



There are no Sundays on the farm

A study on the Icelandic tradition of sending children to farms
during the summer

Ólöf Daðey Pétursdóttir

Lokaverkefni til MA-gráðu í þróunarfræðum

Félagsvísindasvið



HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

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Abstract

Sending children to farms to live and work over the summer months in Iceland was a common custom in Iceland up until the late twentieth century. Children went from one week up to four months and went as young as five years old. In recent years there has been a tendency to classify traditions similar to the Icelandic farm tradition as child trafficking. The aim of this research is to look at the Icelandic tradition of sending children to farms and examine if the tradition can be classified as trafficking through the definition of trafficking found in the Palermo Protocol of 2000. The research was carried out in Iceland from January 2010 to February 2011. Data was collected using qualitative methods. The qualitative methods included formal and informal interviews. Individuals who experienced the tradition were interviewed. For the formal interviews the semi-structure interview form was chosen.

Various reasons led to sending children to the farm over the summer time. Parents, farmers and children contributed to the decision making. Children experienced the farm stay in various ways, but farm life meant work and children experienced work on various levels. In most cases children experienced the work on the farms as a part of their upbringing while others felt they had been exploited. The tradition of sending children to farms over the summer months in Iceland should not be classified as trafficking. By looking at the Icelandic tradition of sending children to farms and examining it through the definition of trafficking found in the United Nation Trafficking Protocol of 2000, attention is brought to the fact that traditions similar to the ones experienced in the Western world in the near past, have been classified as trafficking and communities criminalized. By doing so the real victims of trafficking are focused on and anti trafficking measures will target the most vulnerable children in need of help.

Key words: Trafficking, Palermo Protocol, recruitment, exploitation, child labor, child work, farm stay, Iceland.

Ágrip

Sá siður að senda börn í sveit yfir sumarið var algengur upp undir lok tuttugustu aldar. Börn fóru í viku eða fleiri mánuði og fóru allt frá fimm ára aldri. Á undanförunum árum hefur verið tilhneiging til þess að flokka siði sem þennan sem mansal. Markmið rannsóknarinnar er að skoða siðinn að senda börn í sveit og athuga hvort hægt sé að flokka hann sem mansal samkvæmt skilgreiningu á mansali í Palermóbókuninni. Rannsóknin byggir á vettvangsathugun, þar sem eigindlegar rannsóknaraðferðir voru notaðar. Tekin voru viðtöl við einstaklinga sem sendu börnin sín í sveit, tóku á móti börnum í sveit og fóru sjálfir í sveit.

Niðurstöður rannsóknarinnar gefa til kynna að ástæður fyrir sveitadvölinni voru margar. Foreldrar, bændur og börnin sjálf tóku þátt í því að ákveða hvort barnið færi í sveitina. Upplifanir barna á sveitadvölinni voru einnig mismunandi, en allar áttu þær það sameiginlegt að henni fylgdi vinna. Í flestum tilfellum var upplifunin af vinnunni jákvæð og þroskandi, en í sumum tilfellum fannst börnum á sér brotið og þau arðrænd. Með því að skoða siðinn að senda börn í sveit út frá skilgreiningu mansals í Palermóbókuninni er athygli vakin á því að siðir í Vestur-Afríku sem svipa til sveitadvalarinnar og tíðkuðust á Vesturlöndunum fyrir alls ekki löngu, hafa verið fordæmdir og skilgreindir sem mansal. Þannig hafa samfélög verið sökuð um glæpsamleg athæfi. Slíkt gæti haft í för með sér að börn sem raunverulega eru fórnarlömb mansals fái ekki þá aðstoð og hjálp sem þau þurfa. Sá siður að senda börn í sveit yfir sumarið ætti ekki að vera skilgreindur sem mansal.

Lykilorð: Mansal, Palermóbókunin, þátttökuferli, arðrán, vinna barna, sveitadvöl, Ísland.

Forewords

This study represents 40 ECT units and the completion of a MA program in Development Studies at the University of Iceland. My research has been supervised by Jónína Einarsdóttir, Professor of Anthropology at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at the University of Iceland. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Jónína for her excellent guidance and patience throughout this study.

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1 Introduction

Human trafficking is an issue which has received significant attention in the international arena and is condemned as an illegal trade worldwide. Various international conventions have been held in order to stop such a trade and considerable amount of money has been spent on anti-trafficking measures (Dottridge, 2007; Einarisdóttir et al, 2010). According to the United States State Department (2010) there are 12.3 million individuals, adults and children, victims of trafficking.

Child trafficking has especially been condemned by the international community and acknowledged as a global problem. Half of all victims of trafficking are considered to be children (United States State Department, 2010). International organizations have devoted their efforts and funds have been spent to abolish child trafficking. However, the funds spent on anti-trafficking measures have not proven to be as successful as hoped for. In 2009, only 4.166 convictions on human trafficking took place and a small number of 49.105 victims of trafficking identified (United States State Department, 2010).

The Palermo Protocol of 2000 is the point of reference when human trafficking is on the agenda. Since the convention on the issue of human trafficking, traditions involving movement of children in West Africa have been classified as child trafficking. Similar practices, involving movement of children, were or are still, practiced in the Western world. In Iceland the tradition of sending children to go live and work over the summer time has just recently ended. The tradition was common with all groups of society involved. Children would go for two weeks up to four months to go live and work on the farms. Children went from ages five up to eighteen.

The aim of this research is to look at the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer time through the definition of trafficking found in the Palermo Protocol of 2000. I aim to shed a light on the reasons why children went to farms

over the summer months and by whose initiative they went. The research is based on fieldwork conducted in Iceland from January 2010 until February 2011.

The idea of this research originally came from my instructor, Jónína Einarsdóttir, who had among others partaken in a research on child trafficking in Guinea-Bissau where traditions involving movement of children have been classified and condemned by Non Governmental Organizations and other international organizations as child trafficking.

This study includes six chapters. In the second chapter of this research, the theoretical framework will be given. Attention is brought to the history of human trafficking, giving an overview of the actions and regulations that have led to the Palermo Protocol of 2000. Child trafficking, child labor and child slavery are then discussed, followed by child protection conventions and laws. The chapter concludes with current debate on child work and child trafficking as well as current research on children and childhood. In the third chapter, I outline the settings of this study and review the social history of Iceland. The society underwent great changes in the eighteenth, nineteenth and the twentieth century, from being mostly a rural society to the majority of people living in urban areas of the country. These social changes affected people in various ways, one being the tradition of sending children to the farms. In the fourth chapter the methodology used to conduct the research is described which relied on qualitative methods. In chapter five, the result findings of the research are revealed and in chapter six, I discuss the research findings in relation to theoretical framework. Finally, in chapter seven the main conclusions of this study are introduced.

2 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter an overview of the actions and international regulations that have led to the Palermo Protocol of 2000 will be given. Since as early as the 1700's public awareness has risen on the subject of human trafficking, and for over 300 years governments, organizations and international agencies have searched for effective methods to prevent the trade, unfortunately with less results than expected. To start with, human trafficking will be discussed in a historical perspective. There, an overview of various anti slavery actions will be covered starting with the Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves, which was passed in 1806 and was considered the first step taken to prevent slavery on an international ground. The overview continues with the Anti Slavery Convention of 1840, where sales and ownership over African slaves in America were condemned (Welch, 2009). The White Slave Trade of 1904 will also be covered, which led to a change in the concept of slavery, and the term slavery was transformed to human trafficking. From there an overview of actions taken to prevent trafficking of human beings will be discussed, resulting in the Palermo Protocol of 2000, where the term human trafficking is defined and it made illegal in all shapes and forms. After analyzing and defining the concept of trafficking the focus shifts from human trafficking in general to child trafficking. From there, child labor and child slavery are discussed, starting with the Factory Acts which were passed by the British government and controlled the employment of children in the English textile industries in the 1900's. The passing of those acts was a turning point in the fight against child labor, and the welfare of the child was for the first time not only the parent's or the employer's responsibility, but the community's (Marvel, 1977). Other child protection convention and laws such as the ILO conventions and the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1998 will be covered. The terms used to describe working children will then be discussed, followed by the current status on working children and trafficked children. Finally current research on children and childhood is introduced.

2.1 Human Trafficking in Historical Perspective

The subject of human trafficking has received significant attention worldwide over the last twenty years in light of more awareness and increase in research on the topic. Gozdziaik & Collet (2005: 100) argue that the human trafficking issue is an "old phenomenon with new importance", meaning that the exploitation and trafficking of people has existed for hundreds of years but just recently it has caught the international eye as a severe threat and a global problem. For hundreds of years the international community has fought this phenomenon with rules and regulations, falling short of acceptable results. In order to understand what human trafficking consists of, one needs to look at the history of human trafficking and its origins, when did it start and how did the term trafficking overcome the term slavery?

2.1.1 From Slavery to Trafficking

In 1806 the British government had passed the Act to Prevent the Importation of Slaves, which was the first step in a long lasting effort to ban slavery on an international ground (Eltis 1979). In 1839 the Anti Slavery Society was founded in London and a year later, in June of 1840 the world's first Anti Slavery Convention was held (Maynard, 1960; Welch, 2009). The convention was meant to combine and strengthen international forces to fight slavery and as a result of the convention the first statement condemning the sale and ownership of African slaves in the Americas was drafted. The Second World's Anti Slavery Convention was held in London in 1843 to measure the success of the previous convention. The result was positive and showed that the First World's Anti Slavery Convention was an important step in the long fight to abolish slavery (Maynard, 1960). In the 19th century over 600 other international treaties on slavery were signed, which according to Welch (2009) is beyond any other human rights violation. The term trafficking, however, does not originate in the slave trade through which African slaves were shipped across the Atlantic to Europe and the Americas, but in the term white slavery. The term white slavery was used to describe women involved in prostitution abroad or within their home countries. The According to Leppanen (2007) the term white slavery originally suggested an image of innocent white women in the hands of darker men. The issue received a

lot of attention in the international world and many organizations were established in order to prevent and stop the trade (Doezema, 2002). As a way to address the problem, the first international agreement against this new era of slavery, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, was signed in 1904 by 13 states (Gozdziak & Collett, 2005). The agreement covered only the international trading of white slaves, but in 1910 the definition was widened to all forms of trading of white slaves, international as well as internal. With this development, the concept of slavery shifted slowly to the concept of trafficking. Leppanen (2007: 524) argues that the shift in the terminology “is interesting because it marks a number of changes in the understanding the world” meaning, “the question of race and ethnicity, sexuality, and internationalized world politics are crystallized in the abandonment of slavery in favor of trafficking”. The 1904 International Convention also led to the creation of national committees which worked against the trafficking of white women, but the First World War put these efforts on hold.

In June of 1921 the League of Nations¹ held an international conference in Geneva, where the term white slavery was changed to traffic of women and children (Monzini, 2005). This was done to make sure that the trafficking in all countries was dealt with, the victims of races other than the white race were recognized, and that male children were also recognized as victims. Up until the last turn of the century the fight to abolish slavery was separated from the fight against the abolishment of trafficking (Quirk, 2006). The Slavery Convention which was signed by the League of Nations in 1926 suggests that “slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (Slavery Convention, 1926).

¹ The League of Nations was an inter-governmental organization founded as a result of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919-1920. Its main goals were to prevent war through collective security and disarmament, and settling international dispute.

In 1933 another convention was signed in Geneva, The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women, and its purpose was to condemn all recruitment for prostitution in another country (Gozdziak and Collet, 2005). This message influenced the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others that proposed that “prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of a human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family, and the community of a person” (UN 1949, in Gozdziaak and Collet, 2005: 100). The 1949 Convention therefore limited the term trafficking to prostitution and made it punishable by law, whether with the victim’s agreement or not. The 1949 Convention also suggested that victims of such crime should receive help in returning to their countries of origin. This was the first Convention on human trafficking that was legally binding to the countries that signed it and required the countries to make prostitution illegal. According to Einarsdóttir, Boiro, Geirsson and Gunnlaugsson (working paper) the fight against prostitution and slavery did not merge until the end of the twentieth century.

2.1.2 The Palermo Protocol

After 1949 and over the next few years, issues related to the Cold War were prominent in the international discourse, leaving out issues related to human trafficking. It was not until after the Cold War had ended in 1989 that the topics on human rights and human trafficking especially, were up for discussion again on the international agenda (Tickner, 2008). Due to the fall of the Soviet Union and ongoing war in Yugoslavia, people began to migrate to Western Europe in despair and poverty, looking for an opportunity of a better life. According to Tyldum, Tveit and Bronovskis (2005) those circumstances made people vulnerable to traffickers looking to exploit them. In 1993, the United Nations formally re-addressed the issue at a convention in Vienna, paving the way for the Palermo Protocol. In December 2000, The United Nations Protocol against Trafficking in Persons was passed in Palermo Italy which made all forms of human trafficking illegal (UN 2000). According to Einarsdóttir et al (working paper) the Palermo

Protocol is the result of difficult negotiations. The protocol was expected to improve international cooperation in fighting crime, trafficking and people smuggling (Dottridge, 2007). The Palermo Protocol had to be validated by at least 40 countries before it could become an instrument of the international law. There were 148 countries present, 121 of them signed the new convention and over 80 countries signed the supplementary protocols *The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (Raymond, 2002). Raymond (2002) argues that the intention of the protocol is to harmonize international laws on human trafficking and combine all the previous actions taken to prevent human trafficking into one definition for all countries to use. With the Palermo Protocol, the fight against slavery/human trafficking had finally received well deserved attention after nearly 300 years of conventions and policy making. The Palermo Protocol of 2000, states in article 3:

- a) Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at the minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or removal of organs.
- b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in the subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in the subparagraph (a) have been used.
- c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for exploitation shall be considered trafficking in persons even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.
- d) Child shall mean any person less than eighteen years of age.

As the Palermo Protocol states, trafficking consists of three main elements: a certain act, the method and the purpose (UN, 2000). The act consists of what is done (recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons and so on), the means of how it is done (threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim) and finally the purpose of why it is done (for the purpose of exploitation, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery or similar practices and the removal of organs). In the case of people 18 years and over, all three of those elements must be involved for a certain case to be classified as trafficking (Dottridge, 2007). He continues, that the definition of trafficking found in the Palermo Protocol of 2000 states it is not necessary for a child to be coerced or deceived to be classified as trafficked, “it is sufficient to know that a young person under 18 has been recruited and moved somewhere away from home to be exploited in these specific ways for the child concerned to be regarded as a victim of trafficking” (Dottridge, 2004: 42). A short definition of child trafficking would be: a child has been trafficked if he or she has been moved within a country, or across borders, whether by force or not, with the purpose of exploiting the child (UN, 2000).

In recent years the trafficking of children has become a highly debated issue on the international agenda. Now the focus will shift from the Palermo Protocol and the term trafficking to child trafficking.

2.1.3 Child Trafficking

As Dottridge (2004) argues, the term child trafficking implies a transfer of a child from one place to another and the exploitation by others in a way that violates its human rights. Human beings and especially children can be trafficked for many reasons, including sexual exploitation or to provide cheap labor for domestic or commercial purposes. Although there are no exact figures of the numbers of children trafficked, it is estimated by the UN that half of all victims of trafficking are children. The United States Department of State’s report on *Trafficking in persons 2010* suggests that 12.3 million adults and children are in

forced labor, bonded labor or forced prostitution and in 2009 successful trafficking prosecutions totaled in only 4166. Of those 12.3 million, a small number of 49,105 victims were identified. The report also suggests that every country needs to do more to fulfill the promise of the Palermo Protocol. Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) highlight that the population relevant to the human trafficking study is a so-called hidden population (prostitutes, traffickers, victims/survivors, or illegal immigrants) which makes research on the number of trafficked persons in the world difficult. Children tend to be more vulnerable and easier to manipulate than adults and are therefore more likely to follow or fall into the hands of traffickers. Dottridge (2004) points out that it is generally much easier to make children do what they are told to do than adults, and especially easier when it comes to younger children. The child victims of trafficking in many cases come from poor households where opportunities of a better life are few. Those circumstances make them a fairly easy target for traffickers, and the same can be said for children who have been separated from their families for other reasons. There are many different ways of trafficking children, but as stated in the Palermo Protocol of 2000, it involves movement. Younger children are often presented to immigration officials as the trafficker's children, while older children and abducted children can be moved across borders illegally (Dottridge, 2004). It is also important to recognize that children can be trafficked within countries as well as across borders. After children have been trafficked it varies greatly what they are exploited for, especially by their age and gender. The driving force for the traffickers is almost always the question of money with the exception of girls trafficked for marriage and babies or young children trafficked for adoption (Dottridge, 2004). As Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) highlight, trafficked children are a part of the hidden population and it can as a result be very difficult to suggest improvements for the situation. The previously mentioned report on *Trafficking in persons 2010* (United States State Department 2010), also address this issue saying that not only are those victims hidden in the society, but they are also not recognized as a problem. The report suggests that most countries do not accept the existence of trafficking and are therefore not living up to the mandates of the Palermo Protocol. Dottridge (2008) discusses the issues of child trafficking

in his study *Kids as Commodities? Child trafficking and what to do about it* and what preventative measures need to be taken in order for the international arena to fight this human rights crime. He points out that in order to “prevent children from being trafficked, it is necessary to understand the motives that people may have for leaving home, or that the families have for allowing them to leave” (Dottridge 2008: 9). It is therefore important to indentify the motives behind the movement of the child. The combat against human trafficking has become an important political priority for many governments all over the world. More funding spent on human trafficking issues mirrors this renewed interest which results in more research being done on the topic (Laczko, 2004). There are many different forms of how trafficked children are exploited. According to Dottridge (2004), there are eight types of exploitation that trafficked children experience, commercial sexual exploitation, marriage, adoption, slavery or bonded labor, domestic servants, begging, illicit activities and hazardous child labor (Dottridge, 2004: 24). Let’s take a closer look at the exploitation of child labor.

2.2 Child Labor and Child Slavery

Over the last 300 years the world’s societies have worked hard to abolish slavery and prevent human trafficking. The fight against child labor also has a long history. During the industrial revolution children were known to work in factories from a very young age, proving harmful to their health. Meanwhile, child labor surfaced as a human rights issue earning attention in the public dispute. The following discussion addresses the acts and conventions that have been passed to prevent child labor and child slavery.

2.2.1 The Factory Acts

Some argue that the forced labor of children during the 1700’s was in fact the beginning of what now is classified as human trafficking. During those times, many businesses all over the world, especially textile industries in Britain began to hire children as workers, for in the eyes of their employers children were less likely to cause “trouble”, working for long periods of time without much complaint (Kirby, 2003: 97). Hiring children to those factories was also due to the fact that in some cases parents had taken loans from their employers without being

able to pay them back. As a payment, their children were often used to work for the loan. Those children often grew up working in the factories or mines without being allowed to leave, even when they turned adults themselves (Kirby, 2003). Children worked in mines, mills, factories or plantation farms where conditions were very poor. The child labor issue became a serious problem during the Industrial Revolution in Britain and later in The United States and other European countries. In an attempt to halt the development of child labor, the British government enforced the so called Factory Acts. The 1802 Factory Health and Moral Act was passed in Britain for children working in cotton mills, but the act mainly implied limited hours of work of women and children for the first time in history (Morgan, 2001). The limitation was not to work for more than 12 hours daily and night work was as well prohibited. Every child had to get daily instruction and school attendance was to be recognized as working time. Religious instruction was to be enforced on Sundays and sanitary clauses were added in order to improve the working children's conditions (Morgan, 2001). To enforce the act, two visitors were sent to the work place to examine it, and later had to send reports on how the laws were being enforced. The Act met little enforcement or no co-operation at all, and the inspectors became a nuisance to the owners of the work place, resulting in the inspectors becoming sympathetic towards the owners and the act was followed through on (Hammond and Hammond, 2003).

Over the next years the British Parliament continued its efforts to halt the child labor development. In 1819 another act was enforced called The Cotton Mills Act, where children under the age of 9 were not allowed to work, and children 9 to 16 years of age were limited to 12 hours of work daily (Nardinelli, 1980). Subsequently various factory legislations were passed, including the 1833 Factory Act, which covered textile factories as well and was more successful than the previous act, due to the provision of enforcement of the act. Children under 9 were not allowed to work in factories, and children under 13 were to work no more than 48 hours per week, children under 18 were not allowed to work nights and a two 8 hour shifts per day for children was allowed (Nardinelli, 1980). More Factory Acts were passed in 1844, 1847, 1850, 1853, 1860, 1864- and 1867 which

continued to improve the working hours and conditions of children. The 1878 Factory Act combined all the previous Acts together where no child under the age of 10 was to be employed, and should instead get compulsory education up to 10 years old, and 10 to 14 year old children could be employed half days (Nardinelli, 1980). The Factory Acts changed the situation of the factory children dramatically and its intention, to better working children's conditions, was met. Although, as Nardinelli (1980) points out, children did not leave the factories to go to school, the Factory Acts encouraged children to leave the factories for other jobs, since they were often viewed as income earners by their parents who lived in poverty. Nardinelli (2008) continues that if such was the case, then the Acts would not have improved the situation of child labor, it might even have deteriorated. However, the Factory Acts undisputedly raised awareness of children's rights and influenced policy making in the future. Marvel (1977) argues that for the first time it was put in writing that the community was also responsible for the welfare of children, not just the children's parents or their employer.

From there on the fight against child labor continued, and in 1919 after World War I had ended, the ILO (International Labor Organization) was founded. The ILO was meant to shine a light on the importance of social justice in securing peace, and the organization's motive was to fight the exploitation of workers in the industrialized nations of that time. From the foundation of the ILO, its mission has been to abolish child labor in any shapes and forms.

2.2.2 The ILO Conventions

The ILO's definition of child labor derives from Convention 138 which was passed on June the 6th 1973. The Convention aims to effectively abolish child labor by obliging countries who sign the convention to set a minimum age of 15 years of age for admission to employment or work (ILO Convention 138). Any work that violates Convention 138 is therefore considered illegal child labor. The ILO makes a distinction between child work and child labor, finding child work acceptable but child labor unacceptable and to be eliminated. Convention 138 identifies four groups of working children;

- 1) children at work

- 2) children engaged in child labor (including all economically active children from 5 to 11 years of age, economically active children aged 12 to 14 years, except those working only for less than 14 hours per week; and children from 15 to 17 years of age engaged in any type of hazardous work)
- 3) children in hazardous work (work that will likely harm the health, safety or moral development of a child)
- 4) children in unconditional worst forms of child labor (this includes children in forced or bonded labor, armed conflict, prostitution and pornography, and illicit activities)

Bourdillon (2011) highlights that this definition of child work and child labor has received its share of critique due to the fact that the definition itself is narrow and underestimates other types of work children do. States are allowed to adjust the convention to their own laws and rules of minimum age of employment or work within a certain framework. Children ages 13 to 15 can for example be allowed to work certain type of employment which is considered easy and not hazardous to their health. It can also allow exceptions for children of 15 years of age and older, who have not completed compulsory schooling to engage in work (ILO Convention 138).

On June 17 1999 the ILO adopted another Convention number 182, which aims to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labor. The worst forms of child labor according to the ILO, refers to child slavery, forced labor, trafficking, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography and forms of work that harm the health, safety or morals of children. A child according to the ILO implies all persons less than 18 years of age (ILO Convention 182). In article 3 of the convention 182 the term worst for of child labor is defined as such:

- a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

- b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals (ILO 1999).

Einarsdóttir et al (working paper) point out that when children are concerned; Convention 182 merges sexual exploitation and slavery into one term “worst form of child labor” similar to how the Palermo Protocol merged slavery and sexual exploitation into one term “trafficking”. Although most countries in the world have signed the convention, not all have compromised with the terms of it (Korbin, 2003). Bourdillon et al (2011: 194) argue that the ILO Conventions should be used as helpful references and guidelines, but that “policy governing children’s work should start with in-depth, empirical understanding of the particular children and specific situations involved”. Since the Factory acts and the foundation of the ILO, global awareness of children’s rights has risen greatly. In line with the fight for children’s rights around the world was the passing of the Convention of the Rights of the Child.

2.2.3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989

The pioneer for the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) was Eglantyne Jebb, who devoted her time in the fight for children’s rights. After being arrested for displaying pictures of starving children after World War I, people rallied to show their support for her and the Save the Children movement was formed (Hammarberg, 1990). The movement drafted the Declaration of Geneva, which was the first international instrument recognizing children’s rights and was adopted by the Assembly of the League of the Nations in 1924. The next major step was in 1959 when the UN General Assembly officially gave recognition to the human rights of children (Cohen, 1990). Twenty years later, in 1979, and during the International Year of the Child, the Polish government proposed a convention for children’s rights where the aim was to put together a

legally binding document by December 1989 and have enough countries sign it for it to become an international law (Hammarberg, 1990). The aim was met, and the convention is the first legally binding international agreement and gives a universal standard for children's protection. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the United Nations in November of 1989. Its aim is to acknowledge children as individuals who are entitled to their own rights, and ensure their rights for agency, in article 12 it states: "Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (UN, 1989). Hammarberg (1990:99) suggests an easy understanding of the convention using the three P's approach:

- 1) Provision: the right to get one's basic needs fulfilled for example, the rights to food, health care, education, recreation and play.
- 2) Protection: the right to be shielded from harmful acts or practices for example, to be protected from commercial or sexual exploitation, physical or mental abuse, or engagement in warfare.
- 3) Participation: the right to be heard on decisions affecting one's own life.

The Convention specifies the human rights every child in the world is entitled to. It has since then been validated by all governments except, The United States and Somalia (Korbin, 2003). It covers rights on just about everything and applies to everyone who is under 18 years of age. It states in article 1, that every one under the age of 18 is by law considered a child: "For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (UN, 1989). The fact that so many governments were willing to sign the agreement mirrors the awareness which has risen on the situation of children around the world, and the common international political will to improve it. The Convention has however been criticized for inconsistencies and clashing ideas. Those inconsistencies are based on the Convention's notion that the child has the right to decide and partake

in its society. However, at the same time it is protected from the dangers of the same society it is encouraged to partake in, such as work related issues. Stephens (1995) highlights that lower-income societies have a different view on what type of rights are considered in the best interest of the child. In Western societies, emphasis is mostly on political rights while in lower-income societies, the emphasis is more on social and economical rights. These two different views are considered to clash in the convention of 1989 and Stephens (1995) continues to argue, that unless the convention adapts to such different views, it cannot not be used to its fullest potential. While the convention defines everyone under the age of 18 a child, it fails to take the advice of scholars such as Ariés (1962) and Hecht (1998) in incorporating social and cultural factors in the definition of a child.

As the overview of actions and regulations on children's rights and children's work has shown, there has been growing awareness in the public eye of the economic exploitation of those children and the international arena has increasingly focused its efforts on eliminating child labor. However, in most societies of the world children can be found working, whether it is in Europe, Africa or America. Here attention will be brought to working children and the terms used to describe children's work.

2.2.4 Working Children

This current upsurge of international concern about exploitative child work has focused new attention on fundamental questions, not just regarding the definition of the term child, but also what kind of work is appropriate for children? What is the effect of work on children? When is it positive, and when is it considered negative? In order to answer those questions, a basic one needs an answer: what is work? Work can be defined in many different ways, depending on where in the world this question is asked and especially by whom. What one person considers work may another person not consider to be work (Liebel, 2004).

The most common definition of work in our society is an act one gets paid to do. The Oxford Dictionary defines work as follows: "activity involving mental or physical effort done in order to achieve a result, work as a means of earning income; employment". According to this definition, an individual who engages in

an activity involving mental or physical effort in order to achieve a result, or an individual who works as a meaning of earning income is considered a working individual. However, the Dictionary has six other definitions of work, which highlights Liebel's (2004) point that work is not always considered to be the same everywhere in the world. Hungerland (2007) draws the attention to the fact that when such definition of work is used, the so-called unpaid work becomes invisible and irrelevant. Precisely due to that, children's work is often underestimated. James, Jenkins and Prout (1998) have argued that adults tend to look passed the work amount that children put in, mainly due to the fact that it is unpaid and therefore irrelevant. Garðarsdóttir (1998) has also pointed out that work can vary, and is determined socially, economically and culturally. In order to define terms related to working children, one must therefore look at political, cultural, economical and scientific facts.

Up until today, scholars and other agents working on child related issues have not found a universally accepted definition of child work, child labor and child slavery. The terms and definitions are various due to the complexity of it, and therefore unclear for use in practice. In his article *Children and Work: a Review of Current Literature and Debates*, Bourdillon (2006) points out that the term child work is often used for a softer work environment where the work is considered positive and educating for the child. The term child labor on the other hand implies a harsh working environment where children are made to do difficult work for long hours, which disturbs their growth and education (Bourdillon, 2006). Child labor is therefore often used to describe working children in a negative way and child work is seen in a more positive light (Liebel 2004). Some go as far as saying that working children in developing countries are almost always described as doing child labor, while working children in the Western world are described as child workers (Morrow, 2007). The UN defines child labor as work that exceeds a minimum of hours, depending on the child's age and the type of work. And finally child slavery is often used when talking about forced labor, where children are forced to work for by others and is often related to child trafficking (Morrow, 2007).

It is evident that there are many different ways of defining child work, child labor and child slavery and they can even vary from one organization to another. To give an example, the World Bank defines child labor as a great threat that can harm the national long term investment (Weston, 2005). United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has a different point of view and says child labor goes way beyond concerns about economical activities. The International Labor Organization (ILO) relates child labor to the harm children can suffer from engaging in economical activities (Weston, 2005). In their book, *What works for working children* by Boyden, Ling and Mayers (1998), the authors point out that in some societies, working at a young age is seen as important for a child's development, to build up their self respect, prepares the child for survival in the future and can even improve their economic situation as well as their families. It is therefore important to examine information about children's work in relation to their health and development as well as children's role in the society. When making policies this should always be held high in consideration. A research done by the Institute for Research on Working Children² showed that most child laborers chose to work in order to fulfill some of human's basic needs, such as the need for food, clothes and that of being able to go to school (Van den Berge 2006). In the research many children who were addressed commented on having chosen to work in order to help with the family income, feeling like a burden while not working. Edgar who is eleven years old, for instance describes how he decided to go to work when he saw his mother and the economic trouble she was going through: "Now I am making my own money to buy my clothes and pay for school. My mum does not have to worry about that anymore" (Ven den Berge 2006: 6). Another example is a nine year old who works as a bus attendant

² The Foundation for International Research on Working Children (IREWOC) was established in 1992 to conduct anthropological qualitative research on child labor, to raise awareness and influence policy. See <http://www.childlabour.net>

during the day and goes to school at night: “Yes I like to work because they pay me so that my mum does not have to worry about buying me and my sister dinner”. In light of these statements, it is clear that some children who decide to work are doing so in order to act as agents in their own life, and have decided to make a change from poverty. These self images imply that child labor or child work can be a form of agency (Van den Berge 2006: 6).

There is a huge controversy over whether children should be allowed to work or not, and such opinions on child labor and child work also tend to be viewed from a Western point of view (Rosen, 2007). In many different parts of the world and in any stage of our history, children have been a part of the economic environment, as we have seen from the industrialization of Europe to contemporary times. With the increasing globalization of the world, concern and awareness for those working children has arisen. Reports of child abuse and child labor have created criticism of working children around the globe, and as a result called for combined international actions against it. Liebel (2004) argues that it is important to refrain from limiting the definition of work to something you get paid for to do, but look at each action and children’s view of what they consider to be work (Liebel, 2004). Terms and definitions on children’s work therefore play a great role in policy making on children’s rights and child labor.

2.2.5 Current Status

The fight against child trafficking, child labor and child slavery has been an ongoing theme on the international agenda for hundreds of years. Bourdillon, Levinson, Myers and White suggest in their book *Rights and Wrongs of Children’s Work* (2011) a few principles for policies and interventions that aim to better children’s situation around the world. First they suggest an understanding of children’s situation around the world, their economical situation, their social class, their gender, generation and ethnicity (Bourdillon et al, 2011). They continue and propose a new understanding of work that can both benefit and harm the child. Work is normal and in some places a big part of growing up. They conclude with that agencies responsible for policies and programs need to use social research in

order to gather enough information to understand children's situation better (Bourdillon et al, 2011).

2.3 Current Research on Children and Childhood

Not only is it important to look at the definitions used to describe working children, when the issue of trafficking is on the agenda, it is important to look at how one defines child. Einarsdóttir et al (2010) argue that cultural ideas of acceptable childhood and different economical situations can clash with international agencies and NGO's (Non Governmental Organizations) working to improve the situation of children around the world. This brings us to a fundamental question when addressing children's rights. Is the definition of a child in one region of the world considered the same in all parts of the world? Among scholars this is a question yet to be answered. They have pointed out that the idea of childhood is not a certain size or situation determined by a certain age, but a culturally determined phenomenon (James and Prout, 1990).

2.3.1 Definition of Childhood

The French philosopher Philippe Ariés is considered to be the scholar who most influenced the debate about what is childhood. In his book *Centuries of Childhood* from 1962 he proposes that the idea of childhood did not even exist in Europe during the middle ages, children were simply viewed as a small version of adults waiting to grow into the size of an adult. Ideas about children and childhood are sometimes determined by their difference from adulthood, or the opposite of adulthood (Gittins, 1998). Childhood has as well been described as a time of your life filled with innocence, carefree and stress free life where the main focus lies in self development and happiness (Higonnet, 1998). According to Erikson (2001), a life according to Western societies can be divided into phases such as childhood, teenage years, adulthood and seniority. This is not the case in other societies of the world, in some places for example, certain rites of passage determine when a child becomes an adult (Liebel, 2004), and in yet another societies, children develop directly into adulthood without any process what so ever (Boucholtz, 2002). There is a clear overlap between children and adults that everyone can agree on, adults are superior to children which results in adults

having power over children, which unfortunately in some situations leads to misuse, and children are abused. Stephens, (1995) argues that international agencies, laws and definitions of child and childhood are often said to be influenced by the so-called Western definition of a child or childhood. Such definition of childhood is somewhat romanticized, where childhood ought to be peaceful, happy and beautiful. It does not however, reflect the reality children around the world are faced with. The Western idea of childhood is therefore a safe period in one's life where innocence, playful games, time of education and a worry free mind come together, where children live under the protective arm of the adults in their lives, and thus making children immature and unfit to be responsible for their own lives (Honawa, 2005). Tobias Hecht (1998) points out in his study on street children in Brazil that ideas of childhood are predetermined and generalized, but as Ariés highlights, the ideas are socially formed. Hecht (1998: 70) continues and says that children must be viewed as current human beings rather than human "becomings". The Western ideas of childhood are therefore comfortable and simple, and it is in the hands of the adults to make sure children are faced with happiness, caring and protection. What about the children whose childhood does not fall into such romanticized category? Children who lack those images are often viewed as victims, victims who adults use their power to save. Hecht (1998), and James and Prout, (1990) argue that childhood is a culturally and socially shaped phenomenon. They continue and say that the concept childhood varies from culture to culture and that should always be a factor when children's issues are at stake. The discussion of childhood that the philosopher Ariés started years ago has sparked an awareness of children and their situation all around the world. Children, who are faced with the fact that they have no home, do not have the protection or care of adults, start to make a living for themselves in any way they can, and engage in activities that other children their age are not engaging in. The idea of a child and childhood can therefore vary tremendously and it should be considered when using the terms child and childhood (Korbin, 2003).

2.3.2 Children as Agents

There has been a tendency to overlook children's agency when matters concerning children are discussed. Agency refers to the ability of people to make

effective choices, in particular when responding to opportunities (Bourdillon et al, 2011). Boyden (1990:185) argues, “The major tenet of contemporary rights and welfare thinking is that regulation of child life should give priority to making childhood a carefree, safe, secure and happy phase of human existence”. She goes on saying that actions taken to protect children’s rights are influenced by “theories of pollution”, painting a picture of innocent children being better off away from the “harsh realities of adult life and the social dangers that go with it” (Boyden, 1990:185-186). Qvortrup (1994: 4) argues that the role of power is prominent between adults and children and that “the adult world does not recognize children’s praxis, because competence is defined merely in relation to adult’s praxis”. Bourdillon et al (2011) comment that agency can be limited by constraints and structures, but is rarely removed entirely. Children are therefore painted as powerless without agency of their own. Children should practice how to empower such agency in order to allow them to develop (Bourdillon, 2011). Children’s agency is ignored when it is assumed that children do not have a role in decision making about their lives, such as deciding whether to work or not (Bourdillon et al, 2011). Children from low-income countries do not always have the same adult support as children in the higher-income countries and therefore have to do more things on their own, such as deciding to find work (Bourdillon et al. 2011). Children’s agency should therefore be considered when children’s work is being studied.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter a theoretical framework on trafficking was given. First human trafficking was discussed in historical perspective. Throughout the nineteenth century Conventions were held to better the situation of enslaved or trafficked persons around the world. A fundamental basis in the trafficking discourse was when the term slavery was shifted to trafficking. The use of the concept of trafficking originates from the fight against the prostitution of white women. In 2000 the Palermo Protocol was signed by the member countries of the United Nations after hundreds of years of policy making, and marked the beginning of anti-trafficking measures around the world. The term child trafficking was also addressed, discussing the complexity of the matter. From there the focus shifted

from child trafficking to the issue of child labor and child slavery. In the second half of the eighteenth century the conditions of poor working children received sympathetic attention resulting in various acts passed to improve the situation of those children. Other child protection conventions and laws were then discussed, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the ILO conventions. The current status and principles for agencies working on issues related to children and children's work was discussed. From there, current research and discussions about childhood were introduced. The notion of childhood is important when discussing the aspect of child trafficking, for not everywhere in the world are children defined equally. Children as agents were also introduced, as well as children's agency which needs to be incorporated when rules and regulations on child work are created. According to scholars, children's agency has been missing in studies on children's work. In the next chapter the settings of the research are discussed, giving a historical overview of Icelandic social history, the idea of the Icelandic childhood and working children in Iceland.

3 Settings

In this chapter the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer time will be examined in a historical context. As a result of technological advances and social changes, there was significant migration from rural to urban areas in the twentieth century. In particular, the mechanizations of the farm influenced further industrial revolution in other industries created more employment opportunities in urban areas, and secondly, the occupation of British and American troops during World War II led to creation of various jobs. Those changes influenced how the farms operated and hiring children to live and work on the farm served as an answer to the urban fear of children having nothing to do.

3.1 A Brief History

The Book of Settlement (Landnáma), written in the thirteenth century, relates to the story of Ingólfur Arnarson as the first settler in Iceland in the year 874. Many followed him, as the country was viewed as the land of new opportunities, while space was scarce in the Nordic countries and conflicts on the rise. Along with the Viking settlers came Celtic people, and together they formed a nation. During that time, no common government was recognized until the year 930 with the establishment of Alþingi (parliament). Iceland's independence came to an end in 1264 after internal conflicts, and the country was submitted to the King of Norway. Subsequently, Iceland's economy derailed and citizen's everyday life got worse. In 1380, with the unification of Norway and Denmark, Iceland went under the Danish crown. Despite the colonization, the people of Iceland kept true to their own culture, "shaped by their harsh and isolated environment" (Magnússon, 2010: 18). The French Revolution in the eighteenth century influenced a freedom feel that passed through the island (Magnússon, 2010) as it did for other countries in similar situations, and in 1874 Iceland was given its own constitution and control over its finances. In 1918, Denmark granted Iceland sovereignty and in 1944 that the Republic of Iceland was formally formed (Magnússon, 2010). The story of the nation's independence is important as it depicts a search for freedom. The Viking settlers are thought to have wanted a nation of their own, choosing the harsh lands of the island as their country. This freedom feeling is said to be a part

of every Icelander, and the country side and the farms are often associated with the idea of freedom.

3.2 From Rural to Urban Society

Iceland underwent great social changes in the eighteenth, nineteenth and the twentieth century (Magnússon, 2010). In the eighteenth century the land was poor and weather conditions harsh. The population fell below 50.000 and did not recover until the nineteenth century. It was not until after 1820 that conditions started to improve and in the nineteenth century living conditions and working practices continued to progress (Magnússon, 2010). Farming was a fundamental part of society, as it was almost the only way of income (Magnússon, 2010). The twentieth century brought even greater changes to the isolated island, with technological advances, new means of income was available and the society was taking its first steps from being mostly a rural society to an urban one. In the beginning of the twentieth century, 90% of the nation's population lived in the rural areas of the country (Gunnlaugsson, 1993). It was common for two or more generations to live under the same roof as along with other people working on the farm. The livelihood of farming was at the time very labor intensive, where many hands were needed to complete the tasks (Magnússon, 2010).

3.2.1 Mechanization

In the first decades of the twentieth century technological advances started at the farms and tasks began to require fewer workers. The number of people living on the farms diminished but the production grew (Magnússon, 1993: 137). Kjartansson (2002: 33) argues that with the mechanization of the farms, other industries started to mechanize, initiating a revolution. The effects of the industrial revolution in Iceland were that more employment opportunities were available in the urban areas of the country (Kjartansson, 2002). The reasons were mostly economical and farmers moved to the capital to find employment and new opportunities (Kjartansson, 2002). This led to a change in the society, from having 90% of the population living in rural areas, to over 50% living in urban areas by 1930 (Gunnlaugsson, 1993).

The effects of the world recession in 1929 started to hit Iceland in 1930, when seafood and agriculture exports decreased and focus was shifted on to domestic production (Magnússon, 1993). Farmers were poor as they could not sell their products (Kjartansson, 2002). Import was limited and export failed, resulting in government aiding. During the recession production methods changed and industries vital to Iceland's economy, such as the seafood industry and agriculture had to make drastic changes in order to be competitive on international grounds (Magnússon, 1993). Farmers could not afford hiring workers so everyone in the household and even in the extended family had to do their part, adults as well as children.

3.2.2 World War II

Another influential time in Iceland's history is the nation's involvement in World War II which impacted the nation greatly socially, culturally and economically (Whitehead, 1980). On May 10th 1940, British troops landed in Iceland. The war had been ongoing in Europe for over eight months, Germany had invaded Poland, occupied Denmark and Norway, and Netherlands and France were also at war. Iceland was key to keep dominance over the Atlantic Ocean and to prevent Germany from invading, Britain felt compelled to secure that area by occupying the island. A flyer was passed to the citizens of Reykjavik stating:

“British military arrived in ships early this morning and do now occupy the city. These arrangements have been made in order to verify a few things and to come here before the Germans. We (the Englishmen) do not have anything against Iceland and its people, we are simply preventing what happened to Denmark and Norway. That is why we ask of your welcome and help. While we are dealing with Germans living in Reykjavík and in other places in Iceland, we will temporarily ban: 1) radio and telephone communications, 2) entering and exiting the city for a few hours. We are sorry for this inconvenience and apologize. We hope this will soon come to an end. R.G. Sturgis” (Whitehead, 2002: 10).

It was obvious that the military presence was something that would have an enormous effect on the society from this day on. The British invasion was peaceful, compared to the war in Europe, and the ambassador of Britain explained to the Icelandic government that the occupation was purely strategic, and by no means was Iceland's independence at risk (Whitehead, 2002). The Icelandic government emphasized their neutrality in the war but in a speech given by the prime minister to address the public of Iceland of the new development, people were asked to treat the British troops as guests and with hospitality (Kjartansson, 2002). With the presence of the new uninvited guests, most Icelanders felt relieved and secured from the threats of the war, but at the same time worried about the effect the occupation could have on the fight for Iceland's independence, as Denmark had not granted Iceland independence in 1940. During the war, a few hundred Jewish Germans looked for asylum on the island, many of them without any luck due to Iceland's policy to minimize foreign influence in their search for independence (Kjartansson, 2002). In the summer of 1941 the British troops were called from Iceland to go fight in the war. With the war still going on, it was thought necessary for the Brits to secure Iceland by making a military defense contract with the United States and the government of Iceland (Kjartansson, 2002). This time, Iceland had put down some conditions. The United States troops were to leave the country as soon as the war ended and Iceland's freedom and sovereignty was to be fully respected and Iceland's best interest should always be kept in mind (Kjartansson, 2002). For a nation that was seeking their independence, this came as a shock to many Icelanders, however, history was inevitably written. It was now time for Iceland to take a side in the war and take proper precautions of the overwhelming possibility of a hostile invasion.

With the presence of the British and American troops, the economic situation in the country improved. During the occupation, there was high demand was for Icelanders to do all kinds of work for the troops, anything from doing their laundry (which many Icelandic housewives advertised in news papers) to airport construction in Reykjavik, or Nissen Hut construction (Kjartansson, 2002). Prices

of Icelandic products domestically and internationally increased, improving greatly Iceland's terms of trade. Despite the economical improvement, authorities controlled all import to the island. With the arrival of the American troops, the country's biggest airport was built, dramatically changing the aviation of Iceland. The war years not only made progress in Iceland's transport, but it also contributed to a 38% increase gross domestic product (Magnússon, 1993).

Before the occupation, Icelanders were not used to witnessing military on streets or armed forces around buildings. Kjartansson (2002: 226) describes the situation in the book *Ísland á 20.öld*, (Iceland in the 20th century), as a "national life in disorder". He tells of the upset nation not knowing what to think of the armed men and not taking the weapon seriously. While the British occupied the island no accidental shooting took place, but with the presence of the American troops, three such shootings killed 3 Icelandic people (Kjartansson, 2002). For a nation of 120.000 people in 1940, the thousands of troops present in Iceland had a tremendous impact on the daily life of Icelanders, especially in the capital of Reykjavik. As mentioned above, the citizens of Iceland were asked to treat the troops with politeness and try to ignore their presence. Women were especially under the microscope when it came to interaction with the troops. It was considered very promiscuous for women to interact with them, and a colloquial word was used to describe such a thing, "the situation". The situation was a word used for everything from prostitution to marriage, or it was quite common for women to marry the troops and even have children that were then called the "situation children" (Kjartansson, 2002). This was considered one of the biggest social issues in the cohabitation with the troops, so important that authorities even did a research on it. The results showed that 521 women had been "very close" to the troops and up to five times as many had associated with them in one way or another. In some cases, the women involved in the research were young girls from twelve to sixteen year olds that were troubled teens; they were found drinking and getting close with the troops. Authorities felt compelled to intervene, and formed a committee to place the young women in an institute for short term placement or in many cases girls were sent to farms for longer periods (Kjartansson, 2002).

Women were not the only ones who were to blame for social issues during the occupancy; men were also accused of engaging in black market business of goods from both the British and the American troops, and most importantly of learning poor work ethics in labor work³. The presence of the foreign troops did not only cause social disturbances, it also introduced Icelanders to commercial goods that the country had not seen before. The Americans for example, had modern tools, and were the first ones to introduce the Jeep and the Bulldozer to the Icelandic society (Kjartansson, 2002).

Even after the World War II ended in August of 1945, the American troops showed no signs of leaving, arguing unstable international environment, especially due to the Korean War. The 5th of October 1946, a so-called Keflavik contract (Keflavíkursamningurinn) was signed in Alþingi, the Icelandic parliament. The contract implied that within 6 months, the American troops would leave the country but could continue to use the Keflavik airport for their troops and equipment. According to the contract, Icelanders should be trained for most jobs at the airport, including air trafficking control (Þættir í sögu íslenskra utanríkismála, n.d.).

To sum up, the country was one of the few that benefitted economically after the world recession, partly due to the Marshall plan⁴. The country now had better roads and airports which it lacked before the occupation, and the isolated island in the north was visibly more modernized both materially and in some ways culturally. Due to the industrial revolution in Iceland and the occupation of the British and American troops during World War II, the Icelandic population moved

³ Icelanders had always been considered ambitious hard workers, trying to meet their superior's hard demands. When Icelanders started to work for the British military they were introduced to work ethics they had not seen before, laziness, incompetence and inefficiency.

⁴ A program designed by the United States, aimed to rebuild and create a stronger economic foundation for the European countries after World War II.

in large numbers to the urban areas of the country. The work mentality of the farm, where work was held in high esteem and laziness was frowned upon, followed the urbanization of the nation. Children were no exception.

3.3 The Tradition of Sending Children to Farms

Sending children to the farms over the summer time is a tradition that is formed by the social development as people moved into the urban areas. At the same time as people were moving into urban areas from rural, required schooling during in fall, winter and spring resulting in children having summers off. And to keep children occupied during summer they were sent to the farms to help out, among other reasons which will be discussed later.

3.3.1 The Idea of the Farm

Historians have claimed that rural traditions and culture is often lost when people move from rural to urban areas, calling it the disarrangement of the society (Magnússon, 1993: 265). Magnússon has criticized this theory and argues that the traditional culture in Iceland found a way to continue to be meaningful and important in the formation of the urban society. The meaning of farming to the Icelandic society grew even stronger after the British and American troops occupied Iceland in World War II. The value of hard work was still held high, and this was to be taught to the generations to come. People in the urban areas of the country were in much contact with rural areas, seeking to work there and vice versa, especially children. The freedom, the hard work and the beauty of the farms around Iceland has given the farm culture a romanticized view of a life. In a speech given by Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, the president of Iceland, at the agricultural convention on the second of February of 2006, the president emphasized the meaning of the farms to the Icelandic people and its culture:

Icelandic agriculture has been such a vital part of our history and culture that it is impossible to address the long journey of Iceland without mentioning the large role that farms and farmers played in such context. Ancient stories of settlement and commonwealth are stories of farmers, farmers who cultivated this island... The Icelandic agriculture has been a

leading pillar in our national history and when new forms of employment entered the country over hundred years ago and Iceland's economic system faced some changes, the strength was found in agriculture...The story of the Icelandic people and their self confidence is rooted in the farms of this country, their unity and democracy has created the free and open society we enjoy today... Our awareness of nature, the farmer's view of life, our patriotic feelings, the value of the mountains and valleys, the beauty of the fjords, the rivers, the waterfalls, the top of the glacier touching the sky, have formed strong feelings for us Icelanders towards our country... Those feelings would not have been able to develop without our long history of farm culture.

As Mr. Ragnarsson states, farm life is a very important part of how Iceland became the nation it now is, and the patriotic feeling related to agriculture and farm life is undisputable. Up until 1950 a big percentage of Icelanders lived in so called "Turf Wall Farms", which was the building material used by farmers since the settlement. The architecture of the turf wall farm houses are characterized by turf walls and sod roofs, which serve as a thermally insulating envelope around a wooden frame. These turf wall farm houses serve as a symbol of Iceland's patriotism that the president speaks of, and although they are not used as houses today, they serve as a national icon.

3.3.2 Children and the Farm

In his paper on *Common People's Culture in Iceland 1850-1940*, the author Sigurður Magnússon (1993) discusses the everyday life of people in Iceland and divides the life span into three main periods; the young youth (spanning from birth until 7 years of age), working children and children "in between" (children from 7 to 14 years of age), and finally a lifetime where a person reaches adulthood (children 14 years and older). Children in the first period of their life did not have specific duties, but were supposed to act a certain way (Magnússon, 1993). This view of "children in between" was a common view of children at the time, they were not considered children, but not yet adults. The master of the house had the power over the household (in most cases the father). To emphasize this point, laws

on upbringing were passed in 1746, called the household discipline⁵. Pétur Pétursson (1983) discussed the law in his book *Church and Social Change*:

The patriarchal order of the traditional farming society was legalized by the ideological framework of the official religion...The book of the household discipline provided the basis for the religious socialization of the people, the preaching of the clergy and the pre-confirmation instruction of the children. Its social philosophy was based on the presupposition that there existed three ruling strata to which the common people were to submit themselves: the Crown, the clergy, and the master of the household. The social order based on this principle of authority was in the end determined by god, and any violation of this was sin and would be sanctioned by the proper authorities (Pétursson, 1983:52).

This demonstrates the importance of the power that the master of the household had over children and other residences. The household discipline was meant to provide a mental challenge, and if needed, deliver physical punishment. In order to keep the strong discipline in the household, children were encouraged to learn new things and work when they had the time. This view can be seen in Iceland's long history of working children and in the household of the children on the farms.

Life in Iceland in the eighteenth, nineteenth and the twentieth century was work and children were no exception. The country was poor so survival was dependent on using all the labor force available, even if it meant children. As shown above, work was in addition held in high esteem and considered a vital part of growing up (Magnússon, 1995). Children were therefore encouraged to learn new things and work when they had the time. In the household, children at a

⁵ I.e Húsagatilskipunin

young age were trusted with jobs which required responsibility (Magnússon, 1993). During spring the tasks children had to do include lambing, rounding up of sheep and cow, and fieldwork, but in the winter the focus was on wool work such as knitting (Magnússon, 1993). Schooling was not required until 1907, and before that home schooling was required. Parents used the time in between when children were not working to teach them how to read and write (Magnússon, 1993). This was often exhausting for the children, but none the less was it expected of them. The school requirement changed children's situation, giving them time off in the summers. In order for children to have something to do, farming was often an option.

The farmers did not benefit as greatly from the war years as other industries in Iceland, and they lacked sufficient number of workers, especially those who could not afford the newest machinery available. That is why families had to use every help available on the farm to complete the tasks at hand. With the development of more people immigrating to the urban areas of the country, the farm went from housing two or more generations to consisting of a single family who took care of business, and occasionally hired employees from outside the family to work for them. Although such hired help was not as common as in previous years, it was quite common for farmers to hire employees over the summer time while the farming was at its peak (Kjartansson, 2002).

More common was the help of the so-called summer children or young teens. In such cases, children or young teens went to the farms during their summer break from school and helped out with the farming. The farmers either advertised for such help or the children's parents knew the people on the farms through kinship or other type of connection, In other cases, the children were sent to the farms as a part of a solution to a behavioral problem for example, or other kind of social circumstances (see for example the case of the young girls in Reykjavík who associated with the troops during the occupation, and troubled teens with crime or drug related problems).

Hard work continued to be held in high regard within the farm working society and children who came to the farms during the summer time felt this especially. Children's work was therefore both seen as vocational and ethical training, necessary in order to prepare them for the realities of life (Hálfðanarson, 1986, in Einarsdóttir, Ólafsdóttir and Gunnlaugsson, 2004). What kind of work children did on the farms varied from one farm to another, often depending on the farm's economical situation and how many there were in each household.



Photograph 1: Þjóðminjasafnið (National Museum of Iceland)

3.4 Working Children in Iceland

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century the idea of childhood in Icelandic society was different from the idea of childhood in the twentieth and the twenty-first century. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth century young children were given responsible tasks which today would be considered irresponsible to give to young children (Einarsdóttir, 2004). Children therefore grew up to become adults sooner than children in the twentieth and the twenty-first century.

In her research on working children in Iceland, Einarsdóttir (2004) argues that the nineteenth century discourse emphasizes the economical importance of children of that time. Children in the rural areas of the country were used to complete the

tasks at the farm and could not refute them. She continues that with the changed industries at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the fisheries industrialized and formed urban settlement along the coast, children worked equal to adults going out to sea and pickling herring. Other children's jobs included delivering news papers and babysitting (Einarsdóttir, 2004: 128). With the urbanization, children's work changed where they got the opportunity to receive payment for their work. Einarsdóttir (2004) points out that data does not exist as for how much children got paid, but unlike the work children did on the farms in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, children in the urban areas had the opportunity to receive salary for the work they did.

When schooling became required in 1907, children's work changed. Summer jobs were created giving children a chance to work during their time off from school. With the urbanization and the school requirement, a period of vacation needed to be filled. Some children sought work if there was work to be found, while others went to the farm.

As shown with examples above, Icelandic children have been participating members of the labor market for centuries. The work mentality of the rural society continued in the urban society (Eydal, Rafnsdóttir and Einarsdóttir, 2009). Most industrialized countries in the nineteenth century started to create legislation on child labor, as previously mentioned with the Factory Acts. The first Icelandic law on child welfare, however, was passed in 1932. The Act included the appointment of a children's welfare committee's within each municipality to ensure the safety of the child. The presumption was the parents did not always act in the child's interest and committees were allowed to intervene (for example, remove the child from the home) when the child had; broken the law, when the child was too "difficult" to cope with, when the child's welfare was at risk in the home (drinking, abuse, bad conditions, too heavy work, etc.), or when the child's education was being neglected. No guidance was available on when the neglect/abuse/work had reached such a level that an intervention was needed. The local child welfare committee whose role was to find a solution for those children did not succeed (Eydal, 2005)

From 1946 until 1984 various laws on children's welfare were drafted. In 1946 law was passed where the preventative role of the child welfare committee was extended and a more detailed definition of "risk for children" given. At this time the urbanization of the country had already taken place, and Eydal (2005) points out that the report which fallowed the bill showed that there was growing concern that children were misbehaving in the city, more than they did on the farms.

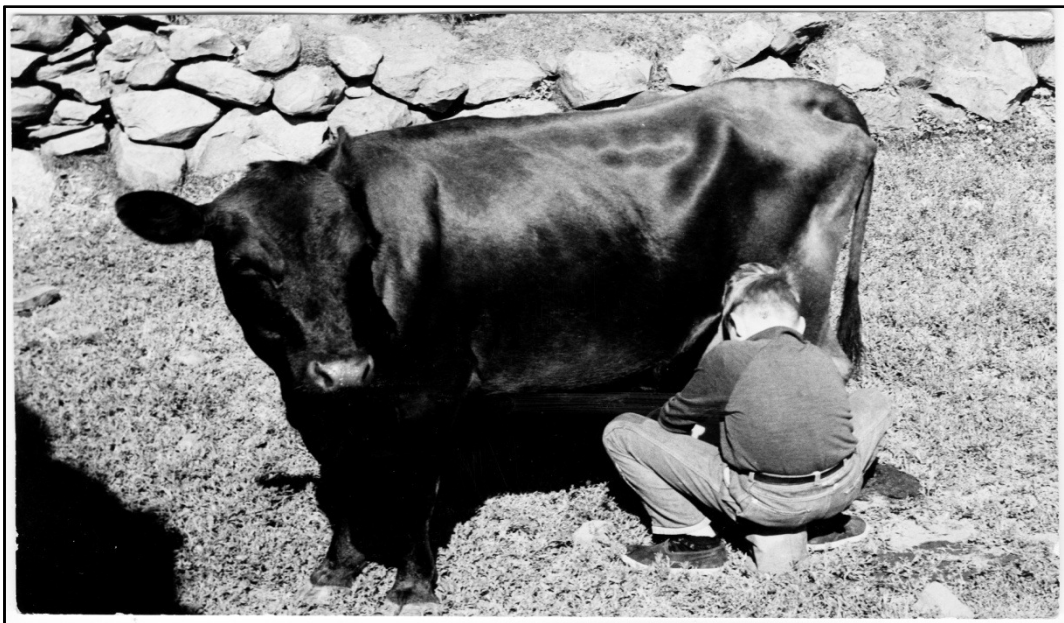
The laws were revised and changed numerous times in between 1960 and 1970. In 1964 a new child welfare bill was drafted. The bill revised the previous laws, establishing more rules on child work and regulating work hours, however the law proved to be unsuccessful (Eydal, 2005). In 1965 the bill was reintroduced and accepted in 1966 which excluded children from certain types of industries. The bill was unsuccessful in regulating minimum work hours for children. From there, various bills were drafted but few were successful. With the drafting of the bills that was brought to the floor of the parliament, attempt was made to limit the working hours of children with little success (Eydal, 2005).

In their research, Eydal et al (2009) examine the legislation on child labor in Iceland and the participation of Icelandic children in the labor market. The results show that there is high market participation among adults, youth and children. Majority of Icelandic children from the age of thirteen to seventeen worked over the summer time, and the research indicates that even younger children partook in summer jobs as well (Eydal et al, 2009). Legislation on child labor has in principle not changed much since 1982, however, Iceland agreed on the EU legislation on child labor in 1999. Eydal et al (2005:200) argue that "while the laws have been amended in line with regulation in other countries, Icelandic parents still place more emphasis on teaching children the values of work compared to parents in the other Nordic countries".

3.5 Summary

In this chapter the cultural settings of sending children to farms were given. The settlers played an important role of forming the nation's identity as freedom seekers. As the population moved from the rural to the urban areas of the country, the romanticized view of the farm fallowed. With the development of the

urbanization and the schooling requirement in the nineteenth century, children had more time on their hands which could be spent working. Children were therefore sent to the farms to aid with the farming over the summer time, as it was the busiest time of the year where many hands were needed. Work mentality has always been held in high esteem in the Icelandic society and children grew up learning about the values of hard work. Legislation on working children in Iceland was established later than in other industrialized countries at the time. Work was considered a part of growing up and fear of the youth becoming lazy and troubled influenced adults to encourage children to work.



Photograph 2: Þjóðminjasafnið (National Museum of Iceland)

4 Methodology

Preparation for this research started in December 2009 and was formally finished in April of 2011. Data collection took place in Iceland from January of 2010 to February of 2011. Participants and resource persons were from various parts of Iceland who experienced the social phenomenon of sending children to work on farms over the summer time.

In this chapter the preparation and execution of the research will be explained; research question introduced, research methods described, participants and collection of data process discussed, and ethical issues considered. Thereafter, data registration will be explained and the data analysis process described.

4.1 Research Question and Preparation

The general aim of this study is to examine the former Icelandic custom to send children to farms during the summer months. A general question is whether this custom can be classified as child trafficking. Preparation for the research began in November 2009 by reading literature relevant to the topic of trafficking and child labor, as well as conversing with various people in Iceland about the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer time. To begin with, and to get situated in the common discussion about this tradition, articles, blogs and internet comments were looked at. To no surprise, heated discussions about the tradition were found. At the beginning of the process I also wrote down my own ideas about the custom of sending children to farms in the summer time. I was sent to a farm as a child, to go stay with a distant relative for two weeks. It was my idea to go and I went with my sister. The memories I have from that time are beautiful. We did not have to do any work and we were allowed to run around the fields all day playing with the farm animals. I remember that I got to pick the names of the new born puppies, and I named them after my favorite cartoon heroes. The weeks flew by and I remember how hard it was to say goodbye to the puppies.

Throughout the process, I kept an open mind, focused on the research question and tried to get as many different points of views as possible from a selected group of people. Getting participants to partake in the study was therefore easy and difficult at the same time. Originally I decided to interview six people from

each category (adults who were sent to farms as children, parents who sent their children to the farms and finally the farmers who hosted the children over the summer months), and along the way 12 informal accounts were gathered, which will be explained later in this chapter.

4.2 Research Methods

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2003) anthropologists around the world have used qualitative methods in conducting research for over a century. Research conducted by qualitative methods give an insight into the society and put them into context, trying to explain particular social events or traditions through the eyes of the participants. Esterberg (2002: 2-3) argues that a qualitative researcher interprets the participant's experience and tries to analyze it as clearly as possible. Malinowski (1884-1942), often named the father of anthropology suggested that scholars in the field pay careful attention to their subject's testimony. He highlighted the importance of letting participants express their feelings or view point on the matter studied (Malinowski, [1922] 1978: 516-517). In this research qualitative data is therefore chosen over quantitative data. By using qualitative data, and especially by conducting interviews and analyzing them, a deeper feeling for the participant's ideas and opinions of the cultural tradition of sending children to farms is gathered. The issue with using qualitative methods in researching lays in the credibility of the subject's testimony. Crang and Cook (2007) answer this critique by saying that this type of research aims to look at a group of people at a certain time period in their lives.

According to Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra and Mintz (1990) telling other people of events that have occurred in their life is culturally universal. It is common that people share in ordinary talks stories of their lives and relate to one another on such a level. They continue that despite the diversity in verbal form and style performance, commonly these stories share a certain personal experience that reveal something about the individual or the group. Such stories therefore provide a "widely available means by which people create, interpret, and publicly project culturally constituted images of self in face-to-face interaction (Miller et al, 1990:292). Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998: vii) argue that when

conducting such cultural studies on the person, the focus is on identity and such identities can be alive or they can be lived “they are unfinished and in process”. They continue that individuals and groups are constantly creating an identity, calling it an “identity-making process” (Holland et al. 1998: 3) According to them, “identities are improvised –in the flow of activity within specific social situations –from the cultural resources at hand” (Holland et al. 1998: 4). Persons are therefore caught between the “past histories that have settled in them and the present discourse and images that attract them and somehow impinge on them” (Holland et al. 1998: 4). In this constant identity-making process, identities are “hard-won standpoints that, however dependent upon social support, and however venerable to change, make at least a modicum of self-direction possible. They are possibilities for mediating agency” (Holland et al. 1998: 4). The way people talk about the past can then give an insight in a reality that the person experienced earlier. The way adults view their childhood through such stories can therefore give a cultural insight on the situation at the time and their understanding of the situation

The aim of the research was to get as many different views on the topic from the interviewees as possible. Therefore, I partly collected information through ad hoc conversations with all those who came across my path during my fieldwork and were interested in the custom of sending children to the farm over the summer time. I noted down experiences and stories about the farm life. For the formal interviews, the semi-structured interview form was chosen. With such method, the participant was able to give his opinion and describe his experience with his own words, emphasizing what he believed to be important. It also allowed the participant to control the flow of the interview, allowing the researcher to “see the world through the eyes of the native” (Malinowski, [1922] 1978: 25). Esterberg (2002) compares the method to a dance, where the researcher needs to follow every step and movement of the participant.

4.3 Data Collection

Data was collected through partly informal discussion with various individuals who all wanted to share with me their opinions and experiences on the issue. Each

time I met someone who gave me valuable insight I took notes. I have information from ca. 12 individuals, 4 males and 8 females. I took formal semi-structured interviews with 18 participants, divided in three categories. Category one is dedicated to those participants who were sent to live and work on the farms as children. In this category participants are both male and female who spent from one month up to four months, living and working on the farms during their summer holiday from elementary school. They were sent to the country side from ages, 5 to 18 years old. Some went only one summer while others went every summer until they got a paying job in their hometown at the age of 14 to 18 years. Within that group a total of six interviews were conducted with individuals from different sites in Iceland, however they lived in the capital or close to it at the time of their farm stay. The second category covers the parents, both male and female who sent their child or children to farms for the summer. Some sent their child/children every year, while for others it was a onetime occurrence. In that group there are a total of six interviews conducted. The participants are all from the Reykjavik area and had sent their children to the country side to live and work on the farms. In the last category, six farmers (or former farmers) who hosted children on their farm during the summer time were interviewed. To sum up, a total of 18 formal interviews were conducted.

Each interview lasted from twenty minutes up to an hour. Two of the interviews were conducted through the telephone the others took place in the participant's house or a similar setting where peace and quiet was attained. In some cases, the interviewees felt at unease about the recording, and in such cases the Dictaphone was turned off and notes taken. Undoubtedly, the interviews conducted with the Dictaphone allowed the researcher to analyze further the testimony of the subject, going back and listening to the voice and phrases used to describe a certain task or an emotion, as highlighted by Desai and Potter (2006). Once each interview was conducted, I noted down my research notes where I summarized the interview. I also noted the way I felt during the interview and the way the participant acted and felt, in my opinion. I noted gestures, facial expressions and even the tone of their voices. Although a basic questionnaire was

used, the questions changed according to the findings of the interviews. The subjects were Icelanders which made it easy for me to approach, due to the fact that I speak their language and I am a part of their culture. Once I had started the research process I was surprised how common this tradition actually was in Iceland and how eager people were to talk about it. The participants had been suggested to me by friends, family or professors who knew of someone who fitted the above mentioned three categories, as well as some of the participants who contacted me directly after hearing of the research from another participant.

The data collection was therefore fairly successful and participants were eager to share with me their thoughts and opinions about the tradition. While conducting the interviews, I tried to get participants to describe how they felt, their experience, their situation and circumstances as well as answering my basic guideline questionnaire. I used open ended questions, such as: *In your opinion why were you sent to the farm?* Answers to the question often led to a good discussion about the reasons why subjects felt like they were sent to work or stay on the farms over the summer time. As stated above, I also noted down any interesting discussions I had with people about the tradition throughout the data collection. Those discussions provided me with a wider range of views on the tradition which was interesting to compare with the formal interviews I had taken.

4.4 Ethical Questions

There are several ethical issues that must be considered when doing research on human beings. According to Kvale and Brinkman (2009), when doing a qualitative research on a topic as controversial as the practice of sending children to farms, the consequences of a possible harm directly to the participants needs attending to. A researcher must always keep that in mind, as Laws, Harper and Marcus (2003) point out, the participant's interest and right must be protected at all times. Due to the gravity of some of the testimonies given by the participants of this study, the names of the participants are not revealed in order to respect their privacy. I decided to inform my participants of the research at the beginning of each interview, as well as with people whom I spoke informally, and give them the opportunity to evaluate and decide if they wanted to become a part of this

study. I informed them of the themes asked for, and told them that they could stop at any time during the interview. I also gave them my contact information, in case they had any further questions about the research. Sigurjónsdóttir, Traustadóttir and Guðmundsdóttir (2006: 130-135) argue that it is important to be aware of the fact that the researcher is the one who profits from the research, and even though the participants can decide to stop participating in the research at any time, they cannot leave the field, like the researcher can. Scheyvens, Nowak and Scheyvens (2003) discuss the two ethical models prevalent in the social science research, in their book *Development Fieldwork: a practical guide*. They mention the traditional model based on Immanuel Kant's philosophical work, where there is "no flexibility regarding guidelines and the ability of the individual to make ethical decisions based on situational and personal circumstances" (Scheyvens et al 2003: 140). Immanuel Kant's model on ethical matters indicates indissoluble rules that allow no exceptions, no ethical relativism. Social scientists have avoided that method, given it is difficult to follow a set of strict rules once research has begun on the field. This is due to the fact that situations and circumstances can change unexpectedly. Scheyvens et al (2003) continue and mention the other model prevalent in the social science research, which originates from a postmodern, feminist philosophy and allows more flexibility in ethical questions. It contends that "the rational objectivity required in the first model is a false reality" (Scheyvens et al 2003: 141). They argue that it is better to follow your own conviction when ethical matters surface, rather than follow the strict rules of the model of Immanuel Kant. Such research method does however not mean that the researcher is allowed anything; he must use a scientific method and respect its values (Scheyvens et al 2003). The anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Huges (2006[1995]) has been criticized for her methods of taking a stand in her research, but criticizes fellow anthropologist for their lack of taking a decisive stand in their research. She says it the responsibility of an anthropologist who witnesses an incident to record it accordingly and therefore make an effort for a change towards the better. By not doing so the anthropologist is showing negligence and in fact turning his/her back on the subject matter (Scheper-Huges, 2006: 509). While conducting the research, I therefore assured my participants that total confidence

was kept and emphasized cooperation and equality between me and the participants. I began each interview by explaining the research and who would have access to the data, and finally what would happen to it once the research was finished. I believe all researchers are responsible for the protection of their resources and should protect their rights at all time. People in all categories were generally positive toward taking part in the study and gave me their fully informed consent of using their information anonymously.

4.5 Data Registration and Analysis

The data registration and analysis is a process where the researcher goes over his data in an organized and systematic way. The process in this research started as soon as the first data was collected. Although, as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 158) point out, there is “no specific formula or recipe for the analysis of ethnographic data”, I used grounded theorizing as a tool in analyzing the data. Grounded theorizing is “the interactive process of analyzing data, research design and data collection in which a theory is developed” elaborated by the sociologists Glaser and Strauss. Grounded theory is built on two concepts, “constant comparison” and “theoretical sampling” where data is collected and analyzed (Suddaby, 2006: 634).

Using these methods, all data was typed into a computer and coded. Continuously data was read, word by word, noting what I thought to be the most interesting part of the account. Those notes and observations were then typed into the computer and organized. I then brought out and extracted various themes. In the process I made the so-called analytic memo, using methods such as open coding, focused coding and across case analysis (Esterberg, 2002: 158-161). I found it very helpful to use the focused coding method while analyzing the common themes and concepts found in the data. I finally compared the interviews to get a look at some common themes using the across case analysis. Throughout the data collection process I continuously analyzed the data and tried to keep an open mind for new points of view on the subject. The aim of using such a method is to get a deeper understanding of the data and organize it in a scientific way which can then be shared.

5 Research Findings

The research part of this study is based on oral accounts of people who experienced the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer time. As previously mentioned, a total of 18 formal interviews were conducted as well as 12 informal accounts gathered. The aim of this study was to look at the tradition of sending children to farms to live and work over the summer time in Iceland through the definition of trafficking found in the Palermo Protocol (2000). To get as many different views on the topic, all three groups of people affiliated with the tradition were interviewed; adults who were sent to live and work on a farm as children, parents who sent their child/children to a farm, and finally the farmers (or former farmers) who hosted the children on the farm. From now on, these groups will be referred to as ex-farm children, parents and farmers.

5.1 Decision

The findings of the research reveal that among the ex-farm children, the decision of being sent to the farm was mostly made by their parents. A common answer among the ex-farm children was simply “I was just sent”. An interviewee who was sent to the farm every summer in the 1960s from the age of 7 until he turned 14, said he had never thought about whose decision it was to go to the farm, “one morning my mother told me she had found a farm for me and I left as soon as I finished first grade”. Another ex-farm child who went two summers in a row to a farm run by distant relatives in the late 1950s said it was “never her decision to make”, all her siblings had gone and once she had reached “the age of going” it was her turn to go. Although the parents seemed to make the decision of sending the children in the majority of the cases among the ex-farm children interviewed and during informal discussions with people, it was also known that the children sought for places on the farm on their own. One account from an ex-farm child revealed that he had seen an advertisement in the newspaper in the 1980s and applied on his own at the age of 12. When discussing the matter to the parents, in most cases it was their decision to send the child to the farm, although three of the interviewees emphasized that they did not send the child, it wanted to go. A common answer of the parents interviewed was that they had organized and

initiated the process but the child had showed interest in going. In some cases the farmer had contacted the parent and asked if their son/daughter was available for the summer as they needed an extra hand on the farm and from there the decision was made. The farmers were mostly contacted by the parents and asked if they could host the child over the summer. In two cases the farmer contacted the child's parent and asked if they wanted to send the child to the farm over the summer time. In some cases the question of who decided on the farm stay was unanswered due to lack of memory, "I really just can't remember" was a known answer.

5.2 Reasons for Farm Stay

The reasons for the farm stay varied, but commonly four main themes could be extracted. Firstly, the idea of tradition is prominent. Secondly, the aspect of an adventure which is often related to the farm stay and plays a key role in the reason why children spent the summer on the farm. Thirdly, among the interviewees the reasons for the farm stay were social (either as a part of the child's upbringing or it served as a social factor for the people on the farm). And finally the reasons for the farm stay were economical.

5.2.1 Tradition

An ex-farm child who was sent to the farm in the late 1960s at the age of 6 until 15 explained the reason why she felt like she was sent to the farm, "it was just what kids did". All her siblings had been sent to different farms and when she was old enough it was her turn to go. The tradition was very common and often when discussing the matter to various peoples the same argument surfaced, "it was just what kids did". There were not many recreational options for children during the time and work options were limited. School holidays were long with the summer break being up to four months, so children were often bored or restless during those months. A parent who sent all his children to the farm in the 1960s and 1970s describes his opinion about the tradition, saying that "for many years the farm has served as a recreational tool for the urban areas of Iceland". Often parents had been on a farm as children themselves and wanted their child to experience and gain from the farm life as they had done. Some sent all of their

children, while others sent only one. One interviewee explains why she sent her children to the farm:

The kids had visited my uncle who lived on a farm and always wanted to go. I grew up on a farm myself and know how much fun it is. I never told my children that they had to, they simply wanted to go. My oldest daughter picked up the phone when she was 5 and asked a relative if she could go to the farm for the summer, she did not even ask me first!

Another ex-farm child who went to the farm every summer from age 7 until 14 in the 1960s explained that he wanted to go to the farm because everyone he knew had gone. He considered it a part of “growing up” and wanted to be able to talk about the farm to his peers when returning to school in the fall. For farmers the idea of hosting children over the summer time was an important tradition in Icelandic society. One farmer recalls hosting a few children on the farm over the summer time in the 1960s and 1970s to give them a good experience and learn “what Iceland is all about”.

5.2.2 Adventure

The word “ævintýri” or “adventure” is often related to the farm stay. Among the ex-farm children who sought to go to the farm, the search for an adventure was often the main drive behind it. One interviewee describes how he and his friend responded to an advertisement in the local paper in the 1980s about a farm needing children to live and work over the summer time. The advertisement offered beautiful nature and play time with the farm animals. To him and his friend this sounded “ævintýralegt” or “adventurous”. Going to the farm was often waited with much anticipation and as the interviewee describes, “the whole farm-image sounded very exciting for children”. The feeling of freedom and connection to the nature is also related to the farm stay where children experienced work and animal life at the same time. Another ex-farm child who was sent to the farm in the 1950s when she was 7 and 8 described the farm stay as a maturing adventure that made her a more independent individual. When asked what made it so adventurous she explained that in the urban area of Reykjavík, she was never

allowed to go anywhere by herself. On the farm she was allowed to go outside and be outside as long as she wanted. She was also close to the animals and learning how to be around them was not something that was “taught in school”. Parents also wanted their children to experience the farm adventure which had done them so good. Among the interviewees, not only parents and children were looking for an adventure, but the farmers also mentioned the reason for hosting the children to try “something new”. Sometimes on the farms, the farmers had few or even no children. So having the children for the summer was not only exciting for those who went, but also for the people living on the farm. A farmers’ daughter described to me how much it meant to her to have a “sister” for the summer, being the only child on the isolated farm. “We did everything together she taught me things from the city while I showed her a thing or two about the farm”.

5.2.3 Social Circumstances

Many interviewees mentioned the reason behind the farm stay to be social. In some cases the children being sent to the farm had behavioral issues at home and going to the farm was a correctional solution to those issues. One parent explains how his son was starting to hang out with the wrong boys and starting to display a behavior she did not accept:

My son and those boys would steal, play pranks and what made the final straw was when my son cut the clotheslines in the garden of a whole street. Then I said, this is not going to work, now I will send you to the farm to your aunt.

As this mother portrays, sending her son to the farm was a solution in his upbringing. On the farm it was considered that there were less distractions and more discipline. A farmer who hosted two boys every summer also describes the reason as a solution to a behavioral problem. The farmer was asked by a relative to host two boys from Reykjavík over the summer time in the 1960s. They had been in trouble with the law and needed to a change of environment. “First when they came, they were like savages at the dinner table. Knew no manners those two... after a few weeks they had learned quickly and turned out to be very hard-

working individuals”. Other interviewee mentions that sending her child to the farm in the 1970s was due to the fact that the farmer who was a distant relative needed help with the farming over the summer. Since her son did not have a paying job or any engagements, it was a “perfect solution”. In some cases unforeseen situations at home resulted in children being sent to a farm over the summer time. Such unforeseen situations were for example the parents getting sick or the parents had to take care of a sick relative. The farm stay was also used as a solution for children who had a hard time standing on their own and being away from home. One parent describes how he sent his son to a farm in the early 1960s to see if he could be away for so long. His son was 10 years old and at first he tried to go for only two months. The trial period went well and next summer he was allowed to stay for the full four months.

Not only did parents view the experience necessary as a part of a solution in their upbringing, some sent their children to the farm for social company. Some of the interviewees did not have many children, or had no siblings and wanted to be able to experience life with other children around. It was a common custom on the farms to have more than one summer child hosted, so company was easy to find. Often those children got to know each other well. One woman with whom I discussed this tradition told me she had indeed got to know her husband through the farm stay. She met him when she was 5 and then every summer until she was 16. They started dating at the age of 15 (he was 17) and married three years later. They are still married. One farmer recalls looking for children to come to live and work with him and his family over the summer time in the late 1950s because they only had one daughter who was eight and did not have many friends. The farm was fairly isolated, about 20 minutes horse ride to the next farm. He decided to contact family members living in the urban area of Reykjavík and offer their children to come to the farm. The next summer a cousin his daughter’s age came to stay with them. Her role was to get to know his daughter and be her company. He remembers how different they were to begin with, the girl from the city had more life experience and his daughter looked up to her in that way. Another

farmer described his decision to host the so-called summer children in the 1970s because he and his wife had no children. He explained:

We were not blessed with children me and my wife, so to make life easier and to have the company of children we offered them to stay at our farm for the summer, to learn how to milk the cows and how to ride a horse. We first got our relatives to look for children and from then on the same children came year after year. It was great for us and great for them.

He continues and says they had up to seven children at the farm each summer, some for longer and others for just a few weeks. He admits the children helped with the farming but firmly states that the main reason for hosting the children was to enjoy their company and to let them “get to know the farm and enjoy the perks of the farm life”.

5.2.4 Economical Reasons

In some cases the family was not very economically stable and could not afford having their children at home all year round. Sending the children to the farm to help out for the summer served as a solution to that problem. The family did not have to pay for the food for the children and did not have to pay others to feed them; they worked in return for food and lodge. That way the hosting did not seem like “charity” which was not tolerated among many of the interviewees. One ex-farm child describes how she had eight siblings which all went to stay on a farm over the summer time when she was growing up in the 1950s. Their house was fairly small and therefore it was not a lot of room for the 10 family members, especially during the summers when everyone was at home. A mother who sent her son to a farm every summer in the late 1960 said she had to work much and was not able to be at home with her son during his summer break. She decided to send him to his uncle on the farm. That way she was able to work even more and have more money when he returned home for school in the fall. Another ex-farm child describes how she and her single mother did not have a lot of money “barely for food and housing”. Her mother sent her to the farm at the age of 5 and every year until she was 14 and able to get a paying job in the city. Parents interviewed

were less likely to give economical reason for sending their children to the farm than ex-farm children. The parents used words like “make it easier for us” while the ex-farm children used phrases like “we were poor and by me going to the farm we saved some money”. Farmers on the other hand did not give economical reason for hosting children, however in few cases they said they “needed help with the farming” but the main reason in many cases was “doing a relative or a friend favor by hosting the child”.

5.3 Journey

Among the ex-farm children interviewees, the journey from their home to the farm was often as adventurous and exciting as their expectations for the farm stay. Among the interviewees, the transportation was either in form of a car, a bus or a plane. One ex-farm child who went to the farm at the age of 7 in the 1960s remembers how exciting the drive to the farm was. He says it was “long, very long”. His parents always drove him the six hours it took to get there and from there his parents went camping around the area, “so they could use the long drive for something”. He recalls the roads getting worse the further away from the city and “the bumpy gravel roads made me feel like I was somewhere far far away”. When they finally reached the farm he felt like he was “in a different world”. The mountains were “overwhelming” and everything “different and beautiful”. Another ex-farm child recalls taking an airplane to get to the farm in the late 1960s. She was 12 years old and was going to the farm for the first time for a whole summer: “The only reason why I remember how I got there was the horrible plane ride. It was very bumpy and I remember fearing for my life”. She continues and says, “Perhaps the plane ride was in a way symbolic for my experience on the farm, it was absolutely horrible and indeed very bumpy”. Some remembered taking a bus to the farm and as one ex-farm child describes, it was “very exciting to go on a bus on your own because it was like being an adult and it felt cool”. None of the interviewees mentioned being homesick on the way, however, some recall being a little nervous, especially those who were going to a farm where they did not know the family or knew them very little. One ex-farm child recalls going to the farm with her parents in the 1960s, in her father’s brown Bronco:

I remember it being far away and seeing no trees on the way. I was not asked if I wanted to go, I just went because I was told to go. I was very nervous on the way because I had never been there before and it was my first time living with some other family for a long period of time. When we got there it was foggy and cold and I remember being anxious about the whole thing.

As with many other things in the past, some interviewees did simply not recall how they got there. One ex-farm child who went to the farm two summers when he was 10 and 11 in the 1950s says he does not remember much about the farm stay other than it was “horrible” and said “I probably chose to forget everything about the whole thing”.

5.4 Home and the Household

The mention of the home at the farm and the household was also prominent in the interviews and discussions to people about the tradition. Ex-farm children seem to have entered a new world on the farm, some positive, other negative. The home, the food, the household and the farmers idea of burden were among the themes found related to the location.

5.4.1 Home

Among some the ex-farm children the image of the home on the farm was still very vivid. Two of the six interviewees started for example their story by saying: “I can still remember the house I was in”. Those two ex-farm children had a great experience and had in common that they had gone to a close relative and had also gone for more than one summer. “At the farm house there was always a lot of life, people coming or going and somehow the house was always full,” says an ex-farm child who went to the farm every summer from the age of 7 until 14 in the late 1960s and early 1970s. “That house was like my second home, only with better food and more people,” said another ex-farm child who claims he was “practically raised up on the farm” spending eight summers on the farm where his

aunt lived. Another ex-farm child who applied to go to the farm via advertisement in the 1980s also has a vivid memory of the house:

It wasn't such a big house. It was fairly small with two rooms, one for girls and another one for the boys. I think we were about 15 of us there, everyone sleeping on a folded bed with a blanket. In the memory there house was a little dirty and gray.

Although the above interviewee had to share a room, the other ex-farm children interviewed rarely shared rooms. When asked about the living conditions most of the interviewees had no complaint, other than about the people of the household and the notion of food. Some felt the home was more "old-fashioned" while others did not mention any difference.

5.4.2 Food

Many ex-farm children, parents and farmers interviewed mention food when talking about the farm. While discussing the farm tradition to people a common phrase was used: "það var alltaf svo gott að borða í sveitinni" or "it was always good to eat on the farm". One interviewee describes how he learnt how to eat at the farm: "That is where I got fat, I drank the milk straight from the cow and the housewife always made the best ice-cream in the world that we could eat as a desert". Another ex-farm child who spent two summers at a farm in the 1950s with a distant relative tells of the importance of eating all the food provided to them, at the time of the meal: "It was not tolerated to leave food on your plate, however badly it tasted, you had to eat it all". For many, this was something they had to get used to, having had the liberty to leave food uneaten at their homes. The ex-farm children agree that the food was also always on time and the whole family sat down to eat together. Girls helped out with the cooking and cleaning while boys were less likely to do so. It seems to have been a custom to eat everything off your plate and in some cases children got punished for not eating their food: "If we didn't finish our food we could not get the next meal". Another interviewee who spent a summer on a farm in the 1980s recalls being too afraid not to finish his meals: "I never dared to leave food on my plate. I saw what

happened to those who didn't, so I made sure I ate every least bit of food on that plate".

Parents interviewed did not mention the specific food rules, but did agree that there were rules on the farms about mealtimes that had to be followed. One parent said because there were so many people at the farm, the only way mealtimes could function would be to "eat all of your food when it is provided to you". A farmer who shared his story said that disciplinary actions were important while hosting the children because some of the children were very fussy about food and would not eat what was provided. Being on the farm was "not like living in the city", a farmer explains, "not all foods were available and people had to eat what was in season at the time".

5.4.3 Household

The household on the farm consisted in most cases on the farmer and the housewife. Some had children, while others did not. Some farmers had a wife while others hired women to work in the kitchen and clean the house. Some had workers living with them called "vinnumenn" and other had grandparents living on the farm. In many cases the summer children were more than one and as a result the household could be quite populous. The work within the household was very gender based; girls were more likely to do house-work than boys. One ex-farm child describes how she went to the farm when she was 12 years old:

It was like taking a course in how to run a home. I learnt how to clean, how to cook, to fold laundry, polish the silver and so on... I worked just as much as the boys who lived on the farm but still had to clean and help with the meals... It was what women did.

Another ex-farm child who spent one summer with distant relatives she had never seen before recalls how the grandmother who lived on the farm comforted the farmers' son after he got physically punished for misbehaving. "He would always run into the grandmother's room after being beaten up" she says. The grandmother always stayed in her room and was rarely seen around the house.

“She used to make shoes out of fur, and when I left she gave me a pair”. Another ex-farm child remembers how the people on the farm he stayed at were all different and no one was related. His mother had been contacted by a man who she used to babysit when she was young. The man asked his mother if she would consider sending her son to live and work with him on the farm for a summer. The farmer was a single man, but had a woman working in the home and another man working on the field. The farmer also invited three other boys to come stay with him. “It was a fun environment for a 12 year old, a lot of people and a lot of work” he says. For the ex-farm children the household was like a new world they entered. Some loved the action and the diversity, while others had a harder time adapting. Sending children to the farm was not always worry free for the parents, or easy for the children involved. Some of the ex-farm children mention how hard it was for them to be away from their families for so long (some went away for up to four months). In some cases they had never been away from home for so long and dealing with the homesickness and the different life style on the farm was often hard. However the children rarely complained about being homesick or about the hard work they did. An interviewee recalls only to have mentioned that afterwards. The issue of being homesick played a big role in how the children adapted to the new life. Those children who suffered from homesickness got an additional visit from their parents, but in most cases one phone call or letters sufficed. One ex-farm child recalls a farmer giving her advice not to think about home or contact home to be able to adapt. In another case the parent admitted that his child was simply not “cut out for farm life” and was picked up as soon as that was established:

My aunt (the farmer) had told me that she cried in her room all night long and hung to her all hours of the day. She was so homesick and didn’t like the work she had to do. My aunt was very understanding of this and even said she had been like that herself at a young age... It was clear to me that my daughter would not become a farmer and I never had the heart to send her away again.

The children also got homesickness due to the fact that they did not get along with the other children at the farm, or as an ex-farm child explained “I always wanted to go home after a day on the field with the farm children, they never accepted me and kept me on the outside”.

5.4.4 Burden

Some of the farmers interviewed mentioned the “burden” of hosting children. Sometimes their relatives would on the one hand send more than one child, and on the other hand “useless or lazy children who had no interest in working on the farm”. One farmer explained how he agreed on hosting one of his relative’s sons, but when the family came in the car to drop him off, they had brought their other son as well. In another case, a farmer recalls being tired of accepting children to the farm who “obviously had no urge to be there”. He says it was hard to have children who were lazy because “at the end of the day things have to be done”. The farmers were the ones responsible for the well being of the child and some of the work on the farm was basically dangerous. Jobs such as milking the cows demanded a lot of attention and for the child to be extremely careful. A kick from a horse or a cow could be very hurtful, even deadly. All the machinery was also an issue on the farms, and children had to be alert at all times. One farmer explains how the boys came to stay with them on the farm over the summer and they had to make sure they would learn exactly the daily routine. “It was hard work teaching those boys how to be safe on the farm”. The boys were “all over the place playing” which made it hard to find them. Once he nearly ran over one of them coming home from the field. Stories like this were common among the farmers interviewed. The farm is a dangerous place for children who do not know how things operate. This was hard for some children to understand and farmers were particularly upset about that. In addition of putting themselves in danger with careless actions and being fussy about the food provided, some children were also considered lazy and unwilling to work. Farmers who received the children expected them to do certain chores and follow the simple set of rules, or as one interviewee describes, “otherwise you will never enjoy the life on the farm fully”.

5.5 Work

The discourse of work when talking to my interviewees about the tradition of sending children to farms is very prominent. Farm stay for the big majority equaled work, and in the eyes of the people interviewed the work image was both positive and negative. Although the discourse of work is prominent, interviewees in all categories do not mention work as the main reason behind the decision.

5.5.1 What Kind of Work

The type of work children did on the farm varied, as well as the work-load they had to put in. Some say they “did not have to work, we just wanted to”, while others “had to do a lot of work, it was a full schedule”. The ex-farm children interviewed had to help with the birth of the lambs during the lamb season, rake hay, milk the cows, round up the sheep, clean the cowshed, help with the hens and the horses, clean the chickweed in the garden, assist with the house-work (clean, cook, do laundry, babysit) and etc. The younger children were made to do the less physical demanding jobs. One parent who sent her children to the farm in the 1960s recalls how she went to the farm as a young girl in the 1940s and was “only allowed to carry the lighter clothe bin to the river for washing, but when she got older she was allowed to carry more weight”. A farmer who hosted many children in the 1960s and 1970s explained how he only allowed the older children to do the “more dangerous jobs” and how the younger children were used for the “easier jobs such as watching the sheep or cleaning the garden”. Unlike the household, the field work was not as gender based. Girls did most of the work boys did and via versa. It was common for young boys to drive the tractor at the age of 11, 12 or 13. Those interviewed said they had to take a course in how to manage such a vehicle beforehand, one of them explained: “when I was 11 years old I took a course in how to direct the tractors, I loved it”. The ex-farm children interviewed discussed more how they felt about the work on the farm, rather than giving a deeper description about what kind of work they did. The ex-farm children went to the farm fairly young, from as young as 5 years old and stayed until they were old enough to get a paying job somewhere else.

According to the ex-farm children and the parents interviewed other people in the household worked equally as much as the children, except in two cases. The majority of ex-farm children said they had to work hard, and the farmers' children also had to work hard. In some cases the ex-farm girls had to work on the field during the day like the other boys on the farm, but also had to do the housework. The two cases mentioned will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.5.2 Fun “Maturing” Work

As discussed in chapter three, the issue of work is close to the heart of many Icelanders. While discussing the farm stay tradition, such issues surfaced very frequently. For many parents who sent their children to live and work on the farms, the farm stay would teach their children about how to work and the value of such work. Many parents had been to farms as children themselves, often when the technology was less developed and the work that needed to be done at the farm was consequently harder. One parent explained how she used to go to her aunt's farm as a child where they lived in turf wall houses. There she had to wash the family's laundry in the river and milk the cows with her bare hands every day. “My son's work on the farm was a walk in the park compared to what my generation had to endure,” she commented. Another interviewee who went to the farm as a child describes how he found the work on the farm hard and fun at the same time. He loved going to the cowshed and shuffling dirt all day long. He also mentioned loving the fact that he was also outside all day long working in the nature, “that was some fun work I did”. Another ex-farm child says he learnt a lot from his time on the farm. He learnt how to adapt to a new family, how to be around animals, but most importantly “I learnt how to work hard”. Parents also mention the work ethics that their children learnt and were happy to hear from the farmers that their children were hard workers, as one mother declared “I never forget how proud I was when the farmer called me and told me that I had a very hard-working son”. Such positive views on working emphasize the meaning of farming to Icelanders. Two ex-farm children mention the work on the farm being “maturing”. When asked to explain, one ex-farm child said it was because they never had such responsibilities before. He had to feed the animals at a certain time etc. For the other ex-farm child, it was a new experience for him coming from the

urban city life where he was not used to having any important roles at the age of six. The majority of people sent to farms as children share this believe and feel they did mature during their farm stay, whether they liked it or not.

5.5.3 Hard Work

Living and working on the farm was at times hard and demanding. Among the adults who went to the farm as children, the phrase “mikil vinna” or “a lot of work” was often used to describe the farm stay. The findings also reveal that the work load varied and the difficulty of the tasks ranged greatly. Some interviewees only had one choir to do during the day, while others had plenty. Younger children were made to do the easier jobs such as watch the sheep or clean the garden, while the older children were made to do the more physical demanding jobs. Both girls and boys worked equally hard, but in some cases girls had to do the outside farming as well as taking care of the household before and after work. These children, coming from the urban areas of the country were not used to working all day long like they did on the farms and to all of them it took a little time to adapt to that. One interviewee describes the work-load as such: “there are no Sundays on the farm”. Some children worked from early hours of the morning and well into the night. One interviewee explains:

We did have a lot of work to do, but we loved it. I stayed at this farm from the age of six until I turned 14. First when I got there I was so tired at the end of the day... I was just not used to doing physical work. I stayed at a distant relative and she always made sure we ate enough. I do agree that it was hard work working from eight in the morning until eight at night, but it was nothing like slavery, just the kind of stuff you have to do when you live on a farm.

The harder you worked the better, has been and is the mentality of Icelanders. “Vinnan göfgar manninn” is an Icelandic saying meaning that work ennobles the human being. The phrase was used by one parent who sent his son to the farm. The saying is very symbolic for the work mentality of the farms during this time and in Iceland throughout the centuries. Some welcomed the hard work, while

others remember it with horror. Farmers agreed that life on the farm was, and still is hard work.

5.5.4 Child Labor/Slavery

While some interviewees used the words “mikil vinna” or “hard work” to describe the farm stay, others used words such as “þrælavinna” meaning “child labor or slavery”. Throughout my fieldwork I entered conversations with many individuals about the tradition to send children to farms over the summer months. Those who had been sent to farms repeatedly used the word “þrælavinna” to describe the work they did on the farm. The majority of interviewees who used the term child labor/slavery had not been asked whether they wanted to go, rather it was decided by their parents. The group of individuals who had such negative image of the farm stay had in common that the farm they stayed at was not a close relative, but a distant relative or an acquaintance of their family. An ex-farm child shared her story:

I remember going to the farm when I was twelve. It was late for me, because my siblings had gone much earlier... I went to stay with my aunt that I had never met, but we knew of her and that she needed help in the farm for the summer... I was never asked if I wanted to go, I just went -it was the thing to do then... I remember working so hard that I woke up with a nosebleed one morning. I had then been working the day before early in the morning making breakfast, then out on the field picking up the potatoes that the tractor wasn't able to pick up with its machinery. I crawled on the field for over 10 hours, then went back and made dinner.

Although the majority of interviewees who used the term “child labor or slavery” to describe the farm stay was “sent to the farm”, in one case an ex-farm child who described his farm stay as slavery, had applied to go and stay at the farm through an advertisement in the news paper. During my fieldwork, it was common to hear about farmers advertising for children to come live on the farm. One woman told me about an advertisement she read in the newspaper and “always wanted to go”. The ex-farm child who applied to go to the farm recalls

going there with his parents and being welcomed with waffles and beautiful surroundings. Once his parents left he says “things changed quickly”. There were about 14 children there, sleeping in two rooms. The farmers had one son who was 17 and served as the foreman of the farm, ordering the children and making sure that they did their jobs. Meanwhile, the farmer and his wife stayed at home in the couch relaxing. He says they had to do a lot of work, from early in the morning until late at night:

We had to do a lot of work and it was nothing like the advertisement said. We were not allowed to phone home and the food was rationed. I remember the milk being very sour, and for coffee breaks we only got two biscuits each. I remember some of the boys collecting their biscuits to eat for when the food was horrible or to bribe the foreman to be kind to them when they did something wrong... You also had to finish all your food. If you didn't he threatened to punish you. So we ate all of our food, no one dared to leave a single crumb... One time we went to attend to some horses in a town nearby and my friend who also applied to go there snuck away to make a phone call at the local shop. He called his father to ask him to come and get him. The foreman saw him and got angry. My friend bribed him with an ice cream if he would not tell his parents. When we got home, the son went straight to his parents and told them he had made a phone call. Oh boy did he get in trouble then... The next day his father came and picked him up, and the following week my parents came and took me home as well.

Another ex-farm child shared her story of a cry for help during her farm stay. She went to stay at two farms for two summers in a row in the 1960s. At the first farm she stayed there was a lot of working, which she didn't mind at all. She believed it was good for her to learn from working on the farm and was looking forward coming home and making her father proud. The second summer she went to a different farm, where she was made to work twice as much. She remembers the farmers sometimes staying at home while she was the only one out working.

Like the mentality was, she did not think about complaining or giving up. She worked and worked for very little pay but was determined to prove herself. She did write a letter home to her parents, describing a typical day and mentioning that she was indeed very tired:

My work hours were from eight or nine in the morning, until ten or eleven at night. I did the outside work during the day, and then I helped the housewife with breakfast, lunch and dinner as well as babysitting. Taking time off was not an option either... You lived in your work, and worked for a living, for me it was an exhausting and horrible experience.

The next weekend her parents came to pick her up, finding her scrubbing the floors in the barn by herself. When parents were asked about the work-load that their children had to do, often they did not know. One parent said her daughter never complained and always wanted to go back, “so she must have liked it”. Another parent said she knew her daughter had worked too much at the farm she stayed at and sent her to another farm the summer that fallowed. Farmers never used the term “þrælavinna” but admitted that the work on the farm was demanding, not just for the children but for everybody.

5.5.5 Payment

In most cases payment was not a part of the plan to send a child to a farm. Apparently, due to the idea that children gained a lot from the farm stay. In the eyes of the parents, the farmers were doing them a favor by hosting their children and letting them learn how to live and work on the farms. All of the interviewees were surprised when asked if payments were discussed beforehand. The ex-farm children were less likely to remember if payments were discussed or not. Parents noted in most cases that if the child had done well, he/she brought back goods from the farm to the city. One parent said that at the time (in the 1950s), the selection of products in the store was at times very little. The goods that the children brought home from the farm and could not be found at the local store were therefore valuable. Another parent recalls her son bringing back rutabaga, potatoes and Icelandic moss for tea making. Sometimes children got paid a little

amount at the end of the summer once they had reached 11, 12, and 13 or over. The farmers interviewed say payment was sometimes part of the plan, (mostly for the older children who could do more work load). Sometimes children got to keep a horse or a dog in their name, but mostly hosting the children was the payment form. One ex-farm child said she always got “a little something to take with her home” and another one said he “probably has a horse somewhere on the country side but never bothered to collect it”.

5.5.6 Exploitation

The farm stay has long been the base for heated debate in Iceland and in the interviews and the discussions this was also the case. Although the farmers did not admit the reason for hosting children was to get cheap labor, it is clear that some of the interviewees felt they were a subject to that, or that their children were. One parent sent two of her children to a farm (age 12 and 15) which was next to her grandfathers. She had heard from him that the neighboring farm needed extra hands to help out and thought it would do her children good to be close to her grandfather and learn about the farm life she appreciated so much herself. This was a nice little farm with a young couple and their daughter who was six years old. She explains how there were 24 milking cows and a big hayfield. In the beginning of the fall, once the children had returned from the farm, they told their mother how the young couple had left the farm for a month to go overseas:

They and milked 24 cows everyday and took over the haymaking. One day this one cow got stuck in a barbwire and got all tangled up, it was in bad shape and my children closed up the wound all by themselves. When they finally found the number of the vet, they called him and asked him to take a look at the cow. He came over and was surprised how well they reacted and left the bandages the way they were... I never sent them back there again.

An ex-farm child explained how the farmers stayed inside on the couch while he and the other children hosted on the farm were outside working. “We would be outside all day, seeing them inside doing nothing”, says the interviewee who felt

like he had been “tricked into going there with visions of horse riding and country bliss”. He continues and says he never got paid for anything he did and remembers thinking at the time that he should get paid, because he was the one doing all the work.

5.6 Discipline, Punishment and Violence

A common theme found in the research was the term “agi” or “discipline”. According to the interviews, discipline was far more visible on the farm than at home. The disciplinary situation reached from the household to the work scenario. Some children were not used to the discipline while others were in much need of it (the children who were sent to the farm as a behavioral solution for example). For some interviewees the discipline issue was not overwhelming, but for others it was often the first thing they told me when discussing their farm stay. The notion of other difficulties surfaced in the discussion about the tradition, such as punishments and violence.

5.6.1 Discipline

Ex-farm children and parents who sent their children to the farm mention that discipline was more at the farm household than in their own one. Farmers commented that the host children were less disciplined when it came to table manners and other household chores. The first thing they had to do was to “teach them how to sit at the table and clean up after themselves”. An ex-farm child describes how he felt when he went to the farm for the first time, “it was like a well run machine, everything was ready on time and everyone knew what to do next”. Another ex-farm child says she had to learn how to clean, cook and fold laundry all over again because “she had to do it the way the housewife did it”. Sleeping hours were also very strict, due to the fact that on the farm people get up early and go to bed early. When asked about the different emphasis on discipline at the farm and at home, a parent told me that on the farm everything absolutely needed to be organized and disciplined: “That’s just the way the farm is, if those ground rules are not followed it can be difficult to run things”. Farmers and parents were similar in their answers when it came to questions of the household. Just like the parent’s point of view, the farmers said that the children needed the

discipline in order to be safe, and also that some of the children they hosted were “out of control”. According to one farmer, “children learnt how to help out with the housework and appreciate it”.

The farmers shared the opinion that discipline was necessary during working hours especially. Many things were new to children on the farm and not knowing where to go, what to do or what is going on could be dangerous. One farmer recalls having two boys on the farm over the summer and how one got injured playing in the barn where he was not supposed to be. “This is the risk you take when you have children at the farm who are not used to being there”, he said, and underlined that because of such incidents he always had strict rules about who did what and so on. Another interviewee describes how she was sent to the farm when she was 12 years old in the 1960s. She says her family was not wealthy, having a single mother. Someone in her family had pointed out to her mother that there was a babysitter needed on a farm so she went there originally as such. The first thing she noticed was how the household was much more disciplined than back home and she had to do everything well and according to the plan. Clean well, work hard and eat all the food offered. If she didn’t she got into trouble. The ex-farm children felt an obligation to do the chores they were set to do well and agree that the discipline was needed to teach them how to be safe on the farm. One interviewee says the working hours were long and the farmers did not allow the children to “goof around”, they never got punished physically but got “yelled at” if they were not doing what they were “supposed to be doing”.

5.6.2 Punishment

Some ex-farm children mentioned having received minor punishments during their stay on the farm. In some cases it was in the form of a slap in the face, in others they were deprived of the next meal. Sometimes words sufficed as punishment, where the farmers or the elderly patronized the children calling them stupid, ignorant or imbecile. An ex-farm child recalls getting punished for forgetting to fetch a horse late at night:

I don't exactly remember how it happened but there was this horse that I didn't know that I had to fetch. I came back from working to have dinner and the farmer asked me if I had gotten the horse back. I said no, I didn't know I had to go get it. The farmer got mad at me, as he usually got at everyone, picked me up with his fist and through me back on the floor. Then he called me an idiot and useless... When I look back, it was not the fall I had taken that hurt the most, but that he called me stupid, I was trying my best to do a good job...

Another ex-farm child who was sent to the farm when she was 8 years old recalls getting punished for not finishing a task on the field that day. She was staying with a relative she had never met before and the only person she knew was her cousin who was also staying there over the summer time. They had been working late in the haymaking and came back absolutely starving. They were never given much food in general, but this time it was worse. That night they got told they would get nothing since they had not finished what they had been asked to do. She got told she would just have to eat in the morning like everyone else. She remembers the feeling of being starved and decided to sneak into the pantry and steal some food. She stole the keys, got some food and ran up to her room where she ate it and saved some for the next time something like this would happen. The next morning she got asked if she knew what happened to the food but firmly denied all allegations of stealing it. Another interviewee says she got punished for not working one day. She had injured her ankle and stayed at home that morning. Then the farmer came and got her and made her scrub the floors at the barn saying "there is nothing wrong with your hands is there?"

The ex-farm children in most cases did not experience a great deal of punishment other than a light slap in the face, patronization or deprivation of food. Some ex-farm children also mentioned the other children on the farm (the other summer children or the farmers' children) talking about having being punished at one point. One ex-farm child remembers hearing when the farmers beat up their son every time he misbehaved, but never experienced it personally.

5.6.3 Violence

Among the interviewees the issue of abuse was also visible. Among the ex-farm children were more likely to discuss the matter than the parents, and especially the farmers. The most common form of abuse found in the interviews is the mention of mental abuse. Children often felt like they were not good enough or could not live up to the standards of the farm. Many of those who expressed such feelings had discovered them later on in life. At the time on the farm they had been vulnerable and felt like they gave the farmers a reason for patronizing them. One interviewee describes how he was called a “malbikaður fábjáni” or a “total idiot from the city” every time he asked the farmer how to do things. He says he struggled with the way that the farmer treated him until he was old enough to understand “that it was his problem”. One ex-farm child recalls how the housewife asked her if she was “retarded” because she fed the cat from a regular bowl, not the cat bowl. She continued and said she felt like she was always “under attack” from the farmer or the housewife and made sure “never to give them a reason for patronizing her”. This was not always mentioned to the parents and some of the interviewees never discussed the matter until later in life, or for the first time during the interview. The issue of sexual abuse was also noticeable in the accounts. An ex-farm child admitted for the first time in her life during the interview that the boys on the farm she stayed at “had attempted to rape her one night, all three of them but she barely made it out”. They were summer children just like her, but older and threatened to harm her if she told a soul. Another ex-farm child recalls how the farmers’ son tried to sexually assault her. She was 12 and had a crush on one of the boys. One night when the farmer and his wife were out, the boy made an attempt to sexually assault her. Luckily the grandmother was in the next room and interfered. She says she never mentioned this to the farmers, thinking it was somehow her fault. To her surprise the grandmother did not either and the matter was forgotten. The boys never tried to assault her again, so she believes the grandmother “must have had a word with them in private”. The sexual abuse attempts occurred only among the female interviewees and the male interviewees were less likely to mention such abuse. Parents had heard stories about other children being mistreated at the farms, but it never happened to their

children to their knowledge. Among the farmers interviewed, sexual abuse was never the matter of discussion. The ex-farm children and the parents agree that the vulnerability of the children on the farm made them a target for such abuse.

5.7 Return and Repatriation

The return of the children was often waited with anticipation among the parents. Some parents had sent more than one child away for the summer and were excited to see them come home, “to hear what they had learnt and what goods they would bring back” said one parent whose children always came back with goods from the farm at the end of the summer. The ex-farm children were either sad to be leaving, or as one interviewee described “I hated having to go home and go to school. If it were up to me I would have stayed the whole year”. Other ex-farm children were happy to leave, but looked forward to returning again in the spring. Yet other ex-farm children were ecstatic about leaving and waited for the last day “like it was Christmas” as one interviewee described the feeling:

I remember feeling really bad over there and counting the day until I was allowed to return. I had a little calendar that I marked. The week was so long because we also had to work on Sundays. For the first time in my life I preferred going to church on Sundays!

However bad the children were feeling, in few cases did they act upon it. The mentality was to “suck it up” and “not disappoint the parents by coming home sooner than expected” as an ex-farm child describes when sharing his story of the farm stay. In most cases the parents came personally to pick up their children, they were put on a bus or an airplane. In two accounts children sent letters home or made a phone call asking their parents to come and get them. In the letter the interviewee described how she was being worked to her “last bone” and how she was being “deprived of food”. She was not allowed to make a phone call, for it was too expensive so she wrote a letter while she was working by herself and snuck it in with the mail. The next weekend her parents came to pick her up, finding her “the only one working on a Sunday”. In the other case the interviewee snuck away from his “boss” (the farmers’ son) and made a phone call

using a payphone. He described the stay in few words for he had little money to use, “come get me, this is some sort of a slave camp”. The next day his father came to pick him up, finding the farmers inside while all the other children were outside doing work. During one of the many informal discussions about the custom to send children to farms I heard an account of a boy who fled the farm after having worked hard and fed little. He ran to the next farm where the farmer contacted the boy’s parents. The farmers interviewed did not have an experience with children fleeing but some remembered children leaving before set date due to homesickness or boredom.

5.8 Why the Tradition Ended

Although there are still children who go to stay on farms for an extended period of time, the tradition as it was known from the 1900s until 1970s has ended. At the end of each interview and discussing with people informally the question, “why do you believe the tradition ended” was asked. Answers varied but commonly there were some basic reasons found. Firstly was the reason that rules and regulations on child work got stricter and more awareness of children’s rights arose in the society. One parent who sent her son to a farm every summer for seven years in the 1960s said “today you are not allowed to let children do anything because of all of the rules. That is why they do not go to the farm anymore -do you think a farmer wants that kind of a responsibility?” An ex-farm child said the reason the tradition ended was because today there are so many things for children to do, even young children. “There are summer camps, all kinds of sports that take a lot of time and for 12 and 13 year old children there is work”. Another ex-farm child also mentioned that the tradition ended when the so called “vinnuskólar” or “work schools” started operating. Work schools are situated all over the country and offer children in grades 8th, 9th and 10th work over the summer time. Another factor mentioned among the interviewees is the mechanization of the farms. A parent commented that “with all the machinery fewer hands were needed to complete a task and therefore there was less need to have the children around”. A farmer who hosted children every summer until the 1980s said because of the machinery it got more dangerous to host the children, “with the mechanization having children around meant being alert at all times and

of course they were our responsibility”. A parent, who sent her children to the farm where her uncle lived every summer when they were growing up, said the reason for the end of the tradition more awareness about children’s circumstances. “What was considered good for them then would be considered hardship today”. In another ex-farm child’s opinion “góusögur” or “malicious gossip” about the treatment of the children on the farm is partly to blame for the end of the tradition:

I was sent to a farm when I was younger and I remember it being hard at times. I remember talking about the treatment I got on the farm to my peers at school in the fall... When I think about it, such stories were common among me and my friends. I think they told their friends and their friends told their parents and so on. In a way stories like these contributed to gain more awareness about children’s rights and people would think twice about sending their children away for a whole summer.

A farmer also mentioned the school year getting longer, “in the 1970s and 1980s the children would be able to come in May to help with the birth of the lambs and stay until the rounding of the animals in September. Now the school break is shorter and they cannot make it to the farms to help with these tasks which require more people”. A few parents also mentioned that the children were simply not interested in going anymore. “It used to be the thing to do in the summers but then it was like it was out of fashion” says a mother who sent all but her youngest daughter to the farms in the 1960s and 1970s.

All of these factors; stricter rules and regulations, more recreational options for children, the appearance of the work schools, the mechanization of the farms, more awareness about children’s circumstances, malicious gossip about poor treatment of the children of the farm, the elongated school year and the farm being “out of fashion” among children, contributed to end the tradition.

6 Discussion

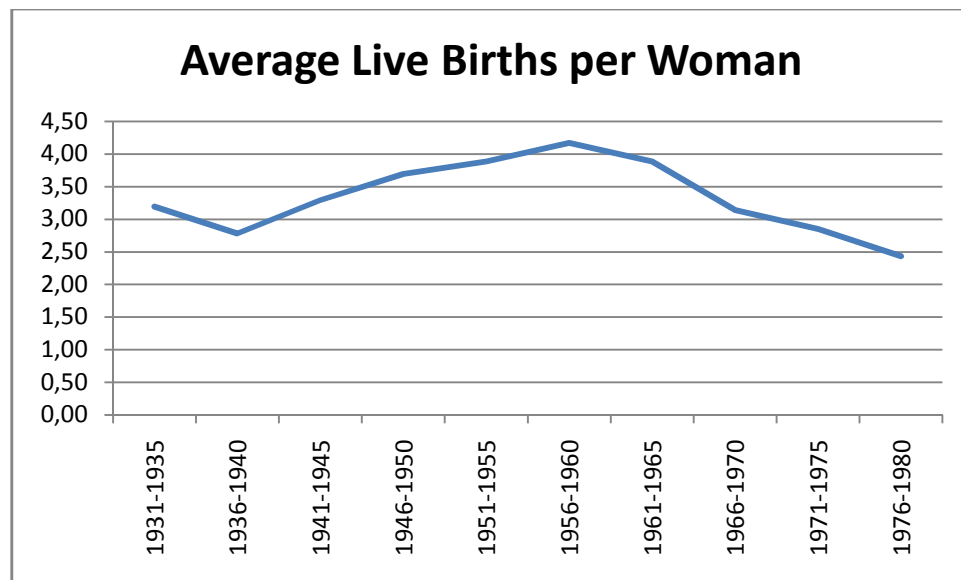
In the twentieth century, Icelanders had moved in large numbers from the rural areas of the country to the city, but farming undoubtedly remained an important part of the suburban life and the national image. The aim of the research was to look at the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer months in Iceland and examine if that custom can be classified as child trafficking. The findings of the research show the tradition was common and all groups of the society were involved. Children aged five to eighteen were sent to the farms by the initiative of the parents, the farmers recruited children through informal networks or advertisements, or the children requested to go themselves. The length of each stay varied from one week up to four months. Some children experienced the stay as hard work and violation of their human rights while others underline the positive aspects. As stated in chapter 2, the Palermo Protocol consists of three main elements, the process (recruitment, transportation, transferring, harboring or receiving), the way/means (threat, coercion, abduction, fraud, deceit, deception or abuse of power), and the goal (prostitution, pornography violence/sexual exploitation, forced labor, involuntary servitude, debt bondage or slavery/similar practices), (UN 2000). The Protocol applies to trafficking across borders as well as within countries. The definition is different for adults and children. For adults, the three main elements of the protocol must be fulfilled for the act to be classified as trafficking. As far as children are concerned, only two of the three elements must be fulfilled in order to be classified as trafficking. The Palermo Protocol classifies child trafficking as “any case in which someone is responsible for the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation” (Dottridge, 2008: 9). It is therefore enough for a child under the age of 18 to be recruited in order to be exploited for the act to be classified as trafficking (Dottridge, 2007).

6.1 Recruitment

As the results portray, various reasons led to sending the child to the farm. The recruitment process was initiated by the parents, the farmers or by the children themselves. The parents were in most cases the decision makers for the children

and had the initiative to start the process of sending them to the farm. The parents looked for farms through kinship relations or other acquaintances. This gave the parents some confidence that the children were in good hands, especially if the farmers were related to them or if the children had been on the farm before. Wealthy as well as poor families sent their children to the farm and constraint social circumstances led to sending some children away. At that time, Icelandic society was poorer than it is today and on average Icelandic families also had more children.

Table 1. Average live births per woman in Iceland (Hagstofan, 2011).



Magnússon (2010) points out that Icelandic society underwent huge changes in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century. The country went from being poor and isolated in the eighteenth century to “material and economic” in the twentieth century (Magnússon, 2010: 238). Those changes affected the society greatly but the cultural heritage and the positive farm image remained an important part of the society. Parents wanted their children to experience what they had experienced and learnt from their own farm stay as children. Work ethics, appreciation for the nature and how to be around animals was something the parents mentioned when asked why they sent their child to the farm. In short, the parents sent their children to the farm mainly for one of two reasons, because

of constraint social circumstances or because it was an important part of growing up and getting to know the roots of Icelandic culture.

Farmers looked for children via kinship ties or other type of acquaintances. For the farmers, getting children who they knew gave them a certain assurance that the child would contribute to the work on the farm and enjoy his/her time. It was also common for farmers to advertise for children to come live and work on the farm. In those cases the farmers were looking for more than one or two children to come. In some cases the farmers asked for money to host the children and in others there was no fee, the advertisement was just a tool to look for children and offer them to experience the life on the farm. Farmers did not recruit new children every year, because some of the children returned every summer until they got a paying job in the city. Before the mechanizations of the farms the summer children played an important role for the farming was labor intensive and the children's contribution was greatly appreciated.

In several cases children asked to go to the farm themselves. They wanted to go to the country side; sometimes their older siblings had been at a farm, or it was something a classmate had done. Children found it desirable to stay at the farm during the summer months, it involved playing outside in the nature and getting acquainted with the animals. Some children also wanted to experience the work on the farm. This was specially the case with boys, but they wanted to learn how to drive the tractor and so on. Children would ask their parents if they could go to the farm and from there the parents found a farm for them. Sometimes children had been on the farm of a relative before for a visit and asked to stay there for a longer period of time. Children also called the farmers themselves or decided on their own that they were going to a farm. Children themselves were therefore in some cases actively involved in the recruitment process.

6.2 Exploitation

One of the central themes found in the research is the exploitation of the ex-farm children as the word "work" was prominent in every interview. Some, though not all, of the ex-farm children felt they had been exploited in the work

they did on the farm. The work they had to perform on the farm was often very physically demanding, leaving them exhausted, however the work load and working hours varied from one case to another. The children did not get paid, but most received free housing and food. In other cases the children were allowed to keep one of the farm animals, or returned with goods from the farm that was not available in the city.

Dottridge (2004: 43) points out that the exploitation element of the Palermo Protocol does not derive from the Marxist sense of the word (when the employer makes a profit from the employee) rather, “exploitation is used to refer to situations that are prohibited as an abuse of human rights”. In line with that, some of the ex-farm children experienced not only little or no payment, but they also felt their rights were manipulated. Given that definition of the word exploitation, they felt they had been exploited through long working hours, overly difficult tasks, deprivation of food, being banned from contacting home and abuse. In terms of workload and responsibility they were at times treated as equal to adults. One ex-farm girl described how she woke up with a nosebleed because she was simply overworked. The ex-farm children who were recruited via advertisement worked long hours while the farmers stayed at home and did nothing. In another case, the farmers took a month-long vacation and the children had to run the farm by themselves.

Another common thread when discussing exploitation to the ex-farm children was the notion of food and how it was portioned. Some ex-farm children mentioned being deprived of food while others remember not getting enough. Long working hours meant that sometimes dinner was skipped and only a little food was offered when the children returned home for the night. Some ex-farm children remember being hungry for the entire time on the farm. They worked hard which increased their appetite but in some cases did not get more to eat. In this way they felt like their basic human rights were violated, they worked and worked but received little food.

Yet another form of exploitation identified is mental, physical or sexual abuse. Some of the ex-farm children experienced abuse from the farmers, the farmer's family or the other children staying at the farm. In case of the ex-farm child who applied to go to the farm via advertisement, forgetting to fetch a horse resulted in being thrown to the ground. Some said they were still working through the mental effects and the self blame from the abuse.

6.3 Agency

Despite the harsh times some of the children experienced, a common theme found in the study is the notion of agency. According to Ortner (2006), agency in a wide context is the ability to act upon something which every individual possesses. Agency has many forms, cultural or historical depending on one's situation. The idea of agency is therefore used in context with how an individual deals with a certain situation, how he/she influences other individuals and how he/she maintains self control in those circumstances (Ortner, 2006). The more power the individual possesses, the more possibilities he has to choose from (Durrenberger and Erem, 2007). In the stories told, the ex-farm children showed ability to act. A parent recalled how her daughter at the age of five had called her aunt who lived on the farm to ask if she could stay with her over the summer. A boy went to the farm after seeing an advertisement, and after two weeks of "slavery" he found a way to go back home. After weeks of "slave-like practices" a girl wrote a letter to her parents and asked to be picked up. A farmer recalled a child who had run away from a neighboring farm where the child had been "overworked and underfed". Stories like these are common, portraying children acting as agents in their lives, making decisions either to go to the farm or to leave the farm.

Theis (2001) points out that some scholars in the field of anthropology tend to look past children's agency and focus instead on adults as agents. According to Schwartzman (2001), the focus when studying children has been that of children becoming adults, rather than studying how children experience childhood. The ex-farm children portrayed agency in their accounts, they were not just victims who were sent to the farm. Some sought to go, through kinship or advertisements,

while others were sent but made efforts to leave. A parent, who sent two of her children to the farm, said her children showed agency in their own life when the farmer and his wife left the farm for a month to go overseas. When one of the cows got stuck in the barbwire, the children closed up the wound. “Instead of calling for help, or panicking, they closed it up,” she explained. The children undisputedly took the matter into their own hands and acted as agents in their lives.

When discussing the tradition of sending children to farms it is important to acknowledge that children had a say in it. They spoke amongst themselves about the adventurous idea of the farm and in a way influenced the way people romanticized the farm tradition. They also acted upon situations in which they found themselves in and made a change.

6.4 Consequences

The farm stay influenced the ex-farm children in various ways. Some expressed great gratitude and appreciation for their time on the farm, remembering it with warmth and happy memories of tending to animals and playing in nature. The work ethics they learnt on the farm they used later in life and the experience played a role in forming them as individuals. For parents, the farm stay was not only about sending the children away for an extended period of time; it was also considered a part of the upbringing. For the farmers the children provided company to their family as well as well-appreciated help with the farm work.

Other ex-farm children are still affected by the experience in negative sense. One of the women had for instance never discussed the sexual assaults she experienced during her farm stay before our interview. She described how she felt it was somehow her fault all along, and mentioned that sharing the story was therapeutic for her. During informal discussions, two similar stories were told. The work load was hard for many and the feeling of not living up to the parents’ expectations was mentioned on more than one occasion. One ex-farm child recalled how another farm-child who was regularly beaten by the farmer

committed suicide later on in life. Yet another argued she was still dealing with the feelings she had from the farm stay, stating it was a horrible time in her life.

As evidenced, the custom to send children to the farms had both positive and negative impact on the children. Parents and farmers were less likely to mention such effects, with the majority of interviewees being positive towards the custom. During informal discussions about the cultural practice of sending children to farms, people were heated in our discussions. Some argued against the custom, calling it a dark spot in the nation's history and saying that the Icelandic society had "failed those children" and that it should have openly discussed the stories of bad treatment of the children on the farms. Others insisted that the farm stay was a great experience for children and felt insulted when the issue of child trafficking was mentioned alongside it.

According to the Palermo Protocol a child has been trafficked if he/she has been recruited in order to be exploited. Were these children recruited with the purpose of exploiting? Some felt they were exploited while others had an enjoyable experience. Some of the experiences of the ex-farm children indicate exploitation which could classify the tradition as trafficking according to the Palermo Protocol. However, other experiences indicate that this custom was both educational and recreational for the ex-farm children, where farmers seemed to be doing the parents a favor by hosting the child. Thus, the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer months can hardly classify as human trafficking, however some instances clearly indicate trafficking. In order to get a better grasp on whether this constitutes human trafficking, it is beneficial to review similar practices elsewhere in the world.

6.5 Similar Practices

The means of recruiting described above and the varied conditions of the children recruited have similarities with cases of allegedly trafficked children in West Africa (Anyidoho and Ainsworth, 2009; Einarisdóttir et al. 2010; de Lange, 2007; Thorsen, 2005). The custom of sending children to go work on farms over the summer months in Iceland is a tradition that has just recently ended. Similar

traditions around the world are still being practiced, especially in West Africa. In their paper *Child-Rural Migration in West Africa*, Anyidoho and Ainsworth (2009) discuss children's mobility within rural areas in West Africa. The paper reveals that the child mobility is influenced by social norms but children also participated willingly in migration. Similar to the farm tradition in Iceland, the migration of children to work on farms in rural West Africa is considered desirable for children. The children are considered to learn from the work they do on the farm, which could benefit them in the future, learning skills that they could use later in life (Anyidoho and Ainsworth 2009). The paper is based on three empirical studies on child migration to undertake agricultural labor. Sending children to the farm in Iceland is also child migration where in most cases the aim was indirectly to engage in agricultural labor. Reasons for the rural migration in West Africa are similar to the reasons why children were sent to the farm in Iceland over the summer months. Children are encouraged to migrate as their parents and their grandparents had done the same (Anyidoho and Ainsworth, 2009). Many of the parents interviewed in this study expressed similar reasons for sending their children to the farm; they had gone to the farm themselves as children.

In another study, Hashim (2005) worked with children who had migrated from a village in northeastern Ghana to the southern cocoa growing regions. Many similarities can be seen between the migrating cocoa children and the farm tradition in Iceland. Like the farm children in Iceland experienced, the Ghanaian children rarely got paid though Hashim (2005) notes, that the older children in his study were sometimes given a share of the farm proceeds as a form of payment. The cocoa farmers use children as laborers, just as the farmers in Iceland used children as laborers. The cocoa farmers were also more likely to host the children in their homes, just as the farmers in Iceland. The farmers in Iceland were sometimes related to the children they hosted and the cocoa farmers were on occasion related to the children who worked for them.

There is a tendency to classify these traditions in West Africa as child trafficking. In their article, *Child mobility in West Africa: Strategy, Poverty or Crime?* Kjelland and Bjorkhaug (2009) argue that in recent years, the mobility of children in West Africa has been wrongfully classified as child trafficking. The issue is highly political which aims to attract funds for NGO's and other organizations that devote their time on anti-trafficking measures. They continue that simplifying a complex matter such as child migration as child trafficking, can prove to be harmful. They conclude by suggesting a deeper understanding behind the mobility of children in the area when making policies and anti-trafficking measures (Kjelland and Bjorkhaug, 2009).

As these examples show, classifying those practices as child trafficking is not always beneficial for the involved children. By classifying customs similar to the tradition to send urban children to farms in Iceland as trafficking, whole communities are criminalized. Such criminalization prevents children and their families to act as agents in their lives, for the practices are, like the farm tradition in Iceland, viewed as an educational tool in the children's upbringing and a source to gain experience which benefits the children later in life.

6.6 Child Trafficking

Dottridge (2004) argues that the word trafficking "emphasizes the way children are moved" while the phrase trafficking children refers to "the exploitation by others in a way that violates their human rights" (Dottridge, 2004: 16). In this study, the way children were moved was looked at, as well as if and how they were subject to exploitation. The research results show that some of the ex-farm children were moved to the farm by car driven by their parents or other relatives, other children were sent alone with buses, and a few travelled by air to reach their destinations. As presented above, several of the accounts clearly tell of severe exploitation of the children on the farms. Consequently, according to the Palermo Protocol at least some of the children were trafficked, and thus some of the farmers were traffickers and the parents their collaborators.

Some have argued that the Protocol is essentially a crime prevention instrument rather than a human rights instrument, while others point out that the Protocol imposes the need to define people according to their status as victims of trafficking in order to make them eligible for receiving protection and support (Bastia, 2005). Human trafficking is a phenomenon that has sparked the interest of many international organizations around the world. International efforts to abolish trafficking are not as successful as they could be and only a fraction of trafficking crimes end up with a conviction (see the United States Department of State report of 2010). Anti-trafficking measures and policies have received increasingly more attention in the international arena and the need for sufficient funds has simultaneously increased. Research has shown that anti-trafficking measures can sometimes be counter-productive for the people they are meant to help.

As mentioned earlier, practices similar to sending children to farms in Iceland have been condemned by the international community. In this research children contributed to the decision making of going to the farm, and acted as agents in their own life. Researches on similar practices portray the same agency of children, although NGO's and other international agencies working on anti-trafficking measures tend to look past children's agency, defining them according to their status as victims as trafficking who can easily be manipulated.

Dottridge (2007) argues that in the case of human trafficking, enforcing the law and upholding human rights is not the same thing. He continues that marginalized groups of people such as migrants are particularly negatively affected by the anti-trafficking measures. Along with such criticism, Thorsen (2005) points out that parents of migrating children in rural Burkina Faso are now cautious about being publicly branded as intermediaries in the discourse of trafficking. Einarsdóttir et al (2010) examine the traditions to send boys to study the Koran in Senegal where they beg on behalf of their teachers. The parents want the child to become "somebody" through religious education and they feel discriminated against and criminalized when their efforts are classified as child trafficking. The parents also feel like the issue is highly political where NGO's receive payments for the

repatriation of their sons. The authors conclude that current practices used to prevent and stop trafficking of children in Guinea-Bissau can be counterproductive for those children in the most need of help.

It is evident that the trafficking discourse is on the wrong track and not always beneficial to the very people it is supposed to help. It is important to incorporate children's agency in the research done on the matter and take them seriously as actors in their own life. Support to children is needed, so that anti-trafficking measures do not act counter-productive to the very children and their families they are meant to benefit.

This research reveals that in some cases children sent to work on farms during the summer months felt like they had been exploited and their human rights violated. Those children were victims of a crime, which should not go understated. However, to classify the tradition as such as trafficking would be stretching the definition of trafficking to the limits. Therefore, I argue that the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer time in Iceland should not be classified as trafficking. Various reasons contributed to the end of the tradition, such as more awareness of children's rights and child work, but discussions about trafficking and child slavery were not among those reasons.

7 Conclusion

In this study, the tradition of sending children to farms over the summer months in Iceland was explored. The aim was to examine if the tradition can be classified as child trafficking. To reach a conclusion, various people affiliated with the tradition were interviewed. Thereafter, the custom was explored with reference to the Palermo Protocol from 2000, which is the point of reference when the issue of trafficking is on the agenda. In short, the Protocol confirms that a child has been trafficked if he or she has been recruited, transported, transferred, harbored or received and moved within a country, or across borders, whether by force or not, with the purpose of exploiting the child (UN, 2000).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, traditional agriculture was highly labor-intensive and time-consuming so many hands were needed (Magnússon, 2010). Children played an important role in getting those time and labor-intensive tasks done. Everyone had to do their part, and everyone was called upon to help. In the nineteenth century, and especially after World War II, machinery gradually became available which made these tasks easier, resulting in less need of manpower. The children were therefore a great help to farmers before the time of the machinery. The farm continued to be a part of the Icelandic culture, and although the farms were increasingly mechanizing, hands were still needed to help with the intensive labor tasks in the summers. The children therefore continued to help farmers during the summers well into the late twentieth century.

The research findings reveal that parents, farmers and children all were active in decisions on the farm stay, although the parents tended to have the ultimate say. The reasons behind the decision varied from the idea of tradition and the idea of experiencing an adventure, to social circumstances and economical reasons. To the parents, sending children to the farm gave them a sense of pride, for on the farm children learnt to work, experienced how to be around animals and got to be out in the nature. Children also valued their time on the farm, seeing it as a certain rite of passage, something that formed them as persons later in life. The ex-farm children experienced the journey to the farm as adventurous and long, as they

travelled with their parents, a relative, or alone, by car, bus or by airplane. Once the ex-farm children reached their destination they entered a new world, which was either seen in a positive or a negative light. They had to adjust to the new world, with new people in their lives, different customs and stricter rules. The work in the household was gender based; girls did the household jobs as well as the work on the fields. Work load varied from one experience to another, but commonly the ex-farm children said the farm stay was characterized by work. The words the ex-farm children used to describe the work was fun “maturing” work, hard work, child labor and child slavery. The work aspect of the tradition was not worrying for the parents or the farmers, as work was held in high esteem in the society at that time. In most cases, there was no payment for the work, but the children got housing in return for their work. Several of the ex-farm children felt like they were exploited through long working hours and difficult tasks, deprivation of food, ban to contact home and in some cases abuse. There was more discipline than at home and punishments were consequently applied. Stories of children fleeing the farms were heard, but none of the interviewees ran away. Various reasons led to the end of the tradition to send urban children to farms during the summer months such as stricter rules and regulations on children’s work, more recreational activities for children over the summer time, appearance of working schools in urban areas, the mechanization of the farms and elongated school year contributed to the end of the tradition.

If we look at the cultural practice of sending children to farms through the definition of child trafficking found in the Palermo Protocol, it is evident that the custom at times coincides with the definition of child trafficking. In some cases there might be reasons to consider if children were systematically recruited and exploited. This is evident in some of the accounts of the ex-farm children who felt their human rights had been violated. However, considering the mixed experiences, the farm stay tradition should not be classified as human trafficking. Classifying the tradition as such involves criminalization of communities and studies have shown that classifying traditions similar to the farm stay tradition as

trafficking has not been beneficial for trafficked children or children in danger of being trafficked.

By looking at the Icelandic tradition of sending children to farms and examining it through the definition of trafficking found in the United Nation Trafficking Protocol of 2000, attention is brought to the fact that traditions similar to the ones experienced in the Western world in the past, have been classified as trafficking and communities consequently criminalized. It is therefore important to look at our past in order to gather understanding of what is happening in the world. By doing so the real victims of trafficking are focused on and anti trafficking measures will target the most vulnerable children in need of help.

8 References

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