detailed interviews also demonstrated knowledge of the particularly profitable ambulant trading locations on the Plaza de Armas. Approximately 80% of interviewees identified the centre of the Plaza de Armas as a preferred location, 80% also recognise the advantages of trading at the entrance

⁹⁵ The concept of the 'disadvantaged trader' is based on the multitude of research carried out on the 'disadvantaged consumer' (Clarke *et al* 2004, Gregson *et al* 2002, Piacentini *et al* 2001)

to the cathedral, 73% at the entrance to the supermarket and 60% at the entrances to three streets commonly used by tourists. Consequently, child ambulant traders occupy these key sites. Girls and younger children, arguably the most marginalised informal traders, sell goods such as finger puppets because they can excel in selling these goods due to the lack of competition from boys and older children who may be embarrassed about handling such goods. The ways in which children maximise the potential of their marginalised niches are discussed in more detail in the conclusion concerning children's agency.

A generalised hierarchy of child traders

There exists a generalised hierarchy in informal trading, particularly amongst children.

There exists a generalised hierarchy in informal trading in Cusco, which reaffirms long established age, gender and ethnic roles (Ersado 2005, Fonchingong 2005, Larson & Leon 1995, Seligmann 1993, Young 2003). Figure 8 is presented as a summary of this generalised hierarchy, in which young adult, male and mestizo traders occupy the upper end. Those at the upper end of the hierarchy exhibit agency and are able to choose to work in the most serviced locations and handle the most profitable goods. Significantly, children occupy the lower end of this hierarchy. A combination of age, gender and ethnicity seem to determine a trader's generalised standing.

Figure 8. The generalised hierarchy of informal trading in central Cusco⁹⁶

Hierarchical standing	Common Trader Characteristics			Common Trading Location	Common Class of Goods
	Age	Gender	Ethnicity		
Higher	Young adult	Male	Mestizo	Private covered markets	Household & hardware
	Older adult	Female		Public covered/ partly-covered markets	Fruit & vegetables
Lower	Children		Indigenous		Ambulant

Source: Fieldwork Observations, Cusco, 2004/05

In addition to a generalised hierarchy of all informal traders, there is a generalised hierarchy amongst child ambulant traders. Children's positions in the hierarchy appear to be determined by a combination of age, gender and origin. For instance, Figure 9 illustrates that boys, older children and children of urban origin occupy the upper end of the hierarchy. Children's positions in the hierarchy are manifested in various ways. Firstly, those at the upper end of the hierarchy work on the Plaza de Armas and more specifically they work at key sites such as the centre of the *plaza*, the entrance to the Cathedral, or the entrance to the supermarket. Secondly, they sell more profitable goods such as postcards or they shine shoes. Finally, they work at the most profitable times, which include working during festivals and the high tourist season.

100 questionnaire surveys and 30 detailed interviews with child ambulant traders explain why a generalised children's hierarchy seems to exist. Firstly, there are accepted societal age and gender roles, which marginalise younger children, girls and children of rural origin. To exemplify this, many girls feel out of place on the street, partly as a result of societal 'norms'. The hierarchy also exists because those at the upper end of the hierarchy are more 'street smart'. Due to more experience and greater knowledge they know which locations to sell from, what to sell and when. Consequently, children of rural origin tend to be found

⁹⁶ Figures 8 and 9 provide *examples* of trading locations and goods on sale and represents their proportionality in general terms only.

at the lower end of the hierarchy as they are often unaware of the intricacies of street trading locations. Finally, physical strength is very significant. Older children and boys often use physical strength to steal goods or command the most profitable locations. As a result, many of those at the lower end of the hierarchy seem fearful of those at the top and therefore occupy alternative niches. Hence, girls and younger children usually sell finger puppets because they are less profitable than postcards and because, according to children's detailed interviews, older children and boys are too embarrassed to sell them. Therefore, the girls and younger children adopt trading habits where they are not in competition.

Figure 9. The generalised hierarchy of children in ambulant trading in central Cusco

Hierarchical standing	Common Child Ambulant Trader Characteristics			Common Trading Location	Common Type of Goods	Preferred Trading Time
	Age	Gender	Origin			
Higher ↑ Lower	12-17 years	Male	Urban	Plaza de Armas (including key sites)	Postcards, Shoe shining	Peak tourist season During Inti Raymi School vacations
	<12 years	Female	Rural			Other plazas and streets

Source: Fieldwork observations, Cusco, 2004/05

It is important to mention that the hierarchies described above are not rigid: some traders do not conform. For example, some older, female, indigenous traders have the ability to choose to trade in better serviced locations and sell more profitable goods. Several key factors can have an effect on the hierarchy. Firstly, a trader might inherit their stall and therefore occupy a higher standing than might be expected. Secondly, and related, if a trader suddenly has greater access to capital they will be able to improve their hierarchical standing. Finally, a key part of Latin American culture is personal contacts. Those traders with the most influential contacts will be able to improve their standing. However, it is notable that those who are likely to inherit stalls, have windfalls or have more influential contacts tend to be positioned at the upper end of the hierarchy initially, so their impact is likely to be minimal.

Academics have written on the various aspects of the children's hierarchy (Ali *et al* 2004, Beazley 1998, Beazley 2002, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Hecht 1998, Myers 1989, Salazar 1998, Young 2003). For instance, Beazley (1998) and Boyden (1991) have discussed the significance of societal age and gender roles, Beazley (1998) and Salazar (1998) have acknowledged varying levels of street smartness amongst children, and Ali *et al* (2004) and Beazley (2002) explored the importance of physical strength amongst street children. However, this thesis advances any existing discussion by considering how the different aspects integrate to determine a child's position in the apparent children's hierarchy.

Child agency in informal trading

Children exhibit varying degrees of agency in informal trading

This research, particularly the 100 questionnaire surveys and 30 detailed interviews with child traders, has demonstrated that children exhibit varying degrees of agency in informal trading. Firstly, there is evidence to suggest that children are significantly constrained. Children work in less serviced locations, at less desirable times and handle less profitable goods. Furthermore, the majority of children do not choose to work, instead most children say that they work because they must (89%), often to pay for food and drink, to pay for education or to support their family. Many studies of working children have made similar conclusions (Boyden 1991, Chant & Jones 2003, Myers 1989, Nieuwenhuys 1996). A high percentage of children (69%) asserted that if they had the choice they would rather attend school than work and yet many children, particularly boys, miss a significant amount of schooling. For instance, 35% of boys and fewer girls (21%) reported spending less than the 'normal' number of hours in school the previous week. Absenteeism is most probably explainable by trading commitments. In this instance children clearly fail to exhibit any degree of agency. Questionnaire surveys and detailed interviews with children also indicate that children appear to be powerless in improving the hazardous conditions in which they work. They face dangers such as accidents, theft, abuse and fear, and it is unlikely that children would choose to face these dangers, however they have little choice. This again highlights that children are disadvantaged traders. Such issues of constraint are usually discussed in the context of 'disadvantaged consumers' (Clarke *et al* 2004, Gregson

et al 2002, Piacentini *et al* 2001), whereas in the case of children in informal trading it is the traders who are disadvantaged.

On the other hand, it is clear that most children in informal trading are able to exercise at least a minimal amount of choice. Approximately 85% of children say that they sometimes choose to work for pocket money, which demonstrates a degree of agency. It has been reported in studies of working children, that the economic incentives of working often encourage children to make the choice to work, rather than economic need forcing them to (Myers 1989, Smart 1989). Observations in the field and informal discussions with children show that children also choose, in various ways, to combine work and play, which is further evidence of their agency. Such findings contribute to the growing literature on children's integration of the worlds of work and play (Liebel 2004, Melaku 2000, Muñoz & Pachon 1980, Punch 2003, Rescaniere 1994). Observations and informal discussions revealed that children seem to combine work and play in two ways: firstly, by playing between attempts at selling and secondly, by hybridising work and play. For instance, some children, particularly younger children, play games with the consumer in order to make a sale. Although children are constrained and marginalised in the hierarchy of informal traders, they choose where possible to sell the most profitable goods available, such as postcards and they work in the most profitable locations available, such as the Plaza de Armas. Furthermore, questionnaire surveys with child ambulant traders show that children choose to charge very different prices to their array of consumers. For example, tourists, particularly those from North America and Britain, are charged more by the children. It is clear that children exhibit agency at the micro scale, even though they are generally constrained as informal traders. Such findings illustrate the complexity of the situation of children in informal trading and they add to the recent literature on children's agency (Jennings *et al* 2006).

Policy and wider implications

The research has implications for key policies relating to children in informal trading.

The thesis identifies key local, national and international policies relating to children in informal trading and considers their impact. Consequently, the research points to a number of policy weaknesses. International and national child labour legislations have had a limited impact on child ambulant traders in Cusco, whereas local trading legislation has had a significant impact and continues to do so. Despite Peru's ratification of the UNCRC (1989) and ILO Conventions 138 (1973) and 182 (1999), many children in informal trading are still working in dangerous conditions, missing school and playing for only a limited amount of time. For example, in questionnaire surveys, 46% of child ambulant traders reported experiencing an accident whilst working, 32% failed to attend school for the 'standard' number of hours a week, and 25% had no time to play in the previous week. For children in informal trading, as for many working children, the various legislations have failed to have any significant impact (Ennew 1995, Knight 1980, Liebel 2004). This may be in part because trading is not clearly defined as 'hazardous work' so little is done to eradicate this particular form of child labour. This finding contributes to current discussion over the terminology used to describe 'child labour' (Bourdillon 2006, Cullen 2005, ILO 2006, Liebel 2004, White 2005). During key informant interviews, local officials in Cusco commented that national government is not concerned about children in informal trading, which may be another reason why limited intervention has taken place.

This thesis does not intend to suggest that eradication should be the desired outcome because in addition to the many dangers children face, the research has identified a number of positive impacts. For example, 94% of child ambulant traders stated that they enjoy working and many learn socialising skills which prepare them for the future. Children asserted during questionnaire surveys that significant amounts of money could be earned in trading and 67% of child ambulant traders could converse in a foreign language which most had learnt whilst working. There is a growing literature which similarly identifies benefits for children of work and the possibility that children might enjoy working (Bourdillon 2006, Bunster & Chaney 1989, Invernizzi 2003, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Nieuwenhuys 2003, Woodhead 1999). The policy implications of such findings are discussed below.

Local trading legislations have impacted on children in informal trading in two crucial ways. Due to changes in the law, ambulant trading is illegal and as a result the street has become an 'even playing field' for all traders, irrespective of age, gender or ethnicity.

Previously, adults could obtain trading licences but children were not permitted. *Sindicatos* also played the dominant role in determining which traders could occupy sites on the streets and in markets. Today, all those who occupy the streets tend to be marginalised because the street is an illegal trading location, is hazardous and offers little security. In contemporary Cusco, for the first time children occupy a trading location with the same lack of legitimacy as their adult counterparts and they do not have to contend with the regulations of *sindicatos*. The second way in which local trading legislations have impacted on child ambulant traders is increased harassment and abuse by the municipal police officers who are responsible for enforcing legislations. Such abuse was observed, reported by children during detailed interviews and it was raised as an issue by local officials during policy-related key informant interviews. Harassment and abuse of street working children by those in authority is also commonplace in other world cities (Ali *et al* 2004, Beazley 1998, 2002, Myers 1989, West 2003). As a result, children are extremely fearful of the police and this fear seems to be manifested in children's spatio-temporal trading patterns. Whilst most children prefer to trade on the Plaza de Armas, they report fear of this location due to the presence of police officers. Consequently, many children occupy alternative sites.

Irrespective of their impacts, many current international, national and local policies take as their starting point the concept of 'minority world childhood' (Ennew 1995, 2000, Green 1998, Jones 2005, Liebel 2004, Myers 2001), which means that education and play are valued very highly and work is seen as exploitative and harmful (Bannerjee & Driskell 2002, Matthews & Limb 1999, Nieuwenhuys 1996, Valentine 1996a, 1997b). Policy fails to acknowledge the potential benefits of working in informal trading and children's enjoyment of it (Bourdillon 2006, Kielland & Tovo 2006, Liebel 2004). Similar conclusions have been made in studies with working children, but little notice has been taken by those who determine policy (Invernizzi 2003, Jennings *et al* 2006, Liebel 2004, Miljeteig 2000).

Consumers were consulted on their perceptions of children's work in informal trading and they further demonstrated that the minority world perception of childhood predominates. Questionnaire surveys revealed distinct differences between the opinions of tourists and locals, however both appear to take a form of minority world approach. Tourists perceive

the main disadvantage of working to be a lack of education and very few tourists believe that children should be supported in their work; they do not want to promote it. However, many tourists did comment that there were identifiable benefits for children of working on the streets, namely learning languages and economic skills. Local consumers seem far more concerned with immediate dangers such as abuse and accidents, and based on their understanding of the local context, local consumers believe children need to work so they should be given support. Local consumers generally remarked that there were no benefits for children who work on the streets. Although the consumers have different attitudes towards children's work in informal trading there is continuity. Irrespective of the perceived benefits, neither type of consumer appears to endorse informal trading as a desirable part of children's lives. This study has the potential to inform public opinion and influence their perceptions, whilst also informing the policy debate. It is argued here that existing policies should be revised, moving away from the minority world perspective and allowing for majority world children to participate in the process of devising appropriate legislation that takes into account the significant benefits of informal trading and children's enjoyment of work.

Concluding Comments

This thesis identified a single niche in separate and considerable bodies of literature. Informal trading, child labour and children's geographies literature failed to investigate children in informal trading in any depth. Cusco is a city where children are visibly involved in informal trading. Utilising a comprehensive multi method approach, this thesis has investigated children in informal trading in Cusco.

The thesis determined that children, either trading alone or alongside an adult, occupy approximately 13% of the total number of informal trading units in central Cusco where a trader is present. It further established that children are essentially 'disadvantaged traders'. They are marginalised in the spaces they occupy, the times when they trade and in the goods they sell. For example, a significant percentage of children are ambulant traders, their trading hours are often restricted by school requirements and they sell less profitable goods such as fruit and vegetables and other perishables. As disadvantaged traders children occupy two niches: the stall trader and the ambulant trader. Notably, child ambulant traders' mothers often work on the streets as well, which may help to explain the niches

that children occupy. However, a significant percentage (29%) of child ambulant traders' parents also work in markets, so there are likely to be linkages between the street and the market.

There is a clearly identifiable generalised hierarchy amongst children in ambulant trading. Those at the upper end of the hierarchy work at more profitable locations and times and sell the most profitable goods. A child's hierarchical standing appears to be determined by their age, gender and origin, with older children, boys and urban children occupying the highest standing. The hierarchy reflects several factors including societal norms, levels of street smartness and physical strength. The thesis also contributes to discussion on working children's agency (Jennings *et al* 2006, Johnson *et al* 1995). It is established that whilst children are generally constrained within informal trading, they are able to exercise choice at the micro level. For example, questionnaire surveys show that most child traders are constrained by the fact that working is a necessity and they face a plethora of dangers which they probably would not face if they were given the choice. However, most children are able to exhibit some agency. For example, a high percentage of children reported during questionnaire surveys that they sometimes work to earn pocket money, not just because of necessity and they commented that they enjoy their work, integrating work and play. Furthermore, they choose to sell in the most profitable locations available and sell goods that earn the highest return for that location. Children also choose to charge different prices to their consumers, to the detriment of tourists, particularly those from North America and Britain.

The thesis sought to consider the policy and legal contexts of child trading in Cusco and the extent of regulation enforcement. It established that international and national policies on child labour have had limited impacts on children in informal trading. The children still work in hazardous conditions, miss school and have only a limited amount of time to play. Local informal trading legislation has had a more significant impact on the children's lives. The children now occupy the streets with the same lack of legitimacy as their adult counterparts and for the first time they are on an 'even playing field'. The enforcement of local policies, through the municipal police force, has led children to be extremely fearful, often choosing to work in less-policed spaces due to fear of abuse. Investigation of the positive experiences in informal trading has led to a series of policy implications.

International, national and local policies take as their starting point the concept of 'minority world childhood'. Such an approach devalues the benefits of working. Consumers also share what could be described as a minority world perception of childhood and therefore fail to endorse informal trading as a desirable part of children's lives. Consequently, this thesis concludes by suggesting that policies affecting children in informal trading should be reviewed, taking children's voices into consideration and acknowledging that children not only enjoy work, but that they benefit from it too. Perhaps the concept of majority world childhood should be exported to those who determine policy, which would have wider benefits for the world's children.

APPENDICES

	Page
A Key informant interviewee organisations	306
B Observational survey data collection table	307
C Child trader questionnaire (English text)	309
D Child trader questionnaire (Spanish text)	314
E Local consumer questionnaire (English text)	319
F Local consumer questionnaire (Spanish text)	322
G Tourist questionnaire	325
H Child trader interview questions (English text)	328
I Child trader interview questions (Spanish text)	329
J Cards used to indicate entities important to the lives of child ambulant traders	330
K Map of the Plaza de Armas	331
L Canchones information sheet	332
M Characteristics of tourists responding to questionnaire surveys	333
N Characteristics of local consumers responding to questionnaire surveys	335

APPENDIX A: Key informant interviewee organisations

Interview no.	Key informant	Role, Organisation	Date(s) of interview(s)
1	Aguilar, C.	Director, Oficina de Coordinación y gestión del Centro Histórico	19/08/04
2	Alvarez, M.G.	Vice-President, Centro Mercado Artesanal	19/08/04
3	Ayte, E.S.	Administrator, Mercados San Blas & Rosaspata	16/08/04
4	Caceres, F.	Director, Oficina de Comercio y Mercados	7/10/04
5			11/10/04
6	Castro, O.	General Secretary, Mercado San Blas	16/02/05
7	Delgado, S.	Administrator, Mercado de San Pedro	16/08/04
8	De Jahnsen, A.A.	Director, CODENI	02/02/05
9	Fuentes, I.C.	Assistant Administrator, Centro Comercial	18/08/04
10		Confraternidad	20/08/04
11	Gatica, E.	Director, Programas Sociales y Promoción	17/08/04
12		empresarial, Municipalidad de Cusco	18/08/04
13	Londoño, C.H.	Head, Vendedores de Artesanía en san Blas	16/08/04
14	Mendoza, E.	Inspector, Ministerio de Educación	31/08/04
15			08/02/05
16	Pantigozo, R.R.	Administrator, Centro Comercial El Molino 1 & 2	18/08/04
17		Administrator, Centro Comercial Confaternidad	14/02/05
18	Paredes, R.B.	Secretary, Rentas, Municipalidad del Cusco	17/08/04
19	Quispe, E.P.	President, Trabajadores del mercado tipico de San Blas	16/08/04
20	Rivas, J.J.G.	Assistant, Oficina de Coordinación y gestión del Centro Histórico	31/01/05
21	Santillana, M.C.	Chief of Police, Gerencia de desarrollo económico y servicios municipales	31/01/05
22	Santisteban, M.	Secretary, Gerencia de desarrollo económico y servicios municipales	20/08/04
23	Saravia, J.	Administrator, Mercado Ccascaparo	16/08/04
24	Ttito, A.T.	Secretary, Asociación Centro Artesanal Cusco	19/08/04
25	Tunqui, T.Q.	Union President, Centro Mercado Artesanal	14/02/05
26	Valencia, G.	Secretary, Gerencia Municipal	20/08/04
27	Vargas, P.H.	Administrator's assistant, Gerencia de desarrollo económico y servicios municipales	13/08/04
28		Administrador, Mercado San Pedro	14/02/05
29	Villasante, O.	Administrator, Centro Comercial Confraternidad	20/08/04
30	Yucra, M.M.	Secretary, Plaza Centro Gran Centro Comercial Incamotors	18/08/04
31	Zapata, C.	Secretary de Actas de Mercado San Blas	16/02/05

APPENDIX B: Observational survey data collection table

Unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Temporal Details										
Date										
Day										
Time										
Adult Trader Details										
No. working										
Age										
Gender										
Ethnicity										
Child Trader Details										
Working										
Age										
Gender										
Ethnicity										
Goods on sale - Perishables										
Fruit and veg										
Grain, root crops, nuts										
Preserves, flour, salt, sugar, bread										
Meat, fish, eggs, milk and cheese										
Wood fuel, fodder										
Live animals and birds										
Drinks										
Freshly prepared food										
Goods on sale - Non-perishables										
Textiles, clothing and footwear										
Metal, plastic and glass										
Artisan products and raw materials										
Goods on sale - Other										
Electricals										
Newspapers, books, music record										
Paint										
Tobacco										
Stationery / Phone Cards										
Toiletries										
Flowers										
Shoe shine										
Other (Specify)										
Details of trading unit										
Type of unit										
Scale of unit										
Location Details										
Location of unit										
Road / Plaza / Market name										
Other information										
Other information										

Key to data collection table

The following information was included at the bottom of the data collection table.

Location of Unit:

a Covered Market Building **b** Uncovered Market Building **c** Open Market square
d On street **e** Other

Scale of Unit (sq.ft):

a 0-1.9 **b** 2-4.9 **c** 5-9.9 **d** 10-19.9 **e** 20-49.9 **f** 50-99.9 **g** 100+

Type of Unit:

a Ground Sheet **b** Hand held **c** Table **d** Wheeled Cart **e** Market Stall **f** Other

Age of trader:

a <6 **b** 6-11 **c** 12-17 **d** 18-39 **e** 40-49 **f** 50+

Ethnicity of trader:

a Indigenous **b** Mestizo **c** Black Peruvian **d** White European **e** Chinese/Japanese
f Other

APPENDIX C: Child trader questionnaire (English text)

CHILD TRADER QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 **Time:** AM/PM
- 2 **Date:**/...../...04.....
- 3 **Day:** M T W T F S S
- 4 **Location of interview:**.....
- 5 **Gender:** M / F
- 6 **Age:** <6 6-11 12-17 Exact
- 7 **Where do you live?**
 Street name
 Name of home
 On the street
- 8 **Who do you live with? (tick all and specify numbers where necessary)**
 Mother Father Other guardian Brothers / Sisters Friends Alone
 Other.....
- 8b. What work does your* **mother do?**
father do?
other guardian do?
- 8c. What work do your brothers and sisters do?*

- 9 **How many different schools do you attend?**
 0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8+
- 10 **Where do you originally come from?**

- 10b. Where do you live now?*

- 11 **Goods sold: (tick all and indicate main goods sold)**
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| <i>Perishables</i> | | <i>Other</i> | |
| Fruit/Veg | <input type="checkbox"/> | Electricals | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Grain, root crops, nuts | <input type="checkbox"/> | Newspapers, books, musical recordings | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Preserves, flour, salt, sugar, bread | <input type="checkbox"/> | Paint | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Meat, fish, eggs, milk and cheese | <input type="checkbox"/> | Tobacco | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Wood fuel, fodder | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stationery | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Live animals and birds | <input type="checkbox"/> | Toiletries | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sweets and confectionary | <input type="checkbox"/> | Telephone cards | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | Flowers | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Non-perishables</i> | | | |
| Textiles, clothing, footwear | <input type="checkbox"/> | Specify (e.g. Postcards, Finger Puppets) | |
| Metal, plastic, glass | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Artisan products and raw materials | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

- 12 Scale of operation:**
- 0 - 0.9 ft²
- 1 - 1.9 ft²
- 2 - 4.9 ft²
- 5 - 9.9 ft²
- 10 - 19.9 ft²
- 20 - 29.9 ft²
- 30 - 49.9 ft²
- 50 - 99.9 ft²
- 100ft² +
- 13 Type of operation:**
- Ground sheet
- Hand held
- Table
- Wheeled cart
- Market stall
- 14 Who do you work for?**
- Alone Parents Other family Friends Boss Organisation.....
- Other.....
- 15 To what extent are these statements true:**
- a) *I trade alone* always usually sometimes never
- b) *I trade in sight of an adult I know* always usually sometimes never
- c) *I trade near children I know* always usually sometimes never
- 16 Where do you get most of your goods from for trading?**
- Wholesaler Boss Family Friends
- Other.....
- 17 Do you know where the goods were made?**
- No (18)
- Yes (17b)
- Sometimes (17b)
- 17b. Where?**
-
-
- 18 Where did you store your goods last night?**
- Own home Rented accommodation Boss's store No need Other.....
- 19 How often do the following people take your goods from you without paying?**
- Police* 1+ a day Daily 2-3 a week 1 a week 2-3 a month 1 a month <1 a month
- Other Children* 1+ a day Daily 2-3 a week 1 a week 2-3 a month 1 a month <1 a month
- Tourists* 1+ a day Daily 2-3 a week 1 a week 2-3 a month 1 a month <1 a month
- Local Adults* 1+ a day Daily 2-3 a week 1 a week 2-3 a month 1 a month <1 a month
- Other* 1+ a day Daily 2-3 a week 1 a week 2-3 a month 1 a month <1 a month
- 20 To what extent are these statements true:**
- a) *Tourists swear at me when I am working on the streets* always usually sometimes never
- b) *Locals swear at me when I am working on the streets* always usually sometimes never
- 21 Have you ever had an accident happen to you whilst working?**
- Yes No
- 21b. How many times in the last six months?**
- 0 1 2 3 4+

- 22 What sorts of people are your usual customers?**
 Age: <18 18-39 40-49 50+ All ages Specify
- Gender: M F Equal
- Type: Tourist Local consumer Tourist/Locals Equally
- Other.....
- 23 Do you charge different prices to different types of customer?**
 Yes No Sometimes
- 23b. Which type of customer is asked the highest price?**
 Tourist Local consumers
- 24 In what location do you prefer to work?**
 Plaza de Armas A large market A canchon Streets near to the plaza de Armas Streets further from the Plaza de Armas Other
- Why?**

- 25 At what age did you begin trading?**
 <6 6-11 12-17
- 26 How many years have you traded in this site?**
 0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10-11 12-13 14-15 16-17
- Where did you trade before?**

- 27 To what extent do the following characteristics influence the likelihood that a customer would buy from you?**
- a. *You look younger*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- b. *You look poor*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- c. *You are crying*
greatly increase **slightly increase** **no influence** **slightly decrease** **greatly decrease**
- d. *Your knowledge of other languages*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- e. *You appear to be smiling and having fun*
greatly increase **slightly increase** **no influence** **slightly decrease** **greatly decrease**
- f. *Other*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- 28 How do you think the following groups feel towards child traders...**
- a. *Tourists* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- b. *Local customers* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- c. *Other traders* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- d. *Teachers* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- e. *Local authorities* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- f. *NGOs/Charities* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- g. *Their employers* Sad Angry Nuisanced Indifferently Other(s).....
- 29 When did you last work?**
 a) *Day*
 b) *How long ago?*
- 30 What time did you start work that day?**

31 What time did you finish work that day?

.....

32 How many hours did you work for in total on that day?

0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10-11 12-13 13+

33 What hours of the day do you prefer to work?

.....

Why?

.....

34 On which days of the week do you prefer to work?

.....

Why?

.....

35 In which months do you prefer to work?

.....

Why?

.....

36 On which days did you work last week?

M T W T F S S

37 On which days did you go to school last week, or when school was last open?

M T W T F S S

38 How many hours do you usually spend in school during a normal school week?

0-4 5-9 10-14 15-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45+

39 Do you learn anything at school which helps with trading?

Yes No Unsure

39b. Which subjects in particular are helpful?

Foreign languages Maths Science Spanish History Geography

Other.....

40 What things do you have to do other than school and trading work?

Household chores Buying/fetching food Washing Clothes Looking after family

Other paid tasks (specify)

Other (specify)

41 On a normal weekday, do you have any time for play?

Yes (41b) No

41b. When

Morning

Afternoon

Evening

41c. For how long? (hours)

0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8+

0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8+

0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8+

42 To what extent do you agree with the following statements regarding your enjoyment of trading?

a) I only trade because I have to definitely slightly not really not at all

b) I enjoy trading definitely slightly not really not at all

c) I prefer trading to school definitely slightly not really not at all

d) I prefer trading to homework definitely slightly not really not at all

- 43 What job(s) do you want to do in the future?**

- 44 How much money were you paid last week?**
 S/ 0-9 S/ 10-19 S/ 20-29 S/ 30-39 S/ 40-49 S/ 50-59 S/ 60-69 S/ 70-79 S/ 80+
- 45 How much of that money were you able to keep yourself?**
 S/ 0-9 S/ 10-19 S/ 20-29 S/ 30-39 S/ 40-49 S/ 50-59 S/ 60-69 S/ 70-79 S/ 80+
- 46 Who does the rest of the money go to?**
 Parents/Guardian
 Other family
 Boss
 Other (specify)
- 47 To what extent do you agree with the following statements regarding why you trade?**
a) I trade because I need to support my family definitely slightly not really not at all
b) I trade to earn money for schooling definitely slightly not really not at all
c) I trade to earn pocket money definitely slightly not really not at all
d) I trade to buy my own food and drink definitely slightly not really not at all
e) I trade for other reasons
 definitely slightly not really not at all
 definitely slightly not really not at all
- 48 How many police officers work on the plaza on a normal weekday afternoon?**
 0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10+
- 49 Observe the trader's ability to speak English**
 Unable Knowledge of some basic vocabulary Knowledge of several sentences
 Able to create their own sentences Fluent

Thank you for your time it is greatly appreciated. If I need to discuss your opinions further, will it be possible for me to contact you at a later date?

NAME

TEL.

ADDRESS

APPENDIX D: Child trader questionnaire (Spanish text)

CHILD TRADER QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 **Hora:** AM/PM
- 2 **Fecha:**/...../...04.....
- 3 **Día:** L M M J V S D
- 4 **Lugar de la entrevista:**
.....
- 5 **El sexo:** H / M
- 6 **Edad:** <6 6-11 12-17 Exactamente.....
- 7 **¿Dónde vives?**
Nombre de la calle
Nombre del asilo
En la calle
- 8 **¿Con quién vives? (tick all and specify numbers where necessary)**
Madre Padre Tutor/a Hermano/a Amigos/as Solo
Otro
- 8b. *¿A qué se dedica(n) tu(s)*
- | | |
|------------------|-------|
| <i>madre?</i> | |
| <i>padre?</i> | |
| <i>tutor/a?</i> | |
| <i>hermanos?</i> | |
| <i>hermanas?</i> | |
- 9 **¿Tu vas a cuántas escuelas diferentes?**
0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8+
- 10 **¿Originalmente, de donde vienes?**
.....
- 10b. *Y donde vives ahora?*
.....
- 11 **Artículos vendido:**
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| <i>Productos perecederos</i> | | <i>Otros</i> | |
| Frutas y verduras | <input type="checkbox"/> | Artículos eléctricos | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Grano, cultivo de tubérculos, frutos secos | <input type="checkbox"/> | Periódicos, libros, grabaciones musicales | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Conservas, harina, sal, azúcar, pan | <input type="checkbox"/> | Pintura | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Carne, pescado, huevos, leche y queso | <input type="checkbox"/> | Tabaco | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Madera para combustible, forraje | <input type="checkbox"/> | Artículos de papelería | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Animales y pájaros vivos | <input type="checkbox"/> | Artículos de tocador | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bombones y dulces | <input type="checkbox"/> | Tarjetas telefónica | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | | Flores | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Non-perecibles</i> | | | |
| Textiles, ropa, zapatos | <input type="checkbox"/> | Especificar (Ej. Postales, títeres) | |
| Metal, plástico, cristal | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Artículos artesanales y materias primas | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

12 Escala de la operación:

0 - 0.9 ft²

1 - 1.9 ft²

2 - 4.9 ft²

5 - 9.9 ft²

10 - 19.9 ft²

20 - 29.9 ft²

30 - 49.9 ft²

50 - 99.9 ft²

100ft² +

13 Tipo de operación:

Tela/manta sobre el piso

En el mano

Mesa

Carrito

Puesto en el mercado

14 ¿Para quién trabajas?

Solo/a Padres Otros familiares Amigos/as Jefe Organización.....

Otro.....

15 ¿Hasta qué punto son verdaderas estas afirmaciones?

a) *Vendo solo/a* siempre generalmente a veces nunca

b) *Vendo a la vista de un adulto que conozco* siempre generalmente a veces nunca

c) *Vendo cerca de niños que conozco* siempre generalmente a veces nunca

16 ¿Dónde obtienes la mayoría de los productos que vendes?

Mayorista Jefe Familia Amigos/as

Otro.....

17 ¿Sabes dónde se hicieron los artículos?

No (18)

Sí (17b)

A veces (17b)

17b. ¿Dónde?

.....

.....

18 ¿Dónde almacenaste tus productos anoche?

En mi casa Establecimiento alquilado Almacén/depósito de mi jefe No hubo necesidad

Otros.....

19 ¿Con qué frecuencia; los siguientes grupos se lleva tus artículos sin pagarlos?

La Policía 1+ por día Cada día 2-3 veces a la semana 1 vez por semana 2-3 veces al mes

1 vez por mes menos de 1 vez por mes

Otros niños 1+ por día Cada día 2-3 veces a la semana 1 vez por semana 2-3 veces al mes

1 vez por mes menos de 1 vez por mes

Turistas 1+ por día Cada día 2-3 veces a la semana 1 vez por semana 2-3 veces al mes

1 vez por mes menos de 1 vez por mes

Adultos locales 1+ por día Cada día 2-3 veces a la semana 1 vez por semana 2-3 veces al mes

1 vez por mes menos de 1 vez por mes

Otros 1+ por día Cada día 2-3 veces a la semana 1 vez por semana 2-3 veces al mes

1 vez por mes menos de 1 vez por mes

20 ¿Hasta qué punto son verdaderas estas afirmaciones?

a) *Los turistas me dicen palabrotas cuando trabajo en la calle* siempre generalmente a veces nunca

b) *La gente local me dice palabrotas cuando trabajo en la calle* siempre generalmente a veces nunca

21 ¿Tuviste alguna vez un accidente mientras trabajabas?

Sí (21b) No (22)

21b. ¿Cuántas veces en los últimos 6 meses?

0 1 2 3 4+

- 22 ¿Qué tipo de personas suelen ser tus clientes habituales?**
 Edad: <18 18-39 40-49 50+ Todas las edades Especificar
- El sexo: H M Iguales
- Tipo: Turista La gente de la zona Iguales Otro
- 23 ¿Cobras precios diferentes a diferentes tipos de cliente?**
 Sí (23b) No (24) A veces (23b)
- 23b. ¿A qué tipo de cliente le cobras el precio más alto?**
 Turista La gente de la zona
-
-
- 24 ¿En que lugares prefiere trabajar usted?**
 Plaza de Armas Un Mercado grande Un canchon/mercadillo Calles circa de la Plaza de Armas Calles mas lejos de la Plaza de Armas Otros lugares
- Por que?**

- 25 ¿Cuantos anos tiene cuando usted comenzó por vender?**
 <6 6-11 12-16 17-39 40-49 50+
- 26 ¿Por cuantos anos vende usted en este local?**
 0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10-11 12-13 14-15 16-17 18-19 20+
- ¿Y antes, donde vende usted?**

- 27 ¿Hasta que punto se influye los siguientes características a tus clientes por comprar de ti?**
- a. *Tu eres mas joven*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- b. *Tu eres mas pobre*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- c. *Tu estas llorando*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- d. *Tu puedes hablar idiomas extranjero*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- e. *Tu eres feliz*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- f. *Otro*
 aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho
- 28 ¿En su opinión como sienten los siguientes grupos a los niños que venden en las calles...?**
- a. *Los turistas* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- b. *Cientes locales* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- c. *Otros vendedores* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- d. *Profesores* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- e. *Autoridades locales* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- f. *ONGs / Organizaciones benéficas* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- g. *Sus empleadores* Triste Enojado Molestado Con indiferencia Otro(s).....
- 29 ¿Cuándo trabajaste por última vez?**
 a) *Día*
 b) *¿Cuánto tiempo hace?*
- 30 ¿A qué hora comenzaste a trabajar ese día?**

- 31 **¿A qué hora terminaste a trabajar ese día?**
.....
- 32 **¿Cuántas horas trabajaste en total ese día?**
0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10-11 12-13 13+
- 33 **¿Normalmente, prefiere usted que horas del día por trabajar?**
.....
Por que?
.....
- 34 **¿Normalmente, prefiere usted que días de la semana por trabajar?**
.....
Por que?
.....
- 35 **¿Prefiere usted que meses del año por trabajar?**
.....
Por que?
.....
- 36 **¿Qué días trabajaste la semana pasada?**
M T W T F S S
- 37 **¿Qué días fuiste a la escuela la semana pasada, o cuándo estuvo la escuela abierta la semana pasada?**
L M M J V S D
- 38 **¿Cuántas horas sueles pasar en la escuela en una semana normal?**
0-4 5-9 10-14 15-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45+
- 39 **¿Aprendes algo en la escuela que te ayude a vender en la calle?**
Sí (39b) No (40) No estoy seguro/a (40)
- 39b. ¿Qué asignaturas son especialmente útiles?**
Idiomas Matemáticas Ciencias Español Historia Geografía
Otros.....
- 40 **¿Qué otras cosas tienes que hacer aparte de la escuela y vender en la calle?**
Tareas domésticas Comprar/traer comida Lavar ropa Cuidar a la familia
Otras tareas pagadas (especificar)
- Otros (especificar)
- 41 **¿En un día normal de la semana, tienes tiempo para jugar?**
Sí (41b) No (42)
- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 41b. ¿Cuándo? | | 41c. ¿Cuánto tiempo? (horas) |
| Por la mañana | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0-1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2-3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4-5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8+ <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Por la tarde | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0-1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2-3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4-5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8+ <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Por la noche | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0-1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2-3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4-5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8+ <input type="checkbox"/> |

42 ¿Hasta qué punto estás de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones respecto a cuánto disfrutas vendiendo?

a) Solamente vendo porque lo tengo que hacer

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

b) Disfruto vendiendo

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

c) Prefiero vender a ir a la escuela

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

d) Prefiero vender a las tareas

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

43 ¿Qué trabajo(s) quieres hacer en el futuro?

.....

44 ¿Cuánto dinero te pagaron la semana pasada?

S/ 0-9 S/ 10-19 S/ 20-29 S/ 30-39 S/ 40-49 S/ 50-59 S/ 60-69 S/ 70-79 S/ 80+

45 ¿De ese dinero, cuánto pudiste quedarte para ti mismo/a?

S/ 0-9 S/ 10-19 S/ 20-29 S/ 30-39 S/ 40-49 S/ 50-59 S/ 60-69 S/ 70-79 S/ 80+

46 ¿Quién se lleva el resto del dinero?

Padres /guardianes

Otros familiares

Jefe / Empleador

Otro (especificar)

47 ¿Hasta qué punto estás de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones respecto a las razones por las que vendes?

a) Vendo porque necesito mantener a mi familia

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

b) Vendo para poder pagarme la escuela

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

c) Vendo para tener 'dinero de bolsillo'

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

d) Vendo para comprar mi propia comida y bebida

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

e) Vendo por otras razones

.....

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

.....

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

48 ¿Normalmente, en la tarde, lunes a viernes, cuantas agentes policías trabajan en la plaza?

0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8-9 10+

49 Observe the trader's ability to speak English

Unable Some basic vocabulary Knowledge of several sentences Able to make their own sentences Fluent

Gracias por tu ayuda. Si necesito saber más de tus opiniones, ¿sería posible ponerme en contacto contigo más adelante?

NOMBRE

TEL.

DIRECCION

APPENDIX E: Local consumer questionnaire (English text)

LOCAL CONSUMER QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 **Time:** AM/PM
- 2 **Date:**/...../...04.....
- 3 **Day:** M T W T F S S
- 4 **Location of interview:**.....
- 5 **Gender:** M / F
- 6 **Age:** 18-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+
- 7 **What is your occupation?**
.....
- 8 **Where have you bought goods in Cusco?**
Shop Large tourist goods market Isolated seller on street Small cluster of stalls within a house (Canchon)
- 9 **Do you have a preference between street traders and shops when purchasing...?**
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| a) Fruit and vegetables | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) Sweets and confectionary | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Clothes | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Electrical items | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) Newspapers | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) Tobacco | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) Artisan goods | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 10 **What is your attitude towards bartering?**
Enjoy Willing to barter Dislike
- 11 **What benefits do street traders bring to Cusco?**
.....
.....
.....
None
- 12 **What disadvantages do street traders bring to Cusco?**
.....
.....
.....
None
- 13 **What should the local authorities and police do about adults trading on the street?**
Support them Nothing Discourage them Other
.....
.....
.....
- 14 **Should local authorities enforce restrictions on the locations where adult street traders can work?**
Yes (14b) No (15) Unsure (15)

14b. Which locations should be prohibited?

.....

14c. Which locations should be promoted?

.....

15 Have you ever bought anything from a child under the age of 18?

Yes No

16 Would you prefer to buy goods from a child or from an adult street trader?

Child No preference Adult Depends on the goods (16b)

16b. What goods would you prefer to buy from a child?

.....

16c. What goods would you prefer to buy from an adult?

.....

17 Are children more or less likely to sell authentic local goods than adult street traders?

More likely Equally likely Less likely

18 Are children more or less likely to sell goods at a higher price than adult traders?

More likely Equally likely Less likely

19 To what extent do the following characteristics influence the likelihood that you would buy from a child?

a. The child is younger

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

b. The child looks impoverished

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

c. The child is crying

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

d. The child's ability to communicate with you

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

e. The child is smiling and has a sense of fun

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

f. Other

greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

20 What should the local authorities and police do about children trading on the street?

Support them Nothing Discourage them Other

.....

21 Should the local authorities enforce restrictions on the locations where children can trade?

Yes (21b) No (22) Unsure (22)

21b. Which locations should be prohibited?

.....

21c. Which locations should be promoted?

.....

22 Should the local authorities enforce time restrictions on when the children can trade?

Yes (22b) No (23) Unsure (23)

22b. At which times, if any, should the children be permitted to trade?

.....

23 What disadvantages do you believe child traders experience from trading?

.....

None

24 To what extent do you agree with these statements?

a) Street trading negatively affects children's life opportunities

definitely slightly not really not at all

b) Children only work as street traders to earn money

definitely slightly not really not at all

.....

25 Do you think that trading offers any specific benefits for children?

.....

None

26 What proportion of school age children do you think work (at least occasionally) as streets traders in Cusco?

0-4% 5-9% 10-14% 15-19% 20-29% 30-39% 40-49% 50-59% 60-69% 70-79% 80%+

Thank you for your time it is greatly appreciated. If I need to discuss your opinions further, will it be possible for me to contact you at a later date?

NAME

TEL.

ADDRESS

.....

.....

APPENDIX F: Local consumer questionnaire (Spanish text)

LOCAL CONSUMER QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 **Hora:** AM/PM
- 2 **Fecha:**/...../...04.....
- 3 **Día:** L M M J V S D
- 4 **Lugar de la entrevista:**
.....
- 5 **El sexo:** M / F
- 6 **Edad:** 18-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+
- 7 **¿Cuál es tu profesión/trabajo?**
.....
- 8 **¿Usted ha comprado artículos dónde en Cusco?**
Una tienda Un Mercado grande Un vendedor solo en la calle Un grupo de puestos en una casa (Canchon/Mercadillo)
- 9 **¿Tiene alguna preferencia entre vendedores callejeros y tiendas a la hora de comprar...?**
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|--|
| a) Frutas y verduras | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) Bombones y dulces | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Ropa | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Artículos eléctricos | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) Periódicos | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) Tabaco | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) Artículos artesanales | <i>Vendedor callejero</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>No tengo preferencia</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>Tienda</i> <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 10 **¿Cuál es su actitud respecto al regateo?**
Lo disfruto Estoy dispuesto a regatear No me gusta
- 11 **¿Qué beneficios aportan los vendedores callejeros a Cuzco?**
.....
.....
.....
Ninguno
- 12 **¿Qué desventajas aportan los vendedores callejeros a Cuzco?**
.....
.....
Ninguno
- 13 **¿Qué deberían hacer las autoridades locales y la policía respecto a los vendedores callejeros adultos?**
Apoyarlos Nada Evitar que vendan
Otros.....
.....
- 14 **¿Deberían las autoridades locales establecer restricciones en los lugares donde pueden trabajar los vendedores callejeros?**
Sí (14b) No (15) No estoy seguro/a (15)

14b. ¿Qué lugares deberían estar prohibidos?

.....

14c. ¿Qué lugares se deberían fomentar?

.....

15 ¿Ha(s) comprado algo en la calle de un vendedor en la calle quien tiene menos de 18 años?

Sí No

16 ¿Preferiría comprar artículos de un niño/a o de un vendedor callejero adulto?

Niño/a No preferencia Adulto Lo depende de los artículos (16b)

16b. ¿Qué tipo de artículos prefería(s) comprar de un niño?

.....

16c. ¿Qué tipo de artículos prefería(s) comprar de un adulto?

.....

17 ¿Hay más o menos posibilidades de que los niños vendan artículos locales auténticos que los adultos?

Más posibilidades Las mismas posibilidades Menos posibilidades

18 ¿Hay más o menos posibilidades de que los niños vendan artículos a un precio más elevado que los adultos?

Más posibilidades Las mismas posibilidades Menos posibilidades

19 ¿Hasta que punto se influye los siguientes características a comprar de niños que venden en las calles?

a. El niño es mas joven

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

b. El niño parece pobre

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

c. El niño esta llorando

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

d. El niño comunica con usted

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

e. El humor del niño

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

f. Otro

aumentado mucho aumentado un poco sin influencia disminuido un poco disminuido mucho

20 ¿Qué deberían hacer las autoridades locales y la policía respecto a los niños que venden en la calle?

Apoyarlos Nada Evitar que vendan Otros

.....

.....

21 ¿Deberían las autoridades locales establecer restricciones en los lugares donde pueden trabajar los vendedores callejeros infantil?

Sí (21b) No (22) No estoy seguro/a (22)

21b. ¿Qué lugares deberían estar prohibidos?

.....

21c. ¿Qué lugares se deberían fomentar?

.....

22 ¿Deberían las autoridades locales establecer restricciones en las horas cuándo pueden trabajar los vendedores callejeros infantil?

Sí (22b) No (23) No estoy seguro/a (23)

22b. A qué horas deberían permitir los niños trabajar?

.....

23 ¿Qué desventajas cree que experimentan los niños que venden en la calle?

.....

Ninguno

24 ¿Hasta qué punto está usted de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones?

a) Vender en la calle tiene efectos negativos para las oportunidades en la vida de los niños

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo Totalmente en contra

b) Los niños solamente venden en la calle para ganar dinero

Totalmente de acuerdo Ligeramente de acuerdo No estoy muy de acuerdo totalmente en contra

.....

.....

25 ¿Cree usted que vender en la calle aporta algún beneficio específico para los niños?

.....

Ninguno

26 ¿Qué porcentaje de los niños en edad escolar cree usted que trabajan (por lo menos algunas veces) como vendedores callejeros en Cuzco?

0-4% 5-9% 10-14% 15-19% 20-29% 30-39% 40-49% 50-59% 60-69% 70-79% 80%+

Gracias por (tu / su) ayuda. Si necesito saber más de (tus / sus) opiniones, ¿sería posible ponerme en contacto (contigo / con usted) más adelante?

NOMBRE

TEL.

DIRECCION

.....

.....

APPENDIX G: Tourist Questionnaire

TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 **Time:** AM/PM
- 2 **Date:**/...../...04.....
- 3 **Day:** M T W T F S S
- 4 **Location of interview:**.....
- 5 **Gender:** M / F
- 6 **Age:** 18-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+
- 7 **What is your nationality?**
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| American <input type="checkbox"/> | Dutch <input type="checkbox"/> | Italian <input type="checkbox"/> | Swedish <input type="checkbox"/> |
| British <input type="checkbox"/> | French <input type="checkbox"/> | Norwegian <input type="checkbox"/> | Swiss <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Canadian <input type="checkbox"/> | German <input type="checkbox"/> | Portuguese <input type="checkbox"/> | Other |
| Danish <input type="checkbox"/> | Israeli <input type="checkbox"/> | Spanish <input type="checkbox"/> | |
- 8 **What is your occupation?**
.....
- 9 **Do you consider yourself a backpacker living on a tight budget?**
Yes No
- 10 **Where have you bought tourist goods in Cusco?**
Shop Large tourist goods market Isolated seller on street Small cluster of stalls within a house (Canchon)
- 11 **Do you have a preference between street traders and shops when purchasing...?**
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| a) Fruit and vegetables | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) Sweets and confectionary | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Clothes | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Electrical items | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) Newspapers | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) Tobacco | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) Artisan goods | Street trader <input type="checkbox"/> | No Preference <input type="checkbox"/> | Shop <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 12 **What is your attitude towards bartering?**
Enjoy Willing to barter Dislike
- 13 **What benefits do street traders bring to Cusco?**
.....
.....
.....None
- 14 **What disadvantages do street traders bring to Cusco?**
.....
.....
None

15 What should the local authorities and police do about adults trading on the street?
 Support them Nothing Discourage them Other

.....

16 Should local authorities enforce restrictions on the locations where adult street traders can work?
 Yes (16b) No (17) Unsure (17)

16b. Which locations should be prohibited?

16c. Which locations should be promoted?

17 Have you ever bought anything from a child under the age of 18?
 Yes No

18 Would you prefer to buy goods from a child or from an adult street trader?
 Child No preference Adult Depends on the goods (18b)

18b. What goods would you prefer to buy from a child?

18c. What goods would you prefer to buy from an adult?

19 Are children more or less likely to sell authentic local goods than adult street traders?
 More likely Equally likely Less likely

20 Are children more or less likely to sell goods at a higher price than adult traders?
 More likely Equally likely Less likely

21 To what extent do the following characteristics influence the likelihood that you would buy from a child?

- a. *The child is younger*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- b. *The child looks impoverished*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- c. *The child is crying*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- d. *The child's ability to communicate with you*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- e. *The child is smiling and has a sense of fun*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease
- f. *Other*
 greatly increase slightly increase no influence slightly decrease greatly decrease

22 What should the local authorities and police do about children trading on the street?
 Support them Nothing Discourage them Other

.....

23 Should the local authorities enforce restrictions on the locations where children can trade?
 Yes (23b) No (24) Unsure (24)

23b. Which locations should be prohibited?

.....

23c. Which locations should be promoted?

.....

24 Should the local authorities enforce time restrictions on when the children can trade?

Yes (24b) No (25) Unsure (25)

24b. At which times, if any, should the children be permitted to trade?

.....

25 What disadvantages do you believe child traders experience from trading?

.....

None

26 To what extent do you agree with these statements?

a) Street trading negatively affects children's life opportunities

definitely slightly not really not at all

b) Children only work as street traders to earn money

definitely slightly not really not at all

.....

27 Do you think that trading offers any specific benefits for children?

.....

None

28 What proportion of school age children do you think work (at least occasionally) as streets traders in Cusco?

0-4% 5-9% 10-14% 15-19% 20-29% 30-39% 40-49% 50-59% 60-69% 70-79% 80%+

Thank you for your time it is greatly appreciated. If I need to discuss your opinions further, will it be possible for me to contact you at a later date?

NAME

TEL

ADDRESS

APPENDIX H: Child trader interview questions (English text)**CHILD TRADER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

- 1) Why do you think older children sell postcards and shine shoes, whilst younger children sell puppets?
- 2) Why do you think the municipals take goods from younger children more often than they take goods from older children?
- 3) Why do more boys sell postcards and girls sell puppets?
- 4) Why do the municipals take goods from boys more often than they do from girls?
- 5) Why do girls attend school more regularly than boys?
- 6) Why do boys earn more money than girls?
- 7) Why do children from the city of Cusco sell more postcards than those from rural areas?
- 8) Why do children from the city speak English more fluently than those from rural areas?
- 9) Does your ability to speak English affect what you choose to sell?
- 10) Where do you learn the English which helps you to sell?
- 11) Are children allowed to sell on the street?
- 12) Do you think it's easier for a child to sell on the streets or for an adult?
- 13) If you didn't sell, what would you do to get money?
- 14) Why do you work on the street and not in a market?
- 15) Where do you think children should be allowed to sell? Why?
- 16) Are there any particular places where you fear selling?
- 17) Are there any particular times when you fear selling?

APPENDIX I: Child trader interview questions (Spanish text)

CHILD TRADER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) ¿Porque piensas que los niños mayores venden postales y lustran zapatos cuando los niños menores venden títeres?
- 2) ¿Porque piensas que los municipales se quitan más de los niños menores?
- 3) ¿Porque hay mas chicos que venden postales y más chicas que venden títeres?
- 4) ¿Porque piensas que los municipales se quitan más de los chicos?
- 5) ¿Porque las chicas asisten a colegio más que los chicos?
- 6) ¿Porque los chicos ganan más plata que las chicas?
- 7) ¿Porque los niños de la ciudad venden más postales que los niños del campo?
- 8) ¿Porque los niños de la ciudad hablan más ingles?
- 9) ¿Tu habilidad en ingles hay una influencia en que productos tu vendes?
- 10) ¿Donde aprendes el ingles que ayúdate a vender?
- 11) ¿Sabes si es legal por niños a vender en las calles?
- 12) ¿Piensas que es más facilito para niños a vender en las calles ó para adultos?
- 13) ¿Si no vendes que haría para ganar plata?
- 14) ¿Porque vendes en las calles y no en un mercado?
- 15) ¿Donde piensas que los niños deberían estar permitir a vender? ¿Porqué?
- 16) Hay lugares particulares donde tienes miedo a vender?
- 17) Hay horas particulares cuando tienes miedo a vender?

APPENDIX J: Cards used to indicate entities important to the lives of child ambulant traders



Playing



Family



Food



Money



Clothes



Tourists



School/College

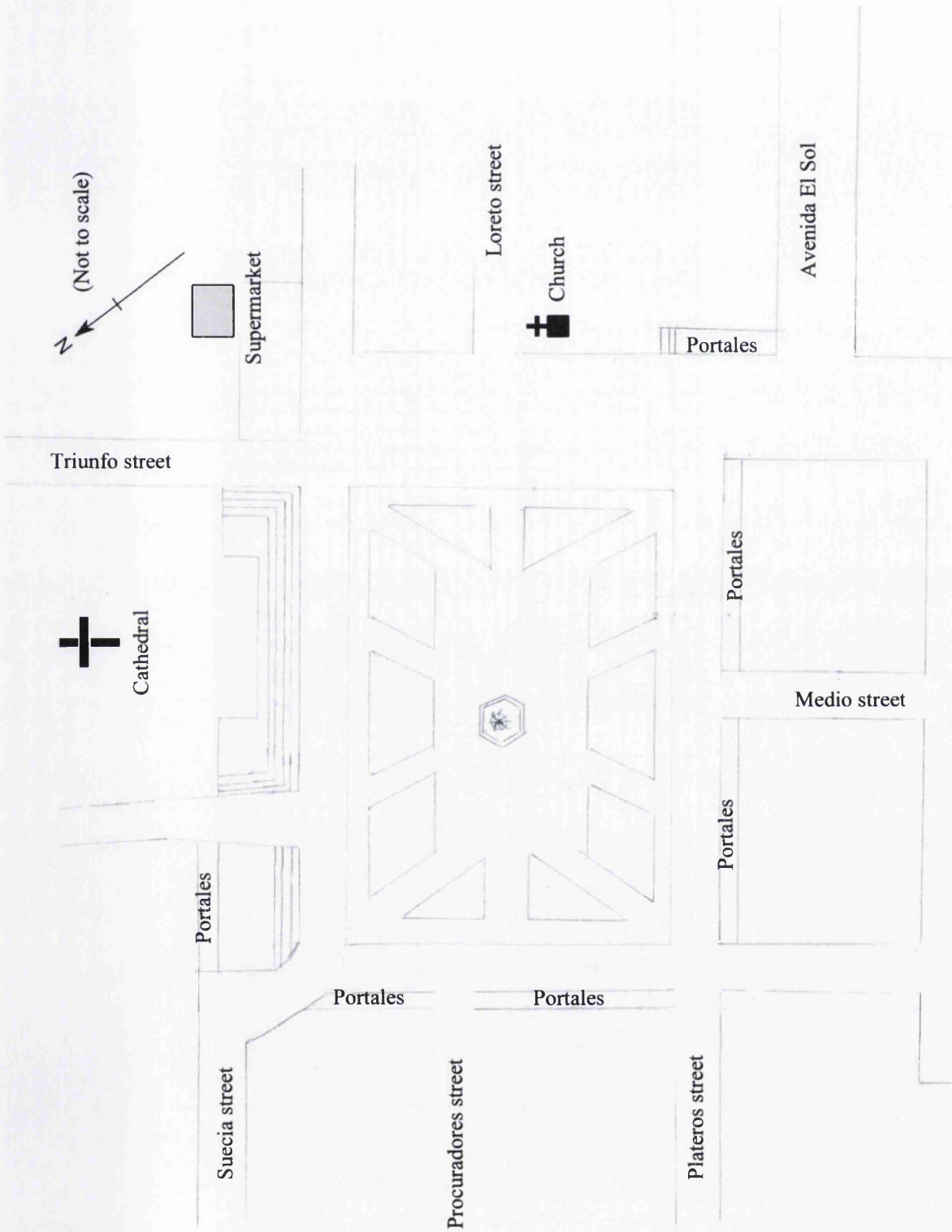


Holidays



Selling

APPENDIX K: Map of the Plaza de Armas



Source: Fieldwork, Cusco, 2004

APPENDIX M: Characteristics of tourists responding to questionnaire surveys

Questionnaire No.	Gender	Age	Tourist Type
1	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
2	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
3	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
4	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
5	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
6	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
7	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
8	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
9	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
10	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
11	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
12	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
13	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
14	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
15	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
16	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
17	female	40+ years	Backpacker
18	female	40+ years	Backpacker
19	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
20	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
21	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
22	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
23	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
24	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
25	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
26	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
27	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
28	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
29	male	30-39 years	Backpacker
30	female	30-39 years	Backpacker
31	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
32	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
33	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
34	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
35	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
36	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
37	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
38	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
40	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
41	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
43	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
44	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
45	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
46	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
48	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
49	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
50	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
51	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
52	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
53	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
54	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
55	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker

56	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
57	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
58	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
59	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
60	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
61	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
62	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
63	male	40+ years	Backpacker
65	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
66	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
67	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
68	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
69	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
70	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
73	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
74	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
75	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
76	female	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
77	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
78	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
79	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
80	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
81	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
82	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
83	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
84	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
85	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
86	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
87	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
88	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
89	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
90	male	40+ years	Non-backpacker
91	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
92	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
93	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
94	female	40+ years	Non-backpacker
95	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
96	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
97	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
98	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
99	male	30-39 years	Non-backpacker
100	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
101	female	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
102	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
103	female	under 30 years	Backpacker
104	male	under 30 years	Backpacker
105	male	under 30 years	Non-backpacker
106	female	under 30 years	Backpacker

APPENDIX N: Characteristics of local consumers responding to questionnaire surveys

Questionnaire No.	Gender	Age
1	Female	30-39 years
2	Male	under 30 years
3	Male	30-39 years
4	Female	under 30 years
6	Male	30-39 years
8	Female	under 30 years
9	Female	under 30 years
11	Male	30-39 years
12	Female	30-39 years
13	Male	under 30 years
14	Male	under 30 years
15	Female	30-39 years
17	Female	40+ years
20	Male	under 30 years
21	Female	under 30 years
22	Female	30-39 years
23	Female	under 30 years
27	Female	under 30 years
30	Male	under 30 years
32	Female	under 30 years
33	Female	40+ years
36	Male	under 30 years
37	Male	under 30 years
40	Female	30-39 years
41	Male	under 30 years
42	Female	under 30 years
43	Female	under 30 years
48	Female	under 30 years
49	Female	40+ years
50	Male	under 30 years
51	Female	30-39 years
52	Female	under 30 years
53	Male	30-39 years
54	Female	40+ years
55	Male	40+ years
56	Male	40+ years
58	Male	30-39 years
63	Male	under 30 years
64	Male	under 30 years
65	Male	under 30 years
66	Male	under 30 years
68	Female	under 30 years
69	Female	under 30 years
71	Female	30-39 years
72	Male	30-39 years
73	Male	40+ years
74	Female	under 30 years
75	Male	under 30 years
76	Male	30-39 years

77	Male	under 30 years
78	Female	under 30 years
79	Female	under 30 years
80	Female	30-39 years
81	Female	30-39 years
82	Male	under 30 years
83	Female	30-39 years
84	Male	under 30 years
85	Male	under 30 years
86	Male	30-39 years
87	Male	under 30 years
88	Female	under 30 years
89	Female	under 30 years
90	Male	under 30 years
92	Male	30-39 years
93	Female	under 30 years
94	Female	under 30 years
95	Male	30-39 years
96	Female	30-39 years
97	Female	under 30 years
98	Female	under 30 years
99	Female	under 30 years
100	Female	40+ years
101	Female	under 30 years
102	Female	under 30 years
103	Female	30-39 years
104	Male	30-39 years
106	Female	under 30 years
107	Female	under 30 years
108	Female	under 30 years
109	Female	30-39 years
110	Female	30-39 years
111	Female	under 30 years
112	Male	under 30 years
113	Male	under 30 years
114	Female	under 30 years
115	Female	under 30 years
116	Male	under 30 years
117	Male	under 30 years
118	Female	40+ years
119	Female	under 30 years
120	Male	under 30 years
121	Female	under 30 years
122	Female	30-39 years
123	Male	30-39 years
124	Male	under 30 years
125	Male	under 30 years
126	Male	under 30 years
127	Female	30-39 years
128	Female	under 30 years
129	Female	30-39 years

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