



Understanding Children's Work
An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project

Joining forces against child labour

Inter-agency report for
The Hague Global
Child Labour
Conference of 2010

May 2010



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As part of broader efforts towards durable solutions to child labour, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank initiated the interagency Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme in December 2000. The programme is guided by the Oslo Agenda for Action, which laid out the priorities for the international community in the fight against child labour. Through a variety of data collection, research, and assessment activities, the UCW Programme is broadly directed toward improving understanding of child labour, its causes and effects, how it can be measured, and effective policies for addressing it. For further information, see the programme website at www.ucw-project.org.

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Accronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
C138	ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age Convention, 1973)
C182	ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999)
CAR	Central African Republic
CCT	Conditional cash transfer
CEIS	Centre for International Studies on Economic Growth
CONAFE	Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo
CR	Capture-Recapture
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation
CWIQ	Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaires
ECDE	Early childhood development and education
EFA	Education for All
FCIS	First Comparative International Study of Language, Mathematics and Associated Factors
FUNDAP	Fundação do Desenvolvimento Administrativo
GA	General Assembly
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Study surveys
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NFHS	National Family Health Survey, India
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation, India
PNSP	Productive Safety Net Programme
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RDS	Respondent-Driven Sampling

SG	Secretary General
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SNA	System of National Accounts
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TB	Tuberculosis
TIMSS	Third International Mathematics and Science Study
UCW	Understanding Children's Work
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPI	Universal Primary Enrolment
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
WHO	World Health Organization

Preface

The 1997 Amsterdam Conference on Combating the Most Intolerable Forms of Child Labour and the 1997 Oslo International Conference on Child Labour both drew attention to the urgent need for concerted global action to end child labour, while calling for an expansion to information gathering, statistics and empirical research which would help inform this action.

The inter-agency research programme, Understanding Children's Work (UCW), was initiated by the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNICEF and the World Bank as one of the responses to the recommendations of the Amsterdam and Oslo conferences. Through a variety of policy-oriented research activities, UCW aims to develop a shared understanding of the child labour phenomenon in its various dimensions, and to help identify common policy approaches for addressing it. The Programme also aims to strengthen consultation and information-sharing among the three international agencies in the area of child labour.

The current inter-agency report represents a further collaborative effort on the part of the three UCW partner agencies to build a shared knowledge base and approaches relating to child labour. Prepared for the Global Child Labour Conference set for May 2010 in The Hague, the report is intended as a technical, forward-looking document, aimed at defining a common platform for international efforts to combat child labour in the coming years.

The report restates the case for placing child labour at the forefront of national development agendas, presenting a range of evidence which indicates that child labour is not only a serious violation of child rights, but also constitutes an important impediment to the achievement of many national development objectives – the Millennium Development Goals, Universal Primary Enrolment, Education for All, poverty reduction and Decent Work foremost among these. The report also aims at laying out a strategic approach for national governments which allows them to enhance their fight against child labour, in partnership with employers' and workers' organizations, as well as with civil society, and international agencies.



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Executive summary

1. Much has evolved in terms of our knowledge surrounding the child labour problem and effective strategies for addressing it since the last major conferences on child labour which were held in Amsterdam and Oslo in 1997. This report makes use of advances in research achieved through UCW and other efforts to take stock of the global child labour situation, assess key remaining obstacles to the elimination of child labour and identify strategies for addressing them.
2. The report presents evidence of country-specific child labour situations and trends, of reasons why child labour matters from a child rights and national development perspective, and of the policies holding greatest potential for combating it in the period leading up to the 2016 target date set by the Global Action Plan, endorsed by the ILO, to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. It also identifies areas where information gaps constitute an impediment to policy formulation.
3. The report highlights the close linkages between child labour and broader development objectives, and the consequent need to address child labour as an important component of national development strategies. It also illustrates the wide array of factors contributing to child labour, and the resulting importance of a broad, integrated policy response to it. Finally, the report underscores the importance of concerted action by international development agencies in support of Government efforts in the fight against child labour. International development agencies have a support role to play both in the development of integrated national strategies against child labour, and in the implementation of such strategies, in accordance with the relative strengths of each agency.

Overall messages

Four over-arching messages emerge from the report, which are of relevance to the efforts of the international community in the lead-up to the 2016 target date.

(1) Despite progress, there is a need to scale up efforts against child labour in order to reach the target for 2016, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.

4. Although the most recent ILO global estimates suggest that overall progress against child labour continues, country-specific evidence tells us that behind global and regional averages there are many countries where progress has stagnated or is even negative, and where accelerated action is therefore needed. Some of the countries looked at in this report in Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, experienced significant *rises* in child labour rates in recent years. There are also important pockets of stagnated progress *within* many countries; indigenous children, and children affected by HIV and/or AIDS, for example, often lag significantly behind national

progress in reducing child labour. The remaining number of child labourers is large and unevenly distributed within and across countries.

(2) Child labour has a very high human cost and important implications for the achievement of broader national development goals.

5. As the knowledge base concerning child labour has grown in recent years, so too has the case against child labour as a serious rights violation and barrier to national development. Evidence presented in Part II of the report underscores that the conditions faced by children in the workplace can seriously jeopardize their immediate health and safety, as well as their health status later in life. This is particularly the case for the large number of children in hazardous work. Child labour is also associated with greater difficulties in entering and remaining in school, and learning effectively in the classroom. The educational and developmental toll associated with child labour, in turn, makes it much less likely that children are able to successfully transition to gainful employment upon entering adulthood.

6. These adverse consequences of child labour not only constitute serious violations of the rights of the children concerned, but also have broader consequences for national development. Children who grow up compromised educationally and developmentally by early involvement in work will be in a poor position to contribute to their country's growth as adults. While there is no specific Millennium Development Goal on child labour, significant progress towards a range of other MDGs will be more difficult to achieve without accompanying progress in the fight against child labour. Other development goals set by the international community such as poverty alleviation, Universal Primary Enrolment (UPI), Education for All (EFA), and Decent Work cannot be achieved without also eliminating child labour.

(3) There is a need for a comprehensive policy response to child labour built on an adequate legal foundation.

7. Progress in expanding the knowledge base on child labour has also improved understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon and of the consequent need for a comprehensive response. For too long, child labour has been seen as an isolated issue. But, in reality, it is a phenomenon that cuts across policy boundaries – schooling, health care, labour market conditions, enforcement of core labour standards and legislation, social protection, basic services access, income distribution, social norms, cultural practices, *inter alia*; all can play a role.

8. Consequently, child labour requires a policy response that is cross-sectoral in nature and that involves actors both inside and outside government. There is a need to “mainstream” child labour concerns into overall national development agendas and plans, including poverty reduction efforts, and into decisions concerning budgetary resource allocations. There is also a need for governments to collaborate more closely with social partners in the area of child labour. Employers' and workers' organizations have a critical role to play in mobilizing civil society and businesses in the fight against child labour.

9. A comprehensive response should start from an adequate legal framework setting out an unambiguous definition of child labour, and the principles, objectives and priorities for national action against it. Building on this foundation, research evidence and past policy experience points to four policy “pillars” of particular importance as part of a comprehensive response – education, social protection, labour markets, and strategic communication and advocacy.

- *Education*: More accessible and better quality schools are important because they affect the returns to schooling vis-à-vis child labour, making the former more attractive as an alternative to the latter. Measures to improve education and make it more accessible range from school-building to the reduction of direct and indirect costs, enhanced teacher training and

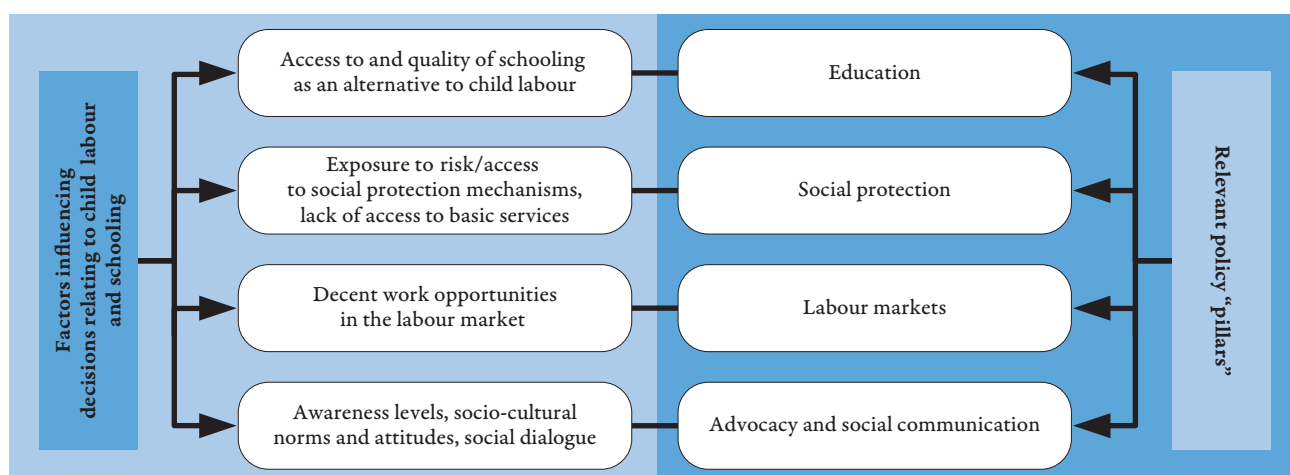


Figure 1.
Key determinants of child labour and schooling and policy pillars to address them

curriculum reform. Involving parents more directly in the life of the school can also have important quality benefits at minimal cost in resource terms.

- *Social protection:* Households without adequate social protection may rely on their children's work to make ends meet, rendering them unable to sacrifice the immediate returns to work for the future returns to schooling. There is no single recipe for implementing social protection programmes to address child labour. Among the range of options available to policy makers are unconditional cash transfers of various sorts, conditional cash transfers, public works programmes and credit schemes.
- *Labour markets:* Youth labour market outcomes and child labour are closely related. On one hand, there is a need to provide former child labourers with "second chance" learning and vocational training opportunities to ensure they possess the necessary skills to find gainful employment in the labour market. On the other hand, there is a need to ensure a well-functioning labour market for youth, so that households have an incentive to invest in their children's education and to refrain from sending them to work prematurely.
- *Strategic communication and advocacy:* If households are insufficiently aware of the benefits of schooling (or of the costs of child labour), or if prevailing socio-cultural norms discourage schooling, they are also less likely to choose the classroom over the workplace for their children. A range of strategic communication and advocacy efforts are relevant to both building a broad-based consensus for the elimination of child labour and changing the attitudes of households towards child labour.

(4) Remaining barriers to understanding child labour impede policy formulation and effective targeting of interventions.

10. A lack of information is not an excuse for inaction. But at the same time, continuing to build the knowledge base on child labour is indispensable to refining policy responses and to ensuring that resources are targeted to where they are most needed. The ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank have an important role to play in this area, building on the policy-oriented research already undertaken under the umbrella of the UCW Programme, as well as on agency-specific research programmes. Inter-agency research collaboration is also important in building a shared vision of child labour and common strategies for addressing it.

Other key conclusions and policy implications

11. A number of additional, more detailed conclusions emerge from the statistical profile of child labour presented in Part I, from the discussion of child labour and national development goals presented in Part II, and from the policy responses to child labour presented in Part III.

Progress against child labour has been uneven and often precarious.

12. The question of most interest for policy purposes is the direction in which countries are moving in terms of children's employment, i.e., whether a higher or lower proportion of children are working over time. Data for a group of 27 countries presented in Part I of the report paint a picture of general but by no means universal progress. The percentage of children in employment fell in eight of the 11 countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region, and in all countries except sparsely-populated Mongolia in Asia. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region, children's employment fell in eight countries but rose in four others. However, these countries represent only a subset of total countries in the three regions, and caution should therefore be exercised in generalizing the results.

13. Evidence from countries where comparable data are available for more than two points in time, shows that progress against children's employment can be subject to reversals, arguing against complacency even when short-term trends are downwards. This finding is of particular relevance in the context of the current global economic crisis. Although it is too soon to assess the impact of the crisis, theory and past experience suggest that it could threaten progress against child labour in a number of ways. A reduction in living standards, greater difficulties in obtaining loans and reduced remittances from family members abroad together are likely to force more vulnerable households to send their children to work in order to help make ends meet during the crisis period. Reduced public spending and cut-backs in international aid flows are likely to limit social safety nets and threaten public education expenditure, also increasing families' dependence on children in employment for household survival.

Attaining EFA and eliminating child labour are closely linked – attempts to achieve one without addressing the other are unlikely to be successful.

14. Simple comparisons of the school attendance of child labourers and their non-working counterparts suggest that child labourers have greater difficulty in going to school. As shown in Chapter 3 of this report, in a sample of 54 countries from the UCW Country Statistics, children in employment face an attendance gap in all but five. But the data also suggest wide cross-country variation in terms of the relative success of child labourers in attending school. This could reflect underlying differences in the nature or intensity of work carried out by children, in the policies put in place by the Government or in structural differences of education systems (e.g. admission criteria, length of the school day, student grouping, etc.). To the extent that the latter explanations hold, the large cross-country variation suggests substantial scope for policy intervention aimed both at getting child labourers to school and retaining them in school.

15. A substantial proportion of child labourers do manage to attend school for at least some time, despite the demands of work, again with a great deal of heterogeneity across countries. This raises another important question concerning the educational impact of child labour – the extent to which child labour impedes children's classroom learning. While this is an area where more research is required, a growing body of evidence points to a negative relation between involvement in child labour and learning achievement. School attendance alone is therefore an incomplete indicator of the compatibility between education and child labour - there is also a need to consider how the demands of work affect children's ability to derive educational benefit from their time in the classroom.

Efforts to provide young people with quality employment opportunities cannot be divorced from efforts to combat child labour.

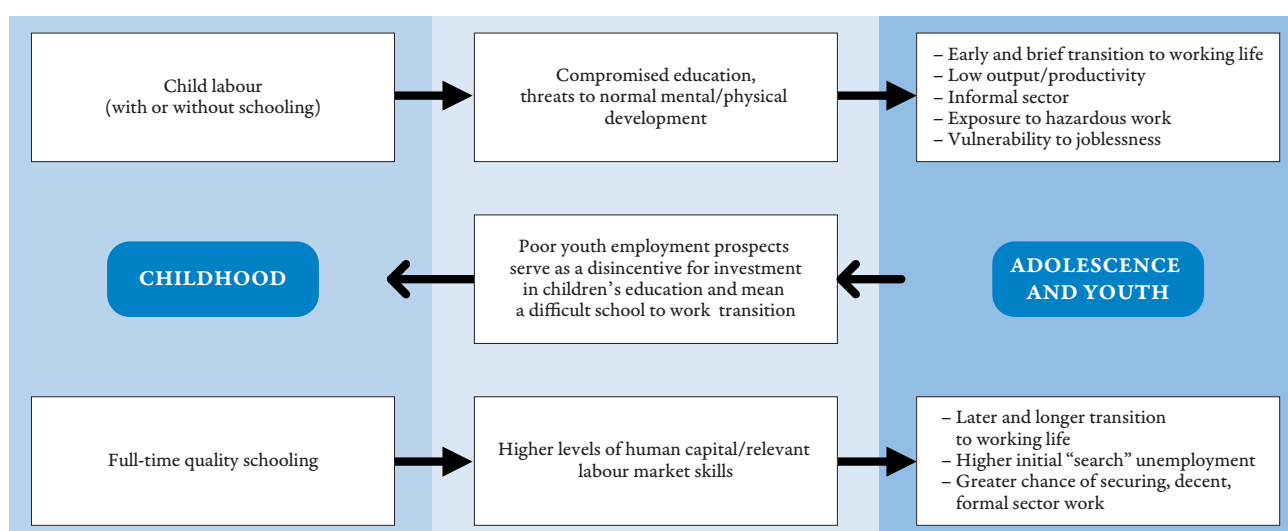
16. The challenges of eliminating child labour and promoting youth employment are closely related (Figure 2). Child labour is associated with compromised education and other negative consequences, which, in turn, can leave young people more vulnerable to low paid, insecure work and joblessness. Available data, for instance, show that less educated workers are much less likely to be in wage employment and more likely to be in self-employment or in unremunerated family work. Compromised education also appears to lead to jobs that are more exposed to fluctuations in the labour market. Other evidence suggests that child labour also confers labour force disadvantage later in life via other effects *beyond education*, such as lower productivity, stigma, and lower job aspirations.

17. But the links between youth employment and child labour can also operate in the opposite direction. In situations where there are few opportunities for good jobs as a child reaches the minimum working age, and where the transition from school to work is difficult, parents may have little incentive to invest in their children's schooling, and instead send their children to work prematurely (Figure 2). Expected wages, in particular, are an important determinant of children's decisions to stay in school. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, a recent study indicated that access to accurate information on the additional likely earnings resulting from a high school degree significantly raised high school attendance rates. Evidence from Mexico also points to the importance of expected earnings on schooling decisions.

The three groups of children affected by migration – those left behind by migrating parents, those migrating with their families, and those migrating alone, independently of parents or adult guardians – are each faced with a unique set of challenges and threats.

18. For the large and growing numbers of children in many developing countries who are left behind by migrating parents, remittances sent home by absent parents can increase consumption, finance schooling, buy health care and fund better housing. They can also diversify sources of income and cushion families against setbacks such as illness or larger shocks caused by economic downturns, political conflict or climate vagaries. But at the same time, migration can cause disruption to household life and can have adverse consequences on children's psychosocial development, their performance at school and involvement in employment. There is a need, therefore, to balance the benefits of remittances with the negative psychological effects resulting from the absence of parents.

Figure 2.
Child labour and youth labour market outcomes



19. Children who migrate with families, perhaps the largest group of children affected by migration, can also face significant challenges. Economic migrants expect and, on average, achieve, an improvement in their well-being with respect to their initial situation. But they can face difficulties in their new environment during the transition and integration process, particularly if they lack legal status. Children of migrant households can face particular difficulties in adjusting. They might not, for example, speak the local language, creating problems for their schooling, or they might be from a different ethnic group or nationality, exposing them to discrimination. The relative importance of the benefits and costs to children of migrating families can differ substantially from country to country, highlighting the need for careful monitoring and diversified policy responses.

20. Children forced to migrate alone are by far the most vulnerable group of children affected by migration. Child domestic workers constitute a particularly important component of the group of children migrating alone. Child domestic work is carried out in private homes, and thus it is hidden from public view and eludes inspection. The children concerned are therefore particularly vulnerable to exploitation, including excessively long hours with little or no pay, and physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Their heavy work burden also often leaves these children unable to attend or complete schooling. Lacking any form of social or legal protection, their well-being is entirely dependent on the whims of their employers. Even worse off are child migrants who end up working and living in the streets, forced to beg or engage in other risky activities in order to survive.

Exposure to child labour has both immediate health and safety implications as well as longer term consequences for adult health.

21. There is little question that many forms of child labour have immediate adverse health consequences. Children working with dangerous materials, such as asbestos or molten glass, in unhealthy environments, such as mines or quarries, or long hours in sweatshop conditions obviously face serious jeopardy to their health. Likewise, the toll of heavy labour on young bodies, or the use of dangerous tools and machinery, undoubtedly impact negatively on health. The psychosocial effects of stress, violence, harassment, isolation are also unquestionably significant. The limited statistical evidence on work-related illness and injury suggests that agriculture, by far the dominant sector of children's employment, has a particularly poor safety record.

22. However, while many of the health risks to which child workers are exposed have an immediate effect on health, others are likely to develop over many years and might only become manifest in adulthood. Indeed, much of the relationship between work and health is dynamic and therefore not captured by the measures of immediate health impact. Exposures to pesticides, chemicals and dust, for instance, increase the future risks of developing respiratory illnesses, cancer and a wide variety of diseases. Ergonomic factors such as heavy lifting and poor posture raise the chances of musculoskeletal problems developing in later life. Investment in child labour reduction is likely to have a substantial beneficial spill-over effect on adult as well as child health.

An adequate legal framework on child labour – in line with international legal instruments – is a fundamental basis for all action, and in particular, in defining child labour to be eliminated.

23. Legislation alone cannot eradicate child labour. However, it is equally impossible to tackle child labour without adequate legislation. There are many contributions that a solid legislative framework offers to efforts against child labour: it translates the aims and principles of international standards into national law; it sets the principles, objectives and priorities for national action to combat child labour, and especially its worst forms; it establishes the machinery for carrying out that action; it offers a clear definition of child labour to be abolished; it sets forth specific rights and responsibilities; it provides sanctions for violators; it provides

legal redress for victims; it articulates and formalizes the State's duty to protect its children; it creates a common understanding among all the actors involved; it provides a yardstick for gathering statistics and evaluating performance; and it provides a basis and procedure for complaints and investigations.

24. However, legislation may be relatively meaningless if it is not enforced. The enforcement machinery therefore also needs to be reviewed and properly funded: inspection services (labour inspection and schools inspection), the police and the judiciary need to be regularly trained. It is imperative to ensure: that the sanctions provided for violations of such legislation are sufficiently severe so as to serve as a deterrent, including the amount of fines that should not be eroded by inflation, and that these sanctions are actually applied; that appropriate child friendly materials are prepared to ensure that children are aware of their rights; and that adequate compensation is provided for the children concerned and their families.

Combating child labour requires investing in education as its logical alternative.

25. There is a broad consensus that one of the most effective means of preventing children from entering child labour is to extend and strengthen schooling, so that families can have the opportunity to invest in their children's education, and the returns to schooling make it worthwhile for them to do so.

26. A range of empirical evidence points to the importance of school access in particular in reducing child labour and raising school attendance, and particularly for girls. Studies suggest that even when school access constraints are limited to higher levels of schooling, they can be part of the reason why primary-aged children work rather than attend school. Better school access is important for both economic and cultural reasons. Long travel distances to school can translate into high transport costs and a significant time burden, both raising the economic price of schooling. Families may also be reluctant to send their children, and especially their daughters, to schools far from home due to concerns around girls' mobility in the public space.

27. Out of pocket schooling costs can also pose an important barrier to school access. School fees are particularly relevant in this context, and their abolition is critical to ensuring children's right to education. Evidence indicates that eliminating school fees can result in rapid and substantial increases in enrolment (e.g. Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and Malawi). Accompanying measures are needed to ensure that fee abolition is sustainable over time, that its benefits reach the most vulnerable groups and that it preserves and further improves education quality. Programs reducing the cost of schooling by providing supplies such as textbooks and uniforms can also have a significant impact on raising enrolment and reducing drop-out.

28. Access to schooling matters but in many countries it is only a part of the answer. Greater access needs to be complemented by policies to raise quality. The relevance of school quality to child labour is theoretically clear. The allocation of children's time across different activities depends, among other things, on the expected benefits of such activities. Better quality schooling affects the expected benefits of education, in turn influencing household decisions concerning time allocated to children's education vis-à-vis child labour. While this is another area requiring further research, available information presented in this report corroborates the link between school quality and child labour, pointing to the important potential of school quality interventions in combating child labour.

Household vulnerability, the presence of risks and the occurrence of shocks make social protection an essential instrument in combating child labour.

29. The importance of social protection in reducing child labour is well established. Social protection instruments serve to prevent vulnerable households from having to resort to child

labour as a buffer against negative shocks. The role of credit in child labour decisions is similarly well established. Access to credit also helps families to adapt to unanticipated changes in income without having to resort to child labour.

30. There is no single recipe for implementing social protection programmes to reduce household vulnerability and child labour. Unconditional cash transfers, including various forms of child support grants, family allowances, needs-based social assistance and social pensions, are relevant in easing household budget constraints and supplementing the incomes of the poor. Conditional cash transfers offer a means of alleviating current income poverty *and* of addressing the under-investment in children's education that can underlie poverty. Public works schemes can serve both the primary goal of providing a source of employment to household breadwinners and the secondary goal of helping rehabilitate public infrastructure and expand basic services, both being potentially relevant in terms of reducing reliance on child labour. Micro-loan schemes can help ease household budget constraints and mitigate social risk.

Investment in skills development and “second chance” education is needed to ensure that former child labourers and other vulnerable young people are equipped with the skills needed in the labour market. Policy measures are also needed to improve the functioning of the labour market for youth so that households have an incentive to invest in their children's education and to forego child labour.

31. Making sure that former child labourers and children at risk of becoming child labourers acquire the skills necessary for gainful employment in adulthood is essential to ensure that child labour does not translate into long-term disadvantage, both for the individual concerned and for the society as a whole. There is a very large pool of children with either no schooling or only limited schooling who therefore lack an adequate skills base. A number of policy measures are relevant to improving the labour market outcomes of young workers, and in particular, of those suffering from an early disadvantage. Second chance learning opportunities offering a “bridge” back into the formal school system are relevant for younger children whose education has been compromised by child labour. Vocational training is also relevant both as a second chance measure for older former child labourers and as a broader measure to provide young people with relevant vocational skills. While there is a wide range of policy experience in these areas, scaling up existing interventions, and effectively integrating them into broader responses to child labour, remain significant challenges.

32. Difficulties that young people experience in finding gainful employment can impact on household decisions concerning investment in children's education and the age of children's entry into the labour market. A number of policy options are available to help improve the functioning of the labour market for youth within the constraints of the macro-economic environment. Offering micro-credit in conjunction with a broader range of enterprise support services is a means of helping young people start and develop small businesses. Employment services, career guidance and job counselling are means of addressing transition problems rooted in a lack of job search skills or a lack of labour market information. Establishing an adequate legal framework is needed to protect the growing number of young persons working in the informal economy.

Strategic communication and advocacy are needed to build a consensus for change at the level of the household, civil society, the social partners and the national political leadership.

33. Policy responses to child labour are unlikely to be effective in the absence of a broad-based consensus for change. Building this consensus requires, firstly, strategic communication efforts aimed at providing households with better information concerning the costs of child labour and the benefits of schooling. Such communication efforts need to be based on

knowledge of the economic considerations, as well as of the social norms that underlie child labour and schooling decisions. Both national- and local-level strategic communication efforts are relevant in reaching households with the necessary information. The use of a wide variety of conventional and non-conventional communication channels is important to achieve maximum outreach. Localized studies looking at the knowledge, awareness and behaviour related to child labour are important in providing a baseline against which progress in bringing about attitudinal change can be assessed.

34. But achieving sustainable reductions in child labour requires consensus well beyond the level of the household. Social mobilization is important in order to engage a broad range of social actors in efforts against child labour. Care providers in direct contact with children, including teachers and health workers, are in an especially good position to identify and refer child labourers, and therefore constitute particularly important allies in the fight against child labour. Also important are employers' and workers' organizations, which together can work to ensure that children are not present in the workplace. A political commitment at the highest level is also needed to ensure that child labour reduction occupies a prominent place in the national development agenda and is accorded adequate budgetary resources. Advocating for effective "mainstreaming" of child labour concerns into broader national development plans is particularly important.

Progress in the fight against child labour requires an integrated policy response led by Government and national social partners, and supported by the international community.

35. Responsibility for responding to child labour rests primarily with national governments, supported by employers' and workers' organizations and civil society. But this report illustrates that there are no easy answers in terms of how such a response should be formulated. Child labour is not an isolated issue, but rather the combined product of many factors that bridge traditional policy boundaries. Accordingly, a national policy response to child labour needs to be cross-sectoral and comprehensive, addressing in an integrated fashion the full range of reasons why children work. In order to be effective, policy responses should also be closely integrated into broader national and sectoral development plans. While the precise content of policy responses to child labour will necessarily be context-specific, research evidence and past policy experience point to a number of possible measures and approaches along four core policy pillars – education, social protection, labour markets policies and strategic communication and advocacy – as described above.

36. Concerted action by international development agencies will be important in support of both the development of integrated national strategies against child labour, and in the implementation of such strategies, in accordance with the relative strengths of each agency. The agencies also have an important role to play in building the common knowledge base needed to inform national strategies for addressing child labour. A lot has been achieved by the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank in terms of improving knowledge on child labour during the last decade, through the inter-agency UCW Programme and through other agency-specific research efforts. This work should continue to address remaining information gaps impeding policy development. Agency support to policy experimentation and impact evaluations will also be important in order to identify more effective approaches to combating child labour.

Chapter 1. Introduction

37. Much has changed in terms of our knowledge of the child labour issue and effective strategies for addressing it since the 1997 conferences on child labour in Amsterdam and Oslo. This report makes use of advances in child labour research achieved through UCW and other efforts to take stock of the global child labour situation more than a decade after the original Amsterdam and Oslo child labour conferences, and assess key remaining obstacles to the elimination of child labour.

38. The report presents evidence of country-specific child labour situations and trends, of why child labour matters from a child rights and national development perspective, and of the policies holding greatest potential for addressing it in the period up to the 2016 target date set by the Global Action Plan endorsed by the ILO to eliminate child labour.¹ It also identifies areas where information gaps constitute an impediment to policy formulation.

39. The report is organized into three thematic parts. Part I presents a statistical profile of child labour using country-specific data, looking behind the global picture laid down by the ILO global estimates. Part II presents evidence of the human cost related to child labour and its linkages to broader national development goals. Part III examines policy responses to child labour, drawing to the extent possible on empirical evidence of its causes and on evaluations of the impact of policy interventions.

40. Four over-arching messages emerge from the report, which are of relevance to the efforts of the international community in the lead-up to 2016. First, despite some progress, statistics presented in the report indicate that child labour remains a significant policy challenge, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Second, evidence presented underscores the very high human cost related to child labour and its important implications for the achievement of broader national development goals. Third, the report points to the complexity of the child labour phenomenon and to the consequent need for a comprehensive policy response built on an adequate legal foundation. Fourth, the report highlights the need to address remaining knowledge gaps that impede policy formulation and the effective targeting of interventions.

¹ ILO (2006c).

Panel 1. Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme: An overview

Background

As part of broader efforts to accelerate progress against child labour, the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNICEF and the World Bank initiated the inter-agency research programme, Understanding Children's Work (UCW), in December 2000.

The Programme is guided by the Oslo Agenda for Action, unanimously adopted at the 1997 International Conference on Child Labour, which laid out the priorities for the international community in the fight against child labour.

The Oslo Agenda specifically identified the need to improve data collection, research capacity and monitoring systems related to child labour, and called for stronger co-operation amongst international agencies involved in combating child labour.

Financed initially by contributions from Finland, Norway, Sweden, and currently by Italy, the US Department of Labor and by core agency resources, the UCW Programme Secretariat is based at the Centre for International Studies on Economic Growth (CEIS), University of Rome "Tor Vergata" and at the ILO office for Italy and San Marino.

Objectives of the Programme

Through a variety of research activities, the UCW Programme seeks to improve statistical information on the child labour phenomenon in its various dimensions – its nature and extent, its causes and consequences, and what policy approaches are most effective in addressing it.

The programme also seeks to strengthen consultation and information-sharing amongst the three partner agencies in the area of child labour.


Programme structure and activities

The UCW Programme is comprised of five inter-related components: 1) Child labour measurement; 2) Policy-oriented research; 3) Impact evaluation; 4) Country level research and policy support; and 5) Research dissemination.

The Child labour measurement component addresses the technical tools used to measure, monitor and analyse child labour. It also involves support to formulating and testing child labour indicators that translate international child labour norms into statistical terms.

The Policy-oriented research component is the core research element of the UCW Programme. It focuses on research in policy areas where important knowledge gaps persist, and in using this research for promoting policy dialogue. It contributes to broader agency efforts towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by examining in detail how child labour affects, and is affected by, the various economic and social issues targeted by the MDGs.

The Impact evaluation component is aimed at providing robust empirical evidence relating to what works in efforts to fight child labour. It contributes to building and spreading knowledge on the impact of specific programme interventions on child labour and ways to measure such impact.

The Country-level research and policy support component involves direct research collaboration with national counterparts on child labour, and provides a framework for strengthening counterpart capacity in the analysis of child labour data and its use in policy design. Regional-level capacity building activities on data analysis are also regularly carried out as part of this component. 

The Research dissemination component is directed towards increasing awareness and take-up of UCW research outputs, and to ensure that UCW achievements – in the areas of research tools development, information creation, and information-sharing – are integrated into the work of the three agencies.

Programme implementation

Programme implementation began by taking stock of available information on child labour (e.g., survey datasets, country statistics, programme interventions and research publications). Programme efforts have now shifted to analysing and extending current information on child labour, based on this initial stock-taking exercise. UCW is supporting a range of research activities designed to fill key information gaps of relevance to agency efforts to combat child labour.

The Programme is also addressing the research process itself, providing technical support in the development of research tools and methodologies, and helping to build the capacity of national counterparts in data collection and analysis.

Implementation to date has underscored the value of the Programme to the three agencies as a source of research on child labour, as a facilitator of inter-agency experience exchange in the child labour field, and as a technical resource in the area of child labour measurement. All three agencies remain committed to the UCW Programme and to the process of inter-agency cooperation in child labour that underlies it.

Part I

Profile of child labour



41. Part I of the report presents a detailed statistical profile of child labour, looking behind the overall picture as laid down by the ILO's global estimates. It presents descriptive statistics concerning the extent and nature of child labour, and concerning how child labour is changing over time, in a subset of countries for which up to date data are available from national household survey programmes.² As such, they do not constitute a representative cross-section of developing countries but nonetheless permit useful insight into the characteristics of child labour.

42. The principal international legal standards on child labour³ offer a degree of discretion to member states (e.g., in terms of determining minimum ages, light work, scope of application and hazardous work) in identifying what constitutes child labour, which means that there is no single statistical measure of child labour consistent with national legislation across countries.

43. The information presented refers mainly to children's work for the age group 5 to 14 years in the sense of "economic activity", that is, children in employment, which is a broader concept than child labour.⁴ In line with the definition of economic activity adopted by the Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS, 1982), the threshold for classifying a person as employed is to have been engaged at least one hour in any activity (including unpaid family work, work for pay or self employment) during the reference period relating to the production of goods and services set by the 1993 United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA, 1993). Children seeking work are not included in the above mentioned definition. Economic activity covers all market production and certain types of non-market production, including production of goods for one's own use. It excludes unpaid household services (commonly called "household chores") that is, the production of domestic and personal services by a household member for consumption within its own household. The ICLS Resolution on Child Labour Statistics as adopted by the 18th ICLS indicates that certain forms of household chores might be considered as child labour. The role of hazardous household chores in measuring child labour is discussed separately. A more complete discussion of concepts related to the statistical measurement of child labour is presented in Annex I of this report.

² The principal data sources include national labour force surveys, ILO-supported Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) surveys, the UNICEF-supported Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), and the World Bank-supported Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) surveys.

³ Child labour is a legal rather than statistical concept, and the international legal standards that define it are therefore the necessary frame of reference for child labour statistics. The three principal international conventions on child labour – ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) (C138), United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) (C182) together set the legal boundaries for child labour, and provide the legal basis for national and international actions against it.

⁴ See paragraph 12 of Resolution II concerning statistics of child labour adopted at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians held on 24 November–5 December 2008, Geneva. ILO (2009).

44. The data presented do not include estimates of the worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work⁵ (sometimes also referred to as “unconditional” worst forms of child labour) as household based data do not allow capturing them in a reliable way (see Panel 3 for a more detailed discussion).

45. Information on children aged 15 to 17 involved in hazardous work is discussed separately.

⁵ The activities referred to under Art. 3(a) to (c) of C182 are commonly termed worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work. These activities are: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, 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; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties.

Chapter 2. Child labour: Characteristics and trends

Summary

- Estimates of the number of children who remain in child labour underscore that the elimination of child labour remains a significant policy challenge.
- Progress in the fight against child labour has been uneven across countries and regions, with the Sub-Saharan Africa region in particular lagging behind.
- Progress has also often been precarious and subject to reversals. The current global crisis could potentially have an impact on the trends observed in several countries.

2.1 Child labour incidence

46. How common is child labour? The survey data indicate that the phenomenon exists in all countries considered, but with very different levels of prevalence.⁶ Sub Saharan Africa has the highest incidence of children in employment. Asia shows lower participation rates, but hosts the largest number of children in employment. Latin American countries are characterized by a relatively low rate of children's employment, but in some countries and areas such rates are still relatively high (Figure 3).⁷

47. Figure 3 below presents country-specific estimates of children's employment in a subset of countries where recent estimates (i.e., from 2006 or later) are available in the UCW database.⁸ They highlight substantial cross-country variations in the incidence of children's employment. Issues pertaining to survey comparison make reliable inter-country assessments difficult (see discussion on child labour measurement in Annex I), nonetheless Figure 1 points to both relative success stories and lagging countries within each region.

48. Figure 3 also illustrates that involvement in employment extends to both girls and boys, although the proportion of boys in employment is greater than that of girls in most of the countries included in the survey. But a very different picture emerges when household chores are considered – where girls predominate in the large majority of the countries. This is not surprising, as chores performed within the household remain the domain of women and girls

⁶ The survey instruments from which the estimates are derived are not fully comparable. Differences in survey methodologies, survey instruments and survey dates, mean that caution must be exercised in comparing estimates of across countries.

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of global- and regional-level child work estimates, see ILO (2002a).

⁸ The UCW database does not include all available surveys with information on children's employment, as a few have not been made available to the general public. The database includes surveys relative to more than 200 country/years, we have included in this report information only for countries for which a recent survey is available (i.e. from 2006). Using these criteria implies that we do not present information for all the countries for which some information is available. Estimates for almost all countries are available at www.ucw-project.org.

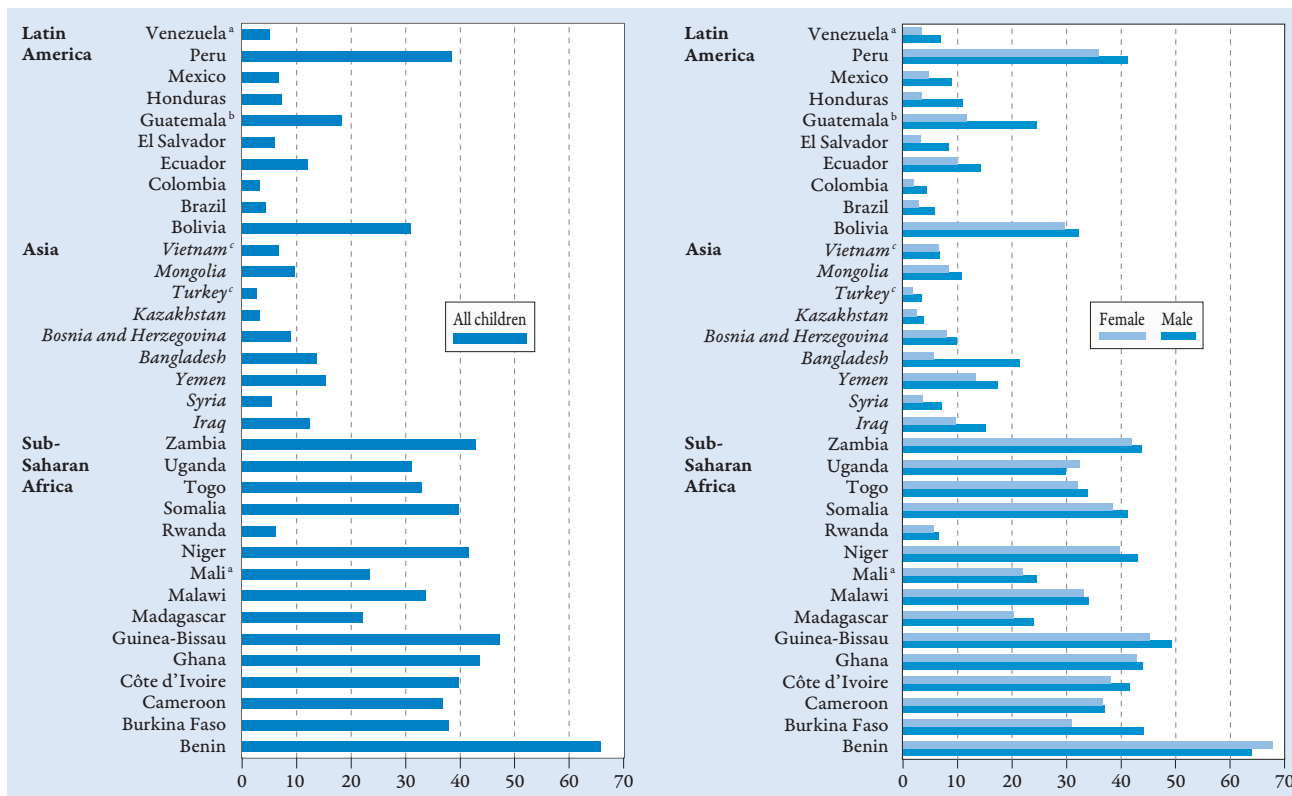


Figure 3. Percentage of children in employment, 5–14 years age group, most recent year

Notes: ^a Refers to 10–14 years age group. ^b Refers to 7–14 years age group. ^c Refers to 6–14 years age group. Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

in many societies. However, determining the extent to which household chores constitute child labour remains subject to discussion (see Panel 2). It is also worth bearing in mind that girls may work in hidden forms of child labour, such as commercial sexual exploitation and domestic service in a third party household, that may go under-reported in household surveys. In order to better capture the gender dimension of child labour, there is a need to fill the information gaps and make sure that adequate methodologies are implemented by international organizations and national statistical offices.

49. How do children divide their time between work and school? This question is important because decisions regarding children’s employment and schooling are interdependent, meaning that the former cannot be fully understood without knowledge about the latter. The interplay between the two activities will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 8 of this report. Figure 4, which shows how children are distributed across four mutually exclusive activity categories – only in employment, only attending school, both in employment and attending school, and neither activity – provides a useful introduction to this discussion. A large percentage of children, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, devote their time only to employment without attending school. The necessity of work, possibly together with the difficulties in accessing schools, denies these children even a minimum of education. Moreover, the percentage of children in employment only rises sharply with age (not shown here), indicating that as their productivity increases, more children neglect education in order to devote time to work. In several countries, however, and especially in Latin America, a large part of children in employment also attend school.

Panel 2. Household chores and child labour

Children's involvement in household chores is also important to the discussion on children's activities. Figure A indicates that a large proportion of children spend at least some time each week performing chores. Indeed, children are more likely to be involved in household chores than in employment.

While boys tend to outnumber girls in employment, Figure A also shows that this pattern is reversed when looking at household chores. More girls than boys perform chores in all but one of our subset of countries, and the differences by sex are often substantial.

The gender implications of these differing patterns for child labour measurement are clear – excluding household chores from consideration as child labour understates girls' involvement in child labour, relative to boys.

But how should child labour in household chores be measured? Unfortunately no clear measurement criteria are as yet established. The resolution on child labour measurement emerging from the 18th ICLS recommends considering hazardous household chores as child labour for measurement purposes, and, in line with ILO Recommendation No. 190, cites household chores “performed (a) for long hours, (b) in an unhealthy environment, involving unsafe equipment or heavy loads, (c) in dangerous locations, and so on” as general criteria for hazardousness.

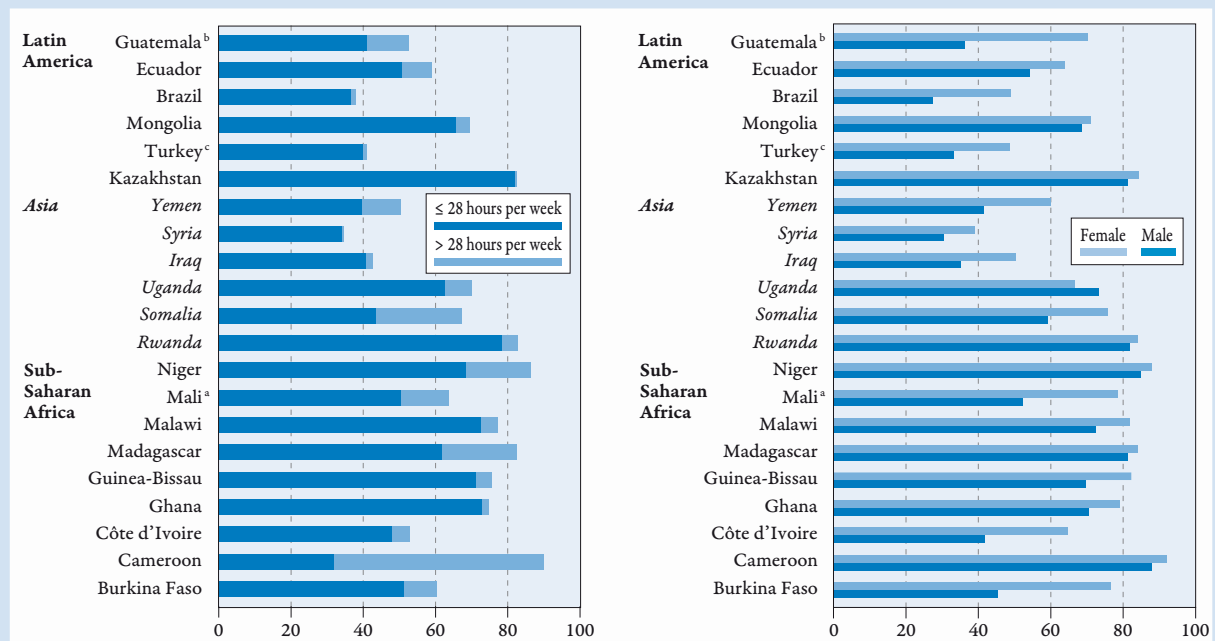
But the resolution contains no specific guidance in terms of what, for example, should constitute “long hours” or “dangerous locations” for measurement purposes, and states that this is an area requiring further conceptual and methodological development.^a

Some published statistics on child labour apply a time threshold of 28 hours^b, beyond which household chores are classified as child labour. But this threshold, whilst useful in advocating for the inclusion of household chores within statistical definitions of child labour, is based only on preliminary evidence of the interaction between household chores and school attendance, and does not constitute an agreed measurement standard. Indeed, Figure A (left side) indicates that applying this time threshold results in effectively excluding most children who perform household chores in our subset of countries, suggesting that this threshold might be too stringent.

At the other extreme, considering all those children who spend at least some time performing household chores as child labourers would clearly be too inclusive, as helping out at home for limited amounts of time is considered a normal and beneficial part of the childhood experience in most societies.

^a Paragraph 63, ILO (2009). ^b For instance, UNICEF (2009) and UNICEF (2008). See also www.ucw-project.org.

Figure A. Percentage of children in household chores, 5–14 years age group, most recent year



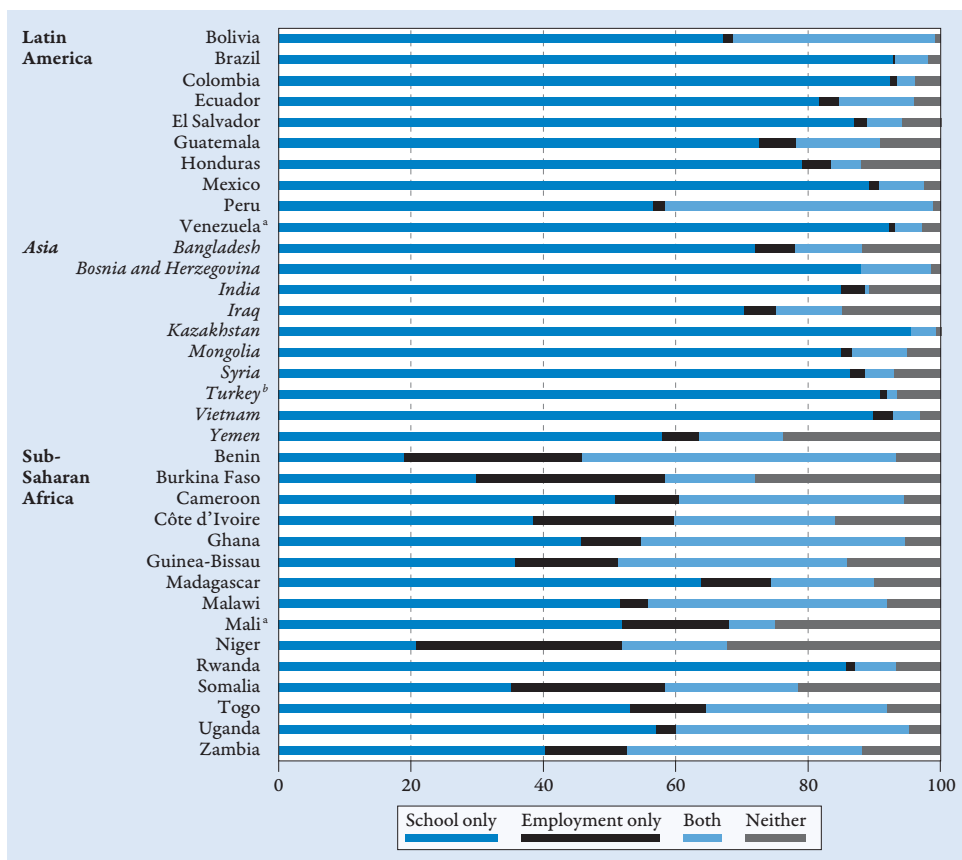


Figure 4. Children's activities, 7–14 years age group (percentage)

Notes: ^a Refers to 10–14 years age group. ^b Refers to 6–14 years age group.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

50. These data should not be interpreted as evidence that child labour and education are somehow compatible. While many child labourers go to school, they are still much less likely to do so than children not working. Evidence presented later in the report shows that child labour and school attendance are in fact strongly negatively related in most countries. Time spent working makes it less likely that children are able to draw educational benefit from their time in the classroom and/or to remain in school long enough to graduate. The use of children's time to work both in and outside the home undermines their rights to education as well as to play and participate in family and community life. In sum, the balance of the statistical evidence is strongly on the side of child labour and education as substitutes and hardly compatible activities.

51. Seen another way, Figure 4 provides a look behind the statistics on overall school attendance. It illustrates that the proportion of children able to attend school unencumbered by the demands of work is often much lower than overall attendance rates. Again, this is especially the case in Sub-Saharan Africa, but even in other regions high attendance figures can mask large numbers of children combining employment and schooling. In Peru, for instance, where 97 per cent of 7 to 14 year-olds attends school, only three out of five children are able to do so without also having to work. This, in turn, raises an important policy consideration: success in getting children into school is insufficient if they are made ill by work or are too tired or too stressed to benefit from their time in the classroom, or if they drop out early to devote their time to work. Being in school is undoubtedly better than being out of school, but is not enough to guarantee the fulfilment of a child's right to education. Beyond detriment to education, children balancing school and work are also clearly too time-constrained to be able to fully exercise their rights to leisure and rest. The relevance of marginalization in education has also been highlighted in the 2010 Global Monitoring Report.⁹

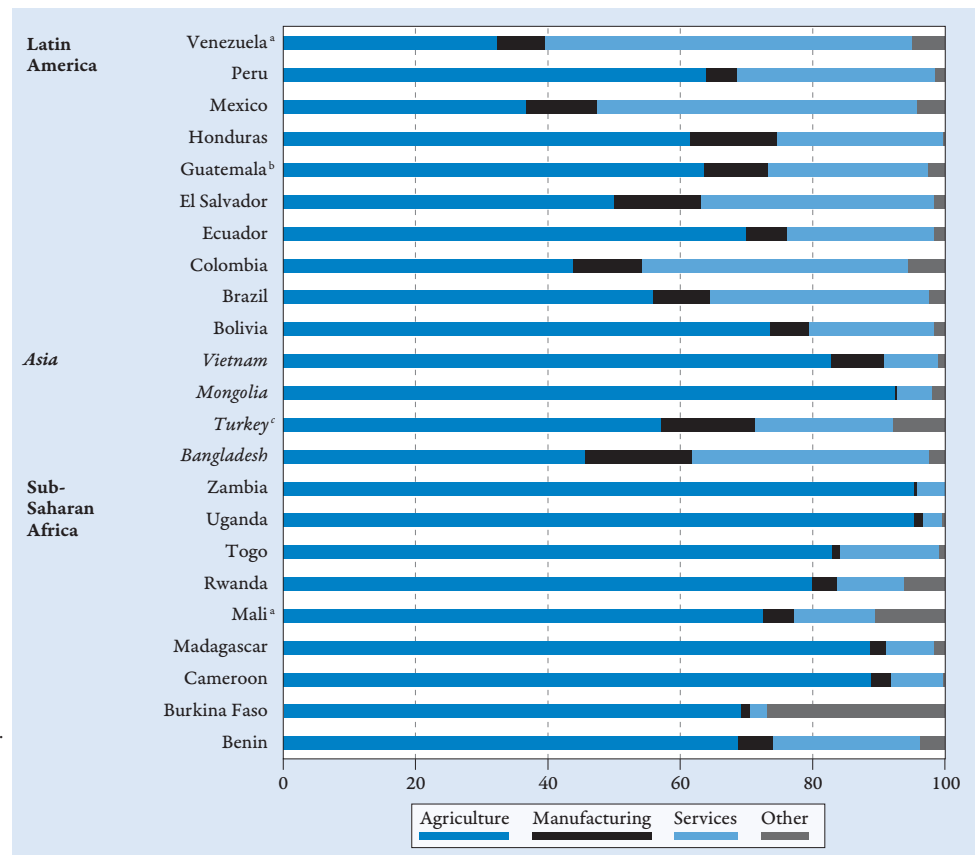
⁹ UNESCO (2009).

52. One further important point is raised by Figure 4 – the often high proportion of children who are ostensibly “inactive”, i.e., neither in employment nor attending school. Who are these children? Data from six countries suggest that some are actively looking for employment but are unable to find it and that others suffer from chronic disabilities or injuries. Still others may be truly inactive or be misreported as idle because their parents are reluctant to acknowledge their engagement in illegal or dangerous activities. But a substantial part of this group is working in forms of production that fall outside the category of employment (see Panel 16 in Annex I on terminology), specifically household chores within their own homes.¹⁰

2.2 Child labour characteristics

53. The agriculture sector contains the largest proportion of children in employment (Figure 5). However, despite the relative importance of agriculture, surprisingly little representative data are available concerning the nature and conditions of children’s employment in this sector. Aggregate estimates of children in agriculture are available for most countries, but far fewer countries have detailed information on the agriculture sub-sectors where children work, the modalities of children’s farm work, the specific tasks performed by child farm workers, the hazards they face, or the impact of farm work on children’s schooling and health outcomes. Important distinctions between commercial agriculture and family-based subsistence agriculture are also often lost in aggregate national figures. These and other information gaps hamper advocacy efforts aimed at drawing attention to the issue of child farm work, and impede the development of informed policy and comprehensive programme responses to it.

Figure 5.
Composition of children’s employment, 5–14 years age group, by country, by industry (percentage)



Notes: ^a Refers to 10–14 years age group.
^b Refers to 7–14 years age group.
^c Refers to 6–14 years age group.
 Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

¹⁰ Biggeri et al. (2003).

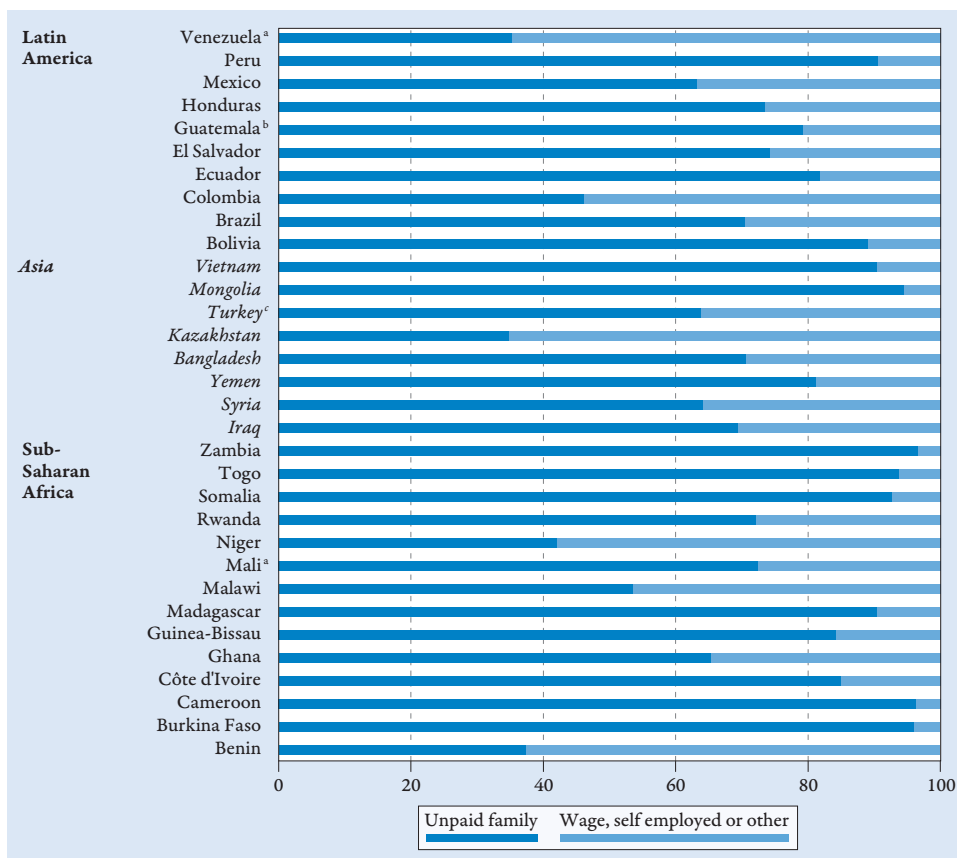


Figure 6. Composition of children's employment, 5–14 years age group, by country, by status in employment (percentage)

Notes: ^a Refers to 10–14 years age group.
^b Refers to 7–14 years age group.
^c Refers to 6–14 years age group.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

54. The second largest proportion of children is in the service sector. The sectoral composition of children's employment varies considerably between urban and rural areas.¹¹ Not surprisingly, most child labour in the service sector is concentrated in urban areas.

55. Much of child employment takes place within or directly for the children's own families. As Figure 6 shows as well, only in six of the countries of our subset of 32 do those children who work outside the family outnumber those working within the family. In some Sub-Saharan Africa countries (e.g., Zambia, Togo, Somalia, Cameroon and Burkina Faso) and Asian countries (e.g., Vietnam and Mongolia), more than nine out of ten children in employment work for or within their families.

56. But how relevant is the distinction between family and non-family work? It is often assumed that working with parents or relatives is less damaging to children than working outside the family, but in many contexts evidence does not support this assumption. In Bangladesh,¹² Brazil,¹³ Cambodia¹⁴ and Senegal¹⁵ family-based work appeared to pose a lesser obstacle to school attendance but did not appear to be less hazardous than work outside it. Indeed, in Cambodia, evidence on hazardousness (as measured by reported ill-health and injury) appeared to point in the opposite direction. It is also worth noting that the distinction between family and non-family work is somehow arbitrary. Many forms of work common

¹¹ For additional statistics see www.ucw-project.org.

¹² UCW (2007b).

¹³ UCW (2007c).

¹⁴ UCW (2007d).

¹⁵ UCW (2007e).

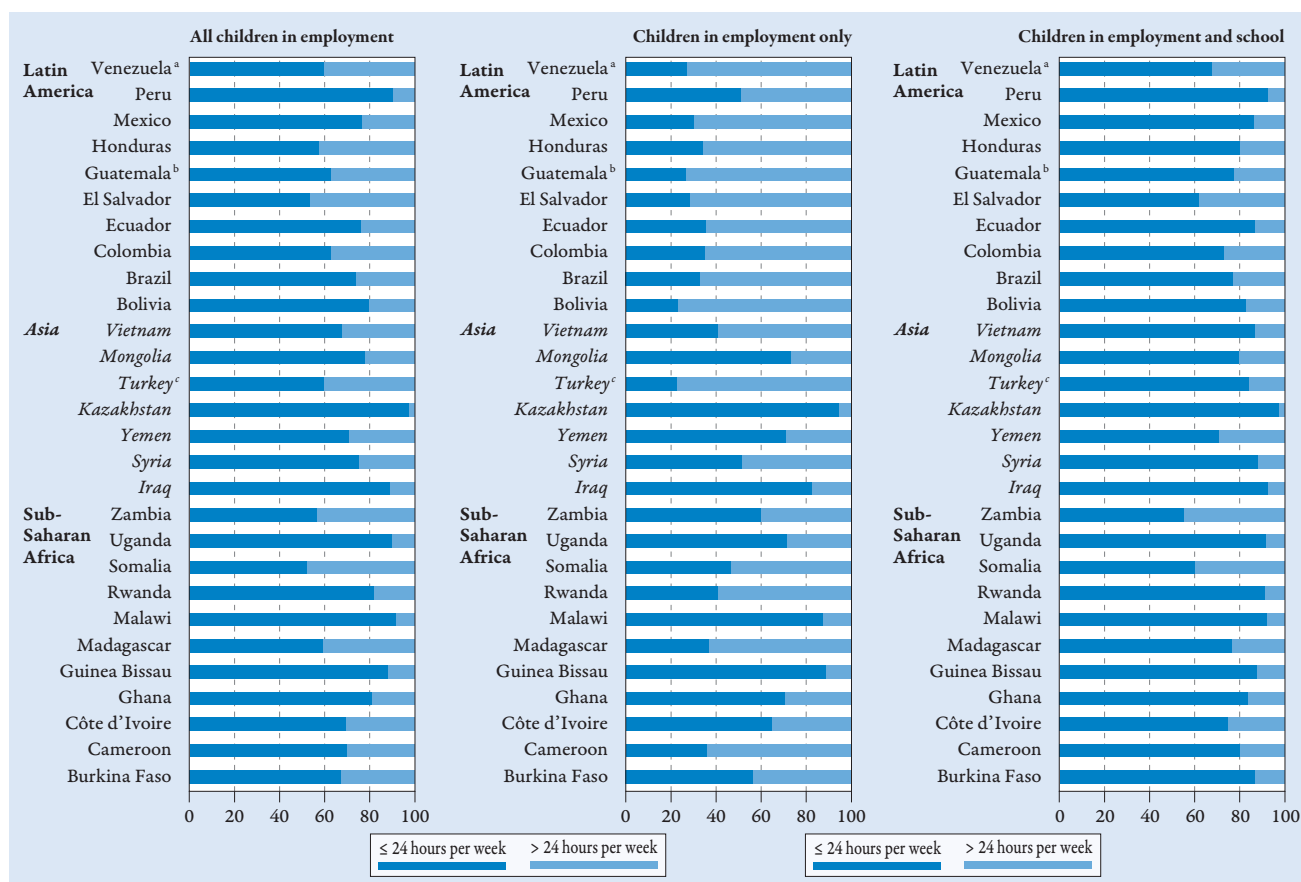


Figure 7.
Distribution of weekly working hours, 7-14 years age group (percentage)

Notes: ^a Refers to 10-14 years age group. ^b Refers to 7-14 years age group. ^c Refers to 6-14 years age group.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

among children fall in a grey area between the family and non-family categories, e.g., production of goods outsourced to the family, or work in a non-family business under the supervision of parents or relatives.

57. Average weekly working hours provide an indication of how much work is being performed, and, concomitantly, how it may impact on health and schooling outcomes. As shown in Figure 7, more than half of children in employment work for less than 24 hours per week in all countries for which recent data are available. Furthermore, in none of the countries do average working hours exceed 35 hours per week (not shown). But survey data on working hours should be interpreted with care, as they are frequently imprecise. Moreover, as discussed below, the importance of the time devoted to work cannot be considered in isolation from the other activities performed by children.

58. Two other caveats are also relevant in interpreting these figures on working hours. First, they only refer to employment; many children combine employment with household chores, and for this group the total time burden associated with work is considerably higher and often unmeasured. Second, the figures reflect averages, and mask the significant groups of child labourers in many countries who perform work for longer hours each week. Figure 8, which presents the distribution of children in employment by weekly working hours in Bangladesh, illustrates the latter point. While children in employment are concentrated at around 12 weekly working hours (the peak of the distribution) there are also many who work 40 hours or more (the upper tail of the distribution).

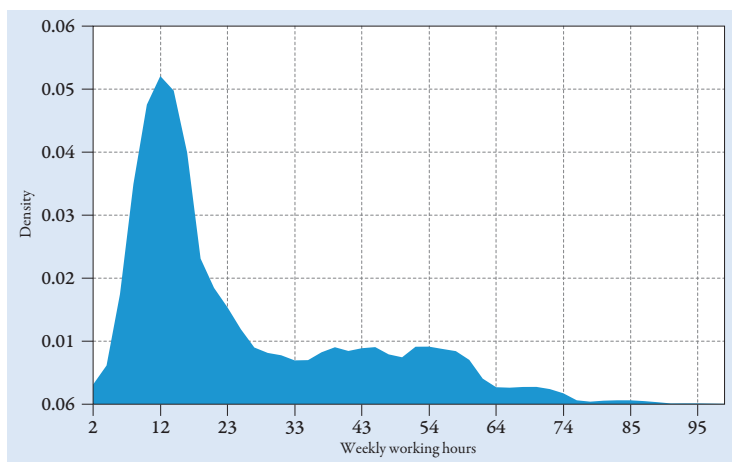


Figure 8.
Distribution of children
in employment by working
hours, 5–14 years age
group, Bangladesh

Source: UCW calculations based on data from Bangladesh Annual Labour Force Survey, 2005–2006.

59. Aggregate figures relating to working hours also mask important differences between children in employment who also attend school and those who do not. Not surprisingly, the latter log much longer hours than the former, across all countries (Figure 7). But at the same time, the double burden of employment and schooling, or even the triple burden of schooling, employment and household chores, often leaves children combining employment and schooling with little time or energy for their studies and virtually no time to exercise their rights to play, to rest and leisure. The demand of work for these children makes it less likely that they draw full educational benefit from their time in the classroom and more likely that they leave school prematurely. The educational costs of child labour are treated in more detail in Chapter 4 of this report.

2.3 Hazardous child labour

60. A very important characteristic of child labour is its hazardousness, albeit very difficult to measure. Children involved in hazardous forms of employment, as set out in ILO Convention No. 182¹⁶ and Convention No. 138,¹⁷ comprise one of the sub-groups of child labourers whose rights are the most compromised and whose well-being is the most threatened. They therefore constitute an immediate policy priority. But what criteria should be used in measuring hazardous work? Convention No. 182 states that the types of work likely to harm the “health, safety or morals of children” shall be “determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards...”, and in particular, guidelines provided by ILO Recommendation No. 190. Accordingly, there can be no single standard for measuring hazardous work which is valid across all countries.

61. Table 1 presents estimates of 5 to 17 year-old children in hazardous work. The estimates are drawn from national child labour survey reports and are based on listings of common hazardous occupations, processes, agents and conditions, as defined by the national legislation. It should

¹⁶ According to Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182, the worst forms of child labour comprise: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, 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 relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. The activities referred to under Art. 3(a) to (c) of C182 are commonly termed *unconditional worst forms of child labour*. Activities covered in Art. 3(d) are commonly termed *hazardous work*.

¹⁷ ILO Convention No. 138 Minimum Age for Admission to Employment.

Table 1.
Estimates on children
in hazardous work based
on national legislation,
5–17 years age group,
by country

Region	Country	No. of children in hazardous work	Survey source
Sub Saharan Africa	Benin	460 000	SIMPOC 2008
	Burkina Faso	1 447 000	SIMPOC 2006
	Cameroon	267 000	SIMPOC 2007
	Madagascar	438 000	SIMPOC 2008
	Mali	1 608 000	SIMPOC 2005
	Rwanda	66 000	SIMPOC 2008
	Senegal	401 000	SIMPOC 2005
Latin America	Brazil	2 227 267	SIMPOC 2001
	Ecuador	465 203	SIMPOC 2006
	El Salvador	18 673	Censo de Matricula, 2004
	Panama	44 859	ETI 2008, INEC/CGR
	Peru	2 336 000	SIMPOC 2007
Asia	Azerbaijan	105 732	SIMPOC 2005
	Bangladesh	1 291 000	SIMPOC 2002–2003
	Philippines	2 388 000	SIMPOC 2001

Source: National child labour survey reports.

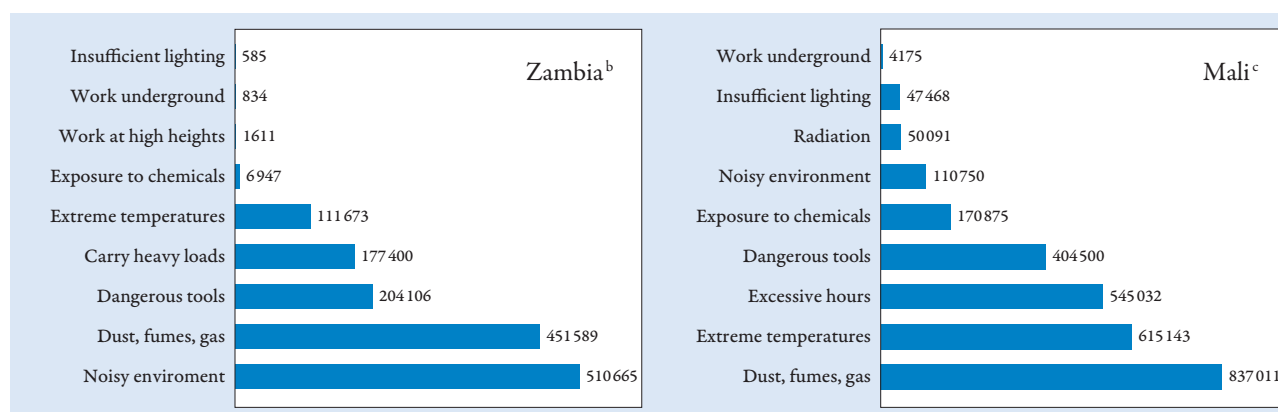


Figure 9.
Number of children exposed
to specific work hazards,^a
Zambia and Mali

Notes: ^a Respondents were able to identify more than one category. ^b Results refer to children in employment aged 5–17 years. ^c Results refer to children in employment aged 5–14 years.

Sources: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey*, 2005 and *l'Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants au Mali*, (2005).

be kept in mind that the estimates are not strictly comparable across countries, as the listings of hazardous work differ from country to country. Nonetheless, the table points to very large numbers of children in hazardous work in absolute terms across most of the countries included.

62. Another way of assessing involvement in hazardous work is to consider the conditions of work rather than work sector, in accordance with ILO Recommendation No. 190 (Worst Forms of Child Labour).¹⁸ A number of the surveys fielded as part of the SIMPOC programme collect information from respondents on hazardous conditions encountered by children in the workplace. Survey results often show high – indeed, alarmingly high – levels of exposure to hazardous conditions.

¹⁸ ILO Recommendation No. 190 states that in determining hazardous types of work, consideration should be given, *inter alia*, to work featuring the following conditions: (a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; and (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

Panel 3. Measuring worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work

Children who are involved in worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work^a are not represented or separately accounted for in most child labour estimates. This is because common household survey instruments used for child labour measurement are ill-suited to capture this group. It is extremely unlikely, for example, that these morally repugnant or legally forbidden activities would ever be reported by a household member to a survey interviewer, even if the child in question were still part of the household. And frequently the concerned children do not belong to a household, having either run away or been abandoned, orphaned, displaced or even sold. Some are forcibly confined to their workplace, hidden from the eyes of society. Alternative survey tools and methodologies are needed for generating information on these children and to support policy and programmes that restore children's access to their fundamental rights.

There has been considerable progress made in painting a qualitative picture of worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work, particularly with regard to child commercial sexual exploitation and bonded child labour, through the rapid assessments and other specialized information collection methods. Much of this work has been pioneered by IPEC in conjunction with local partners.^b

Progress in painting a clearer quantitative picture of worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work, however, has been much slower, owing to methodology difficulties and to the often transient and hidden nature of the populations in question. Many governments have committed to stop these severe forms of child exploitation, but their efforts towards this end are hampered by the lack of systematic quantitative information on the size and parameters of this hard-to-reach population.

Pilot research efforts supported by IPEC and UCW, however, are offering possible ways forward in terms of filling this information gap.

An IPEC-supported pilot survey in Bangladesh was one of the first of its kind to generate representative quantitative information on the numbers of children who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) in the country. A sampling frame was first developed for children in CSE involving the division of the country into six strata considering the concentration of concerned children. All known brothels constituted one stratum for the survey. The survey itself interviewed a total of 1,481 children in CSE covering all brothels, cities with a population of over 100,000, towns and district headquarters and

63. Statistics from Zambia and Mali, presented in Figure 9 above, illustrate this point. Over 800,000 Malian 5 to 14 year-olds are exposed to dust, fumes and gas in their workplaces, over 600,000 must work in extreme temperatures, over 400,000 must use operate dangerous tools and many thousands more are exposed to other hazards such as extreme temperatures, excessive noise, chemical and radiation – all with untold consequences for their immediate and long term health and safety. Similar high absolute levels of exposure to workplace hazards prevail among child labourers in Zambia. Not shown in the figures, but of particular concern, is the fact that young children appear no less likely to be exposed to hazardous work conditions than their older counterparts.

2.4 The dynamic picture

64. The question of most interest in terms of policy, not captured by the static picture of children's employment presented above, is the direction in which countries are moving in terms of children's employment, i.e., whether a greater or lower proportion of children are working over time. Data constraints and comparability issues mean that we can present trends in children's employment only for 27 of the countries included in the UCW survey database. Additional rounds of the core survey programmes containing child labour information, as well

a sample of local headquarters. Through application of sampling weights, the survey yielded estimates of total children in CSE in the country by stratum and by category^c. IPEC has included specific questions in household based surveys to capture children in employment who were victims of trafficking in Benin (2008), Côte d'Ivoire (2005 and 2008) and Madagascar (2008).^d

The UCW Programme has been active in developing and testing methods for the measurement of children living or working on the street, a situation leaving children vulnerable to a variety of worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work. The increasing rate of urbanization is increasing the relevance of this group for which policy concern is growing.

UCW efforts have centred on the development of a replicable research tool designed to generate baseline quantitative and qualitative information on street children needed for the design and targeting of intervention policies.

Street children are an example of what statisticians term a “rare” and “elusive” population. They are “rare” in the statistical sense because they only make up a small part of the total population of children. But they are also “elusive” because they are difficult to observe. The research tool involves two sampling techniques to collect information on this rare and elusive population: Capture-Recapture (CR), to estimate the size of the target group of children, and Respondent-Driven Sampling (RDS), to provide a characterization of the population of begging children.

The CR estimation is based on two counts of the target population at specific identified spots and a comparison of the lists derived from the two registrations. The RDS method is based on a dual incentive structure, in which respondents are rewarded for being interviewed and for recruiting new respondents. As such, the latter method also provides insight into the social network connecting the population of street children. Taken together, the two methods enable a unique combined quantitative and qualitative picture of the population of children on the street.

The research tool has to date been tested successfully in Dakar^e and Cairo^f, and discussions are underway for further replication in additional locations.

Notes

^a The activities referred to under Art. 3 (a) to (c) of C182 are commonly termed “worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work”. These activities are: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, 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; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties. ^b For a detailed review and bibliography, see IPEC, 2010, forthcoming. ^c ILO and Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2009). ^d Detailed methodology, survey questionnaires and results are available at www.ilo.org/IPEC ^e UCW (2007a). ^f UCW and AUDI, forthcoming.

as improved systems of country-level monitoring, will allow for a more complete assessment of national child labour trends in the coming years.

65. Data for the 27 countries, presented in Figure 10, paint a picture of general but by no means universal progress. The percentage of children in employment fell in eight of the 11 countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region, and in all countries except sparsely-populated Mongolia in Asia. In the Sub-Saharan Africa region, children’s employment fell in eight countries but rose in four others. Table 2 presents changes in children’s employment in absolute terms in a smaller subset of countries where it is possible to generate these estimates. Those data serve to underscore the size of the remaining challenge posed by children’s employment.

66. It is also worth recalling that the figures presented above precede the global economic crisis which broke out in 2008. Although it is too soon to assess the impact of the crisis, theory and past experience suggest that it could threaten progress in the fight against child labour in a number of ways. The current global economic and financial crisis can potentially reverse the positive trends observed in several countries and further aggravate the problem in regions such as Sub Saharan Africa where the phenomenon of child labour has been particularly resilient. A reduction in living standards, greater difficulties in obtaining loans

Panel 4. Progress against child labour in the context of the global economic crisis^a

The child labour statistics presented in this report point to important progress in the fight against child labour across most regions. But these figures predate the current global financial crisis. This crisis could potentially reverse the positive trends observed in several countries and deepen the problem in regions where the phenomenon of child labour has been particularly resilient.

How might the crisis impact child labour?

There are a number of channels through which the economic crisis could influence household decisions regarding children's schooling and work.

(a) Reduction (or reduced growth) of living standards: The reduction in living standards (or the decline in economic growth) might force households to send their children to work and/or take them out of school to reduce costs and/or supplement household income. However, worse labour market conditions, both in terms of lower real wages (or lower returns from family economic activities) and/or employment opportunities might lead to a decrease in returns from work and might induce households to keep children in school.

On the basis of existing evidence, we can expect the economic crisis to be associated with an increase in child labour in low-income countries, especially for poorer households.^b For middle-income countries, there is some evidence that the impact of falling living standards might be offset by reduced employment opportunities.^c Empirical results from cross-country analysis^d and the review of existing evidence^e are supportive of these predictions for middle-income and low-income countries. Available evidence indicates that the impact of the crisis will depend on individual country characteristics and, especially, on policy responses.

(b) Access to credit markets: Access to credit is an important determinant of households' decisions to send their children to work, as perfect credit market allow households to invest in their children's education independent of current resources. This possibility obviously breaks down when there are restrictions in access to credit. Moreover, households with easy access to credit are less likely to use children's labour as an instrument to cope with negative shocks.^f Given the critical importance of access to credit in determining child labour, a credit squeeze, especially for

poor households, might generate an appreciable increase in child labour. The current crisis is characterized not only by the decline in growth rate of the economies but also by a substantial reduction in credit flows.^g

(c) Migration and remittances flows: There are two main channels through which the effect of crisis on migration might have an impact on child labour. The first channel concerns the reduction of remittances from international migrants, while the second is mainly due to the return of migrants to their (mostly rural) areas of origins or also to the lack of out-migration, as urban labour markets become less attractive.

Remittances can promote schooling investment and reduce children's labour force participation.^h In response to economic shocks, social networks provide income diversification strategies and alternative coping mechanisms for consumption smoothing, through remittances.

Migration flows are also likely to be affected by the crises, with many migrants expected to return to their country and/or area of origin. Such return migration might directly involve children and adolescents, as many migrants, especially internal ones, are likely to move with their families. Migrants returning from abroad or from urban areas to rural areas are more likely to be involved in family based enterprises, especially in agriculture,ⁱ activities where child labour is often utilized.

(d) Public transfers and international aid flows: As the crisis begins to hit, leading to falling tax revenues, there will be a pressure on governments to cut (or reduce the growth) on their public spending. During periods of fiscal contraction, social and/or education expenditure typically suffer the most.^j Within this context, the State and donors should consider the best interests of the child and regulate spending to minimize the adverse impacts upon children while continuing to provide a minimum package of basic services, which reduces the need for child labour to supplement losses in household income.

(e) Increase in the informal economic sector: The analysis of labour markets indicates that informal activities are likely to increase as a result of economic turmoil. Informal employment can act as buffer when people are laid off in the formal sector and need to find new job opportunities. Furthermore, an economy which is entering a phase of recession might experience a shift from the tradable to

the non-tradable sectors, again implying an expansion of the informal sector.^k As it is well documented, child labour is prevalent in the informal sector of the economies where it is easier to find an employment. In this sector, the technology level is such that children can easily be utilized for unskilled work.

Policy responses to the crisis

An effective policy response will be critical to mitigating the adverse effects of the economic crisis on child labour. In light of the above discussion, three policy strategies appear particularly important: investment in human capital; social protection; and access to credit. Each is discussed briefly below.

(a) Protect and increase public investment in education: Investment in education should be placed at the core of the agenda for addressing the economic crisis. During the economic downturn, efforts to stem the flow of school-aged children into work by improving and extending schooling must be maintained, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. Public measures aimed at eliminating direct cost of education and reducing indirect cost of schooling, expanding school access and improving school quality will be more important than ever.

(b) Establish and strengthen safety nets and social protection systems: The economic crisis entails real risks for future poverty reduction and exposes poor and vulnerable households to potentially severe welfare losses.^l Social protection policies aiming at improving households' capacity to cope with shocks and relaxing the current budget constraint are particularly relevant in this context.^m

In several countries where safety nets are weak, many of these elements are present but badly coordinated and fragmentary. It will be necessary to revise these policies and

design integrated, incentive compatible and sustainable social security programmes.

(c) Improve vulnerable households' access to credit: Access to credit is essential to allow poor households to invest in their children's education and to reduce their involvement in work. The current global financial crisis is prompting the need for developing countries to establish a framework of regulation, supervision and crisis management and achieve the objective of an efficient banking sector. The necessity for reform of the formal credit system offers a unique opportunity to establish mechanisms that ensure that credit also reaches the poor households, allowing them to invest in the human capital of their children. International institutions, for example, could help to guarantee securities that finance loans to poor households for investments in education. Such loans, if coupled with the right incentive system, could show low default rates and therefore would not require high risk premiums.

Micro Finance Institutions (MFI) will now have to act within a changing financial landscape, which includes fewer funding offers and the lack of structured finance vehicles. MFIs have thus to "reevaluate their growth objectives as they relate to funding and liquidity strategies, while ensuring the maintenance of a sound capital structure and strong liquidity measures".ⁿ

Notes

^a Koseleci and Rosati (2009). ^b Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati (2009); Guarcello, Kovrova and Rosati (2008); Beegle, Dehejia, and Gatti (2003); Rucci (2003); Blanco and Valdivia (2006). ^c Duryea and Arends-Kuenning (2003); Schady (2002). ^d Flug, Spilimbergo and Wachtenheim (1998). ^e Ferreira and Schady (2008). ^f Jacoby and Skoufias (1997); Dehejia and Gatti (2002); Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti (2003); Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati (2009). ^g Institute of International Finance (2008). ^h Acosta (2006); Mansuri (2006); Cox-Edwards and Ureta (2003); Hanson and Woodruff (2003). ⁱ Fallon and Lucas (2002). ^j Knowles, Pernia and Racelis (1999). ^k OECD (2009); World Bank (1995). ^l World Bank (2009a). ^m World Bank (2009c). ⁿ Standard and Poor's (2008).

and reduced remittances from family members abroad together are likely to force more vulnerable households to send their children to work in order to help make ends meet during the crisis period. Reduced public spending and cut-backs in international aid flows are likely to limit social safety nets and threaten public education expenditure, also increasing families' dependence on children in employment for household survival. The "informalization" of the economy that often accompanies economic turmoil is another factor favouring the employment of children, as controls in the informal economy are few and there is lesser need for skilled labour. The impact of the economic crisis and possible policy responses are discussed further in Panel 4.

Region	Country	Base year	No.	Survey source	Most recent year	No.	Survey source
Asia	Bangladesh	2002–03	4 512 000	SIMPOC	2005–06	3 551 000	LFS
	India	1999–2000	9 627 000	NSSO	2004–05	7 494 000	NSSO
	Mongolia	2002–03	30 000	NCLS	2005–06	37 000	LFS
	Vietnam	2002	1 235 000	VLSS	2006	928 000	VLSS
Latin America	Bolivia	2000	317 000	ECH	2008	586 000	ECH
	Brazil	2001	2 197 000	PNAD	2008	1 443 000	PNAD
	Colombia	2001	850 000	SIMPOC	2007	275 000	GEIH
	Ecuador	2001	431 000	SIMPOC	2006	353 000	SIMPOC
	El Salvador	2001	107 000	EHPM	2007	81 000	EHPM
	Guatemala	2000	507 000	LSMS	2006	528 000	MECOVI
	Honduras	2002	169 000	SIMPOC	2007	151 000	SIMPOC
	Mexico***	2000	790 000	ENIGH	2006	778 000	ENIGH
	Nicaragua	2000	138 000	SIMPOC	2005	108 000	LSMS
	Paraguay*	2004	1 411 000	EPH	2005	113 000	EPH
Venezuela*	2000	128 000	EHM	2005	148 000	EHM	
Sub-Saharan Africa	Burundi	2000	622 000	MICS-2	2005	186 000	MICS-3
	Cameroon	2000	2 190 000	MICS-2	2006	710 000	MICS-3
	Chad	2000	1 305 000	MICS-2	2004	1 410 000	DHS
	Côte d'Ivoire	2000	1 618 000	MICS-2	2006	1 914 000	MICS-3
	The Gambia	2000	79 000	MICS-2	2006	166 000	MICS-3
	Guinea Bissau	2000	198 000	MICS-2	2006	158 000	MICS-3
	Malawi	2000	703 000	MICS-2	2006	1 276 000	MICS-3
	Niger	2000	1 755 000	MICS-2	2006	1 640 000	DHS
	Senegal	2000	739 000	MICS-2	2005	734 000	DHS
	Sierra Leone	2000	819 000	MICS-2	2005	777 000	MICS-3
	Togo	2000	814 000	MICS-2	2006	586 000	MICS-3
	Uganda**	2002–03	885 000	UNHS	2005–06	2 455 000	UNHS

Table 2.
Number of children in employment, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country

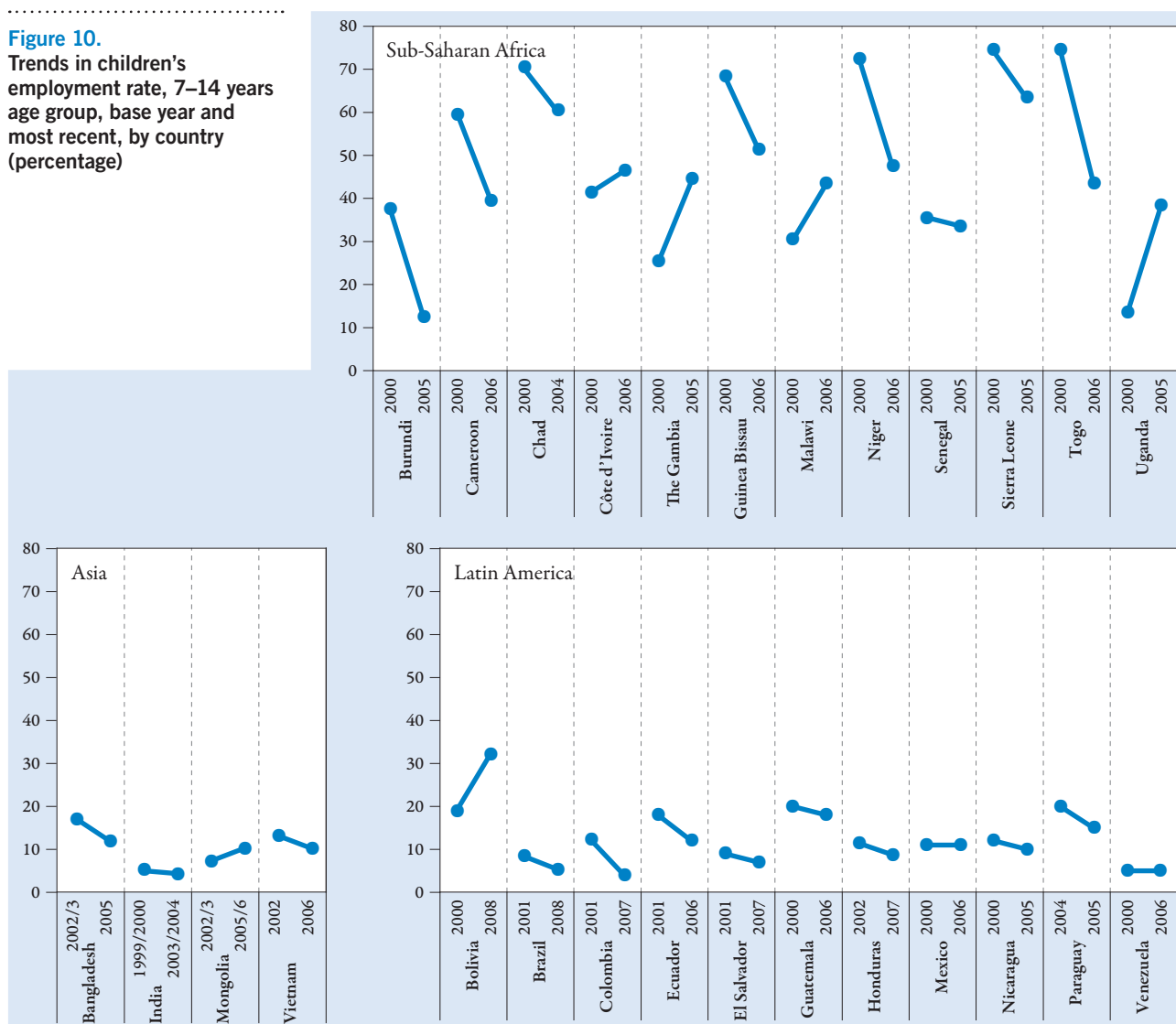
Note: *Age group 10–14; ** The UNHS 2002/2003 was conducted in all districts in the country, except Pader. Some parts of Kitgum and Gulu districts were also not covered due to Insecurity; *** age group 12–14.

Progress in Sub-Saharan Africa

67. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is the region where progress in the fight against child labour has been the slowest and where global attention looking forward to 2016 should be particularly focused. As stated above, progress in Sub-Saharan Africa in the first half of the current decade appears to have been mixed. At one end, in countries such as Burundi, Cameroon and Togo, children's employment was substantially reduced. At the other end, The Gambia, Malawi and Uganda saw a relatively large rise in the proportion of children in employment. But it is worth recalling that trend data are not available for the remaining SSA countries, and therefore caution should be exercised in generalizing the current discussion to the SSA region as a whole.

68. Getting children out of employment in the Sub-Saharan Africa region is of course closely linked to efforts to get them into school. How have children's school attendance rates changed over time in the considered countries? And has progress against child labour translated into similar progress in expanding schooling? These questions are looked at further in Figure 11, which presents estimates of children's attendance during the first half of the current decade. The figure shows that in general school attendance did increase with the exception of two countries. A breakdown of changes in school attendance disaggregated by sex shows a convergence in girls' and boys' attendance rates in several of the countries; in none, on the other hand, did difference by sex increase over the two year period considered (Figure 12). Nonetheless, the

Figure 10.
Trends in children's employment rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country (percentage)



Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see list in Annex II).

percentage of children who continue to work only, without attending school remains, high and in several countries the objectives set in terms of EFA are unlikely to be achieved.

69. It should also be noted that in the countries where the children's employment rate among 7 to 14 years old rose (i.e., Uganda, The Gambia, Malawi and Côte d'Ivoire) school attendance also increased or at least remained constant, indicating that more children combined work and schooling. Of course, this does not mean that the rise in children's employment did not come at a cost to education, as the exigencies of work typically mean that children have less time and energy to devote to their studies, that they drop out early and, in general, achieve lower levels of learning with respect to their non-working counterparts.

70. Figure 13 looks further at changes in the divisions of children's time between work and school. It shows that in the three countries where children's employment rose the most (i.e., The Gambia, Malawi and Uganda) the increase was limited primarily to children both working and attending school. The proportion of children who were working only, on the other hand, changed little during the first half of the decade in the three countries. This

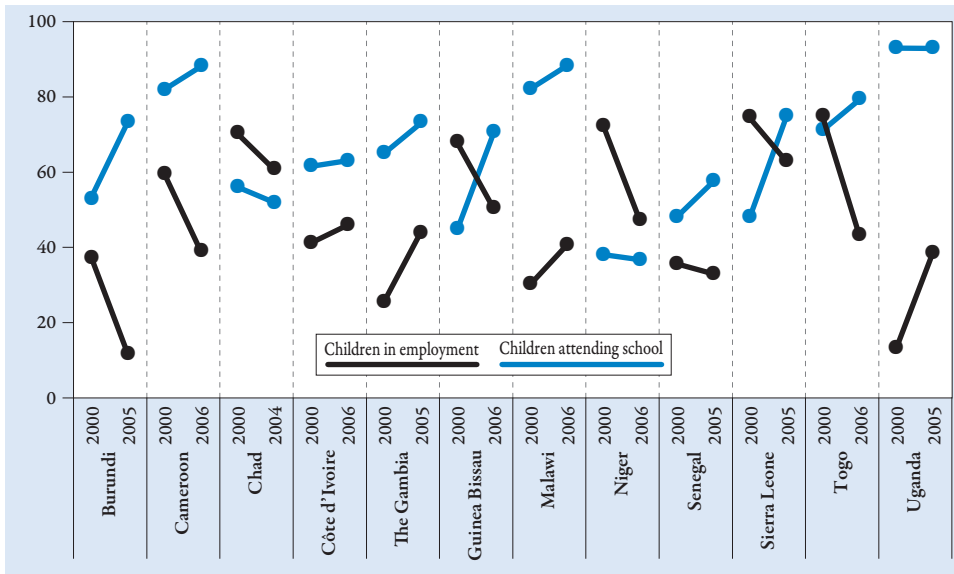


Figure 11. Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country, SSA region (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

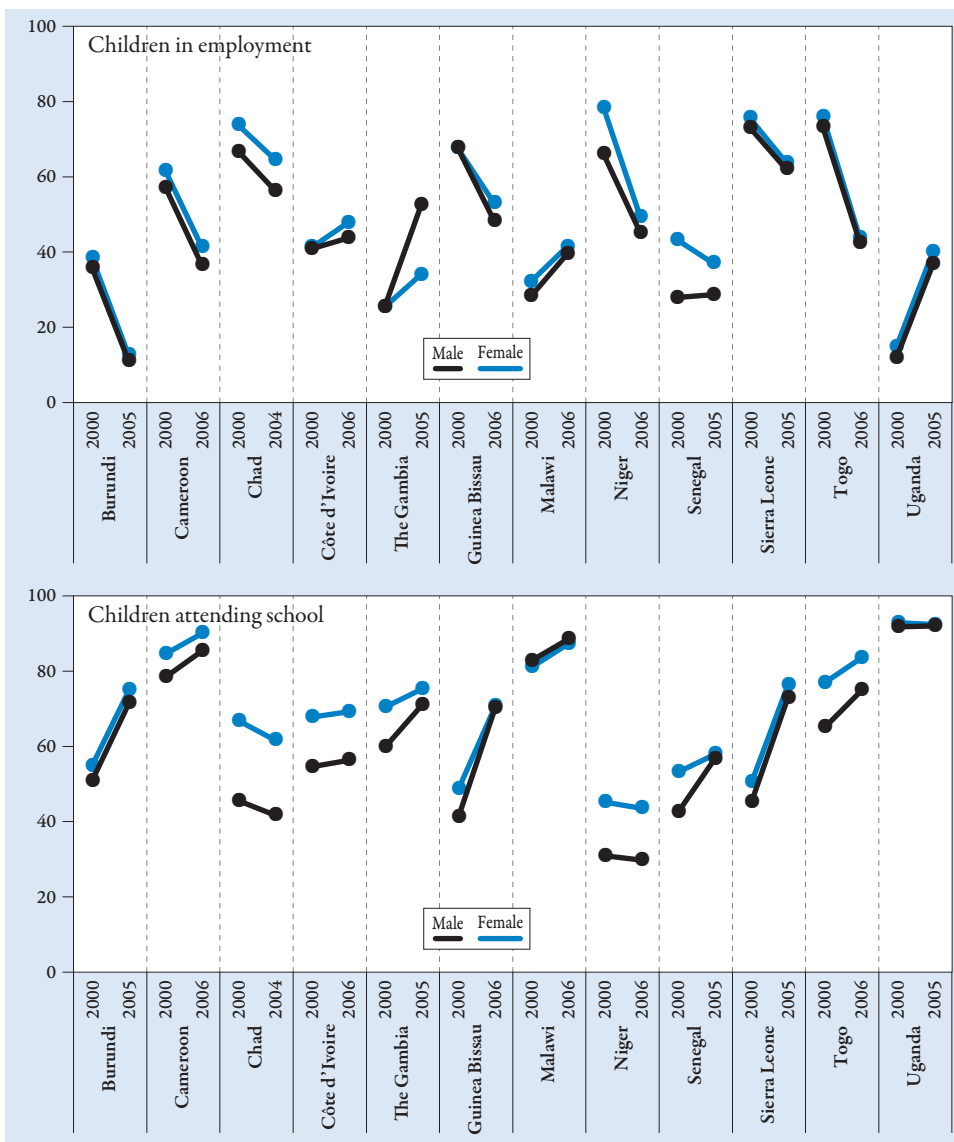
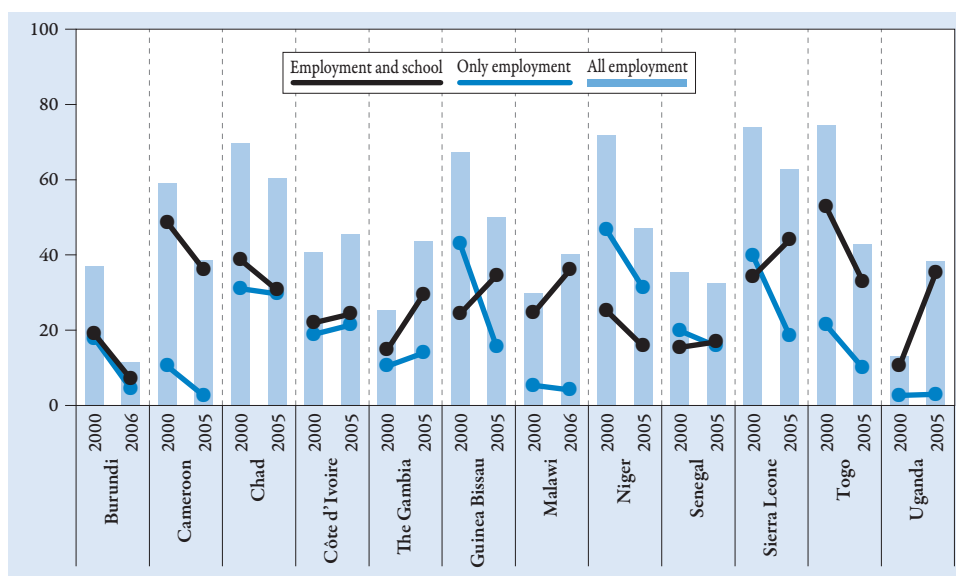


Figure 12. Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by sex and country, SSA region (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on Household Survey datasets (see Annex II).

Figure 13.
Trends in children's employment rate, by whether or not they are also attending school, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country, SSA region (percentage)



Source: UCW calculations based on Household Survey datasets (see Annex II)

pattern was particularly pronounced in Uganda, where the proportion of children combining school and work went up more than three-fold between 2000 and 2006, while the proportion of children working without going to school remained unchanged. Families, therefore, faced with having to put their children to work, tried to keep them in school, or sent their children to school without fully withdrawing them from work, limiting, to a certain extent, the damage inflicted on education by starting work at an early age.

71. The group of children who were only in employment decreased the most in countries which experienced overall declines in child labour, meaning that remaining child labourers were more likely to be attending school in 2005 than in 2000. In three countries – Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Senegal – the overall decline in child labour actually masked an increase in the proportion of children combining work and school. This means that the proportion of children whose future prospects are most likely to be damaged by child labour – namely, those having to completely sacrifice education in order to work – is decreasing fastest.

72. In summary, then, it appears that in the countries under consideration the percentage of children who are only working remains high, but has declined over the period considered. In most countries the percentage of children working and attending school decreased, but had a worrying tendency to rise in some of them.

73. A full understanding of child labour and schooling patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa is not possible without an examination of their link to the region's orphan crisis. AIDS orphans number nearly 12 million in the region,¹⁹ and for every child orphaned by AIDS, another cares for a sick relative, potentially involving them both in hazardous household chores, or they can be affected by the disease in some other way. As a result of the loss of their parents substitute care may be inadequate or unavailable, leading to significantly higher rates of vulnerability. The loss of a coherent family structure frequently renders them invisible in household surveys. In Sub-Saharan countries, research results indicate that becoming an orphan makes it generally less likely that a child has the opportunity to attend school, and generally more likely that a child is exposed to the hardships of work (see Panel 5).

¹⁹ UNAIDS, UNICEF and WHO (2008).

Panel 5. Child labour, HIV/AIDS and the African orphan crisis

The majority of those infected with HIV, AIDS are workers aged 15–49 years.^a The impacts upon rural livelihoods, farming systems and food security have been particularly severe. Mortality rates are increasing and life expectancy losses mirror the loss of intergenerational skills transfer, livelihoods and rural production capacities.

By 2010, Sub Saharan Africa's total labour force is expected to have shrunk by 9 per cent due to HIV, AIDS; losses may top 20 per cent in the worst affected countries. By 2015, losses could reach 12 per cent overall, reducing the labour supply by as much as 30–40 per cent in the highest prevalence countries.^b

The rise in numbers of HIV, AIDS orphans in Africa is overwhelming the ability of families, communities, civil societies and governments to ensure orphans' safety and well-being. In Kenya 10,000 children each month are orphaned as a result of HIV, AIDS, in Zambia and Uganda, 20 per cent of all children are orphans, the majority as a direct consequence of HIV, AIDS.

Little research exists shedding light on the concrete links between HIV, AIDS, orphanhood and child labour. Yet understanding these links is vital for galvanizing and guiding policy on the orphan issue. An ILO rapid assessment in Zambia in 2007 estimated that HIV, AIDS increased child labour by between 23–30 per cent, while a similar assessment in Uganda in 2004 found that 95 per cent of children living in HIV, AIDS-affected households were involved in some kind of employment.^c

A recent UCW study aimed at shedding further light on links between parental loss due to HIV, AIDS, on one hand, and child labour and schooling, on the other, making use of nationally-representative household survey data from 10 Sub Saharan Africa countries.^d

Study results indicate that becoming an orphan makes it generally less likely that a child has the opportunity to attend school and generally more likely that a child is exposed to the hardships of work. The size and significance of these effects varies considerably across the 10 countries. Double orphans appear to be especially vulnerable to schooling loss and work exposure in the 10 countries, underscoring the importance of the distinction between single and double orphans for policy purposes.

The UCW study results indicate that parental loss particularly affects a child's chances of attending school. The size of the impact is in many cases very large. In Gambia,

becoming a double orphan reduces the probability of full-time school attendance by 21 percentage points, in Burundi by 14 percentage points, and in Angola, Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya by around 10 percentage points. The size of the impact of single orphanhood on schooling is smaller, but nonetheless large enough to merit concern.

The effect of parental death on child labour differs across the 10 countries. The effect of orphanhood on child labour is strongest in the Central African Republic (CAR) and Côte d'Ivoire. Becoming a double orphan in CAR and Côte d'Ivoire raises the risk of work exposure by six and eight percentage points, respectively; becoming a single orphan in these two countries raises the likelihood of work involvement by four and five percentage points, respectively.

Orphanhood also appears to have an important effect on the likelihood of a child being inactive, i.e., not in school, not in employment and not spending significant amounts of time on household chores. Again, the size of these impacts is frequently large. Becoming a double orphan, for example, makes it 19 percentage points more likely that a child is inactive in Burundi, 13 percentage points more likely in Angola, and around 10 percentage points more likely in Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal.

The results presented above suggest that children are frequently forced out of school by parental death, but that not all of these drop-outs are forced into work. While some move into employment or spend greater time on household chores, others remain at home, outside of employment and school, presumably inactive.

Reasons for the apparent link between orphanhood and inactivity are not immediately clear and merit further investigation. It may be that some families remove their children from school upon the death of a breadwinner because they are no longer able to afford school costs, but that the children are not needed for productive activities. Another, more worrying, possibility is that this residual "inactive" category reflects orphans' move into unreported worst forms of work. Household heads are unlikely to acknowledge to survey interviewers the involvement of their child household members in these dangerous or morally repugnant forms of work, and could instead simply report them as inactive.

Notes

^a ILO (2006a). ^b UN ECA (2004). ^c ILO and Government of Uganda 2004; IPEC (2007c). ^d Guarcello et al. (2004).

Progress in Latin America

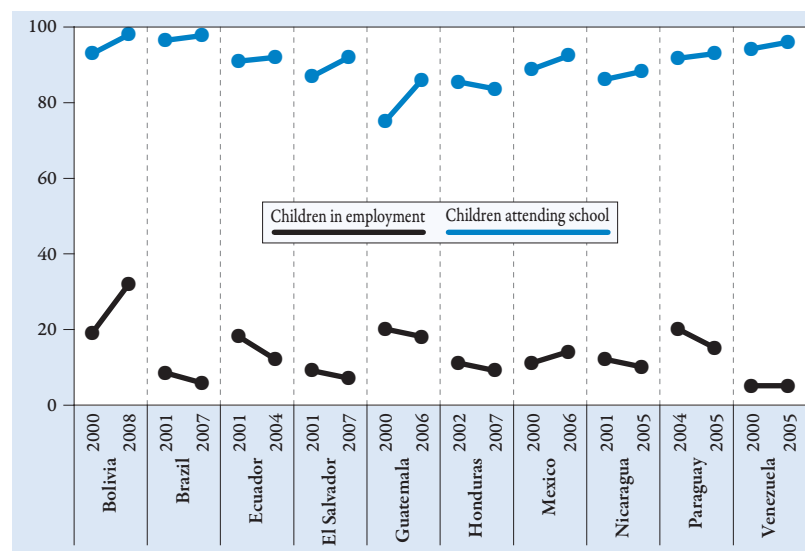
74. Available data also permit the assessment of trends in ten countries of the Latin America region. Again, however, these countries represent only a subset of countries in the region, and caution should therefore be exercised in generalizing the discussion to the region as a whole. Levels of children's employment, in most countries already not high, fell further in seven of the ten countries in the first half of the decade. However, we also observe fluctuations (see Figure 14 and Figure 16) that indicate that substantial slowdowns or even reversals are possible. These results extend to both girls and boys (Figure 15).

75. The largest gains were made in Ecuador, where children's employment fell by about four percentage points; gains elsewhere were smaller. Venezuela, which achieved a children's employment rate of only 5 per cent in 2000, was able to sustain this low level but not to reduce it further. In Mexico, the percentage of working children also remained apparently stable, although comparable data are only available for children aged 12 to 14. Figure 16 indicates that while the percentage of children working only decreased, that of children working and studying increased. Gains in terms of school attendance extended to all ten of the Latin American countries. The two furthest behind in 2000 – Bolivia and Guatemala – made the most progress, helping to close their attendance gaps with the other countries of the region.

76. Where did the overall declines come from in the Latin American countries where progress was registered? Again, patterns differed somewhat by country. Bolivia, Guatemala and Mexico saw a large increase in the proportion of children working and attending school coupled with a decrease of the proportion of children in employment without going to school. In the other countries, the overall declines in children's employment resulted both from the reduction in the proportion of children working and studying and of that of children only in employment. Children working and studying formed a larger proportion of the child labour population in 2005 than in 2000 in most of the Latin American countries, although this shift was less pronounced than in Sub-Saharan Africa.

77. The data for Latin America also permit assessing changes in the sectoral composition of children's employment. As shown in Figure 17, almost all of the countries saw changes in the make-up of child labour, but patterns varied across them. In Mexico, there was an increase in the relative importance of work in the services and industrial sectors, and a decrease in the relative

Figure 14.
Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group,^a base year and most recent, by country, Latin America region (percentage)



Note: ^a With exceptions of Paraguay and Venezuela, where the reference age group is 10–14 year, and Mexico, where the reference age group is 12–14 years.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Panel 6. Progress against child labour in Brazil

Data from a multi-year survey programme in Brazil, Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD), enable a detailed analysis of child labour and school enrolment trends in the country. These data point to rapid progress in both reducing child labour and raising school enrolment. A comparison of the results of the PNAD from 1992 to 2008 indicates an overall decline in children's employment among 7–15 year olds of over 10 percentage points for this period, from 18 per cent to 7 per cent. During the same period and for the same age group, school attendance rose from 85 per cent to 97 per cent. The progress in the reduction of children's employment was steady, with the exception of two periods of slight reversals (1998–1999 and 2004–2005).

Figures A and B indicate that the decline in children's employment and the increase in their schooling extend to the entire 7–15 age range, but that the fall in children's employment and the rise in the school attendance of 12–15 year-olds have been particularly pronounced.

Not only has the level of involvement in employment declined substantially, but the age of entry in the labour market has increased by almost two years. In 1992, participation rates were positive for children aged eight years or more, while in 2008, the involvement of children in employment remains essentially negligible until the age of 10 years, and starts to increase thereafter.

A similar pattern can be observed for school attendance rates – not only has the level of school attendance increased over the years, but children currently enter earlier and leave school substantially later than 16 years ago.

Figure C and Table A provide a more detailed look at changes over the 16-year period. It shows that the reduction in employment was very large for children only in employment. The share of children in employment without also attending school decreased over the 1992–2008 period, from 6 per cent to only 0.5 per cent. In 2008, as a result of this change, child labour was limited almost exclusively to children who also attended school.


Some preliminary results from a UCW study on the determinants of the trends in Brazil indicate that several factors contributed to the decrease in child labour in the country. Specific target programmes like PETI (federal programme for the eradication of the worst form of child labour) and more generally focused social protection policies like Bolsa Escola and the subsequent Bolsa Familia played an important role by reducing household poverty, vulnerability and income inequality. Improved access to basic services, especially water, was important as well, especially in rural areas. Improvement in school quality also played a role, albeit not a major one. The supply of child labour also showed a cyclical behaviour, responding to the conditions of the local labour market. In periods or in areas of low unemployment, children, especially older ones, tend to enter the labour force, albeit not always dropping out of school. It is beyond the scope of this note to go into further detail, but it is important to point out how, even in a country where the Government has been very active in the fight against child labour (including children's rights to social security, education and health), it has been a complex strategy, and not a single policy, that has generated the observed success. 

Figure A. Trends in children's employment rate, by age, 1992, 1999 and 2008 (percentage)

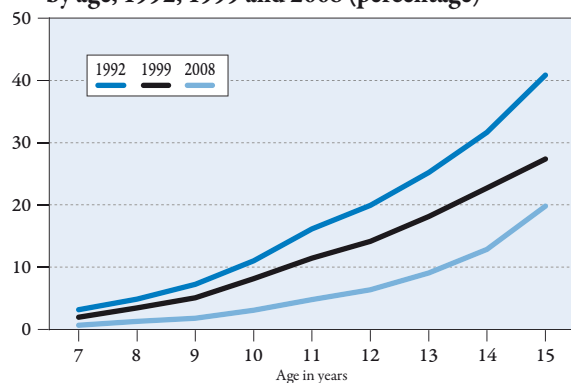


Figure B. Trends in children's school attendance, by age, 1992, 1999 and 2008 (percentage)

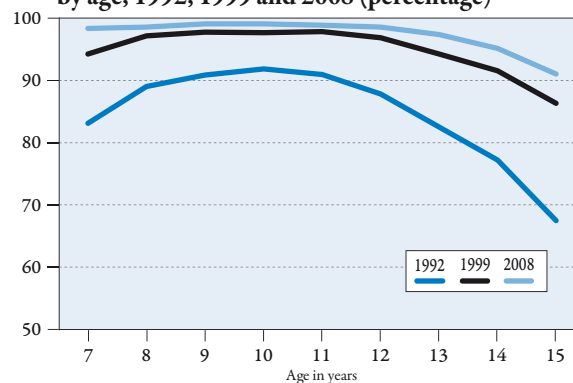


Figure C. Trends in division of children's time between employment and schooling, 7–15 years age group, 1992, 1997, 2003 and 2008 (percentage)

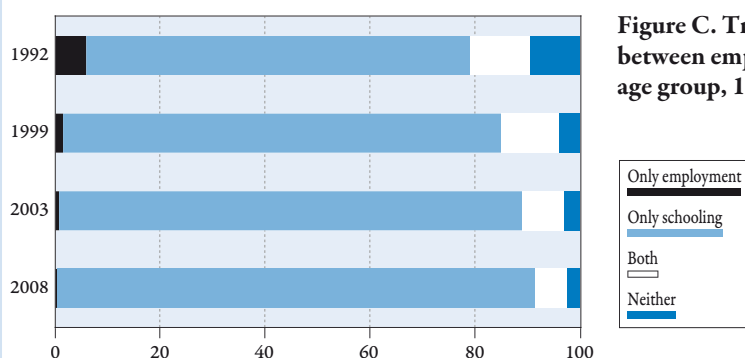


Table A. Trends in division of children's time between employment and schooling, 7–15 years age group, by residence and sex, 1992, 1999 and 2008

Activity status	Sex						Residence						Total		
	Male			Female			Urban			Rural					
	1992	1999	2008	1992	1999	2008	1992	1999	2008	1992	1999	2008	1992	1999	2008
Only employment	7.9	2.2	0.8	4.1	1.1	0.3	3.4	1.0	0.5	13.9	3.6	0.9	6.0	1.6	0.5
Only schooling	68.4	79.7	89.0	78.2	87.4	93.2	81.1	89.3	93.3	48.8	65.1	80.4	73.2	83.5	91.0
Both activities	15.1	14.6	8.0	7.8	7.6	4.2	7.6	6.2	4.0	23.5	26.8	16.0	11.5	11.1	6.1
Neither activity	8.7	3.5	2.2	10.0	4.0	2.4	7.9	3.5	2.2	13.9	4.6	2.6	9.3	3.7	2.3
Total in employment^a	23.0	16.8	8.8	11.9	8.7	4.5	11.0	7.2	4.5	37.4	30.4	16.9	17.5	12.7	6.6
Total in school^b	83.5	94.3	97.0	86.0	95.0	97.4	88.7	95.5	97.3	72.3	91.9	96.4	84.7	94.6	97.1

Notes: ^a Refers to all children in employment regardless of school status. ^b Refers to all children attending school regardless of employment status.

Source: UCW calculations based on Brazilian PNAD Surveys, 1992, 1999, and 2008.

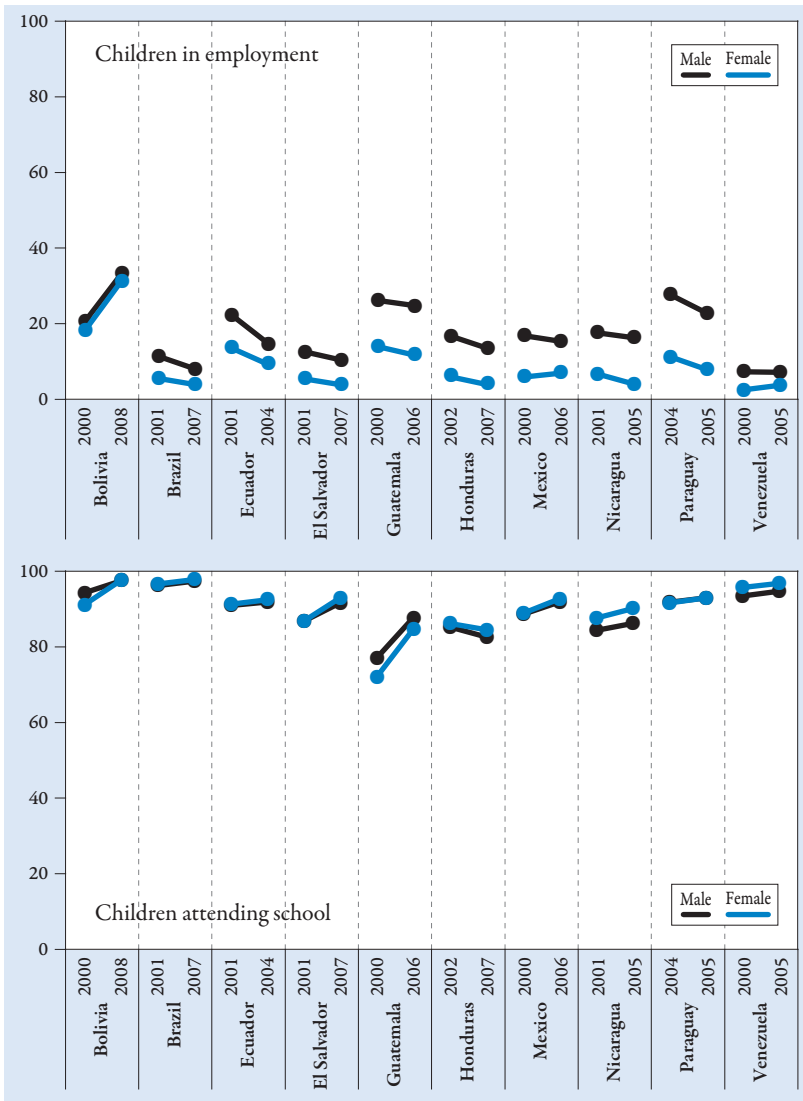


Figure 15. Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by sex and country, Latin America region (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

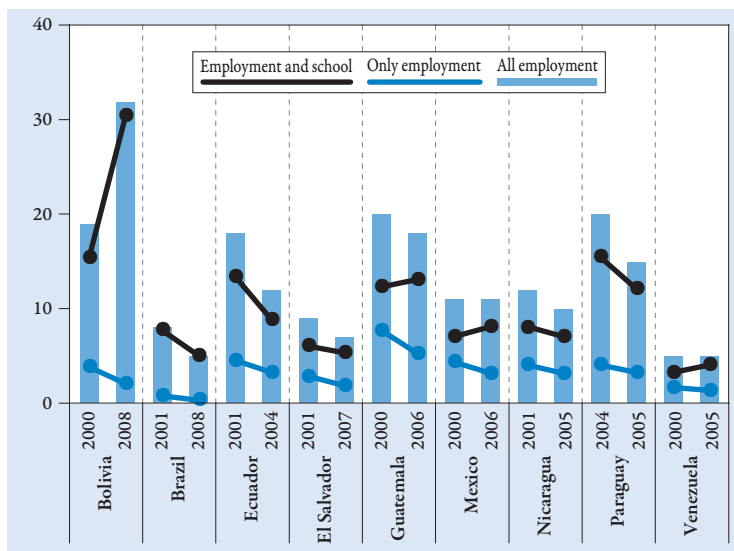


Figure 16. Trends in children's employment rate, by whether or not they are also attending school, 7–14 years age group,^a base year and most recent, by country, Latin America region (percentage)

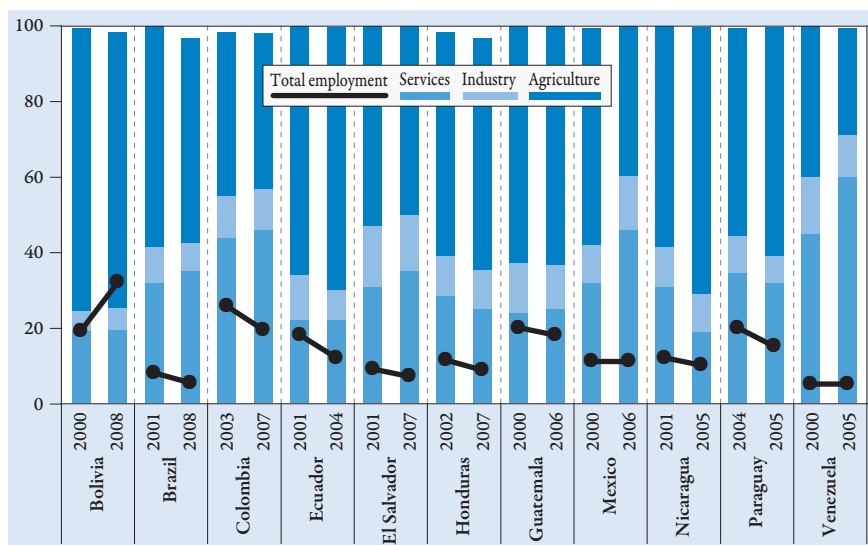
Note: ^a With exceptions of Paraguay and Venezuela, where the reference age group is 10–14 years, and Mexico, where the reference age group is 12–14 years.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Figure 17.
Trends in the composition of children's employment, base year and most recent, by country, Latin America region (percentage)

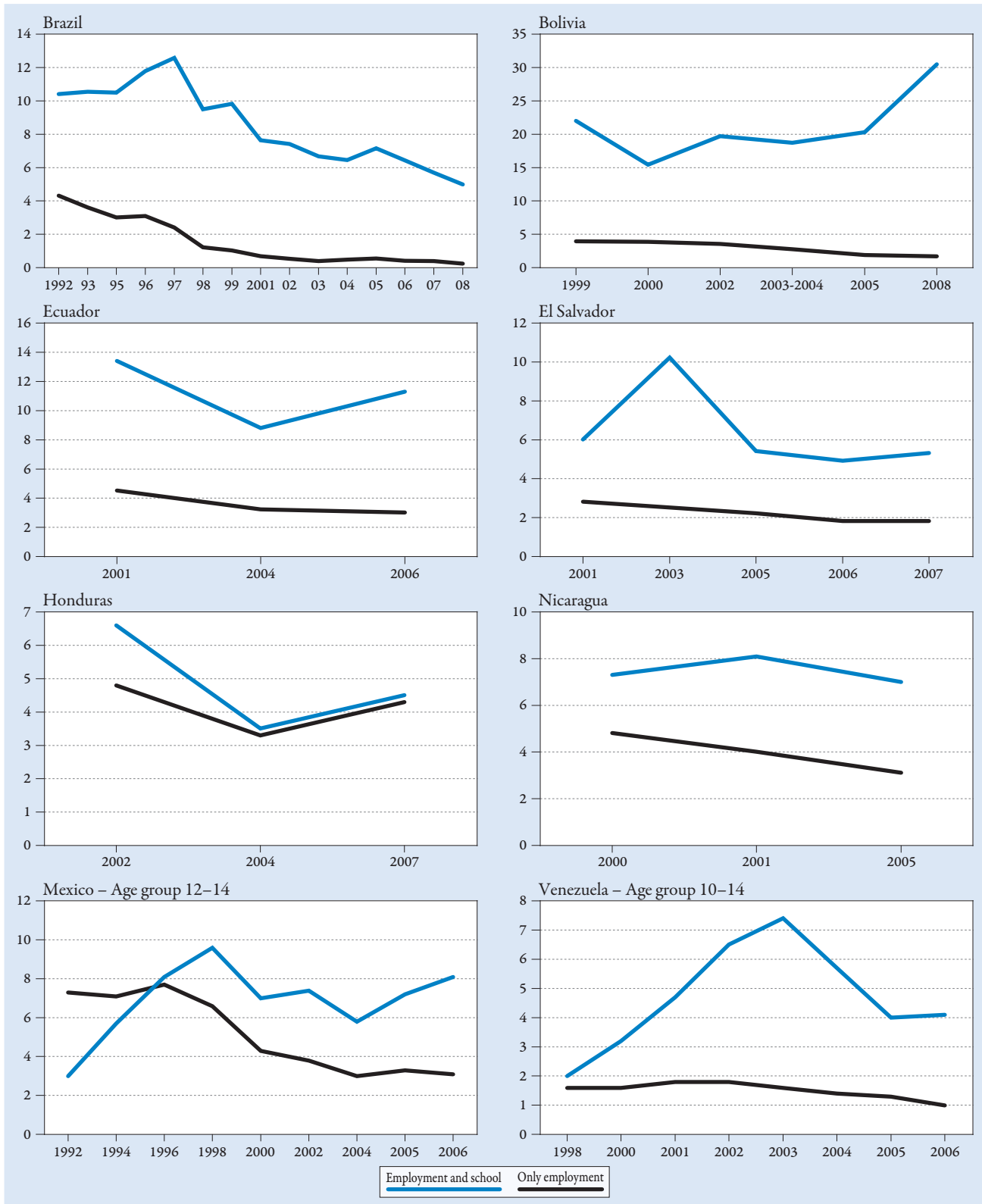
Note: ^a With exceptions of Paraguay and Venezuela, where the reference age group is 10–14 years, and Mexico, where the reference age group is 12–14 years.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).



importance of agricultural work. Brazil and Venezuela also witnessed shifts away from farm work towards work in the services sector. In four other countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Paraguay) the opposite pattern held – against the backdrop of an overall decline in child labour, children's farm work grew in importance relative to work in industry and services.

78. A smaller subset of countries, where comparable data are available for more than two points in time, shows that progress against children's employment can be subject to reversals, arguing against complacency even when short-term trends are downwards. Moreover, while in many countries the overall percentage of working children has been decreasing, this has been the result of different trends for children working only and for children working and attending school. School attendance is not sufficient to ensure successful education outcomes; when having to shoulder the burden of employment, as well as of hazardous household chores, students have less time and energy for their studies which results in lower attainment and higher repetition rates.



Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Figure 18.
Trends in child activity status, 7-14 years age group, by country (percentage)

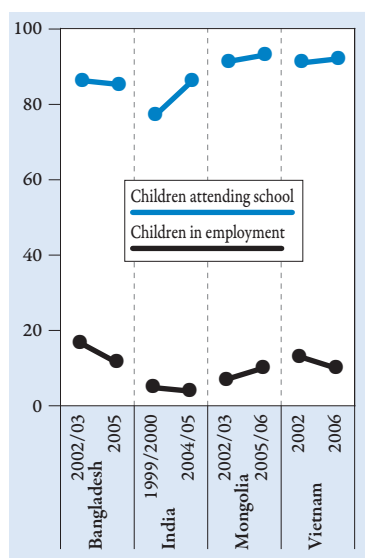


Figure 19. Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country, Asia region (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

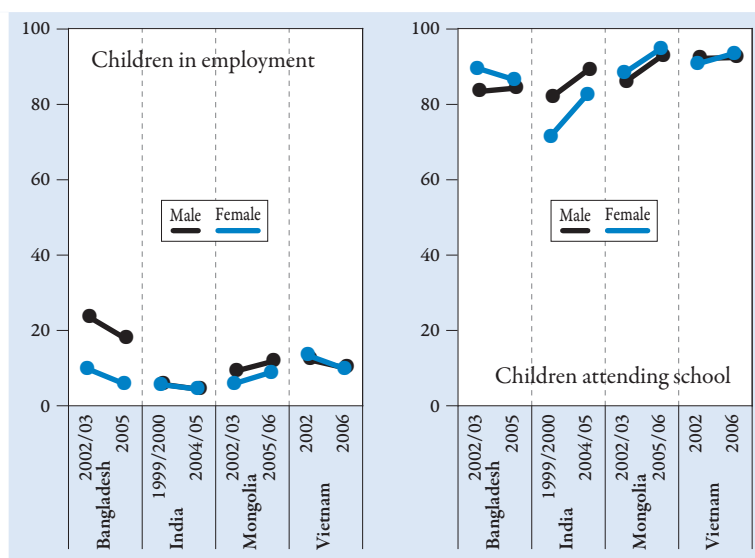


Figure 20. Trends in children's employment and school attendance rate, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by sex and country, Asia region (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Progress in Asia

79. Asia still hosts the largest number of child labourers and the task of eliminating child labour remains large, notwithstanding the declining trends described below. Trend data are available²⁰ for only four Asian countries, although three of them – Bangladesh, India and Vietnam – together account for an important proportion of the child population in the developing world.²¹ Global progress towards eliminating child labour therefore cannot happen without progress in these Asian countries.

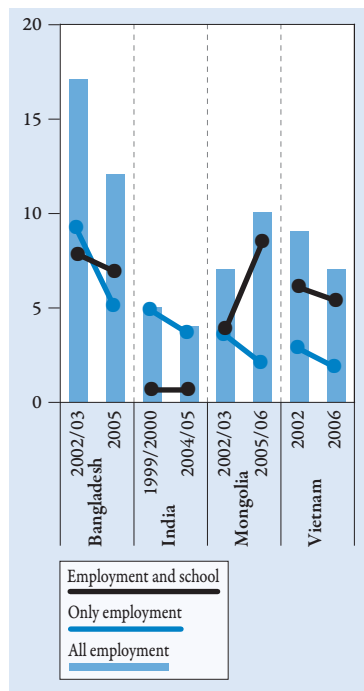
80. Bangladesh and Vietnam both witnessed important reductions in child labour in the first part of the decade, although this progress did not translate into further gains in school attendance. Child labour in India also fell slightly, following a much more rapid decline in the latter part of the previous decade (see Figure 19). Progress in raising school attendance in India was more noteworthy – attendance rose by nine percentage points between 2000 and 2006. Mongolia was the only one of the four countries to experience a slippage in terms of child labour, but this was not at the expense of school attendance, which continued to rise. The disaggregation by gender shows that these results extend both to girls and boys (Figure 20).

81. Notwithstanding this progress, and the low overall rates of child labour relative to Sub-Saharan Africa, the challenge posed by child labour in Asia remains daunting given the extremely large absolute size of the child labour population.

²⁰ The analysis is based on comparable data made available to UCW by November 2009. Data for Pakistan are now available but could not be included in the report because of time constraints.

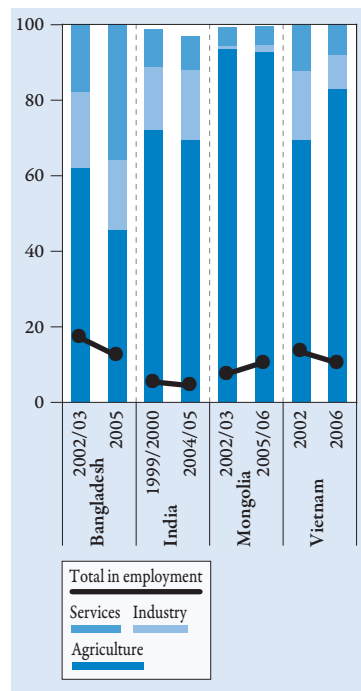
²¹ India alone accounts for about 20 per cent of the child population in the world. http://www.unicef.org/india/media_5885.htm

Figure 21. Trends in children's employment rate, by whether or not they are also attending school, 7–14 years age group, base year and most recent, by country, Asia region (percentage)



Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Figure 22. Trends in the composition of children's employment, base year and most recent, by country, Asia region (percentage)



Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

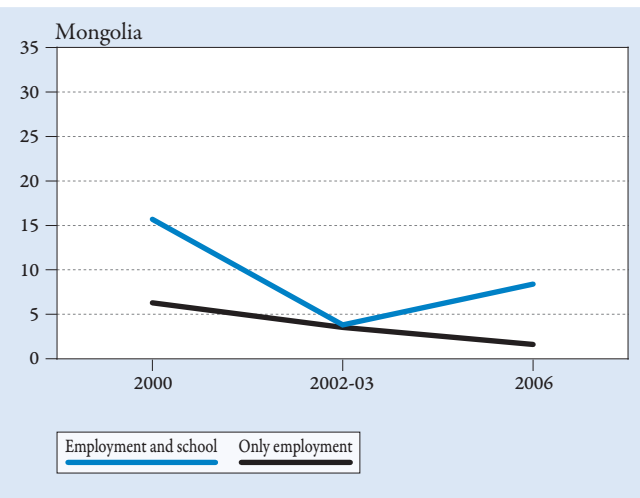
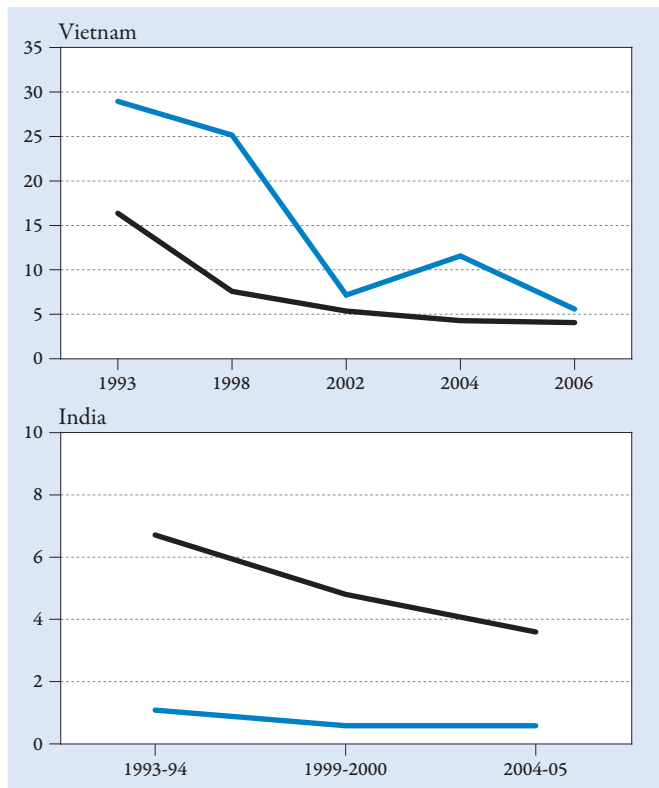


Figure 23. Trends in child activity status, 7–14 years age group, by country (percentage)

Source: UCW calculations based on Vietnam, VLSS 1993, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006; Mongolia, NCLS 2000, (NCLS, Simpo) 2002–2003, LFS 2006–07; India NSSO 1994, 1999–00, 2004–05

82. The progress in the fight against child labour in Bangladesh and Vietnam was the product of a reduction both in the percentage of children working only and of children working and attending school. In India, where few children appear to combine school and work, the reduction in children's employment was the result of the decrease in the percentage of children working only. The overall rise in child labour in Mongolia masked a decline in the proportion of children who were working only; the rise, therefore, was the product of an increase in the percentage of children working and attending school (Figure 21).

83. Changes in the sectoral composition of children's employment, shown in Figure 22, differed across the four countries. In Bangladesh, the overall decline in children's employment was associated with fewer children working in agriculture, while work in the service sector grew in relative importance. India too saw a slight movement of children out of agriculture and an increase in the relative importance of industry. In Vietnam, by contrast, reductions in children's employment appear to have occurred primarily in services and industry, and, as a result, agriculture work increased in relative importance.

84. A series of previous national household surveys in Vietnam permit a look at the evolution of children's activities, and particularly children's involvement in employment, from 1993 to 2006 (Figure 23). Participation of children in employment has declined sharply over the last 15 years in Vietnam: from over 45 per cent in 1993 it fell to just under 10 per cent in 2006. The largest reduction occurred during the last part of the 1990s. However, the reduction in children's employment was not constant over the period considered. School attendance saw a rapid increase during 1993–1998, and a continued slower rise from 1998 onwards.

85. India has a longstanding survey programme which enables a more detailed analysis of children's employment trends. A comparison of the results of the surveys covering the 1993–1994, 1999–2000 and 2004–05 reference periods shows a substantive overall decline in Indian children's involvement in employment and an accompanying rise in children's school attendance. But some caution should be exercised in assessing trends, as the National Sample Survey instrument used in India may not adequately capture the group of children that combines school and work.²² An analysis for Andhra Pradesh, the state with the highest incidence of children's employment, which was based on the survey data indicates that the changes in children's employment and school attendance in urban areas were driven mainly by changes in living standards and in local labour demand. In rural areas, by contrast, improved access to school seems to have been the driving force behind the large reduction in children's work. Improvement in living standards has played a role as well, but it appears less relevant than in urban areas (see Panel 7).

²² In fact, data from NFHS-3 lead to different estimates of the incidence of children's employment. While the incidence of children in employment only is very similar in both surveys, estimates of the incidence of children working and studying based on NFHS-3 is substantially higher than obtained from NSSO.

Panel 7. Child labour in India

Progress in getting children out of work and into school has been made in India. A comparison of the results of the NSSO surveys covering the 1993–1994, 1999–2000 and 2004–05 reference periods shows an overall decline in Indian children’s involvement in employment (from 8 to 4.2 per cent) and an accompanying rise in children’s school attendance of 14 percentage points (from 72 to 86 per cent). The results extend to the entire 7–14 years age range (Figures A and B).

While important challenges remain, India is moving in the right direction towards achieving universal enrolment in basic education and eliminating child labour among the remaining core of hard-to-reach children. However, it should be kept in mind that these figures might underestimate the actual dimension of the remaining challenge. For example, according to the NFHS-3 2005/2006 about 15 per cent of children remain in employment^a and child labour remains a major area of concern.^b

Figure C shows that school and work are largely mutually exclusive activities in India – few children perform both, even in 1994 when the first of the comparator surveys took place (although this may in part reflect the survey instrument, see Annex I). Children have therefore largely moved from being involved exclusively in employment to exclusive involvement in schooling.

The category of children in employment, however, accounts for only part of the rise in school attendance. There was also a large movement of children from “inactivity” into school over the 10-year period. Many of these ostensibly inactive children were also undoubtedly involved in other forms of production, and in particular household chores for their own families.

Table A indicates that the progress over the 10-year period in terms of both increasing schooling and reducing child labour in India was broad based. Progress extended to both male and female children, and to children living in both rural and urban settings.

Figure A. Trends in children’s employment rate, by age, 1994, 2000 and 2005 (percentage)

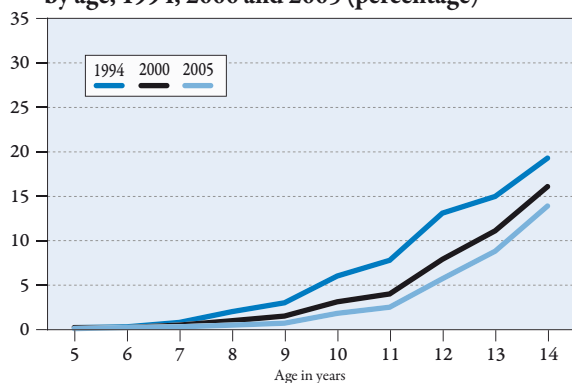


Figure B. Trends in children’s school attendance, by age, 1994, 2000 and 2005 (percentage)

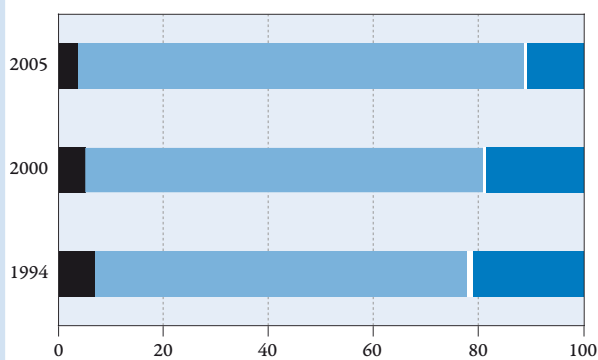
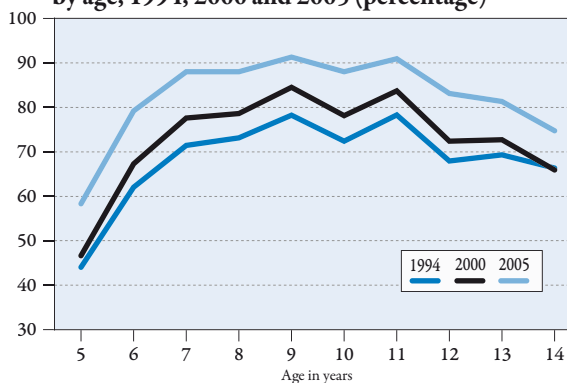
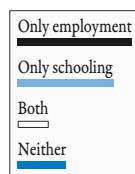


Figure C. Trends in division of children’s time between employment and schooling, 1994, 2000 and 2005 (percentage)



However, the incidence of children's employment remains relatively high for older children.

Disparities by sex, residence and region, however, were not eliminated over this period. In 2005, female children were still less likely than their male counterparts to attend school, and children living in rural areas were still much more likely to be involved in employment and less likely to be in school than children living in cities and towns.


Figure D present the trends for the major Indian states. The states that had higher child labour incidence in 1994 were the ones that showed a faster decline. Within the overall declining trends, it should be noted that some states did show an increase in the percentage of children's employment either in 2000 or in 2005. This indicates that while the trend towards reduction of the percentage of children in employment appears to be well established, the danger of reversal cannot be fully ruled out. 

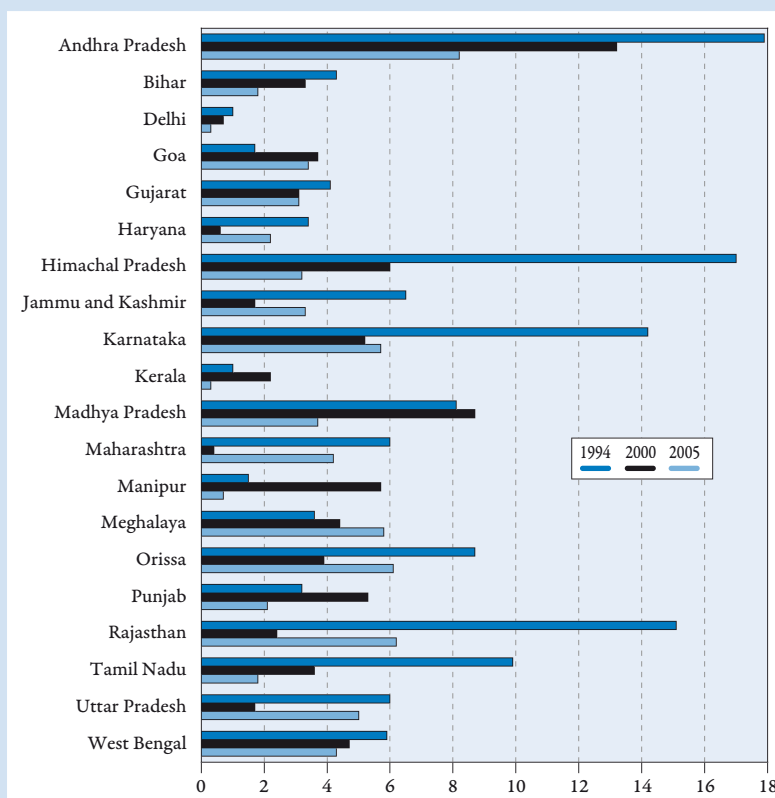
Table A. Trends in the division of children's time between employment and schooling, 7–14 years age group, 1994, 2000 and 2005, by sex and residence

Activity status	Sex						Residence						Total		
	Male			Female			Urban			Rural			1994	2000	2005
	1994	2000	2005	1994	2000	2005	1994	2000	2005	1994	2000	2005			
Only employment	6.6	4.9	3.5	6.8	4.7	3.6	3.3	2.6	2.5	7.8	5.5	3.9	6.7	4.8	3.6
Only schooling	77.5	80.9	88.0	63.7	70.6	81.7	84.8	85.3	90.0	66.7	73.2	83.6	71.1	76.0	85.0
Both activities	1.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	1.3	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.6
Neither activity	14.6	13.7	7.8	28.7	24.0	14.1	11.5	11.8	7.2	24.2	20.6	11.8	21.2	18.6	10.8
Total in employment^a	8.0	5.5	4.2	7.5	5.4	4.2	3.7	2.9	2.8	9.1	6.2	4.6	7.8	5.4	4.2
Total in schooling^b	78.8	81.5	88.7	64.4	71.3	82.3	85.2	85.6	90.4	68.0	73.9	84.3	72.1	76.6	85.7

Notes: ^a Refers to all children in employment, regardless of school status. ^b Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

Source: UCW calculation based on NSSO 1993–94, 1999–00, 2004–05 survey data.

Figure D. Trends in children's employment rate, by state, 1994, 2000 and 2005 (percentage)



What factors lie behind the fall in children's employment and rise in children's school enrolment over the 1994–2005 period? The case of Andhra Pradesh, the state with the highest incidence of children's employment, offers possible lessons for the country overall. A recent UCW study focused on the state of Andhra Pradesh. While not immediately applicable to India as a whole, the results are nonetheless suggestive of the main factors lying behind the trends.

From the analysis it emerges, first of all, that urban and rural realities are very different in terms of relevance of interventions and impact of macroeconomic trends and this has important policy implications.

In urban areas, the changes in child labour and school attendance have been driven mainly by changes in living standards and in local labour demand. Increase in income plays a large role in explaining the observed improvement in the situation of children. On the other hand, local labour demand seems to influence the decisions of households, especially if poor, about the time allocation of their children. The positive impact of living standards on children's work in urban areas is counterbalanced by the impact of increased labour demand, limiting the overall reduction in children's work involvement.

A very different picture emerges in the rural areas, where improved access to school seems to have been the driving

force behind the large reduction in children's work. Improvement in living standard has played a role as well, but it appears less relevant than in urban areas.^c

The policy implications from the recent experiences in India in reducing child labour are clear cut. In urban areas support to the living standards of the vulnerable groups is essential. At the same time, through appropriate measures aiming to increase the returns from education (both actual and perceived), more attention should be paid to preventing children from premature involvement in the labour market which would be due to periods of high labour demand. In rural areas, ensuring children's access to quality schools seems to be the highest priority, especially if accompanied by protection measures for the most vulnerable. Beside these general policies, the role of child labour targeted policies is also very relevant and should, possibly, be integrated into the more general strategies aimed at promoting school attendance and school retention.

Notes

^a Ministry of Health and Family Welfare; Government of India; International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS). 2007. ^b http://www.unicef.org/india/media_5885.htm. ^c This last conclusion should, however, be considered with care because of measurement errors and the problem of endogeneity that are more likely to be observed in rural rather than in urban areas.

Part II

Child labour and national development goals

86. Part II of this report highlights the high cost of child labour in human terms and its association with broader national development goals. Chapter 3 looks at the educational consequences of child labour, underscoring that the involvement in child labour is associated with greater difficulty in attending and persisting in school, and with greater difficulty in terms of learning effectively in the classroom. Chapter 4 addresses links between child labour and youth employment outcomes, illustrating how exposure to child labour can make it more difficult to transition to Decent Work as young adults. Chapter 5 looks at the growing importance of migration in respect to child labour outcomes. Finally, Chapter 6 shows that child labour not only poses an immediate threat to children's health and safety, but can also have serious longer-term health consequences that emerge later in the lifecycle. Taken together, the negative effects of child labour hamper broader progress towards poverty reduction, above and beyond their impact on individual children.

Chapter 3. Child labour and Education for All

Summary

- Attaining EFA and eliminating child labour are closely linked – attempts to achieve one without addressing the other are unlikely to be successful.
- Child labour is associated with higher levels of school non-entry, delayed school entry and early school leaving.
- Child labour is associated with lower levels of academic performance.

87. Understanding the interplay between education and child labour is critical to achieving both Education for All (EFA) and child labour elimination goals. Child labour and education (attendance and achievement) are both the result of household decisions concerning the use of children's time. These decisions, in turn, are taken on the basis of relative costs and benefits, resources available to the household, and of cultural and social considerations. In this chapter, we present evidence showing that child labour and education are largely incompatible activities – in other words, evidence indicating that child labour cannot be associated with successful education. Achieving Education for All and eliminating child labour are therefore inter-related objectives – attempts to achieve one without addressing the other are unlikely to be successful.

88. There are factors, such as cultural attitudes and expected returns from child labour that influence the supply of child labourers. Policies aimed at achieving EFA that do not take these causes of child labour into account risk being ineffective. On the other hand, the costs and benefits of education also have a large impact on the supply of child labourers, and policies directed towards child labour elimination that do not take these school-related factors into account are also unlikely to be effective. For policy purposes, there is a need to address the common set of factors affecting both child labour and education.

3.1 Child labour and school attendance

89. Simple comparisons of the attendance of child labourers and their non-working counterparts suggest that child labourers have greater difficulty in going to school. As shown in Figure 24, in a sample of 60 developing countries from the UCW Country Statistics,²³ children in employment face an attendance gap of at least 10 per cent in 30 countries, of at least 20 per cent in 16 countries and of at least 30 per cent in 10 countries. Further descriptive evidence can be found which is suggestive of a degree of incompatibility between child labour and education. As shown in Figure 25, which plots rates of children's employment and school

²³ UCW Country Statistics consist of a core set of child labour and schooling indicators for over 70 countries. They are based on nationally-representative household surveys conducted as part of ILO-IPEC SIMPOC, UNICEF MICS, World Bank LSMS and national household survey programmes. The Country Statistics can be found at the UCW website (ucw-project.org).

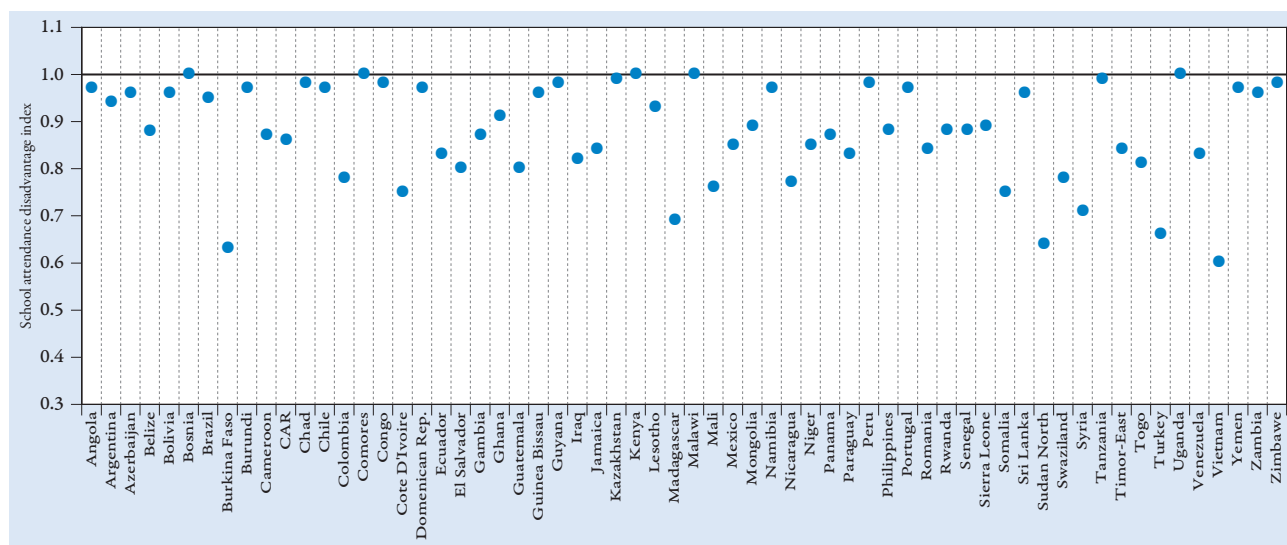
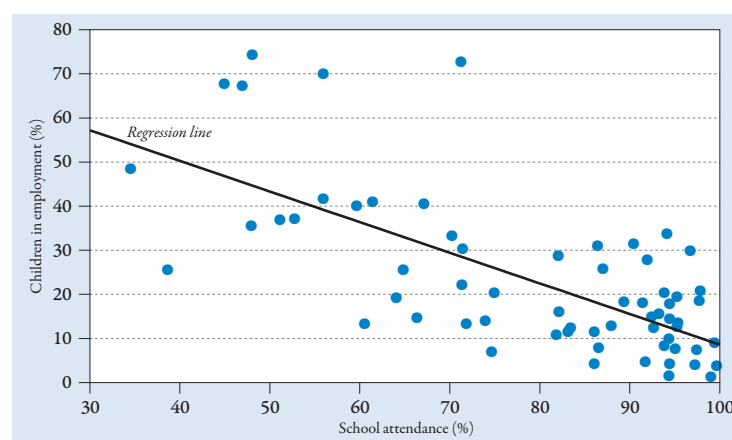


Figure 24.
School attendance disadvantage^a of children in employment, 7–14 years age group, selected countries

Notes: ^a School attendance disadvantage index refers to the school attendance rate of economically-active children expressed as a ratio of the school attendance rate of non-economically active children. The smaller is the index value, the higher is the disadvantage faced by economically-active children compared to children not involved in employment.

Source: UCW calculations based on household survey datasets (see Annex II).

Figure 25.
School attendance^a and children's employment, children aged 7–14 years, selected countries



Notes: ^a School attendance rate refers to the number of 7–14 year-olds attending school expressed as a percentage of total children in this age group.

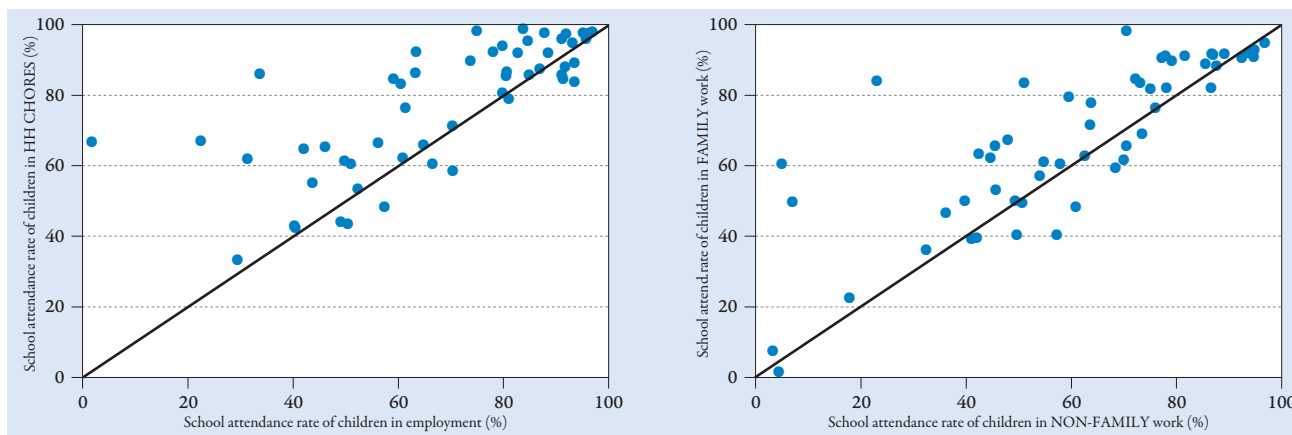
Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

attendance for a group of countries,²⁴ higher levels of children's employment tend to be associated with lower overall attendance rates.

90. The wide variation across countries in terms of the relative success of child labourers in attending school could reflect underlying differences in the nature or intensity of work carried out by children, in the policies put in place by the Government or structural differences of education systems (e.g. admission criteria, length of the school day, student grouping, etc.).²⁵ To the extent that the latter explanation holds, the large variation across countries suggests substantial scope for policy intervention aimed at bringing child labourers to school and retaining them in school.

²⁴ For details, see Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

²⁵ Readers should also note that differences in data sources and survey instruments mean that cross-country comparisons must be made with caution.



Notes: ³ Children carrying out household chore for at least one hour during the reference week.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

Figure 26.
School attendance, production type (employment or household chores³), and work setting (family or non-family), children aged 7–14 years, selected countries

91. The preceding figures suggest that the EFA goals will not be achieved in many national contexts without a parallel reduction in child labour. But it is important to identify which work categories or work settings are least compatible with children’s school attendance in order to guide policy towards EFA. Figure 26 looks at differences in school attendance by general production category (i.e., employment or household chores) and by work setting (i.e., family or non-family) in a group of countries.

92. Figure 26 suggests that both distinctions are potentially important.²⁶ Household chores appear to pose a lesser barrier to school attendance than employment in most contexts. This may be because household chores can be performed in a way that is more flexible to the exigencies of school. There are also differences in the attendance of children in family and non-family employment in most countries, typically favouring the former. But some children might be performing both employment and household chores or both family and non family work, meaning that these results should be interpreted with caution. It could also be that household chores and family-based employment are performed for fewer hours each week, leaving more time for going to school (the issue of work intensity and school attendance is discussed below). Future research will provide a more complete picture of the impact of different forms of work on school attendance.

93. Information on the school history of out-of-school working children is also important in understanding the links between child labour and school attendance. Particularly relevant in this context is the distinction among out-of-school child labourers who are non school entrants (i.e., children never entering school), late entrants (i.e., children not yet enrolled but who eventually will be) and those who are early school leavers. The first group is undoubtedly worst off, as children are denied the benefit of formal education altogether and therefore constitutes a particular policy priority. Delayed school entry and early drop-out are closely associated, as children getting a late start in school often have greater difficulty in completing a full course of study.²⁷

²⁶ The left hand graph plots the school attendance rate of children involved in economic activity versus that of children involved in household chores, and right hand graph plots the school attendance rate of children in family work versus that of children in non-family work. For each graph, observations lying along the 45 degree line indicate that the attendance rate of the two groups being plotted is the same. If the observations lie above the 45 degree line, the attendance of the group plotted on the vertical axis is higher than the attendance of the group on the horizontal axis, while if the observations lie below the 45 degree line, the opposite holds true.

²⁷ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

94. As shown in Figure 27, countries with higher levels of child labour tend to have lower ratios of children entering school at any age. Figure 28 and Figure 29 suggest that child labour is associated with a smaller proportion of children entering school at the official entrance age (Figure 28) and with a higher proportion of children leaving the schooling system prematurely (Figure 29). All three effects – non-entrance, delayed entrance and early leaving – combine to reduce the school life expectancy of working children (Figure 30). These results underscore the fact that attention needs to be given to analysing and addressing the role of child labour in influencing school attendance at both ends of the primary school cycle, i.e., its role in preventing or delaying school entry, and in children leaving school prematurely.

95. Another, frequently overlooked, group of out-of-school working children consists of irregular school attendees (i.e., children formally enrolled in school but who do not attend for extended periods of time). The often large discrepancies between official school enrolment

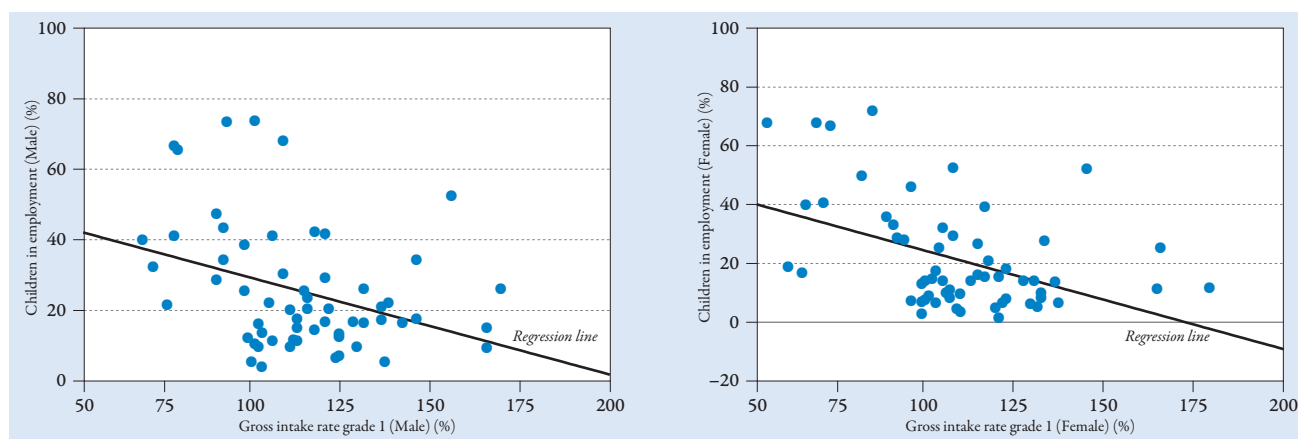


Figure 27.
Gross school intake^a and children's employment, children aged 7–14 years, by sex, multiple countries

Notes: ^a *Gross intake rate grade 1* refers to the number of new entrants in the first grade of primary education regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population of the official primary school entrance age.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

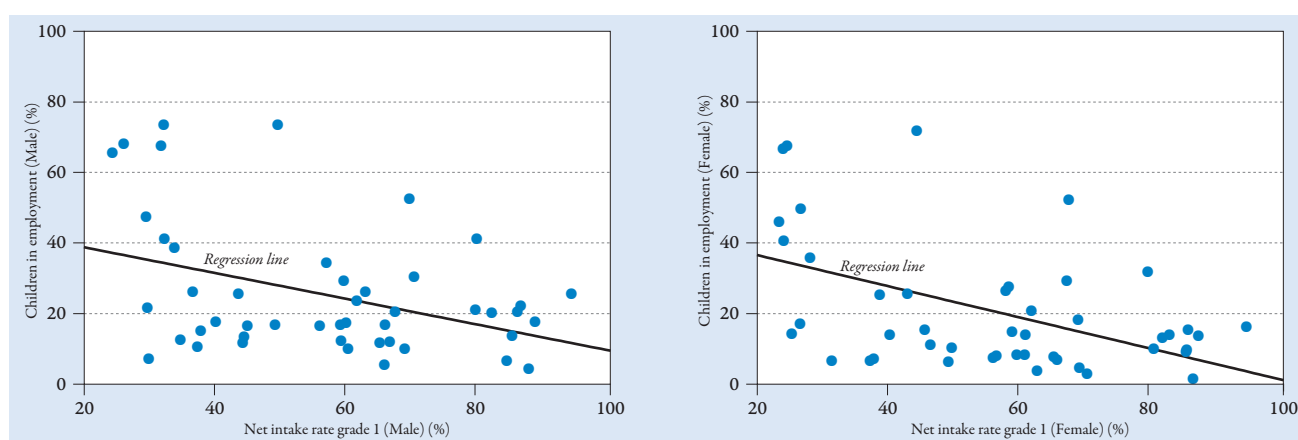
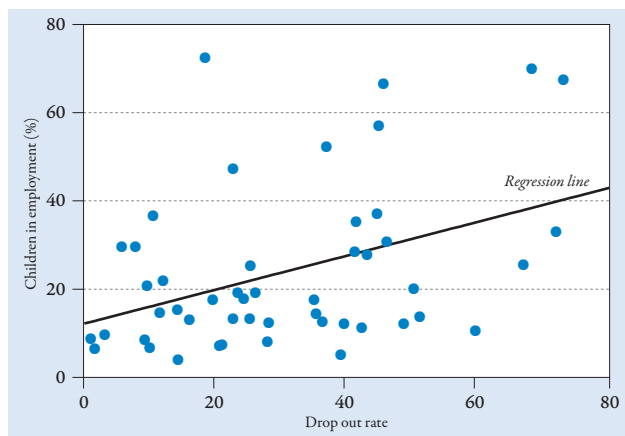


Figure 28.
Net school intake^a and children's employment, children aged 7–14 years, by sex, multiple countries

Notes: ^a *Net intake rate grade 1* refers to the number of new entrants in the first grade of primary education of the official primary school entrance age, expressed as a percentage of the population of the official primary school entrance age.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

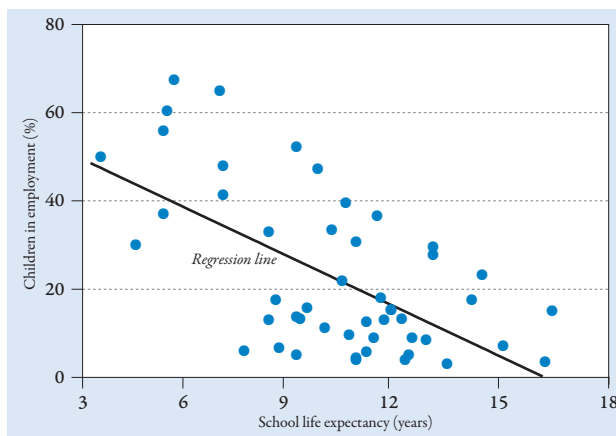
Figure 29.
School drop-out^a and children's employment, children aged 7–14 years, by sex, multiple countries



Notes: ^a Primary level drop-out rate refers to the percentage of pupils or students who drop out from a given grade or grades in a given school year. It is the difference between 100% and the sum of the promotion and repetition rates.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c)

Figure 30.
School life expectancy^a and children's employment, children aged 7–14 years, by sex, multiple countries



Notes: ^a School life expectancy (SLE) refers to the number of years a child of school entrance age is expected to spend at school or university, including years spent on repetition.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

estimates (capturing children formally enrolled) and attendance estimates (capturing children actually in class) from household surveys suggest that this group of irregular attendees may be considerable in many countries. Evidence from school-based surveys also suggests that working children have more difficulty in attending class regularly in some contexts.²⁸ It stands to reason, therefore, that at least part of the school attendance disadvantage of working children reported in Figure 24 is a reflection of the fact that working children are forced to miss class more frequently than their non-working counterparts.

96. Work intensity is also likely to be negatively associated with educational outcomes. Work and education are activities competing for children's time and the probability of attending school declines with the increase in hours spent in child labour.²⁹ There is some evidence that long hours of work are in fact causing lower attendance rates. For example, in China, on the base of the China Health and Nutrition Survey dataset,³⁰ hours spent in non market activities have a significant negative impact on school attendance of children aged 7 to 17.³¹ However, evidence also suggests that the relationship between working hours and school attendance might differ considerably across countries and across sectors of work within countries.

²⁸ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2005).

²⁹ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2005).

³⁰ The China Health and Nutrition Survey was based on a multistage random sample, covering 3,800 household and about 16,000 individuals. The sample covered the following nine provinces of China: Guangxi, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Liaoning and Shandong. The survey contained information on demographic, economic, time use, labour force participation, asset ownership, and expenditure. In addition, detailed community data were collected. The survey was carried out (with similar, albeit slight different sample sizes) in 1989, 1991, 1993 and 1997.

³¹ Guarcello et al. (2005).

3.2 Child labour and learning achievements

97. The preceding discussion has underscored how working children tend to attend less school and if they do attend, they may enter late and leave early. But a substantial proportion of child labourers manage to attend school for at least some time, despite the demands of work, albeit with a great deal of heterogeneity across countries. This raises another important question concerning the educational impact of child labour – the extent to which child labour impedes children’s classroom learning. While the group of children combining employment and schooling has been the subject of relatively little research, it stands to reason that children who are exhausted by the demands of work, or whose work schedule leaves them little time for homework, are less likely to derive educational benefit from their classroom time than their non-working counterparts. Working students may also have their interest directed away from academic pursuits, or be led to place less value on formal learning.

98. For all these reasons, school attendance alone is an incomplete indicator of the compatibility between education and child labour. There is also a need to measure the effect of child labour on actual classroom learning. In terms of policy, learning achievement and school attendance is of most relevance. A wide body of evidence indicates that children who perform poorly in the classroom or who are forced to repeat grades are much more likely to leave the school system prematurely.³²

99. Grade repetition rates in the countries covered by the UCW Country Statistics provide indirect evidence of a link between child labour and school performance. Figure 31, which plots children’s employment and primary level repetition rates, shows a positive correlation between child labour and repetition for boys and girls alike. This provides evidence that working children are in a disadvantaged position in the classroom, leaving them more prone to repetition, which is to the detriment of both the children concerned and the internal efficiency of education systems. However, repetition is an imprecise indicator of school performance at best: promotion criteria can differ widely across countries and indeed even across school districts and schools within countries.

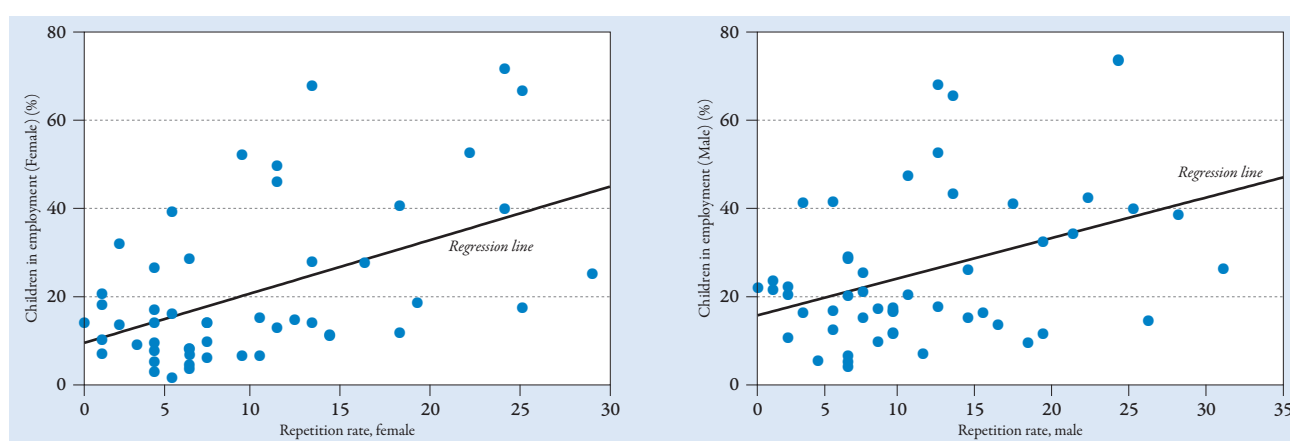


Figure 31.
Grade repetition^a and children’s employment, children aged 7–14 years, by sex

Notes: (a) *Primary repetition rate* refers to the number of students enrolled in the same grade as in the previous year, expressed as a percentage of all students enrolled in primary school.

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

³² Manacorda (2008).

100. For this reason, student test scores are a much better indicator for investigating links between child labour and learning achievement. The First Comparative International Study of Language, Mathematics and Associated Factors (FCIS) and the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) are among the most important of the very limited number of surveys containing information on student test scores matched with student work status. Household survey instruments typically used for analysing information on child labour, e.g., the ILO-IPEC SIMPOC surveys, World Bank LSMS surveys and UNICEF MICS surveys, are poorly suited for collecting information on learning achievement, which means that internationally comparable data beyond FCIS and TIMSS are limited.

101. Calculations based on the FCIS dataset³³ show a strong and consistent pattern across the nine countries and the two achievement tests included in the survey: third- and fourth-graders “almost never” involved in paid work outside the family³⁴ outperformed children involved in this form of work “only some of the time”, who in turn outperformed children “often” involved in this work. The differences in performance by work status were very large. In math, children who almost never work in the nine countries scored 13 per cent higher than children who work some of the time, and 22 per cent higher than children who work often. Differences in language test scores were similarly large.³⁵

102. Other, country-specific, studies yield similar conclusions to those emerging from the TIMSS survey datasets. In Turkey,³⁶ while involvement in employment per se did not appear to affect the school performance of children, the intensity of work did significantly influence test scores. Ten additional hours of work per week, for example, raised the probability of scoring “poorly” in mathematics by almost four percentage points. In Ghana, even after controlling for innate ability as measured by the Raven’s Test, work involvement has a significant negative effect on reading and mathematics learning. Time spent working has a negative impact on reading and maths test scores in Tanzania.³⁷

103. In Cambodia,³⁸ test score data from a nationally representative survey of primary schools show that work has a significant detrimental effect on learning achievement, particularly among fourth-graders. Estimated models for literacy and numeric skills test scores (including children, parental, household and schooling characteristics) indicated that working every day before going to school reduced both literacy and numeric skills test scores of Cambodian fourth-graders by about nine percentage points.

104. In conclusion, learning, in most of its aspects (attendance, timely entry, grade completion and achievement) is hardly compatible with child labour. Therefore, education policies can be effective provided they also help to reduce child labour effectively.

³³ Gunnarsson, Orazem and Sánchez (2006).

³⁴ The authors explain that they do not include work in the home in their empirical analysis because the lack of meaningful variation in work in the home meant that the pattern of test scores against work intensity in the home was unlikely to be reliable.

³⁵ The strong negative relationship holds up even when possible child-, family- and school-related confounding factors (i.e., involvement in pre-school education, parental education, home learning environment, class instruction time, classroom learning environment, compulsory education legislation, etc.) are controlled for and the potential endogeneity of work (i.e., the work variable determined within the system) is taken into account.

³⁶ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2005).

³⁷ Akabayashi and Psacharopoulos (1999).

³⁸ World Bank (2005).

Chapter 4. Child labour and youth labour market outcomes

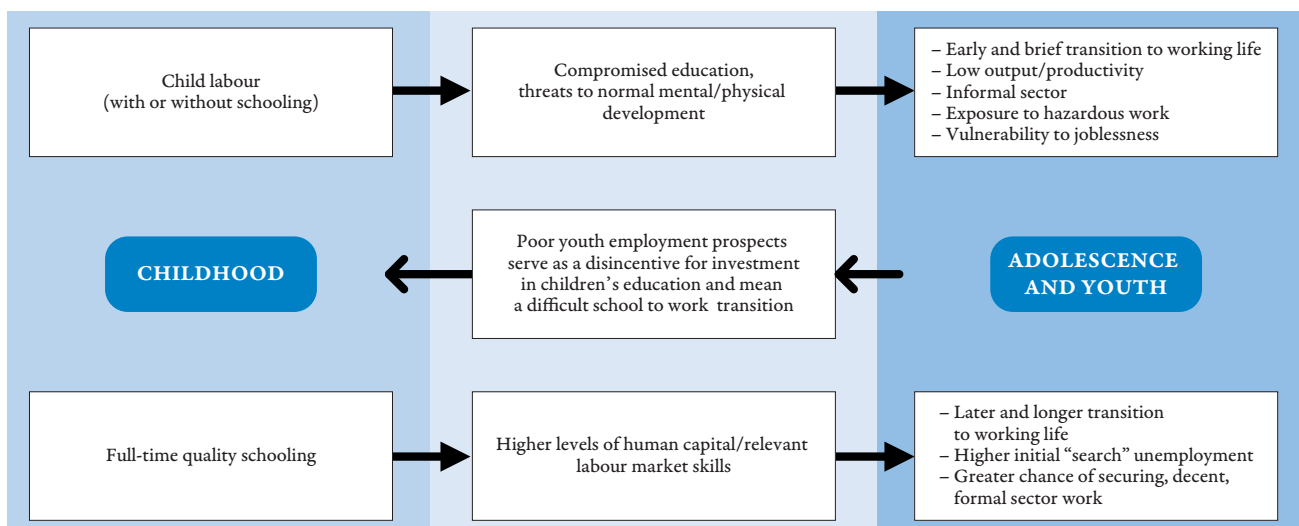
Summary

- Efforts to provide young people with quality employment opportunities cannot be divorced from efforts to combat child labour.
- Exposure to child labour places persons at a disadvantage in the labour market as young adults.
- When rewards for education are low or perceived to be low by parents, investment in children’s education suffers.

105. Both child labour and youth labour market disadvantage can lead to social vulnerability and social marginalization, and can permanently impair the attainment of personal and productive potential, in turn influencing lifetime patterns of employment and earnings. Both issues therefore generate important constraints to national development goals. Yet, the interplay between child labour and youth labour market disadvantage has received relatively little attention.

106. This chapter reviews evidence, first, of how child labour (and concomitantly low human capital accumulation) can hinder the successful transition of adolescents and young adults to working life (see Figure 32). It then looks at evidence of linkages between child labour and youth employment in the opposite direction, i.e., how poor employment prospects, low returns to human capital investments and difficult labour market transitions may serve as a disincentive for parents to invest in their children’s schooling, and lead them instead to send their

Figure 32. Child labour and the transition to working life



children to work prematurely. The social and economic background of households appears to have strong influences on the appraisal of the benefits of education on which educational investment decisions are based. Young people from poorer regions, in particular rural areas, face the double challenge of low perceived returns from education and the disadvantages of coming from low income households. Lack of awareness of the relationship between educational qualifications and actual earnings could explain this underestimation of the returns from education.³⁹

4.1 Child labour as a factor in youth labour market outcomes

107. How does child labour involvement affect employment outcomes later in the life cycle? The most obvious connection is through compromised education. In the previous chapter, we have seen how child labour impedes children's access to school and their ability to learn effectively in the classroom. Evidence from UCW research and other sources presented below shows, in turn, how compromised education leaves young people more vulnerable to low paid, insecure work and joblessness. But compromised education is not the only link between child labour and youth employment outcomes. Other evidence discussed below suggests that child labour confers labour force disadvantage later in the life cycle even beyond its effect on education.

108. Workers who are more educated are much more likely to be in wage employment and less likely to be in self-employment or in unremunerated family work (See Figure 33 for country-specific examples). Although occupational type is of course only a very weak proxy for job quality, workers in wage employment are more likely to enjoy the protection of a legal work contract, social security and other characteristics associated with quality employment. Less educated young persons, on the other hand, appear much more likely to be found in the informal economy in low-paid, insecure jobs offering limited opportunity for upward advancement. Very often, young people work within the informal economy, in intermittent and insecure arrangements, meaning low productivity, earnings and employment protection, or they are simply under-employed.⁴⁰

109. Compromised education also appears to lead to jobs that are more exposed to fluctuations in the labour market. In Mongolia⁴¹ and Ethiopia,⁴² for example, a decrease in local labour demand generates a decrease in the probability of young persons finding employment, and this effect is stronger for youth who have low levels of education. In South Africa, education appears to entirely offset the effect of the recession on the likelihood of employment.⁴³ Local labour market conditions therefore seem to be especially relevant for youth who have little or no education. Not surprisingly, supply and demand conditions are most relevant for the less qualified workforce that is more vulnerable to the economic cycle. Most of the factors that reduce the sensitivity of employment to the cycle are far less relevant for this group.

110. Child labour can also have an effect on later employment outcomes, beyond its detrimental effect on education, via other effects, such as lower productivity, stigma, and lower job aspirations. In Tanzania, for example, the productivity of work declines as a result of early

³⁹ Jensen (2006).

⁴⁰ The underemployed population is a subcategory of the employed population and is identified by comparing their current employment situation with an "alternative" employment situation that they are willing and available to carry out: simply put, persons in underemployment are all those who worked or had a job during the reference week but were willing and available to work "more adequately". (www.ilo.org)

⁴¹ UCW (2009a).

⁴² UCW (2006a).

⁴³ Leung, Stampini and Vencatachellum (2009).

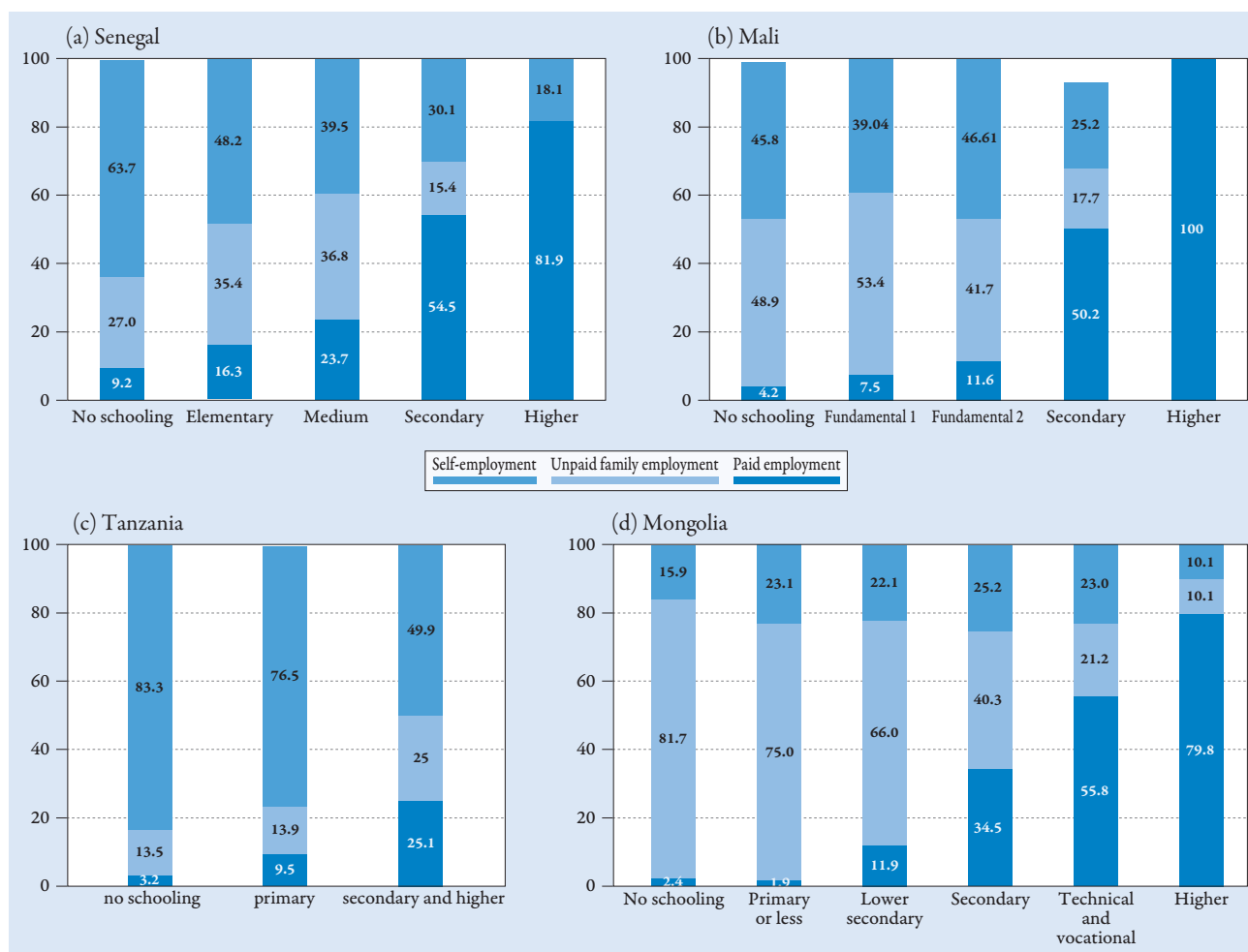


Figure 33.
Occupational type and level of education, 15–24 year olds (percentage)

Source: Senegal, Enquête de suivi de la pauvreté au Sénégal, 2005/2006; Mali, Enquête permanente auprès des ménages, 2007; Tanzania, Integrated Labour Force Survey 2006, Mongolia Labour Force Survey 2006–2007.

labour market entry, underscoring potential medium term negative consequences of child labour.⁴⁴ In Brazil, people who start work at a younger age end up with lower earnings as adults.⁴⁵ Girls are found to be more adversely affected by early labour force entry than boys; with the gender difference increasing the earlier a child begins to work.⁴⁶

111. As a consequence of compromised labour market outcomes, an intergenerational persistence in child labour is likely to arise. Children are more likely to work the younger their parents were when they entered the labour force and the lower the educational attainment of their parents. More likely to be poor, former child labourers as adults are also more likely to have to depend on their children's labour or productivity as a household survival strategy, thus perpetuating the child labour-poverty cycle.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Beegle et al. (2008).

⁴⁵ Ilahi, Orazem and Sedlacek (2000); Emerson and Souza (2007).

⁴⁶ Gustaffson-Wright and Pyne (2002).

⁴⁷ Emerson and Souza (2003).

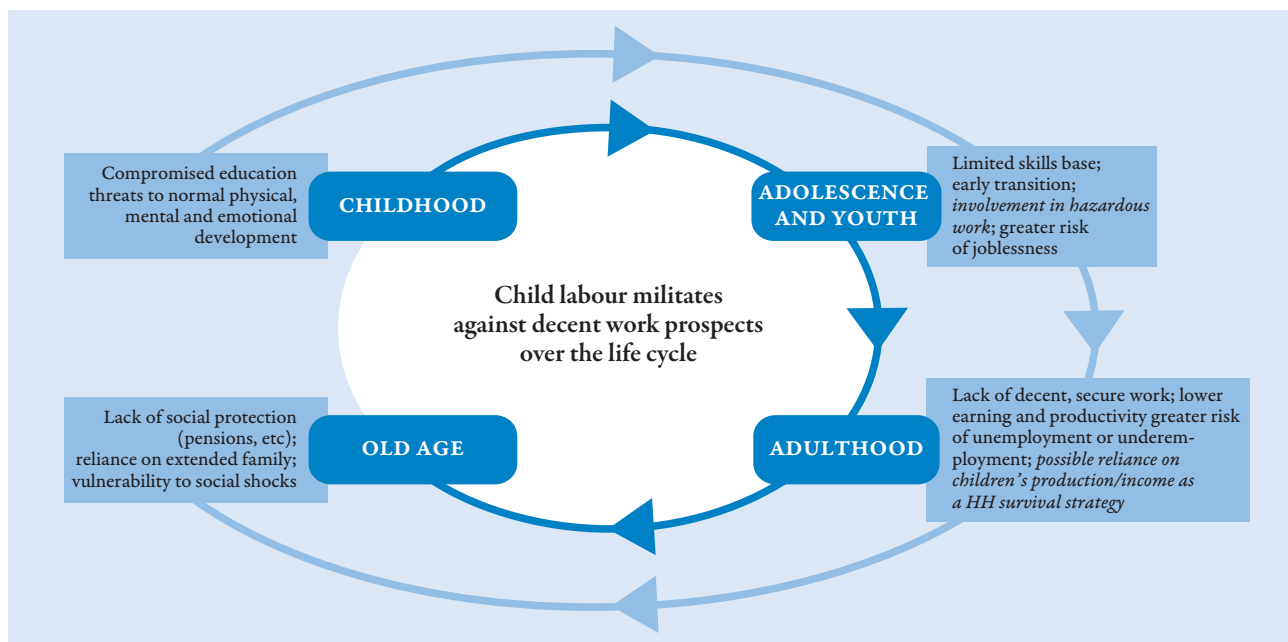


Figure 34. Child labour and decent work over the lifecycle

4.2 Youth labour market conditions and human capital investment decisions

112. How can labour market conditions for young people affect child labour? Again, the primary connection is through education. Poor youth employment prospects (or poor quality schooling, see Chapter 10) can serve as a disincentive to investment in children’s education. In situations where the child reaches the minimum working age facing few opportunities for productive and decent work, and a long transition from school to work, parents might have less incentive to forego the opportunity cost of child labour and invest instead in their children’s schooling (Figure 34).

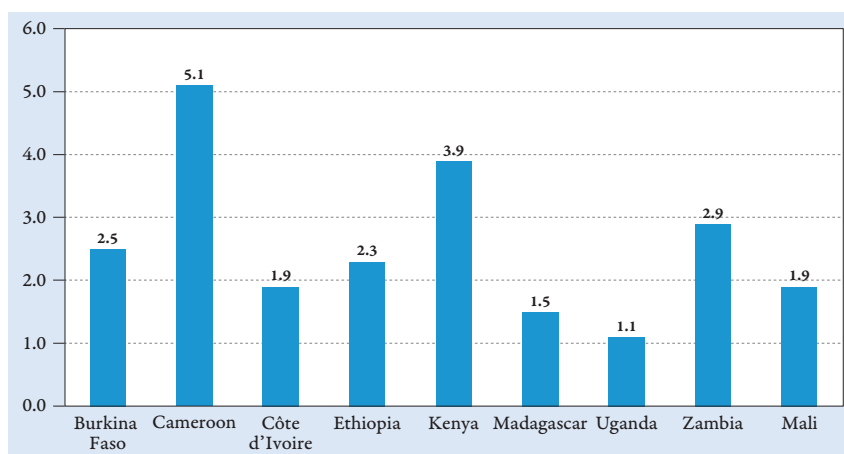
113. UCW has developed a set of tools to better analyse the transition of youth to the labour market, particularly in the Sub-Saharan Africa context.⁴⁸ Survey data from 10 Sub-Saharan Africa countries suggest that, in most countries, after leaving school, youth spend at least one year before finding a job. This estimated school-to-work duration varies widely between countries, but could extend to more than five years in some instances. Among youth, females tend to leave school at an earlier age and transit to work more slowly than males. Moreover, rural youth tend to start the transition earlier and find employment more quickly than urban youth.

114. Youth unemployment and long search durations are predominantly urban phenomena. Unemployment is neither a viable option nor a particularly meaningful economic concern in rural areas. However, this masks the fact that rural children are likely to transit to low productivity jobs in the agricultural sector, possibly on the household farm, or they are likely to migrate to urban areas where they queue for rationed jobs.

115. The length and timing of the transition do not necessarily capture the “success” of transition, i.e., the quality of the job eventually found. Very often, young people work within the informal economy, in intermittent and insecure arrangements, meaning low productivity, low earnings and limited employment protection, or they are simply under-employed. In Mongolia,

⁴⁸ Fares et al. (2005).

Figure 35.
Ratio of youth to adult
unemployment rates,
SSA countries



Source: UCW calculations based on World Bank Standard Files and Standard Indicators (SFSI) datasets.

for instance, only 1 per cent of the youth population had successfully completed their transition to “decent work”,⁴⁹ that is work generating adequate income and guaranteeing rights at work and social protection. Almost 60 per cent of young people, on the other hand, were still in transition, meaning they were still looking for decent work, whether they were technically employed, unemployed or inactive.⁵⁰

116. The difficulties which young persons face in entering the labour market are also evident in higher unemployment rates relative to older workers. As shown in Figure 35, the youth unemployment rate exceeds that of their older counterparts in all Sub-Saharan Africa countries included in the UCW survey database, often by a factor of two or more.

117. In several countries, young people are disproportionately represented among the long-term unemployed, again underscoring their difficulties in transitioning to the labour force. A large fraction of unemployed youths can be categorized as long-term unemployed, as defined by being unemployed for a period longer than one year. For example, the long-term unemployed form a large share of total unemployed young people in Bangladesh and Mongolia. As shown in Figure 37, more than 45 per cent of the unemployed youth population has been seeking work for more than one year and an additional 10 per cent for more than three years in Bangladesh. Overall, more than 55 per cent of the unemployed youth is in long-term unemployment. A similar situation can also be observed for Mongolia, where more than 65 per cent of the unemployed youth has been looking for work for more than one year. Perceived high unemployment risks appear to have an important negative impact on school attendance. For example, in Mexico, adolescents expecting high unemployment probability tend not to complete secondary education.⁵¹

118. High youth unemployment rates are generally not a signal that educated youth will suffer a lifelong disadvantage. They can, however, have substantial disincentive effects for young people coming from poor and vulnerable households. These households, in fact, who often face difficulty in accessing credit might not be able to “finance” the long transition from

⁴⁹ Decent work is captured in four strategic objectives: fundamental principles and rights at work and international labour standards; employment and income opportunities; social protection and social security; and social dialogue and tripartism. These objectives hold for all workers, women and men, in both formal and informal economies; in wage employment or working on their own account; in the fields, factories and offices; in their home or in the community. (www.ilo.org)

⁵⁰ Youth population refers to 15–29 years old. Calculations are based on the School-to-Work Transition Survey² conducted in Mongolia between October and December 2006. For further details see Pastore (2008).

⁵¹ Attanasio and Kauffman (2009).

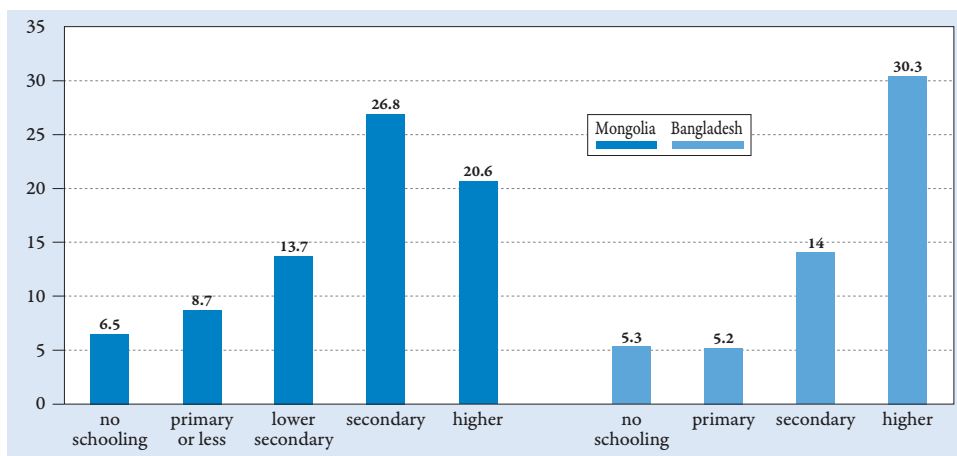


Figure 36.
Unemployment rates,
20–24 age group, by level
of education attainment

Source: UCW calculations based on Mongolia Labour Force Survey 2006–2007; UCW calculations based on Bangladesh Annual Labour Force Survey, 2005–2006.

school to work of their offspring and consequently might prefer to make them begin to work at an early age without investing in their education.

119. Indeed, poor households might infer their employment prospects by observing high unemployment incidence among those currently with high levels of education (Figure 36). Observing graduate youth unemployment might therefore act as a deterrent for poorly educated children to acquire further education and increase the incentives for early school dropout and early labour market entry.

120. Perceived returns from education depend not only on the difficulties faced in the labour market but also on expected wages. Indeed, recent evidence indicates that expected wages are an important determinant of children’s decisions to stay in school, and that children or their households might severely underestimate the returns from additional education. In Mexico, among 15 to 25 year olds, the expected returns from schooling are substantially lower than the returns which are realized, particularly among children of fathers who have low education levels.⁵² In the Dominican Republic in 2001, a survey showed that boys enrolled in the final year of primary school greatly underestimated the returns from having a high school degree. This information gap occurred because they based their estimates on observing the wages only of youth who remained in the neighbourhood after completing secondary schools. Students at randomly selected schools were then given information on the estimated actual earnings profiles. Follow-up surveys in 2005 indicate that those who were given the information were 12 per cent more likely to attend school in the following school year relative to those who had not been given the information.⁵³

121. The evidence reviewed above emphasizes that strategies to give young people a chance to access decent work cannot be divorced from efforts to combat child labour. Despite considerable progress in understanding the links between child labour and youth employment, the relative importance and interplay of better youth employment prospects and child labour remain poorly understood. Future research will therefore need to seek to increase this understanding. Moreover, many questions concerning the employment experiences of former child labourers also remain unanswered.

122. The chapter thus serves to underscore the fact that child labour and youth labour market outcomes are closely related, pointing to the need for an integrated policy approach.

⁵² Attanasio and Kauffman (2009).

⁵³ Jensen (2006).

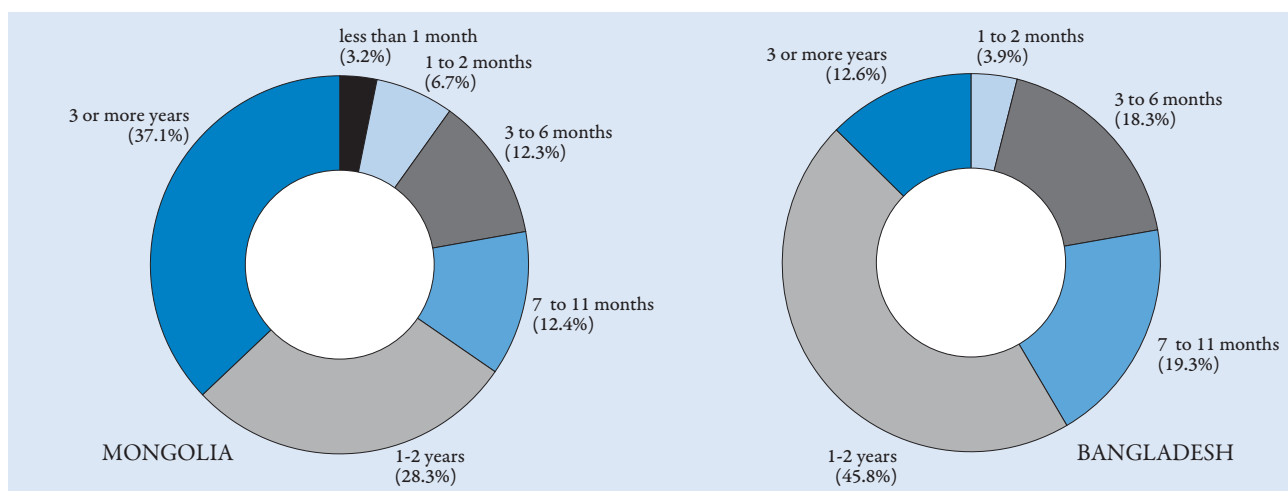


Figure 37.
Distribution of unemployment duration, 15–24 years

Source: UCW calculations based on Mongolia Labour Force Survey 2006–2007; UCW calculations based on Bangladesh Annual Labour Force Survey, 2005–2006.

Policymakers sometimes address youth employment problems from a specific labour market perspective, not taking into account that the difficulties young persons face in accessing decent work in the labour market often originate in child labour and compromised education.

123. A priority in improving youth employability is to eliminate exclusion from education and training opportunities. Policies should aim to enable vulnerable youth (including former child labourers and early drop-outs) to have access to decent work by strengthening their employability through training in vocational skills, life skills and entrepreneurship. Programmes and policies that target disadvantaged youth are most effective if they tackle the specific causes of the disadvantage. Thus, efforts to alleviate the problems of child labour and youth unemployment and underemployment cannot be dissociated from one another, nor can they be addressed separately from overall endeavours to promote decent job opportunities on a sustainable basis. This calls for more targeted interventions aimed at ending child labour.

Chapter 5. Child labour and migration

Summary

- For children who are left behind when parents migrate, there is a need to balance the benefits of remittances with the negative psychological effects resulting from the absence of parents.
- The balance between costs and benefits is less clear for children who migrate with families.
- Net benefits are negative in most cases of children who migrate alone.

124. Millions of children and adolescents are on the move or are left behind by migrating parents. UNDP estimates that there are some 740 million internal migrants and 200 million international migrants in the world today. This chapter discusses how migration might affect children's schooling and their involvement in child labour. It focuses on three groups of children affected by migration – those left behind by migrating parents, those migrating with their families, and those migrating alone, independently of parents or adult guardians – each of which faces a unique set of challenges and threats.

125. The discourse on migration and development recognizes that migration can help migrants and their families improve their living standards and welfare. At the same time, migration can also introduce new vulnerabilities and costs for migrants, their families, and communities of origin. A child's rights to grow up within his/her own family, to enjoy family relations, have a legal identity, be educated in their own language and know their own culture, as well as be protected from exploitation and abuse should not be compromised by the need of the parents to make economic choices which may improve both the child's and household's life opportunities. Whether children benefit from such promised economic benefits depends upon their access to the additional resources which may be influenced by their age, sex and the context and calibre of care left behind.

126. Yet, questions of how children are affected by migration are often overlooked and little is known about the impact of migration on children in developing countries.⁵⁴ This means that more information is needed which will provide support in addressing one of the key policy challenges posed by migration, i.e., ensuring that it benefits rather than harms society's youngest members.

⁵⁴ International organizations and NGOs have recently pioneered research on the impact of migration on children in developing countries.

5.1 Children left behind by migrating parents

127. The number of children left behind by migrating parents is already large and is growing in many developing countries. How are these children affected by migration? Remittances sent home by absent parents can increase consumption, finance schooling, buy health care and fund better housing. They can also diversify sources of income and cushion families against setbacks such as illness or larger shocks caused by economic downturns, political conflict or climate vagaries.⁵⁵ But at the same time, migration is likely to cause disruption to household life and to have consequences on children's psychosocial development, their performance at school and involvement in employment. This section looks at the limited available evidence concerning benefits and disadvantages incurred by children as a result of their parents' migration.

128. It is difficult to estimate the number of children who are affected by parental migration. However, some preliminary results from country-level studies highlight the magnitude of the left-behind children phenomenon. It is estimated that around one million children in Sri Lanka are left behind by their mothers⁵⁶ who migrate in search of work. In the Philippines, it is estimated that around nine million children or around 27 per cent of all children in the country live separated from one or both parents.⁵⁷ In Moldova in 2006, it was estimated that 31 per cent of children up to the age of 14 had been left behind by one parent and 5 per cent by both parents.⁵⁸

129. Income constraints and lack of access to credit play an important role in households' decisions concerning children's education. By relaxing household income and capital constraints, remittances are likely to increase the opportunity for children to acquire human capital. Several recent studies have emphasized the potential for remittances to alleviate resource constraints and thereby promote children's human capital investment. For instance, in El Salvador, remittances are associated with a lower probability of children dropping out of school,⁵⁹ municipalities in Mexico receiving more remittances have greater literacy levels and higher school attendance among children 6 to 14 years old;⁶⁰ in the Philippines an increase in the value of remittances generates a rise in child schooling and a decrease in child labour;⁶¹ in Ecuador⁶² and in Pakistan⁶³ remittances have a positive impact on school enrolment and reduce child labour, particularly among girls in rural areas.

130. While remittances are likely to enable households to overcome borrowing constraints, migration might have disruptive effects on the life of a household, with a number of potentially negative consequences on children's schooling and labour supply. Parental absence might result in family disintegration and less supervision of children (see Panel 8). Where the rates of parental absence are high and prolonged, fragmented family structures might result in profound effects on the well-being of children, leaving them vulnerable to neglect and abuse as well as to the adverse consequences of risky behaviour. On the other hand, strong involvement of the extended family could fill the gaps left by migrant parents and hence mitigate the social costs of parental absence.⁶⁴

⁵⁵ UNDP (2009).

⁵⁶ Save the Children in Sri Lanka (2006).

⁵⁷ Reyes (2008).

⁵⁸ UNICEF (2008).

⁵⁹ Cox-Edwards and Ureta (2003) and Acosta (2006).

⁶⁰ Lopez Cordova (2005).

⁶¹ Yang (2005).

⁶² Calero, Bedi and Sparrow (2008).

⁶³ Mansuri (2006).

⁶⁴ Bryant (2005).

Panel 8. The emotional impact of migration on children left behind: Evidence from Latin America and the Caribbean

The emotional impact of migration on children has been given scant attention in analyses and discussions on the costs and benefits of migration for families. In Jamaica, Mexico and Nicaragua, family disintegration, challenges in parenting, adoption of risky behaviour by children and adolescents left without parental guidance, and increased vulnerability to violence; abuse and exploitation are some of the manifestations observed as a result of migration.

Family disintegration and challenges in parenting

In Mexico, migration appears to be an important factor in family disintegration, while repeated references were made to the excessive burden for single mothers left in the community of origin to provide care for children and for other dependent members of the family. In Nicaragua and Mexico, children are found to resent the absence of fathers; and mothers reported increased parenting problems with their children. The longer the separation between migrating parents and children, the more children lose parents' reference in the management of the household, their authority, and their role as providers of love and material care. Parents are gradually replaced by other family members, especially grandmothers and aunts in the case of female migration (as noted above, very few mothers migrate with their children).

Psychological distress

The effect of migration on children and women who remain in the the communities of origin revolves around the issues of attachment, separation and loss. In Mexico, a majority of women stated that they had suffered periods of depression and 30 per cent considered some of their health problems were related to the stress of having absent partners or family members. A survey undertaken in Nicaragua on "what has migration meant for my family" in municipalities from which large numbers of migrants originate, revealed that most children express feelings of sadness, while understanding the reasons that motivate their family member to migrate, and recognizing that their level of material

well-being has increased. Several children indicated as a major problem the separation between their parents, due to one of them migrating. They thus experience a double separation – mother-father and parent-child. In Jamaica, the immediate psychosocial effects on children affected by migration range from feelings of abandonment, "parentification" – as children are given the responsibility to look after themselves as well as sometimes their fathers and siblings –, and destabilization. As the period of separation between parent and child can vary between three and ten years in the case of Jamaica, children left by their parents sometimes spend their entire lives struggling with feelings of rejection, abandonment and loss.

Risky behaviour

More acute forms of psychological distress, such as the adoption of risky behaviour, have been observed as a result of migration among adolescents left behind. In Jamaica, the absence of mothers was a key determinant to the involvement of children in violence: 80 per cent of children in conflict with the law had absent mothers (while this was the case for only 30 per cent of other children) and migration was the second most important reason for the absence of mothers. In Mexico, problems associated with drug and alcohol abuse were found to be greater for adolescents who had migrant fathers. Reduced attention to school and tasks in the home was also stated as a result of migration.

Vulnerability to abuse

In Jamaica, migration significantly increases the risk of children being abused or exploited. Migration of mothers was a much more significant factor than that of fathers in terms of being physically and sexually abused. In addition, new patterns have emerged such as the links between migration and drug trafficking which involve mothers and crime, and which increase the numbers of adult and children returnees often without legal means of subsistence.

Reproduced from: D'Emilio et al. (2007).

131. Parental absence might make children less likely to receive some forms of education inputs and more likely to be involved in employment in order to substitute for adult labour in certain circumstances. This particular impact of parental absence on children's human capital investment in households with migrant workers remains an area where relatively little is known. In Thailand, the absence of parents has negative impacts on the school enrolment of children left behind. In particular, the long-term absence of mothers appears to substantially lower the educational chances of children left behind.⁶⁵ Vietnamese children from households with migrant workers seem to have a lower probability of being in school and higher probability of employment.⁶⁶

132. To summarize, it is important to note that a range of studies have pointed to improved economic conditions after migration due to private transfers from migrant workers. This positive effect of remittances might be counteracted by parental absence. Parental absence as a result of migration might translate into less parental inputs into education acquisition and might also require children to undertake household chores or get involved in employment. The net effect on human capital investments of children left behind depends on whether the benefits arising from remittances offsets the consequences of household disruption. Given the high number of children affected by migration flows, it is crucial to identify the different policy options that might protect vulnerable children. It is worth stressing that countries have not systematically documented short-term and long-term impacts of migration on the psychological and social well-being of children remaining in the areas of origin. This information would be critical in order to improve the understanding of education and labour outcomes of children who have been left behind.

5.2 Children migrating with the household

133. Children migrating with their families constitute another important group affected by migration. While again reliable estimates are limited, this is probably the largest group of migrant children. The situation of economic migrants should be clearly distinguished from that of households displaced because of armed conflicts, environmental changes, disasters, and so on. In most cases, the latter are in extremely difficult circumstances and their children are sometimes in need of special interventions to guarantee their physical survival. Economic migrants, in general, expect and on average, achieve an improvement in their well-being with respect to their initial situation. However, some households might face difficulties in their new environment during the transition and integration process, particularly if they lack legal status. Moreover, not all migrants are "successful" and might end up in difficult and vulnerable situations.

134. Beside the factors that make migrant households vulnerable, there are a number of factors that increase vulnerability of children who accompany their families. By leaving the safety net of their villages or hometowns and their usual support networks, families face greater risk of social exclusion in unfamiliar areas, whether in their home country or across borders. Children from migrant households might run the risk of suffering social exclusion and failing at school because of the difficulties faced by their families, especially in the initial period of transition towards integration. Furthermore, children of migrant households might not speak the local language, which could trigger problems for their schooling; they might be from a different ethnic group or nationality, exposing them to discrimination; their lack of a birth certificate, once away from their place of birth, might deny them official identity. The legal status of the migrant household is likely to influence substantially the rights of children. These difficulties might be a serious impediment to access basic services, including schools and

⁶⁵ Jampaklay (2006).

⁶⁶ Booth and Tamura (2009).

health services. This factor, together with work opportunities offered by urban areas (where the majority of migrants flow), might generate an incentive for children to work, especially for recent migrant families still in transition towards integration in the new area of residence. Children who are not in school – whether due to lack of access to basic services or the result of pressure to contribute to household earnings – turn to the labour market, and are also vulnerable to the worst forms of child labour.

135. The complex outcomes of the migration phenomenon are reflected in the diversified experiences of countries. For instance, in Mongolia, statistics from a nationally representative labour force survey do not suggest that children living in migrant families are in a particularly disadvantaged position relative to non-migrant families.⁶⁷ Indeed, school attendance is higher and employment is substantially lower among migrants compared to non-migrants in this age group in destination areas (Table 3). These results are consistent with the main findings of other studies on internal migration that indicate an improvement in migrants' children's education in Ulanbaatar and Orkhon. On the contrary, as shown in Table 4, in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), children who migrated with the family are in a disadvantaged position compared to their peers from non-migrant families in destination areas. Indeed, school attendance is higher and involvement in employment is substantially lower among non-migrants compared to migrants in this age group. Of course this simple comparison is likely to overstate the difficulties faced by migrant children since we compare them to their non-migrant peers in destination areas and not to non-migrant peers in their areas of origin.

136. Another category of migrant, which has so far received little attention though particularly vulnerable, is that of children of seasonal migrants. Seasonal migration of labour for employment is a very important component of the livelihood strategies of people living in rural areas. In some countries, entire families migrate in search of work for several months every year. Children generally move with their parents and face the difficulty of being constantly mobile. In most situations, there is a lack of educational opportunities in the destination areas and children are involved in employment as part of a family unit. For example, in some countries, upon returning to their areas of origin, children are not only behind in their studies but are without any legal documentation, making re-integration into formal education impossible.

137. Evidence from India⁶⁸ shows the high vulnerability of children of seasonal migrants. Seasonal migration is a growing phenomenon in almost all arid parts of India. Drought and lack of work in rural areas force entire families to migrate for several months every year in search of work merely to survive. Children have no choice but to accompany their parents. Broad estimates put the numbers of children involved in seasonal migrations between 4 and 6 million. Migration takes place into a range of industrial and agro-industrial sectors such as brick manufacture, salt making, sugar cane harvesting, stone quarrying, construction, plantations and fishing. In destination areas, children are mostly drawn into the labour process by employers and contractors and also by their parents. While children are not officially "employed", employers nevertheless benefit from this free labour, which is subsumed under the category of "family labour".

138. It is worth noting that involvement of migrant children in commercial agriculture is also prevalent in developed countries. For example, in the USA, one of the most vulnerable segments of the population, namely children of migrant agricultural workers and workers resident in the United States, number an estimated 800,000.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ UCW (2009a).

⁶⁸ Smita (2008).

⁶⁹ ILO (2006b).

Table 3. Child activity status in Mongolia, 7–14 years age group, by migrant status

Activity status	Migrants			Non-migrants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Employment only	0.6	1.4	1.0	2.1	1.3	1.7
Schooling only	90.8	88.5	89.7	82.3	87.1	84.6
Employment and schooling	3.7	7.5	5.4	10.0	7.2	8.7
Neither	5.0	2.6	3.9	5.7	4.4	5.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: UCW calculations based on Mongolia, Labour Force Survey 2006–2007.

Table 4. Child activity status in Addis Ababa – Ethiopia, 7–14 years age group, by migrant status

Activity status	Migrants			Non-migrants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Employment (a)	16.8	23.1	21.5	3.8	2.6	3.3
Schooling (b)	88.4	72.2	76.1	94.9	97.1	96.1

Source: ^a UCW calculations based on Ethiopia, Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2005. ^b UCW calculations based on Ethiopia, Rural-Urban migration survey 2008.

139. As the previous discussion illustrates, the risks and vulnerabilities of children migrating with their families do not lead to an easy generalization, but need to be assessed on the basis of the nature of the migration, its circumstances and its destination.

5.3 Children migrating alone

140. Children forced to migrate alone are by far the most vulnerable group of children affected by migration. Unfortunately, statistical information and research on this group is severely lacking. Most of the research on the subject is based on small-scale surveys and therefore not necessarily representative.

141. There are different economic and familial reasons for parents to send their children away, or for children to move away voluntarily or by force. Children's migration can be considered a coping strategy and a way to generate income for the family. This practice, in fact, might reduce household expenses and possibly increases household income. Moreover, children might migrate independently because of their need to earn more money for their own upkeep and to have more autonomy.

142. Orphanhood might induce children's mobility, particularly in the Sub-Saharan African context. An orphan crisis has dramatically emerged in Africa, largely associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The dramatic rise in orphanhood is overwhelming the ability of families, communities, civil societies and governments to ensure orphans' safety and well-being.⁷⁰ Migration of family members is an important mechanism by which extended families cope with the consequences of HIV and AIDS. Orphaned children are likely to perform some form of work in destination areas to support themselves and/or their families, interfering with or precluding schooling. The worst-off are forced onto the street, where they might become involved in sexual exploitation or other harmful forms of work.

⁷⁰ Beegle, De Weerd and Dercon (2009); Guarcello et al. (2004).

143. Child fostering, a long-standing and widespread tradition in the West African context, triggers important child mobility as children are sent to, or are requested by the extended family.⁷¹ Girls, and sometimes boys, may be recruited by a distant relative (also residing abroad) or someone from their village to work in the house of the relative or of someone else whom the relative knows.

144. Domestic violence is also a factor prompting children's migration. The desire to achieve independence from parents/guardians who are neglectful and/or sexually or physically violent might trigger the decision to migrate elsewhere in the country or abroad. For instance, a study on children living in the streets of Bangladesh⁷² indicates that most of the boys and girls report domestic violence during the year prior to their migration. Most of these children described repeated and multiple forms of violence during that period, ranging from menaces, isolation, imprisonment, withholding or taking of money, threatened physical harm, beatings and sexual harassment.

145. Armed conflicts also appear to be an important reason for children to migrate alone (see Panel 9), in particular when children have lost their parents/guardians. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that during the 1990s at least 2 million children died and millions more were displaced because of war and political violence. The chaos of war when families are impoverished and dispersed and governmental authorities are severely weakened provides an environment that triggers children's independent migration. Children are often forced into looking after family members if both parents have been killed or are trying to work to support the family. Children may be required to work, having to forgo educational opportunities with lifelong consequences for their social, economic and health status. Girls in particular may have to assume roles that make them more vulnerable to sexual harassment, unwanted pregnancy and HIV, AIDS.

146. Child domestic workers constitute an important part of the group of children migrating alone. Evidence from household surveys suggests that child domestic workers are frequently migrants from rural areas, sent to the city to help their families of origin to help make ends meet.⁷³ For example, in Paraguay, 13 per cent of child domestic workers living in urban areas reported having migrated from rural areas while the share of migrants in other forms of employment is only 2 per cent (Table 5). In a similar vein, in Uganda a much larger percentage of domestic child workers are migrants (46 per cent) than children working in other sectors (11 per cent) (Table 6). Child domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, including excessively long hours with little or no pay, and physical, emotional and sexual abuse.⁷⁴ Child domestic work is carried out in private homes, and thus it is hidden from public view and eludes inspection. Their heavy work burden also often leaves these children unable to attend school or complete schooling. Lacking any form of social or legal protection, their well-being is entirely dependent on the whims of their employers.⁷⁵

147. As mentioned, comprehensive data on the extent and characteristics of the independent child migration phenomenon are not available. However, there is evidence that independent child migrants are present in the labour force in key economic sectors. For instance, in Honduras, there is internal migration of children who work in the melon and coffee sectors;⁷⁶ children migrate from Bolivia to Argentina as seasonal agricultural workers; in Ghana and in

⁷¹ Kielland and Tovo (2006); Pillon (2003).

⁷² Conticini and Hulme (2006).

⁷³ UCW, forthcoming (c)

⁷⁴ IPEC (2003a).

⁷⁵ UNICEF (2004).

⁷⁶ IPEC (1999).

Panel 9. Children in armed conflicts

Contemporary conflicts are increasingly associated with large population movements. While some displaced people are able to move to more distant places in North America, Western Europe and Australasia, most of them relocate within or near their country of origin. Their destinations determine whether those who flee will become internally displaced persons (IDPs) in their own countries or refugees who have crossed national borders.^a

Africa and Asia have been most affected by massive population upheavals but no region has really escaped either the phenomenon itself or its ramifications. At the end of 2008, there were some 42 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. This includes 15.2 million refugees, 827,000 asylum-seekers and 26 million IDPs.^b

The protection and assistance needs of IDPs are similar to those of refugees in nearly all respects; and yet their situation can be worse. While refugees have often moved outside the war zone, IDPs usually remain within or close to the scene of conflict and they are often likely to be displaced repeatedly.

School-aged children (5–17 years) represent on average one third of refugees and asylum seekers, IDPs and returned IDPs as well as 40 per cent of returned refugees.

At a crucial and vulnerable time in their lives, children have been brutally uprooted and exposed to danger and insecurity. In the course of displacement, millions of children have been separated from their families, physically abused, exploited and abducted into military groups, or they have perished from hunger and disease.

Beyond this insecurity, trying to earn a decent income is an important challenge encountered by displaced people, particularly where they lack identity papers. In most cases, malnutrition, poor access to clean water and health care,

and lack of documentation and property rights are typical among the internally displaced.

An acute problem for internally displaced children is access to health and education services. Moreover, the access of internally displaced persons to humanitarian assistance is often impeded. Even if schools exist, the children may not be able to enrol because they lack proper documentation, are not considered residents of the area or are unable to pay school fees. Feelings of exclusion, as well as the struggle for survival and protection, may lead children to join parties to the conflict or to become street children.

In addition to these wider environmental risk factors, children's vulnerability to certain protection problems can be aggravated by factors resulting from their individual circumstances. Children who may be at heightened risk include: unaccompanied and separated children, particularly those in child-headed households.^c

Unaccompanied children are those who are separated from both parents and are not in the care of another adult who, by law or custom, has taken responsibility to do so. Children are often separated from parents in the chaos of conflict, escape and displacement. Parents or other primary caregivers are the major source of a child's emotional and physical security and for this reason family separation can have a devastating social and psychological impact. Family reunification is recognized as a fundamental right and is a priority for several international organizations. These children are especially vulnerable and often at risk of being abducted and recruited by rebel groups, paramilitary or government forces.^d

Notes

^a UNDP(2009). ^b UNHCR (2009). ^c UNHCR (2007). ^d For detailed studies on child soldiers, see IPEC (2007b); IPEC (2003d); IPEC (2002b).

Côte d'Ivoire internal child migrants are present on cocoa farms;⁷⁷ and in Mali and Burkina Faso, large numbers of children migrate to work in the gold mines.

148. As an example of the vulnerability of children migrating alone, we present evidence relative to Ethiopia and Mali (Figure 38). Some of the migrant children are attending school, but few are able to avoid work. For instance, in Ethiopia⁷⁸ internal migrant children living in Addis Ababa are in a disadvantaged position compared with non-migrants, but children who

⁷⁷ IPEC (2007d).

⁷⁸ Guarcello, Rosati and Ruggeri-Laderchi, forthcoming.

migrated alone are even worse off compared with children who migrated with their families. Children migrating alone are more likely to be involved in some kind of employment and less likely to attend school compared to children who have migrated with their family. A similar picture emerges for children aged 10–14 years migrating to the capital city in Mali.

Table 5. Migrant children, percentage of child domestic workers and children in employment (excluding domestic workers) which moved to current place of residence from rural areas in the past three years, Paraguay

Sex	Child domestic workers	Children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)
Male	0.0	2.5
Female	14.6	1.3
Total	13.0	2.2

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Paraguay Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (2004).

Table 6. Migrant children, percentage of child domestic workers and children in employment (excluding domestic workers) which moved to current place of residence from rural areas in the past five years, Uganda

Sex	Child domestic workers	Children in other forms of employment (excluding domestic workers)
Male	42.4	9.5
Female	47.7	12.5
Total	46.1	11.0

Source: UCW calculation based on micro-data from Uganda National Household Survey (2005/06).

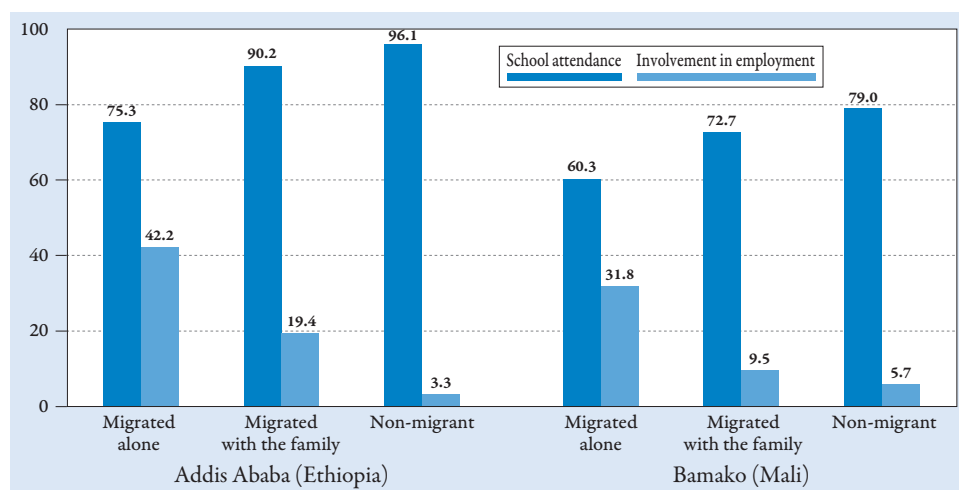


Figure 38. Employment and school attendance of children, by migration status. Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) age 7–14 and Bamako (Mali) 10–14

Source: UCW calculations based on Ethiopia, Rural-Urban migration survey 2008 and Mali Enquete Permanente Emploi Aupres des Menages (EPAM), 2007.

149. Child migrants who end up working and living in the streets are worse off. They merely find a shelter or someone to stay with. Some of them often end up as beggars. In Dakar,⁷⁹ for example, almost all of the children who beg originate either from the poorest regions of Senegal, i.e. Kolda and Kaolack or from neighbouring countries, principally Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali and The Gambia. The variety of situations in which migrant children can be found and the risks to which they can be exposed, as well as the differentiated sources of their vulnerabilities imply that specific policies are needed to address these issues. Accordingly, the policy response has, of course, to be modeled to different circumstances. For example, if recent migrants are especially disadvantaged in accessing education systems, targeted social protection systems might be required. On the other hand, in order to address the issue of migrant domestic workers, special measures might be needed to support vulnerable households in the sending areas, to promote a change in attitude both in the sending and receiving households, to integrate them into formal or remedial education and promote their freedom of association.

150. What emerges from the previous discussion is the opportunity to integrate concerns for the special needs of migrant children, who come from a variety of circumstances, into the design of policies and strategies addressing child labour.

⁷⁹ UCW (2007a).

Chapter 6. Child labour and health

Summary

- Exposure to child labour has both immediate health and safety implications as well as and longer term consequences for adult health.
- Both the sector and the time intensity of work influence its health impact.
- The agriculture sector, where most child labourers are found, appears to have a particularly poor safety record.

151. The health impact of children's employment is an important consideration in determining which forms of work constitute child labour. Indeed, health impact lies at the heart of international legal standards relating to child labour. ILO Convention No. 138 states that no child should enter work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise her or his health, safety or morals (Article 3).⁸⁰ ILO Convention No. 182 following from Convention No. 138, calls on Members to take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency (Article 1),⁸¹ and identifies threats to health, safety or morals of children, as one of the criterion for worst forms (Article 3).⁸²

152. In investigating the issue of child labour and health, two key questions arise. First, does child labour directly affect the health of the working child? And second, are child labourers worse off in terms of health than non-working children of similar backgrounds?

153. To an extent, the answer to the first question is clear. Children working with dangerous materials, such as asbestos or molten glass, in unhealthy environments, such as mines or quarries, or long hours in sweatshop conditions obviously face serious jeopardy to their health. Likewise, the toll of heavy farm labour on young bodies, use of dangerous tools and machinery, contact with fertilizers and pesticides and sheer exhaustion from long working days (or nights), – all undoubtedly impact negatively on health. But for the purposes of policy formulation, targeting of interventions, and advocacy, more precise information is needed on the often complex

⁸⁰ The full text of Article 3(1) reads: The minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years.

⁸¹ The full text of Article 1 reads: "Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency."

⁸² The full text of Article 3 reads: "For the purposes of this Convention, the term *the worst forms of child labour* comprises: (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 labour, 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 of children."

relationships between children's work types and arrangements, on the one hand, and their health outcomes, on the other. It is important to know the severity of the risk that different sectors of work pose to a child's physical, psychological and intellectual health and development, yet there is virtually no data from developing country contexts in order to prioritize action.

154. The second question is more difficult to address. While work can clearly impact on a child's health, the reverse can also be true: a child's health can influence whether a child is sent to work by his or her family. A sick child (whether due to previous work or other causes) may be unable to work. This "healthy worker" effect may disguise the negative impact of work on children's health, resulting in working children sometimes actually scoring higher than non-working children in measures of general health.⁸³ What is more, the contribution of child labourers to household income may mean greater resources available for health care and adequate nutrition, with a potential positive effect on the health of child labourers relative to those from households without child labourers.⁸⁴ There is, however, some robust evidence concerning the negative long-term health outcomes of former child labourers vis-à-vis persons that did not work as children.

155. The remainder of this chapter takes up both of these questions in more detail. It looks first at the limited evidence on immediate health consequences attributable to work. The chapter then looks at evidence concerning the long-term health consequences of former child labourers.

6.1 Immediate health consequences of child labour

156. What share of child labourers suffers injuries or illness as a direct result of work? While many surveys collect information on the general health of child labourers (and their non-working peers), very few yield information on work-related illness or injury. A subset of surveys fielded as part of the SIMPOC programme constitutes an exception; these surveys queried child respondents on episodes of work-related illness and/or injury they experienced. Evidence from seven such SIMPOC surveys permits an assessment of the relative health risk (as measured by injury incidence) of work in different sectors (Table 7).

157. Globally, agriculture is by far the dominant sector of children's employment, and the health impact of work in this industry is therefore of particular interest. Results for the seven SIMPOC surveys indicate that agriculture has a relatively poor safety record. Agriculture poses a greater risk than manufacturing in five of the seven countries, and a greater health risk than services in six of the countries. These results are supported by other more targeted research on the dangers of children's agricultural work. Evidence from the Philippines, for instance, indicates that children working on family farms experience health problems as a result of exposure to infection, heavy lifting and lack of protective clothing,⁸⁵ and that children in agriculture face a risk of injury per hour worked almost five times higher than that of children working in non-agricultural sectors.⁸⁶ Even in the United States, work-related deaths of young workers are highest in agriculture.⁸⁷

⁸³ Indeed, in many simple bi-variate descriptions of the correlation between children's work and children's health this is the result. A UCW study based on data from 18 countries, for example, found no consistent correlation between the percentage of children reporting health problems and work participation rates. In five countries, children working most intensively were most likely to report health problems but in another five countries this was actually the healthiest group of children. In seven cases, those children combining work and school were most likely to suffer illness but there were three countries in which children attending school (and not working) were the least healthy (O'Donnell, Rosati and van Doorslaer, 2004).

⁸⁴ Bhalotra (2003).

⁸⁵ IPEC (1997b).

⁸⁶ Castro, Gormly and Ritualo (2005).

⁸⁷ Bureau of Labor Statistics (2000).

Table 7. Estimated hours worked incidence rate and index of relative risk, by employment sector, children aged 5–17

	Agriculture		Manufacturing		Service		Other (mining, construction)	
	Occupational injury incidence rate (per 100 person-hours worked)	Risk relative to agriculture	Occupational injury incidence rate (per 100 person-hours worked)	Risk relative to agriculture	Occupational injury incidence rate (per 100 person-hours worked)	Risk relative to agriculture	Occupational injury incidence rate (per 100 person-hours worked)	Risk relative to agriculture
Burkina Faso 2006	0.0036	1.0	0.0163	4.5	0.0022	0.6	0.0181	5.0
Madagascar 2007	0.0248	1.0	0.0307	1.2	0.0174	0.7	0.038	1.5
Rwanda 2008	0.0220	1.0	0.0184	0.8	0.0162	0.7	0.0204	0.9
Senegal 2005	0.0031	1.0	0.0014	0.4	0.0033	1.1	0.0095	3.1
Bolivia 2007	0.0458	1.0	0.0356	0.8	0.0260	0.6	0.0311	0.7
Ecuador 2006	0.0043	1.0	0.0030	0.7	0.0029	0.7	0.0049	1.1

Source: UCW calculations based on Household Survey datasets (see Annex II).

158. Not addressed in the descriptive figures presented above is the severity of the injury sustained due to child labour. This information too is vital for prioritizing and targeting purposes, as it could be that the industries where work-related ill-health is most common are not the same as those where serious episodes of work-related illness or injury are most common. A UCW research study in Cambodia took up this question,⁸⁸ using information on treatment that followed the episode of injury/illness as a proxy for severity.⁸⁹ The results indicated that children working in agriculture had a lower probability of getting serious illnesses/injuries with respect to those working in other sectors, despite the fact that agriculture was the sector where accidents were most likely. If this result is taken at face value, it qualifies somewhat the conclusion that the agriculture sector poses the greatest health risk to children in the Cambodian context.⁹⁰

159. The time intensity of child labour affects children’s length of exposure to health hazards in the workplace, and therefore is another important factor in the relationship between work and health. In Cambodia and Bangladesh, not surprisingly, the probability of ill-health rises with time-intensity, although at different rates (Figure 39).⁹¹ In Cambodia, the largest increase in the probability of an episode of ill-health occurs up to 36 hours of work per week, with the highest rate of increase occurring in the range 0 to 24 hours weekly. Differences disaggregated by sex in injury risk are small. In Bangladesh, the probability of suffering an injury for male children is consistently higher than that of girls, and starts to increase from 20 hours of work per week. Female children have to work longer hours to reach the same incidence of injuries, indicating that they might be involved in less dangerous activities with respect to boys.

160. Other more complex causal estimates undertaken as part of the same study confirm that working hours exert a significant effect on the probability of a work-related negative health outcome in the two countries. Each hour of work performed during a week added about an additional 0.3 percentage points to the probability of falling ill in Cambodia, and 0.2 percentage

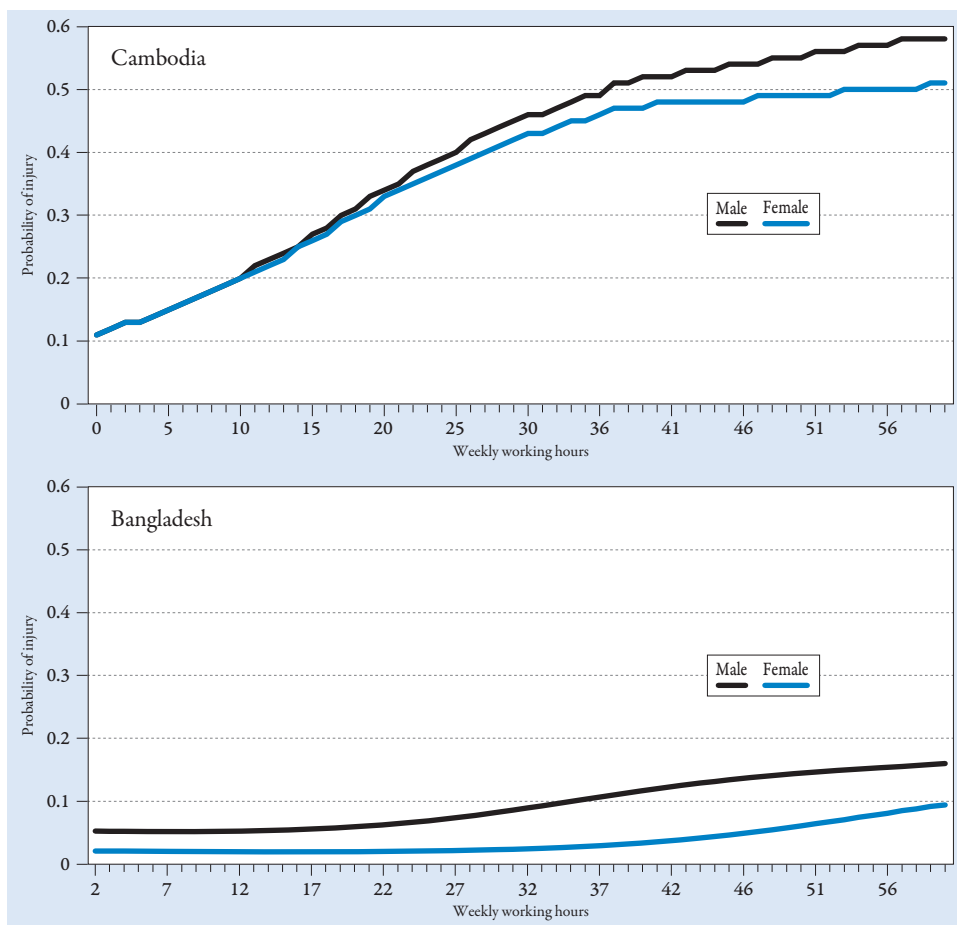
⁸⁸ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004a).

⁸⁹ In particular, four possible events were identified that might follow the occurrence of an injury/illness: a) Did not need any medical treatment b) Medically treated and released immediately; c) Stopped work temporarily; and d) Other (Includes: Hospitalized, Prevented work permanently, Other). Obviously this is far from being a perfect proxy for the severity of the ill health episode. The kind of treatment received is the result of a household decision: identical health accidents can be to a certain extent treated in different ways depending on the income, the education, the preferences etc. of the household and on the characteristics of the individual. In order to take these factors into account, a set of household and individual controls were introduced in the estimates.

⁹⁰ However, the variable used (i.e., treatment) is only an indirect proxy for severity, and therefore the result should be interpreted with caution. The severity of work-related ill-health is an area requiring further research.

⁹¹ Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004a).

Figure 39.
Work-related ill-health and working hours, evidence from Cambodia and Bangladesh



Source: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004a).

points to the probability of falling ill in Bangladesh. This implies that in Cambodia, for example, a child working eight hours a day for six days a week has a probability of a bad health episode eight percentage points higher than a child working four hours a day. Similarly, in Bangladesh, a child working eight hours a day for six days a week faces a five percentage points and three percentage points higher risk, respectively, of injury than a child working six days a week for four hours per day.

161. Of note, the causal estimates also indicate that the level of education reached by the child reduces the probability of declining work-related ill-health in the two countries, suggesting that a higher level of education allows the child to better control the environment in which she has to operate and/or that higher education leads to less harmful work. The effect is strongest in Cambodia, where, for example, a child with completed primary education has a probability of ill-health four percentage points lower than that of a child without complete primary education. It is also interesting to observe that the use of protective equipment in Cambodia, the only country where this information was recorded, is associated with an increase in the probability of being injured by almost seven percentage points. This is only apparently surprising. In fact, protective equipment is likely to be used in hazardous jobs. A positive sign for this variable indicates that the use of protective equipment is not sufficient to fully compensate for the additional risks relative to the work.

162. The preceding discussion serves to underscore the importance of both sector of work and its time intensity in influencing work-related ill-health. But how large is the sectoral effect with respect to the effect of the working hours? This question is important because it

Table 8. Weekly hours of work necessary for constant probability of injury, by sector

Sector	Cambodia		Bangladesh	
	Working hours necessary for 50% probability of injury	Working hours necessary for 40% probability of injury	Working hours necessary for 20% probability of injury	Working hours necessary for 10% probability of injury
Agriculture	18.7	–	78.8	48.8
Manufacturing	56.9	23.9	66.9	36.9
Commerce	77.4	44.5	>80	70.4
Service	79.7	46.7	75.5	45.5

Source: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004a).

relates to whether it is more appropriate to target specific sectors or a combination of both sectors and working hours in identifying hazardous work. In the UCW study based on data from Cambodia and Bangladesh, “iso-risk” combinations, i.e., the combinations of hours and sectors that give the same overall risk of suffering from illness or injury are computed in an attempt to address this issue. The results, shown in Table 8, illustrate that in order to face the same risk across sectors, children would need to log substantially different amounts of working hours. The sectoral dimension of children’s employment and its time intensity, therefore, appear to combine in determining health risk in different ways across sectors and national contexts.

163. Before concluding the discussion on the immediate health impact of child labour, it is worth addressing the question of how child labour might impact on the health status of the siblings of the child labourer. This question arises because there is considerable evidence suggesting that households direct disproportionate resources towards maintaining the nutritional and health status of its working members at the expense of other non-working members. A study in rural Guatemala found that while participation of school-age children in farm production was not associated with a reduction in their own growth and development, younger siblings did experience growth deficits.⁹² A study using data on calorie intake from rural Indonesia, found the intra-household calorie allocation to be related to children’s labour contributions. In turn, lower calorie intake was associated with higher levels of morbidity.⁹³ Another study finds no difference in weight between non-working children and those working for the household in rural Vietnam but do find that children working for pay outside the household are significantly heavier.⁹⁴

6.2 Longer term health consequences of child labour

164. While many of the health risks to which child workers are exposed have an immediate effect on their health, others are likely to develop over many years and might only become manifest in adulthood. Indeed, much of the relationship between work and health is dynamic and therefore not captured by the measures of immediate health impact looked at in the previous section. Exposures to pesticides, chemicals, dusts and carcinogenic agents in agriculture, mining and quarrying and manufacturing increase the future risks of developing respiratory illnesses, cancers and a wide variety of diseases.⁹⁵ In India, industries with large proportions of child labourers also tend to have high rates of TB and silicosis; stonecutters and slate workers,

⁹² Immink and Payongayong (1999).

⁹³ Ralston (1997).

⁹⁴ O’Donnell, Rosati and Van Doorslaer (2004).

⁹⁵ IPEC, Forastieri (1997c); ILO (1998); Fassa et al. (2000).

for example, have silicosis rates of 35 per cent and 55 per cent respectively.⁹⁶ Cancer risks are raised significantly through exposure to asbestos in mining and construction and to aniline dyes in carpet and garment manufacturing.⁹⁷ Ergonomic factors such as heavy lifting and poor posture raise the chances of musculoskeletal problems developing in later life.⁹⁸ Particularly insidious, because they tend to be hidden and therefore unrecognized, are the psychosocial effects of stress, violence, harassment, isolation and the like whose damage on the developing child / adolescent may have serious cumulative and compounding effects on health.

165. Because of strenuous data requirements, robust empirical examination of the long-term health consequences of children's work is limited. Two studies based on different Brazilian datasets support the finding of a negative impact of child labour on health in adulthood.⁹⁹ The first indicates that the probability of reporting less than good health in adulthood rises as the age of entry into the labour force falls, even controlling for education effects, among prime-aged males (aged 28–47 years) and females (aged 18–27 and 38–47 years). The second study indicates that entry into the labour force at or below the age of 9 years has a statistically significant and substantial negative effect on health in adulthood,¹⁰⁰ again controlling for education and a range of other factors.

166. Neither study, however, is able to account for the possibility that the results are the product of differences in childhood experience independent of child labour. The former child labourers, for instance, are likely to grow up in poorer households with fewer resources for health care and nutrition, which in turn is likely to influence their health status as adults. Nor are the two studies able to account for the “healthy worker” effect discussed earlier. If child labourers are indeed healthier than their peers upon entry into work, they may also be more resistant to the health threats encountered in the workplace, meaning fewer long-term health consequences as adults.

167. But other, more rigorous, studies corroborate the Brazil findings concerning the long term health consequences of child labour. A UCW study exploiting longitudinal data from Vietnam found that individuals working during their childhood in rural Vietnam are significantly more likely to report illness up to five years later. The result holds after controlling for an extensive range of individual, household and community level factors and for common unobservable determinants of past work and current illness.¹⁰¹ A research study based on data from Guatemala, controlling for unobserved household (but not individual) characteristics, found that working as a child increases the probability of poor health as an adult by about 40 per cent.¹⁰² And to the extent that healthier children are chosen for child labour in Guatemala, this result likely understates the actual long-term health cost of child labour.

168. Children's work can also affect the time and energy children have for education (see discussion in Chapter 3), which in turn can exert a strong indirect effect on health outcomes. This means that even in the absence of any direct effect of child labour activity on health,

⁹⁶ Parker (1997).

⁹⁷ ILO (1998).

⁹⁸ IPEC, Forastieri (1997c); ILO (1998); Fassa et al. (2000).

⁹⁹ Kassouf, McKee and Mossialos (2001); Giuffrida, Iunes and Savedoff (2005).

¹⁰⁰ Giuffrida, Iunes and Savedoff (2005) estimate a latent variable structural equations model (SEM). That is health status, wealth, health care access are all treated as latent (unobservable) variables, measured, with error, by observable proxy variables. Variations in all three latent variables, plus health care utilisation, are estimated simultaneously with health status specified as a function of (latent) wealth, plus exogenous variables, wealth a function of exogenous variables, health care access a function of health status and wealth and health care utilization a function of health status, wealth and access. Identification is through exclusion restrictions, normalizations and restrictions on the variance-covariance matrix. Health status is proxied by self-assessed health, chronic conditions and limited activity.

¹⁰¹ O'Donnell Rosati and Van Doorslaer (2004).

¹⁰² Rosati and Straub (2006).

there can be indirect effect through the sacrifice of education. A lower level of educational attainment might impact negatively on health through two mechanisms. First, an individual entering adulthood with a lower level of education can, all other things being constant, expect a lower stream of lifetime earnings, which in turn is positively associated with health.¹⁰³ A second channel for a health effect of education operates directly through the accumulation of knowledge concerning health practices.¹⁰⁴ Educated individuals are likely to be better informed on the factors which impact on health and to be more responsive to health education materials and safety training.¹⁰⁵

169. In summary, there is growing evidence of a long-term negative effect of children's work on health. It appears that many of the negative health effects of child labour take time to manifest themselves, and that measuring only immediate health impact therefore substantially underestimates the total health impact of child labour. In policy terms, this means that investment in child labour reduction is likely to have a substantial beneficial spillover effect on adult health. Reduced societal health costs therefore should be taken into consideration when evaluating intervention policies aimed at addressing the child labour issue.

¹⁰³ Steckel (1995); Smith (1999).

¹⁰⁴ Grossman (1972).

¹⁰⁵ Schultz (1984).

Part III

Addressing child labour: Building an integrated policy response

170. Part III of this report presents policy priorities for accelerating progress in the fight against child labour, drawing on empirical evidence concerning its causes and on lessons learnt from past policy efforts. As shown in previous sections, child labour is a complex phenomenon that cuts across policy boundaries, and in order to achieve continued progress against it a policy response is required that is cross-sectoral in nature. Education and labour market policies, social protection and advocacy are identified as key pillars of such a policy response.

171. But before entering into this discussion, it is worth emphasizing that an adequate policy framework – in and of itself – is insufficient for national progress against child labour. Labour legislation consistent with international child labour standards is necessary both as a statement of national intent and as a legal and regulatory framework for efforts against child labour. Labour legislation needs to be embedded within a protective framework of child rights legislation and practice. Policies are also unlikely to be implemented effectively in the face of resource and capacity constraints. And as child labour is an issue that cuts across sectors and areas of ministerial responsibility, progress against it requires that institutional roles are clearly delineated, and that effective coordination and information-sharing structures are in place.

172. The main burden for addressing child labour rests on prevention. Clearly, lasting progress against child labour cannot be attained without addressing the factors which cause children to enter work in the first place. By changing the economic and social environment, mainly of children and their household, preventive policies should aim at altering the trade-off between child labour and school in favour of the latter. In other words, they should redress the factors leading children to be involved in work at the expense of their rights to education (and to protection, health and leisure). Prevention policies are also the most relevant in terms of resource requirements. But given the cross-sectoral nature of child labour, investment in its prevention has positive spillovers for realizing other social development objectives, and the costs of prevention should be viewed with this mind.

173. “Second chance” policies targeting children already exposed to child labour, although likely less significant in resource terms, should not be neglected. They are critical to avoiding large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences. Children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market, and at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor. If left alone, these children and youth are likely to be in need of other (more costly) remediation policies at a later stage of their lives. Also critical, but beyond the scope of the current report, are immediate, direct actions to ensure the removal, recovery and reintegration of child labourers whose rights are most compromised. Such action is relevant above in all cases of trafficked children, children in other forced labour situations, children subjected to commercial sexual exploitation, and children facing other forms of hazard in the workplace.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ ILO (2006c).

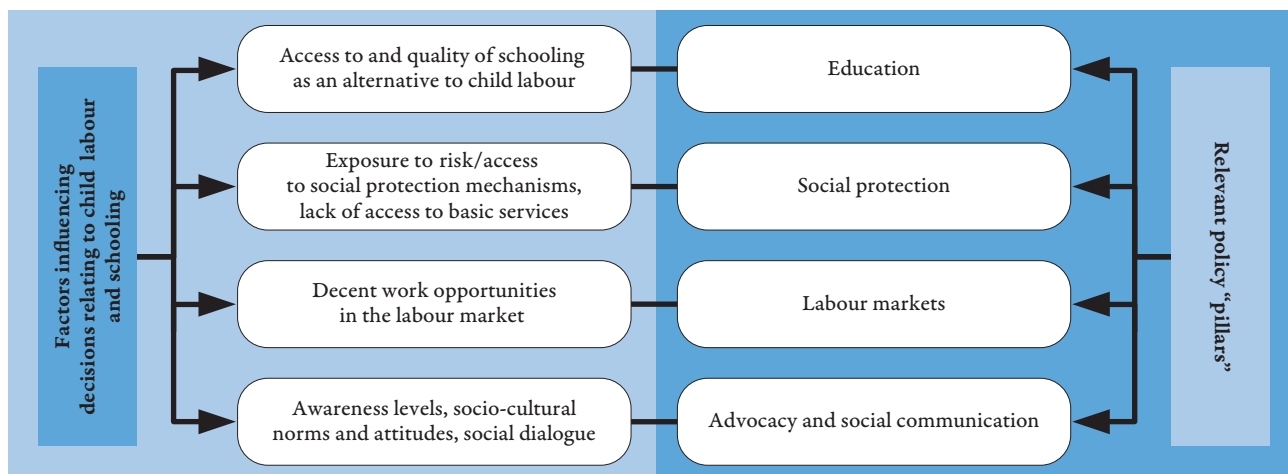


Figure 40.
Key determinants of child labour and schooling and policy pillars to address them

174. Some of the key factors determining household decisions regarding child labour are depicted in the left side of Figure 40.¹⁰⁷ More accessible and better quality schools are important because they affect the returns from schooling vis-à-vis child labour, making the former more attractive as an alternative to the latter. Households without adequate social protection may rely on their children’s work to make ends meet, rendering them unable to sacrifice the immediate returns from work in favour of the future returns from schooling. In the absence of decent work opportunities upon graduation from school, there is little incentive for households to invest in their children’s education. Finally, if households are insufficiently aware of the benefits of schooling (or of the costs of child labour), or if prevailing socio-cultural norms favour child labour, they are also less likely to choose the classroom over the workplace for their children.

175. The right side of Figure 40 lists primary policy “pillars” addressing these economic and socio-cultural determinants of child labour – education, social protection, labour markets, communication and advocacy. Measures to make education better and more accessible range from the establishment of community schools to teacher training and curriculum reform. Key social protection measures include social insurance mechanisms, conditional and unconditional cash transfer schemes, and targeted public works programmes. Relevant labour market measures include vocational and “life skills” training, and the introduction of mechanisms which facilitate the match between labour supply and demand. “Second chance” learning opportunities are also critical in guaranteeing decent and profitable work opportunities for previous child labourers. A range of strategic communication and advocacy efforts are relevant to both building a broad-based consensus for the elimination of child labour and changing the attitudes of households towards child labour.

176. The four policy pillars constitute important components of an integrated policy response to child labour. Each is discussed in more detail in Chapters 8–11 below. But first, Chapter 7 discusses the importance of improved child labour regulation as a foundation for an integrated policy response. Part III of the report concludes in Chapter 12 with a discussion of the roles of the UCW partner agencies in developing a common understanding of child labour and of the approaches for addressing it.

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed discussion on the theoretical background see Annex III

Chapter 7. Improving child labour regulation as a foundation for action

Summary

- A good national legislation on child labour – in line with international legal instruments – is a fundamental basis for all action, and in particular, in defining what constitutes child labour to be eliminated.
- Laws on child labour have to be reviewed and updated, be enforced properly, and be accompanied by other measures.
- Child labour is a violation of the rights of children, not only to protection from economic exploitation, but also to education, health and so on.

177. Were it possible to eradicate child labour by just prohibiting it in laws or by ratifying international treaties, child labour would have long disappeared from our world, since most countries now have at least a general prohibition of child labour in law and all but two¹⁰⁸ have ratified the CRC. Legislation alone cannot eradicate child labour. However, it is equally impossible to tackle child labour without adequate legislation. There are many contributions that a good national legislation can offer as a fundamental basis for all action against child labour:

- It translates the aims and principles of international standards into national law.
- It sets the principles, objectives and priorities for national action to combat the child labour, and especially its worst forms.
- It establishes the machinery for carrying out that action.
- It offers a clear definition of child labour to be abolished.
- It sets forth specific rights and responsibilities.
- It provides sanctions for violators.
- It provides legal redress for victims.
- It articulates and formalizes the State's duty to protect its children.
- It creates a common understanding among all the actors involved.
- It provides a yardstick for gathering statistics and evaluating performance.
- It provides a basis and procedure for complaints and investigations.¹⁰⁹

178. An important role of legislation is to offer an unambiguous definition of what constitutes child labour to be eliminated. A precise definition is of course crucial under the rule of law in order to apply sanctions on violators, but it also serves as a basis for any practical measure which addresses child labour from statistical or other studies and researches to direct assistance to rescue children involved. As discussed in Part I of this Report, not all situations of work carried out by children fall within the scope of child labour to be eliminated. Children's work comprises a wide spectrum from activities which are beneficial and positive for their

¹⁰⁸ USA and Somalia.

¹⁰⁹ Adapted from ILO and IPU (2002).

development at one end, to a dire exploitation which violates their rights at the other. The first step is to draw a line between what is acceptable and what is not. If you leave the question to those who exploit children, they would certainly answer that the work is acceptable because children learn the work, earn their living, or contribute to the family for survival and so on. To achieve this task of defining child labour to be abolished in an objective manner, we have both international and national legal standards. Legislation thus offers the comprehensive framework for action, from law enforcement to statistical studies.

179. In this regard, a general international consensus has been built for the notion of child labour to be eliminated. The Secretary General (SG) of the UN presented a report¹¹⁰ to General Assembly in 2009 and stated that: “[child labour] is work that is unacceptable because the children involved are too young and should be in school, or because even though they have attained the minimum age for admission to employment, the work that they do is unsuitable for a person below the age of 18.” The SG Report further confirms that “Any work carried out by children in conditions below those established by the United Nations Convention or by ILO standards should be considered as economic exploitation. This has indeed been the position of the Committee on the Rights of the Child in examining periodic reports from States Parties.” These international legal instruments provide the essential legal basis for all national and international action relating to child labour.

180. Here, attention should be paid to the difference between why child labour has to be eliminated (because of the negative consequences) and how child labour is defined (with reference to the minimum working age etc.). In Part II above, we have seen the research results which demonstrate the consequences of child labour. These consequences, however, are not always immediate, and it may not be easy to prove the causality in a scientific manner. Even hazardous types of work by a child will not necessarily or immediately result in injury or disease for him/her. Therefore, the definition of child labour cannot depend on the proof of negative consequences of the current work to each individual child. The legal definition is thus inevitably based on work identified as “likely to”, cause harm or negative consequences as per ILO Convention No. 182. This enhances the need for a continued feedback between the research on children’s work and the legal provisions dealing with such work. Where there are new research findings, legal provisions concerning the definition and prohibition of child labour should be reviewed with a critical eye in order to reflect the results. This periodic review is of particular importance to national legislative provisions concerning hazardous work to be prohibited for children under-18 years of age, as discussed below.

181. The wide ratification of international legal instruments on child labour and its worst forms (CRC and its Optional Protocols, ILO Convention No. 138 and Convention No. 182, the Palermo Protocol¹¹¹ regarding human trafficking) has initiated legislative review in many countries. The ILO-IPEC and UNICEF have been supporting such efforts within country programmes, and direct technical cooperation projects, or by publishing documents and technical notes, as well as by broader communication for the development of materials to support legislative change that will help such national efforts.¹¹² The idea behind these initiatives is that the improvement of legislation “could help establish a comprehensive and solid legal framework conducive to the effective elimination of [the worst forms of] child labour in practice.”¹¹³ One element we should not overlook is the effect of general public awareness-raising when a major

¹¹⁰ United Nations (UN) (2009).

¹¹¹ The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), which became open to signature in December 2000.

¹¹² IPEC, Yeboah, Y.; Panford, F. (2003e) and IPEC: “*Child Labour – Modern policy and legislative responses to child labour*” (ILO, 2007).

¹¹³ IPEC, Yeboah, Y.; Panford, F. (2003e).

revision of legislation is carried through, especially in terms of appropriate consultation with social partners, and involving concerned bodies or communities more widely.

182. When a State takes legislative action to combat child labour, the first step¹¹⁴ is to review all existing legislation in order to determine whether it effectively prohibits all child labour, and particularly all of the worst forms of child labour. This exercise must cover not only labour laws, but also criminal laws, military laws (as concerns compulsory recruitment of children for armed conflict) as well as laws concerning the protection of children or their rights. Special attention should be paid to eliminate inconsistencies among different laws (e.g., labour law vs. code on children's rights, as regards what is prohibited or permitted) which might result in a need for consolidated legislation.

183. Among the provisions which concern the effective prohibition of child labour, determination of "hazardous work" is extremely important, since without this specification, the general principle to prohibit work that is likely to harm children's health, safety or morals cannot possibly be put into practice by enforcement or other measures. This determination has to be done by national legislation or by the competent authority, after consultation with employers' and workers' organizations. Carrying out an appropriate consultation and establishing a list is important, but such a list has to be properly incorporated into the legislation that can be enforced by the authority. It is further indispensable to disseminate the contents of the legislation relating to child labour – not limited to the rules on hazardous work, in an easily comprehensible manner, especially among the employers as well as among young workers (between the minimum working age and 18) and those supervising them.

184. It follows that the national legislation has to be further checked to determine that it provides for:

- access to free basic education and, where appropriate, to vocational training for all children, including those rescued from the worst forms of child labour;
- adequate redress and compensation for children who have been subjected to child labour, and especially its worst forms, and for their families;
- adequate sanctions for violators; and
- a competent authority to enforce the legislation.

185. However, legislation is meaningless if it is not enforced. Machinery for enforcement therefore also needs to be reviewed and properly funded: inspection services (labour inspection and schools inspection), and the police and the judiciary need to be regularly trained. The main obstacles to the full enforcement of laws on this question need to be identified and addressed. It is imperative to ensure that: the sanctions which provide for violations of such legislation are sufficiently severe so as to serve as a deterrent, including the amount of fines that should not be eroded by inflation, and that these sanctions are actually applied; appropriate child-friendly materials are prepared to ensure that children are aware of their rights; adequate compensation is provided to the children concerned and their families; and that the machinery for enforcement should be adequately funded and should operate in an effective, expeditious and humane manner.

¹¹⁴ ILO and IPU (2002), p. 77.

Panel 10. Child labour as a violation of children's rights


Article 32 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child 1989 (CRC) outlines the right of children to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous, interferes with education or is harmful to children's health, physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. This Article further requires, in paragraph 2, that States Parties should have regard to "the relevant provisions of other international instruments" when setting rules governing the minimum age and conditions of employment of young persons. Therefore, any work carried out by children in conditions below those established by the United Nations Convention or by ILO standards should be considered as economic exploitation in breach of children's rights.^a

Child labour, however, relates also to many other aspects of children's rights covered by the CRC. This is, first of all, because many of the causes and consequences of child labour are inherently child rights issues. For instance, child labour prevents delays and curtails children's right to education (outlined in Articles 27 and 28 of the CRC), limiting their access to education and adversely affecting attainment and completion rates.

Consequently efforts to achieve the goal of "Education for All" i.e., efforts to protect children's right to education constitute an important element of the measures needed to tackle child labour and to ensure children's right to be protected from economic exploitation. A similar argument can be made regarding children's right to health (Articles 24, 25 of the CRC). The absence of proper birth registration (Article 7 of the CRC) is a major obstacle to effectively protecting children from child labour. Effectively

addressing and ultimately eradicating child labour requires a coherent, holistic approach to children's rights. Another reason why child labour issues impinge upon several rights of children is that the definition of child labour and in particular its worst forms are not limited to economic exploitation (under Article 32 of CRC), but also include the use of children in illicit production and trafficking of drugs (article 33), sexual exploitation (article 34), trafficking in children (Article 35), and children in armed conflicts (article 38). It is also worth recalling that there are two Optional Protocols to the CRC: one regarding the sale of children and their sexual exploitation; the other on their involvement in armed conflict, and that both of these two key conceptual areas of abuse fall within the internationally agreed definition of the worst forms of child labour outlined within ILO Convention No. 182.

Furthermore, children have the right to protection from all forms of violence (Article 19) and the UN Secretary General's "World Report on Violence against Children"^b dedicated a Chapter on violence against children in places of work. Violence at work is an issue not only within the context of child labour, but also affecting young workers above the minimum employment age and who are legally working. Nevertheless, for millions of children in child labour situations, particularly those trapped in the worst form of child labour, physical, psychological and even sexual violence is intrinsic to their experience of child labour.

The persistence of child labour is systematically undermining progress towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goal's (MDGs) which embody basic human rights, particularly rights to Education (MDG 2) 

Gender Equality (MDG3) and health via protection from HIV/AIDS (MDG6).

Child labour is frequently rooted in gender and other discrimination. Its sufferers are disproportionately drawn from amongst the most marginalized, economically and socially minority groups – including indigenous peoples –, migrants, refugees and those of the lowest caste reinforcing and perpetuating structural rights abuses. The rights of girl children are particularly affected by child labour, both in terms of their compounded vulnerability to sexual exploitation whilst labouring and the adverse impact of their gender upon their capacity to attain the basic rights and services which crucially affect their well-being and life opportunities. Gender is a crucial determinant of whether a child goes to school or becomes a child labourer. Across Sub Saharan Africa where one in three children work, only 59 per cent of girls attend primary school. Despite significant increases in enrolment since 2000, 57 per cent^c of the estimated 72 million children out of school are girls. Studies among working children have repeatedly found that girls have less education than boys^d and commence labour in agricultural areas in larger numbers and nearly two years earlier than boys do.^e Even where girls are able to get to school, they carry the triple burden of housework, school work and work outside the home, paid or unpaid. Inevitably such burdens, particularly hours spent on unrecognized work within the household significantly reduce their achievement and completion rates and statistically increases the likelihood that they and their children remain locked in child labour.^f

Many child labourers, whether domestic workers or seasonal crop workers are forced to live many miles from their parents and wider families and are consequently deprived of their right to be cared for within their family environment contrary to Articles 9 and 20 of the CRC.

The primary push factor for such separations and vulnerability to violence and abuse is poverty. Most children work as a consequence of household poverty and the inability of parents to provide an adequate standard of living to meet their physical and mental needs. Where Governments have provided support in accordance with Article 27 of the CRC via social protection initiatives child labour rates have decreased significantly. Only where Governments actively fulfil their obligation under Article 4 to protect children's rights, including the enforcement of existing protective legislation, can children's rights and the best interests of the child – the supervening principle of the CRC – be meaningfully protected.

This is not to say however that other, non Governmental actors have no responsibilities regarding children's rights and specifically the rights violations which are intrinsic to child labour. In this context, social dialogue and well functioning industrial relations play an important role. Transnational corporations are bound by local law and international social norms to ensure that their supply chains are free of child labour and that their corporate practices in developing countries do not reinforce exploitative conditions and practices which result in child labour. Given the multiple adverse impacts and rights violations inherent within child labour, only a unified, coherent rights-based approach can adequately address the rights and well-being of millions of children involved.

Notes

^a See, for instance the SG report to the GA A/64/172, Paragraph 9, UN (2009). ^b See Chapter 6 in Pinheiro (2006). ^c UNESCO (2007). ^d UNICEF (2003). ^e In Tanzania 60 percent of working children in commercial agriculture were girls aged between 10 and 13 (IPEC, Masudi, 2001). ^f Guarcello et al. (2005).

Chapter 8. Strengthening education as an alternative to child labour

Summary

- Combating child labour requires investment in education as its logical alternative.
- The availability and quality of education are both important factors in the decisions of households with regard to children's schooling and work.
- Investment in early childhood development opportunities makes it less likely that children will work instead of attending school.

186. There is a broad consensus that one of the most effective means of preventing children from entering child labour is to extend and strengthen schooling, so that families can have the opportunity to invest in their children's education, and that the returns from schooling make it worthwhile for them to do so.

187. This chapter looks in more detail at how education can be strengthened as part of the solution to child labour. It is premised on the recognition that changes in the cost of attending school and in the benefit derived from education can lead households to change the allocation of children's time between school and work. It reviews empirical evidence relating to the specific links between school access and quality, on one hand, and child labour, on the other. School readiness is also important in allowing children to benefit from education, and hence the possible role of early childhood development is discussed.

8.1 Reducing costs of education

188. Tuition and other school-related expenses might pose a strong barrier to enrolment for vulnerable households and, consequently, may increase the supply of child labour. The abolition of school fees aims to accelerate progress towards Education for All and the elimination of child labour, by supporting policies that remove barriers to quality education. Gross primary enrolment rates increase substantially and very quickly in countries that abolish school fees (e.g., Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and Malawi).

189. The elimination of school fees is seen as important to facilitate the right to education and to universalize primary education. However, as pointed out in a recent UNICEF and World Bank study, it is important to consider the degree to which education costs for poor families have been alleviated by fee abolition, the measures required to attract children not yet enrolled, and the cost-effective strategies for protecting quality when fees are abolished. Moreover, school fee abolition should be accompanied by a number of other reforms ensuring that fee

Panel 11. Developing school feeding programmes

School feeding programmes are implemented to provide a social safety net during crises, to improve learning and educational outcomes and to enhance nutrition.^a The economic rationale of school feeding programmes is to offer meals in school or take-home rations (especially for girls, orphans and vulnerable children) conditional on school attendance, to increase the net benefits of schooling and to change households' decisions about their children's education. Food incentives offered to students compensate parents for direct educational costs and opportunity costs from the loss of child labour when children go to school.

School feeding programmes can help to get children into school and help to keep them there, through enhancing enrolment and reducing absenteeism; and once children are in school, the programmes can contribute to their learning, avoiding hunger and enhancing cognitive abilities. A review of school feeding programmes in low-income countries^b supports the conclusion that school feeding has a positive and significant impact on school attendance and enrolment. For example, a school feeding programme implemented in food-insecure areas of Bangladesh appears to increase net enrolment, to increase school attendance and to reduce the probability of dropping out.^c In Kenya, an

evaluation of a small pre-school feeding programme shows that attendance is much higher in schools that offered a free breakfast as compared to control schools.^d

Moreover, implementation of school feeding programmes appears to have an important impact on female school enrolment. In many cases, the programmes have a strong gender dimension. In India, for instance, female school participation is 15 per cent higher in schools that provided mid-day meals compared to schools without school feeding programmes.^e

Despite the existing knowledge on the impact on school feeding programmes on children's educational outcomes, further evidence needs to be gathered about the impact of these programmes on children's employment in order to make their design more effective to fight against child labour.

Notes

^a Bundy et al. (2009). ^b Kristjansson et al. (2007); Adelman, Gilligan and Lehrer (2008); Bundy et al. (2009). ^c Ahmed (2004). ^d Vermeersch and Kremer (2004). ^e Drèze and Kingdon (2001).

abolition is sustainable over time, that its benefits reach the most vulnerable groups and that it preserves and further improves education quality.¹¹⁵

190. Countries are also increasingly implementing programmes that help to cover the indirect costs of education (see Panel 11 for a discussion on school feeding programmes). Programmes which reduce the cost of schooling by providing supplies such as textbooks and uniforms can have significant impact. For instance, in rural Kenya, a small programme provided free uniforms and textbooks, along with better classrooms. An evaluation of this programme shows that dropout rates fell considerably in treatment schools and that after five years, pupils in treatment schools had completed about 15 per cent more schooling as compared to students in control schools. Increased availability of textbooks also helps to improve test scores but only among the better-performing students.¹¹⁶

191. Despite the encouraging results described, efforts to eliminate the direct costs of schooling and reduce its indirect costs need to be strengthened in order to reach excluded and marginalized groups, including child labourers, girls, orphans, children living in rural areas and other vulnerable children.

¹¹⁵ UNICEF and World Bank (2009).

¹¹⁶ Glewwe, Kremer, and Moulin (2002); Glewwe, Ilias, and Kremer (2003); Glewwe et al. (2004); Kremer, Miguel and Thornton (2004); Miguel and Kremer (2004).

8.2 Extending early childhood development opportunities

192. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in early childhood development and education (ECDE) programmes in low and middle-income developing countries.¹¹⁷ ECDE programmes enhance children's physical and intellectual growth during their early years through a range of services, which include childcare, preschool, home visits by trained professionals, health and nutrition support, and parental education. Children from disadvantaged households can particularly benefit from early child care, thus bridging the gaps and inequalities associated with poverty.

193. The evidence from developing countries suggests that these programmes can be highly effective in addressing problems experienced later relative to the way in which children make use of their time. The ECDE programmes can promote learning readiness, increase school enrolment, reduce grade repetition and drop out from school, and increase individuals' future earning capacity. The provision of early care and education can also keep children away from work in their early years. In Cambodia, for instance, availability of preschool facilities is consistently associated with lower rates of work in economic activities and with higher rates of school attendance.¹¹⁸ In Uruguay, pre-school attendance has a positive effect on completed years of primary and secondary education through reduced grade repetition and lower drop out.¹¹⁹

194. The evaluation of ECDE programmes demonstrates clearly that early childhood interventions can be effective in improving children's success in school and later life, especially for vulnerable, at-risk children who live in poverty or in low-income families. For example, the Uganda Nutrition and Early Child Development Project, initiated in 1998, aims to improve growth and development of children under six years of age in terms of nutrition, health, psychosocial, and cognitive aspects. An evaluation of this project¹²⁰ indicates positive and significant effect on school enrolment for children 3–5 years old and a positive and significant effect on the highest grade attended. Similarly, in the Philippines,¹²¹ a programme aimed at enabling local governmental units to deliver a broader and better set of ECDE-related services caused improvement in cognitive, social, motor and language development, and in short-term nutritional status.

195. Again, this is an area potentially relevant for the strategy against child labour in which more analysis is needed in order to support the design of programmes and other interventions relevant for the children who are at risk of being involved in child labour.

8.3 Extending school access

196. The availability of a school within the village/community and school distance can be important factors in household decisions as to whether to send children to school (rather than to work). Why is school access important? Both economic and cultural considerations can play a part. Long travel distances to school can translate into high transport costs and a significant time burden, both raising the economic price of schooling. Families may also be reluctant to send their children, and especially their daughters, to schools far from home due to concerns about girls' mobility in the public space.

¹¹⁷ UNICEF (2001); World Bank (2006); Schady (2006) and UNESCO (2006).

¹¹⁸ UCW (2006).

¹¹⁹ Berlinsky, Galliani and Manacorda (2008).

¹²⁰ Alderman, et al. (2003).

¹²¹ Armecin et al. (2006).

197. The importance of the presence of a school in a community in raising attendance is well documented. In Indonesia, just to quote one example, an evaluation of a primary school construction programme found that each new school led to more years of schooling among local children (and also to higher subsequent wages).¹²²

198. There is also evidence that better school access can reduce child labour (e.g., in rural Côte d'Ivoire,¹²³ Ghana,¹²⁴ Yemen,¹²⁵ Morocco¹²⁶ and Cambodia).¹²⁷ But better school access does not always translate into reduced levels of child labour. In some cases, attendance gains resulting from improved access come from “inactive” children (i.e., those neither in school nor in employment) more than from child labourers (e.g., in Tanzania,¹²⁸ and some sub-groups in Yemen,¹²⁹ Morocco¹³⁰ and Cambodia¹³¹). This suggests that the decision to send children to work cannot always be reversed by reducing indirect costs of accessing education. The same observation applies to the effect of distance to school: reducing travel time to school does not necessarily reduce child labour, but appears to generate an increase in school attendance mainly by reducing the number of inactive children.

199. The impact of school access appears especially strong for girls. In Guatemala, for instance, distance to primary school has an influence on girls' time allocations but not on those of boys.¹³² The magnitude of the effect for Guatemalan girls is large: each 10 additional minutes of travel time to primary school decreases the probability of a girl attending school by 2.4 percentage points and increases her probability of performing household chores by 2.2 percentage points. Evidence from Morocco, Yemen and Guatemala also point to an important gender dimension to the issue of school access: in all three countries, school availability has a much stronger impact on girls' school attendance than on boys'.¹³³

200. Studies suggest that even when school access constraints are limited to higher levels of schooling, they can be part of the reason why primary-aged children work rather than attend school (e.g., in Tanzania,¹³⁴ Ghana¹³⁵ and Vietnam¹³⁶). The most common explanation for this finding is that returns from education tend to be much higher for (lower) secondary than for primary schooling. Parents therefore have an incentive to send their children to primary school rather than to work if they know that their offspring will also have access to (lower) secondary education, where the seed of the initial investment in education begins to bear fruit.

201. On the basis of the above evidence, extending school access appears to be an important strategy for addressing child labour. School proximity seems to matter, especially for girls, and appropriate targeting of school construction can go a long way in generating the conditions for children to leave work for school. School proximity might not fully eliminate child labour, but by increasing the number of child labourers attending school, it offers an essential basis for

¹²² Dufló (2001).

¹²³ Grootaert, (1999).

¹²⁴ Vuri (2008).

¹²⁵ UCW (2003d).

¹²⁶ UCW (2003b).

¹²⁷ UCW (2006).

¹²⁸ Kondylis and Manacorda (2006).

¹²⁹ UCW (2003d).

¹³⁰ UCW (2003b).

¹³¹ UCW (2006).

¹³² Vuri (2008).

¹³³ UCW (2003b), UCW (2003d) and UCW (2003a).

¹³⁴ Beegle and Burke (2004).

¹³⁵ Vuri (2008).

¹³⁶ Rosati and Tzannatos (2006).

subsequent action. The expansion of access to education beyond primary is an important factor and should also be promoted, since parents are more likely to withdraw their children from work if they have the possibility to continue education in (lower) secondary.

8.4 Improving school quality

202. Access to schooling matters but in many countries it is only a part of the problem. Greater access needs to be complemented by supply-side policies to raise quality. The relevance of school quality to child labour is theoretically well-established. The allocation of children's time across different activities depends, among other things, on the relative returns of such activities. To the extent that school quality affects returns from education, it influences household decisions concerning investment in children's education.

203. There is a substantive body of evidence indicating that school quality enhancement programmes matter for improving learning outcomes, at least as measured by test scores.¹³⁷ But much less research attention has been paid to the specific role of school quality in determining school attendance and involvement in child labour. This latter question has important policy implications, as it relates to whether, in order to promote school enrolment and to reduce child labour, provision of "quality" education is essential, in addition to ensuring education access.

204. Investigating the impact of quality is hampered by the lack of consensus around what quality means in practical terms, and what educational inputs are most relevant in contributing to it.

205. A look at the cross-country data for the available quality inputs (i.e., public expenditure per pupil on primary education, pupil-teacher ratio and female teachers as a percentage of total teachers) provides a suggestive picture of the relation between school quality and children's employment.

206. The level of public expenditure per pupil in primary education can be considered as a proxy for the amount of public investment in the human capital of primary school aged children (Figure 41). A clear and negative correlation between child labour and the level of public expenditure on primary education emerges. This suggests that investing in school could help to reduce child labour and to bring children to school or to prevent them from dropping out.

207. The pupil-teacher ratio is strongly and positively correlated with the percentage of working children. As the number of students per teacher increases, the percentage of working children in each country rises (Figure 41). The sex of the teacher also has an apparent influence on the level of child labour. There is a negative relationship between the percentage of female teachers and the percentage of working children, again with a wide range of variation across countries (Figure 42). The potential role of female teachers in attracting and retaining girls in school is easy to understand in countries where there is a large gender bias in education. But it goes beyond this, as in certain circumstances females appear to be better teachers, especially for young children.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Evidence from rural Kenya (Glewwe, Kremer, and Moulin, 2002; Glewwe, Ilias, and Kremer, 2003; Glewwe et al. 2004; Kremer, Miguel and Thornton, 2004; Miguel and Kremer, 2004); and Mexico (Gertler, Patrinos, and Rubio-Codina (2006)), for example, demonstrates the positive impact of specific inputs impacting quality (textbooks and performance-based prizes, in the case of the former, and empowering parent associations, in the case of the latter) on school performance. For a detailed review see UNESCO (2005).

¹³⁸ Postlethwaite (2004).

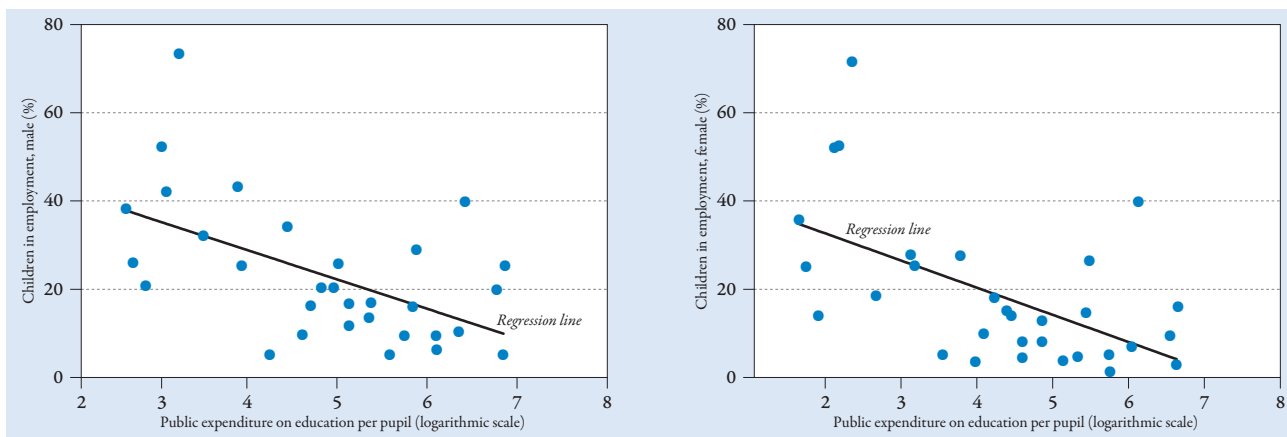


Figure 41.
Public expenditure on primary education per pupil vs. children in employment

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

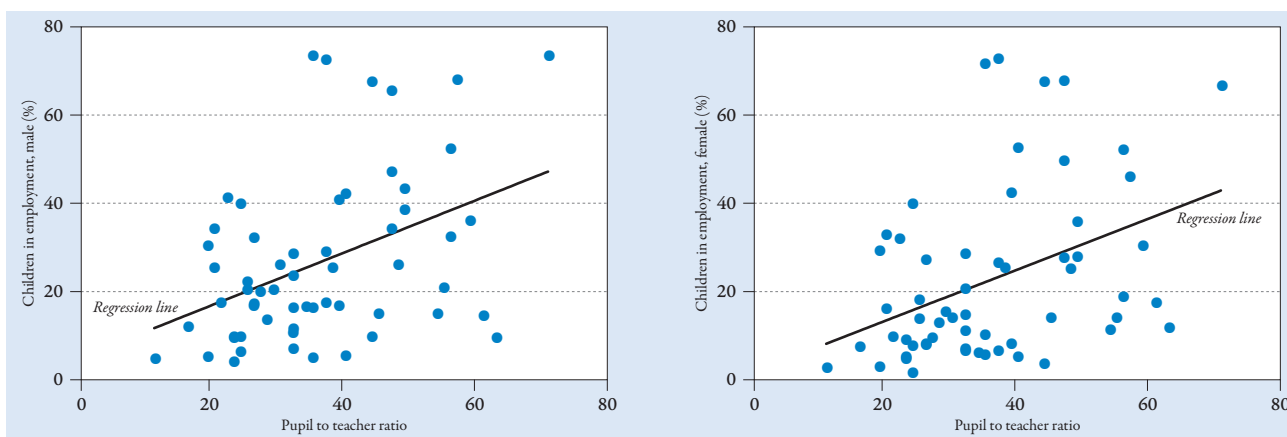


Figure 42.
Pupil-teacher ratio and child involvement in employment, by sex

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

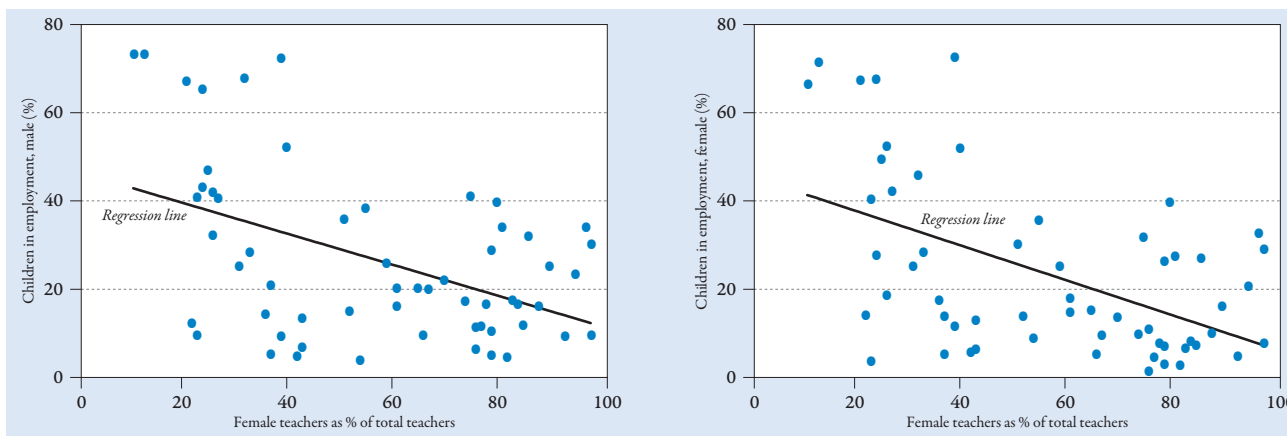


Figure 43.
Presence of female teachers and child involvement in employment, by sex

Sources: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2006c).

208. More robust empirical evidence from Cambodia and Yemen indicates that the impact of school quality on reducing child labour is not only significant but also of non-negligible magnitude, even when compared to the impact of an increase in school availability.¹³⁹ In Mexico,¹⁴⁰ the impact of a specific school quality improvement programme (CONAFE¹⁴¹) shows that quality enhancement can be an effective strategy for both encouraging schooling and discouraging children's work, especially for children of secondary school age, and even when enacted alongside a major demand-side programme like PROGRESA/OPORTUNIDADES.¹⁴² The CONAFE programme appears to have been effective in shifting children away from working (especially those working only) to school.

209. The (perception of the) relevance of education in terms of learning outcomes appears to influence household decisions on child labour and education. There is, however, a need to gather more information and detailed evidence in this area. Hence, policies aimed at improving school quality appear to be relevant in order to fight child labour. The challenge is to identify the aspects of education quality that are most relevant for the household decision and to integrate these elements in the countries' strategies of school quality improvement. The initial evidence presented seems to point towards a potentially very important role for these policies: there is therefore a need to gather more systematic and detailed information on this issue.

8.5 Policy options

210. Table 9 summarizes some specific policy measures relating to strengthening education as an alternative to child labour. The list of measures is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather illustrative of the kind of interventions that might be relevant in the area of education for addressing child labour, the form they could take and their interaction with other policies. They cover three broad policy objectives – extending early childhood development opportunities, increasing school quality and relevance, and expanding school access. For all three, information on child labour will be important in order to ensure that child labourers or those at risk of being involved in child labour are reached.

211. ECD programmes can vary considerably across developing countries but normally follow three broad models. First, centre-based programmes where ECD services are provided to children on a regular basis in educational, religious, NGO institutions, in stand-alone public or private ECD centres or in local homes. The second involves home visits and group sessions aimed at imparting ECD skills and knowledge to parents. The third involves the provision of ECD services within a broader package of interventions targeting young children.¹⁴³

212. A number of measures are relevant in terms of raising school quality. Curriculum reforms and revamped teacher training programmes within broader sectoral programmes of

¹³⁹ Guarcello and Rosati (2007).

¹⁴⁰ Rosati and Rossi (2007).

¹⁴¹ Mexico started to address the challenge of providing access to quality education in the 1970s with the establishment of a National Council of Education Promotion (CONAFE). In the early 1990s, CONAFE initiated the Compensatory Education programme (referred to hereafter as the CONAFE program) with the aims of improving the quality of education in disadvantaged communities and reducing schooling inequalities. The CONAFE programme targets those schools with the lowest educational performance in highly disadvantaged communities. It now serves about 4 million students in preschool and primary education, and about 300,000 students in secondary education, in 44,165 marginalized rural and urban areas in all 31 states in Mexico.

¹⁴² Started in 1997, PROGRESA/OPORTUNIDADES is the first nationwide anti-poverty programme in Mexico to offer "conditional cash transfers" in order to promote incentives for positive behavior. The programme offers transfers to poor families in Mexico conditional on their participation in health and nutrition programmes (such as prenatal care, well-baby care and immunization, nutrition monitoring and supplementation, and preventive checkups), along with incentives to promote children's school attendance.

¹⁴³ Behrman, J.R.; Glewwe, P.; Miguel, E. (2007).

Table 9. EDUCATION: Possible policy options for strengthening education as an alternative to child labour

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Applicability/relevance	Design considerations/cross-sectoral linkages
<i>Expanded access to early childhood development opportunities for vulnerable households</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Targeted introduction/expansion of local centre-based ECD programmes. – Targeted introduction/expansion of home outreach programmes on better parenting and care-giving. – Targeted introduction/expansion of comprehensive early children care programmes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When children are ill-prepared for formal schooling owing to lack of early childhood development opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mapping of current ECD programmes provision by geographical area and socio-economic group. – Extend ECD programmes provision to vulnerable communities.
<i>Increased school quality and relevance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – School curriculum reform. – Support parents and community involvement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When quality issues (e.g., curriculum relevance, teaching methods, teacher shortages or absenteeism, classroom over-crowding, lack of remedial support, etc.) constitute important barriers to school enrolment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Identify elements of quality relevant for working and out of school children. – Learning achievement at school might not guarantee sufficient return in the labour market. – Lack of local female teachers often an important consideration in decisions concerning girls' schooling.
<i>Expanded school access for children from vulnerable households</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Targeted school and classroom construction. – Expanding schooling hours and providing after-hours activities as an alternative to child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When school distance constitutes obstacle to school enrolment and/or attendance. – When the school day is too brief to constitute a barrier to child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Social protection programmes might be necessary to ensure take up of supply. – Needs-based criteria are required to ensure that the most disadvantaged and under-served groups are reached. – School needs to be physically accessible. Vulnerable and poor households should be able to take up offer.
<i>Reduction of costs of education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Reduction/elimination of school fees. – Providing uniforms or textbooks. – Developing school feeding programmes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When costs of schooling prevent access for vulnerable households. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – School fee abolition should benefit vulnerable households. – Reduction/elimination of school fees should protect the quality of education.

education reform are important to increase the relevance of course contents and to ensure pedagogical approaches best suited to effective learning. The recruitment of female teachers and well trained teacher assistants from the local community can be effective in encouraging girls to attend school. Involving parents more directly in the life of the school can also produce important quality benefits at minimal cost in resource terms.

213. Expanding school access requires extending the basic school network to reach communities which lack school facilities. Also important in this context is the amount of time each day that children have access to schooling. The school day should be of sufficient duration to reduce the possibility that children work after school. Access to after-school programmes and extra-curricular activities can also be important by providing parents with alternatives to work for their children outside of official schooling hours.

Chapter 9. Reducing household vulnerability: The role of social protection

Summary

- Household vulnerability, the presence of risks and the occurrence of shocks make social protection an essential instrument in combating child labour.
- Unconditional and conditional cash transfer schemes appear to hold particular potential in terms of offering social protection to families otherwise reliant on child labour.
- Public works schemes and improved access to credit are other important potential social protection instruments with relevance to child labour.

214. The vulnerability of households to poverty and exposure to risk and shocks has proven to be one of the main factors underlying the decision of households to send their children to work. Lack of access to credit and to formal and informal insurance schemes exacerbates the impact of poverty and shocks on human capital investment. Families that are credit-constrained or lack access to risk management schemes may send their children to work and/or withdraw them from school in order to cope with the negative effects of a shock.

9.1 Social protection as a strategy against child labour

215. While poverty is not the only determinant of child labour, it plays an important role. All studies on child labour determinants indicate that household income (proxied in different ways) does matter.¹⁴⁴ These findings are also supported by quasi-experimental evidence. For instance, in South Africa, child labour declines and schooling increases substantially when households begin receiving a large anticipated cash transfer.¹⁴⁵ In rural India, children's school attendance and work appear to have been highly impacted by income effects of tariff reforms in the early 1990s. While much of India grew after the reduction in tariffs and the launch of other reforms in 1991, those rural areas with concentrations of pre-reform employment in industries that lost protection experienced smaller declines in poverty than the rest of India. Children living in these areas did not experience as large of an increase in school attendance or decline in work without school as children residing in areas with lower pre-reform employment in heavily protected industries.¹⁴⁶

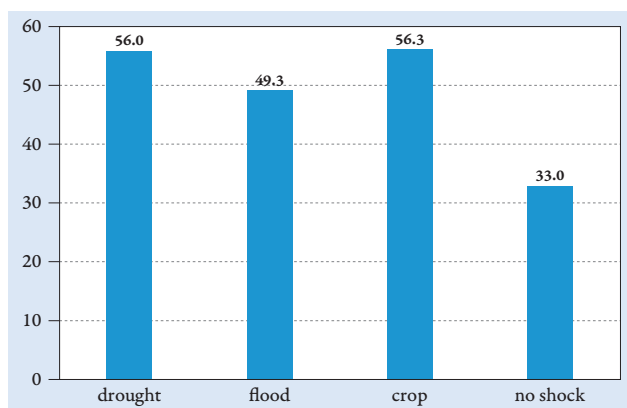
216. The need to reduce household vulnerability to prevent children from being used as a buffer against negative shocks is also well established. In Guatemala, households hit by shocks are more likely to send their children to work and less likely to send them only to

¹⁴⁴ For a review, see Edmonds (2008).

¹⁴⁵ Edmonds (2006).

¹⁴⁶ Edmonds, Pavcnik, and Topalova (2007).

Figure 44.
Percentage children's
involvement in employment,
by exposure to and type
of shock, Cambodia



Source: Guarcello, Kovrova and Rosati (2008).

school.¹⁴⁷ Following a collective shock (earthquakes, floods, fires, etc.), children's participation in economic activities increases by almost six percentage points. Most of the impact is borne by students who start to work without dropping out of school. Individual shocks (loss of employment, bankruptcy, etc.) have a similar overall effect as collective shocks.

217. In Cambodian villages, crop failure increases the probability that a child will enter the labour force and drop out from school. Figure 44 illustrates the differences in the incidence of children's work according to whether a village has been hit by a shock and by the type of shock. Children's work appears to be substantially higher in villages hit by a shock: at least 16 percentage points higher than in villages not experiencing any shock.¹⁴⁸

218. In Tanzania, households respond to transitory income shocks by increasing child labour.¹⁴⁹ Similar effects of aggregate shocks on the labour supply of 14–17 year olds are observed for Argentina during the period of 1998–2002.¹⁵⁰

219. During the economic downturn in Venezuela (2002–2003), the number of working children increased by almost five percentage points from 2000 to 2003. This increase was driven mainly by the reduction in children in school but not working, and by the growth of children combining work and school; overall enrolment rates were unaffected (Table 10).¹⁵¹

Table 10. Children aged 10–14 in Venezuela, by activity status and year

Year	Employment only	School only	Both	Neither
2000	1.6	91.0	3.2	4.2
2001	1.8	89.8	4.7	3.8
2002	1.8	87.9	6.5	3.8
2003	1.6	87.0	7.5	3.9
2004	1.4	89.0	5.7	3.1

Source: Blanco and Valdivia, 2006.

220. In six metropolitan areas of Brazil, adverse shocks to the occupational status of household heads have an important effect on children's labour participation and drop-out probabilities. Loss of earnings of the household head increases the probability of a child entering the labour

¹⁴⁷ Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati (2009).

¹⁴⁸ Guarcello, Kovrova and Rosati (2008).

¹⁴⁹ Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti (2003).

¹⁵⁰ Rucci (2003).

¹⁵¹ Blanco and Valdivia (2006).

Panel 12. Micro-credit as an instrument against child labour

Access to credit is essential to allow poor households to invest in children's education and to reduce their involvement in work. As discussed in previous sections, credit rationed households tend to show higher levels of child labour. Interventions that favour households' access to credit and financial markets and relax the budget constraint can have a significant impact in protecting children who live in vulnerable households from child labour and/or early school dropout. In this context, micro-credit schemes might perform an important role in extending access to credit to poor households. While the micro-credit "industry" has witnessed an impressive evolution and performance over the past three decades, there is limited evidence on the impact of the implementation of such schemes on human capital investment.

The link between credit access and child labour could also work in opposite directions, meaning that caution must be exercised in the design of micro-credit programmes. Access to micro-credit schemes could have two different effects on children's schooling and labour force participation. On the one hand, micro-credit might increase the demand for education as a result of the additional income and risk-management.^a On the other hand, given that micro-credit schemes foster household enterprises wherein much child labour is engaged, access to micro-credit might increase work by children. Households that cultivate land or operate labour-intensive micro-enterprises might increase their demand for child labour, either for farming, working in the micro-enterprise, or taking care of siblings while the mothers operate the new or expanded business.

The evidence on the impact of micro-credit on children's schooling and employment is mixed. In Bangladesh, participation in a micro-credit programme has a significant impact on children's schooling, especially for boys.^b 1e per cent increase in Grameen Bank credit provided to women increases the probability of school enrolment by 1.9 per

cent for girls and 2.4 per cent for boys. Similar effects have been observed for rural areas in Nepal and Zimbabwe.^c

But evidence from other micro-credit schemes in developing countries points to some negative impact on human capital investment. Using data from FUNDAP, a micro-credit programme in Guatemala, research shows that the relation between access to micro-credit and children's schooling and work is not straightforward.^d Research further shows that families who could access micro-credit loans still prefer to use children's labour instead of substituting it with hired labour. Enterprise capitalization appears to increase the return from child labour and thus the opportunity cost of schooling. A similar conclusion is drawn on Bolivia^e and on rural Malawi.^f Bolivian households demand more child labour if they cultivate land and operate labour-intensive micro-enterprises. In rural Malawi, considering both economic and domestic work that children may engage in, access to credit raises the likelihood of child domestic work while having little effect on child economic work and on the school attendance of children. This increase in domestic chores by children is attributed to a relief of adults' domestic burden as the latter takes up more economic work.

The impact of micro-credit schemes on child labour appears to be mixed. However, it should be noted that all programmes discussed here allow households to access loans which aim to support income generating activities. Only a few pilot schemes have offered loans to support human capital investment, for example to finance school fees or other education expenditures. We need to wait for the evaluation of these programmes to know to what extent access to human capital targeted credit can contribute to reduce child labour.

Notes

- ^a Doorn and Churchill (2004). ^b Khandker (1998). ^c Ersado (2005).
^d Wydick (1999). ^e Maldonado and Gonzalez-Vega (2008).
^f Hazarika and Sarangi (2008).

market by 33 to 65 per cent in the lower income quintiles.¹⁵² Children's time allocation in higher-income households remains, however, largely unaffected by such a shock. Similarly, an unemployment shock to the male head of household occurring during the school year increases the probability that children enter the labour force and that they drop out of school, and decrease the probability that they advance in school.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Neri et al. (2005).

¹⁵³ Duryea (1998) and Duryea, Lam and Levison (2007).

221. Child labour also occurs when households are credit constrained.¹⁵⁴ Poor families with high levels of income volatility might diversify their sources of income by letting their children go to work instead of going to school. Since access to credit can assist families in adapting to unanticipated changes in income, it can diminish the incidence of child labour and improve school attendance.

222. Access to credit might lead to a lower incidence of child labour. Households with easy access to credit are less likely to use children's labour supply as an instrument to cope with negative income shocks. Results based on a cross section of countries indicate that (after controlling for GDP per capita, urbanization, initial child labour, schooling, fertility, legal institutions, inequality, and trade openness) credit constraints (as proxied by the extent of financial development in the country) and child labour display a strong positive relationship.¹⁵⁵

223. In Indian villages, households without access to credit have a greater propensity to cut their children's schooling than those households with better access to credit.¹⁵⁶ In Tanzania, child labour is less likely to be used as a response to economic shocks when households have a greater access to the credit market.¹⁵⁷ In Guatemala, credit rationing is very relevant in determining the household's decision to invest in children's human capital, and that children from "credit-rationed households" are more likely to be involved in working activities or to be "inactive".¹⁵⁸

9.2 Social protection instruments

224. Social protection policies are defined as public interventions to assist individuals, households and communities better manage risk and provide support to the critically poor.¹⁵⁹ The evidence described in the previous section clearly indicates the potential of social protection policies aimed at relaxing households' budget constraint, reducing their vulnerability and improving their capacity to cope with shocks. These policies are essential elements in a strategy to combat child labour.

225. A broad range of social protection instruments are available to Governments: they fulfil various purposes and do not necessarily share the same aims. Social protection policies are designed to reduce risks, to mitigate the impact of a given shock, and to help households cope with it.

226. At the cost of some simplification, three different categories of social protection schemes that are especially relevant for child labour (with several variants presented within each group) can be identified: i) unconditional transfers, ii) conditional transfers and iii) public works programmes. Other instruments of course exist, such as unemployment benefits, insurance schemes or disability grants that might also be effective in protecting vulnerable households and in promoting human capital investment.

227. There is a well established knowledge base on the characteristics of these programmes and their potentialities,¹⁶⁰ and the interested reader may refer to the literature cited. Social

¹⁵⁴ Jacoby and Skoufias (1997) and Baland and Robinson (2000).

¹⁵⁵ Dehejia and Gatti (2002).

¹⁵⁶ Jacoby and Skoufias (1997).

¹⁵⁷ Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti (2003).

¹⁵⁸ Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati (2009).

¹⁵⁹ Holzmann and Jorgensen (2001); World Bank (2009a).

¹⁶⁰ See Grosh et al. (2007) for an operationally oriented discussion and for reference to the analytical studies on the subject.

protection programmes need to be adapted to country circumstances, to be tailored to the special needs of the vulnerable population and, especially, integrated into the overall anti-poverty and development strategy. Rather than trying to build an abstract typology, this section will focus on the existing evidence relative to the impact of these social protection programmes on child labour and highlight some project design elements that should be considered in order to make such programmes more effective in addressing it.

Unconditional transfer schemes

228. Unconditional transfers are defined as the provision of assistance in the form of cash and other instruments to the poor or to those who, in the absence of the transfer, face a significant risk of falling into poverty.¹⁶¹ The main objective of cash transfers is to increase the incomes of poor and vulnerable households. Examples of such schemes include, among others, needs-based social assistance, social pensions or family allowance programmes.

229. Cash transfer programmes are used in many countries to address the needs of poor people. Results of impact evaluations of these programmes in developing countries indicate reduced poverty, often higher labour market participation, and increased school attainment levels.

230. In South Africa, a major component which supports households in their effort to increase their children's human capital investment takes the form of state grants, particularly the Child Support Grant. The main objective of this programme is to provide monetary support to poor mothers and poor families to care for their children. The Child Support Grant appears to have a substantial effect on children's school outcomes, such as enrolment. Children whose families receive the grant are significantly more likely to be enrolled in school in the years following the grant receipt than equally poor children of the same age who do not receive the grant.¹⁶²

231. In Ecuador, the Bono de Desarrollo Humano¹⁶³ programme has a large positive impact on school enrolment, about 10 percentage points, and a large negative impact on child work, about 17 percentage points. The effects of cash transfers vary, with larger enrolment impacts among poorer children.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, impacts of the programme appear to be concentrated in work for pay outside the family.¹⁶⁵

232. Evidence from research on social pension programmes generally shows a positive impact for the families of beneficiaries.¹⁶⁶ Social pension programmes, even though explicitly designed to protect the elderly poor, also have an important impact on increasing the human capital of both children and the elderly in households.¹⁶⁷ In Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zambia, social pensions appear to have a great potential in strengthening the capacities of families to invest in their children's human capital.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, in Bolivia, the Bono Solidario Programme

¹⁶¹ Tabor (2002).

¹⁶² Samson et al. (2004).

¹⁶³ Unlike most cash transfer programmes in Latin America, this programme does not explicitly make transfers conditional on changes in household behaviour. However, policy makers initially intended to make the programme conditional. As a result, there was an information campaign stressing that beneficiaries were expected to send children to school. Because of administrative constraints, the programme did not monitor the school attendance condition and did not penalize households whose children were not attending school (World Bank, 2009b).

¹⁶⁴ Araujo and Schady (2006).

¹⁶⁵ Edmonds and Schady (2009).

¹⁶⁶ Barrientos and Lloyd-Sherlock (2002); Holzmann, Robalino and Takayama (2009).

¹⁶⁷ Case (2001); Case and Deaton (1998); Duflo (2003).

¹⁶⁸ Devereux et al. (2005).

has positive effects on household consumption and children's human capital.¹⁶⁹ In South Africa, large increases in children's school attendance and declines in their working hours are observed when black South African families become eligible for social pension income that can be fully anticipated.¹⁷⁰ Similar results are observed in Brazil. The introduction of an old-age pension results in a reduction in child labour among those children living with their grandparents, with the impact of a grandmother's pension on her granddaughter's labour supply being larger.¹⁷¹

233. Whether social pension programmes are the most efficient instruments to address child labour is, of course, debatable. The evidence just mentioned however, clearly indicates the great potential of cash transfer programmes to address child labour.

Conditional cash transfer schemes

234. Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes provide households with an income transfer that is conditional on certain behaviours (such as enrolling children in school and maintaining adequate attendance levels, getting prenatal and postnatal health care treatments, and encouraging young children to undergo growth monitoring, immunization, and periodic check-ups). CCT programmes aim to alleviate current income poverty (through cash benefits) as well as reduce the likelihood or extent of future poverty (through behavioural conditions related to the human capital development of children).

235. CCT programmes are currently being advocated as an important social protection instrument for improving education outcomes and eliminating child labour. CCT programmes are expected to reduce the prevalence and amount of children's work through two main channels. First, given the requirement of school enrolment and regular attendance, children have less time available for participation in work activities. Conditions may also increase parents' awareness of the importance of schooling and thereby decrease child work. Second, households that receive the transfer are less likely to be dependent on the income of their children, and therefore may reduce child work.¹⁷²

236. Pioneered by Brazil and Mexico in the mid-1990s, CCT programmes have been most prevalent in Latin America where almost all countries have implemented these programmes. A large number of evaluations have estimated the impact of CCT programmes on a range of outcomes: poverty and food consumption, school attendance and performance, gender disparities, demographic effects and intra-household relations.¹⁷³ The findings are broadly positive, suggesting that the approach yields promising results with respect to key social development objectives. CCT programmes therefore have a great potential to address the child labour problem although reducing child labour is not an explicit goal for the majority of these programmes.¹⁷⁴

237. There is a large body of literature that illustrates the impact of CCT programmes on children's education and work outcomes. The impact of the programmes on education is well-established. However, the evidence on children's work does not appear to be as straightforward.

238. In Mexico, the participation in the Progresa/Oportunidades programme is associated with increased school attainment and grade progression and reduced drop-out rates.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁶⁹ Martinez (2005).

¹⁷⁰ Edmonds (2006).

¹⁷¹ De Carvalho Filho (2008).

¹⁷² World Bank (2009b).

¹⁷³ World Bank (2009b).

¹⁷⁴ Tabatabai (2009).

¹⁷⁵ Schultz (2004).

programme effects on education outcomes are largest for children with the lowest propensities to enrol in school.¹⁷⁶ The programme also seems to negatively affect the child labour supply, the reduction being even more marked for older children.¹⁷⁷ The Oportunidades programme appears to play an important role in mitigating the effects of a crisis on human capital investment. The programme protects children from leaving school in the event of a shock, though it is unable to prevent them from doing more work.¹⁷⁸

239. In Nicaragua, Red de Proteccion Social programme raises school enrolment by 18 percentage points and reduces the number of working children by five percentage points.¹⁷⁹ Like in Mexico, Nicaraguan social safety net programmes appear to play an important role in protecting households' well-being and promoting investment in children's human capital during the coffee crisis.¹⁸⁰

240. However, analyses from other countries show that in some cases CCT programmes have failed to reduce the incidence of child labour. For instance, CCT programmes (Bolsa Escola) in Brazil are less effective at reducing child labour than they are at increasing schooling.¹⁸¹ Children in households that receive cash transfers are more likely to attend school than children in the control group. However, there is no significant effect of the programmes on child labour. Increased attendance appears to correspond to a shift from work only, to school in combination with work. A possible explanation for this finding is that the income transfer is too small in magnitude to provide a sufficient incentive to forgo children's labour income. However, it is worth mentioning that recent research in Brazil seems to point toward an impact of Bolsa Escola on child labour. Unlike earlier findings, recent evidence shows that Bolsa Familia reduces the probability of work for children aged 6–15 years in both urban and rural areas.¹⁸²

241. In Colombia, the Familias en Accion programme increases the school participation rates of 14 to 17 year old children quite substantially, and has lower but non-negligible effects on the enrolment of younger children. However, participation in income generating activities remains largely unaffected by the programme (although the programme does appear to have reduced the amount of time dedicated to household chores).¹⁸³ In Honduras, the Programa de Asignación Familiar (PRAF) increases enrolment rates by 1–2 percentage points, reduces the dropout rate by 2–3 percentage points, increases school regular attendance (conditional on enrolment) by about 0.8 days per month, and increases annual promotion rates to the next grade by 2–4 percentage points. However, the programme does not have any significant effect on children's work activities.¹⁸⁴

242. Many other studies have evaluated the impact of the CCT programmes.¹⁸⁵ But, available evidence appears to be mixed as to the relation between children's work and CCT programmes in certain circumstances indicating that these programmes alone might not be sufficient to achieve a reduction in child labour. Though CCT programmes have proved effective in increasing school attendance, further evidence on their impact on child labour needs to be

¹⁷⁶ Behrman, Sengupta and Todd (2005).

¹⁷⁷ Parker and Skoufias (2001); de Brauw and Hoddinott, (2008).

¹⁷⁸ De Janvry et al. (2006).

¹⁷⁹ Maluccio and Flores (2004).

¹⁸⁰ Maluccio (2005).

¹⁸¹ Cardoso and Souza (2004); Ferro and Kassouf (2005).

¹⁸² Ferro, Kassouf and Levison (2007) and Ferro and Nicollela (2007). For a review of literature on the impact of Bolsa Escola and Bolsa Familia programmes in Brazil, see UCW forthcoming (f).

¹⁸³ Attanasio et al. (2006).

¹⁸⁴ Glewwe and Olinto (2004).

¹⁸⁵ For a review see IPEC (2007a); Paruzzolo (2009); IPEC, Tabatabai (2006a) and World Bank (2009b).

gathered. Further elimination of child labour depends on more specific programmes targeted at particular groups and economic sectors.

243. Does an additional conditionality explicitly linked to child labour improve the effectiveness of CCT programmes in reducing children's involvement in work? PETI in Brazil appears to be the only conditional cash transfer programme that explicitly aims to reduce child labour. The objective of the PETI programme is to eradicate the worst forms of child labour by providing cash grants to families with school-aged children (7 to 14 years) and by requiring that children attend school and the Jornada Ampliada (a programme of after-school activities).

244. Impact assessments of PETI demonstrate that the programme has been successful in achieving its objectives of reducing rates of child labour.¹⁸⁶ For instance, as a result of participating in the programme, the probability of working fell between four to seven percentage points in Pernambuco, close to 13 percentage points in Sergipe and nearly 26 percentage points in Bahia which has the highest child labour force participation rate. Moreover, PETI also decreased the probability of children working in hazardous activities. Nonetheless, the programme is less successful in reducing the probability of working 10 hours or more. PETI appears to succeed better with part-time child workers than with those who work longer hours. PETI targeted explicitly child labour by providing a combination of conditional cash transfers to poor households and after-school activities. The main purpose of the after-school activities is to increase the time children and adolescents spend in school, promoting a second shift which focuses on culture, play, art and sport activities and complements regular education. The extended school day is meant to prevent children from working and to provide remedial education and training for future work. The evidence on the PETI therefore suggests that demand incentives targeted explicitly on child labour may play a relevant role in accelerating behavioural changes.¹⁸⁷

Public works programmes

245. Public works programmes that support the working or unemployed poor have been used in many countries. Public works programmes provide households with income transfers in exchange for participation in labour intensive work projects. Labour-intensive public works programmes have two objectives: first to provide a source of income to poor workers, and second, to construct and rehabilitate public infrastructure.¹⁸⁸

246. The programmes are designed as a form of employment insurance for the poor and may include on-the-job training to reintegrate low-skilled workers into the labour force. They are increasingly becoming system-wide safety nets, as for example in India, Ethiopia, Kenya and Senegal.

247. But public works programmes might have different effects on household investment in children's education. On the one hand, programmes increase the demand for labour and may create an incentive to intensively use children's time and/or substitute child time for adult time in household chores, child care and work outside the home. On the other hand, as they bring additional resources to the households, they can lessen the household's need for children's labour and therefore make it more likely that children attend school instead. Moreover, in well-designed public works programmes, much-needed infrastructure can be constructed and rehabilitated. Given the important role of access to basic services in human capital investment decisions, public works that increase infrastructure (e.g., including public schools, health centres, and basic infrastructure) can play an important role (see Panel 13).

¹⁸⁶ World Bank (2001); Pianto and Soares (2004).

¹⁸⁷ Yap, Sedlacek and Orazem (2001).

¹⁸⁸ Grosh et al. (2007).

Panel 13. How infrastructure and basic utilities can affect child labour

Improving access to basic utilities might be a powerful instrument to reduce child labour and increase school attendance.

Analyses of the determinants of child labour have largely neglected the role of access to basic services. Yet there are good theoretical reasons for believing that the influence of basic utilities on rates of child labour and school attendance is important. The availability of these utilities can affect the value of children’s time and, concomitantly, household decisions concerning how this time is allocated between school and work.

Two types of basic utilities might seem particularly relevant in this context – water and electricity. A lack of access to water can raise the value of children’s time in non-schooling activities, as children are needed to undertake responsibility for water collection or to help cover the cost of purchasing water. The source of energy used for lighting and other purposes can also affect the time required of children for performing household chores such as wood collection.

The link between basic utilities access and children’s activities has obvious policy implications. A strong link would underscore the importance of basic utilities

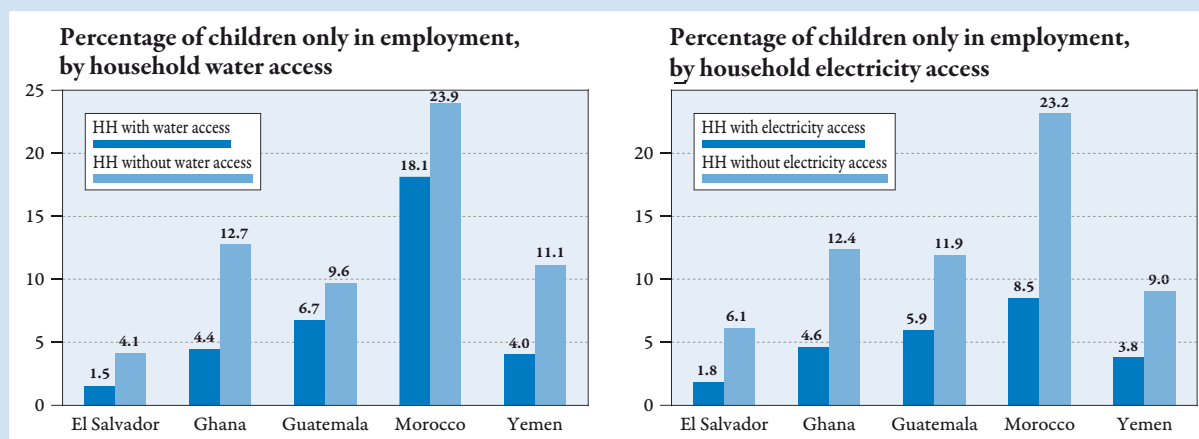
expansion as an instrument for reducing child labour and increasing school attendance. In the specific case of water and electricity, it would also constitute an additional argument for accelerated efforts to reach universal water and electricity coverage, and provide a basis for targeting water and electricity investment.

In El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, Morocco and Yemen, the percentage of children working full-time is much higher, and the rate of full-time school attendance is much lower, among children from households without water or electricity access.^a

With the exception of Guatemala, the share of children working only is, for example, much higher in households without access to water compared to those with access to water. A much higher proportion of children from households not served by water and electricity is also reportedly “idle” in the five countries. Further robustness checks^b further confirm the link between access to basic utilities and children’s time allocation.

Notes

^a Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004b). ^b Propensity score estimates and simulations on the role of unobservables.



Source: Guarcello, Lyon and Rosati (2004b)

248. Notwithstanding the large size of some of these programmes and their increasing popularity with government and donors, very little is known about their effects on child labour and schooling. The Ethiopian government introduced a public works and direct support programme popularly known as the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in 2005. The evaluation of this programme shows that participation in public works leads to a moderate reduction in agricultural labour hours for boys aged between 6 and 16 years and a reduction in domestic labour hours for younger boys between the ages of 6 and 10 years. For girls, measured effects are smaller.¹⁸⁹

9.3 Policy options

249. There is no single recipe for implementing social protection programmes to address child labour. Table 11 summarizes the range of options available to policy makers: unconditional cash transfers of various sorts, conditional cash transfers, public works programmes and credit schemes.

250. Unconditional cash transfers, including various forms of child support grants, family allowances, needs-based social assistance and social pensions are relevant in easing household budget constraints and supplementing the incomes of the poor. They can be targeted to groups such as orphans and households affected by HIV and AIDS that often have to resort to child labour to make ends meet. Evidence cited above from a range of countries indicates that these forms of transfers can play an important role in increasing household investment in children's education, although the evidence remains unclear concerning the extent to which this translates into a concomitant reduction in child labour.

251. Conditional cash transfers offer a means of both alleviating current income poverty and of addressing the under-investment in children's human capital that can underlie poverty. Evidence from a wide range of countries indicates that cash transfers conditional on school attendance are effective in raising attendance rates. Evidence on their impact on child labour confirms the potential of such instruments but also indicates that some adaptation and integration with other instruments might be necessary to make them more effective in addressing child labour. In some cases, the rise in school attendance is the product of children entering school without giving up work altogether, i.e., of a shift from "full-time" work to work in combination with schooling. Conditionality based on non-participation in child labour in addition to school attendance is more difficult to monitor and impose, especially in programmes not focused solely on child labour. But in one programme where such conditionality was imposed (PETI, Brazil), it showed to be more effective in addressing child labour.

252. Public works schemes can be either a short-term or structural social protection intervention. They serve the primary goal of providing a source of employment to household breadwinners and the secondary goal of helping rehabilitate public infrastructure and expand basic services. Both are potentially positive in terms of reducing households' reliance on child labour. The works programmes can also be used to improve or extend school facilities, helping make school a more viable alternative to child labour. But two important caveats are relevant in the design of public works programmes: first, the public works should obviously not involve children as participants, and second, children should not simply replace participant parents in their prior employment or in performing intensive household chores. One of the only public works programmes evaluated from a child labour perspective, the Productive Safety Net Programme in Ethiopia, appeared successful in reducing working hours among some groups of children, but further research in this area is required.

¹⁸⁹ Hoddinott, Gilligan and Taffesse (2009).

Table 11. SOCIAL PROTECTION: Possible policies for reducing household risk and expanding household social protection

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Applicability/relevance	Design considerations/cross-sectoral linkages
<i>Expanded access to targeted transfer schemes</i>	– Introduction of unconditional cash transfers.	– Designed to ease the household budget constraints and supplement the incomes of poor households.	– Targeting of households with child labourers and/or with children vulnerable to child labour (e.g., children affected by HIV or AIDS) should make use of available data, research and knowledge on child labour.
	– Introduction of conditional cash transfers.	– Designed to alleviate current income poverty (through cash benefits) as well as reduce the likelihood or extent of future poverty (through behavioural conditions related to the human capital development of children).	– Conditionality on child labour difficult to monitor and impose. – Higher school attendance does not necessarily translate in lower child labour. – May need to be accompanied by supply side interventions in terms of school access and/or quality, access to basic services.
<i>Expanded access to sources of alternative earnings</i>	– Introduction of targeted public works schemes.	– Designed to target vulnerable households, household hit by economic shocks. Also relevant when households lack access to services such as water and electricity places added burden on children.	– Work should not involve children, design should ensure that children are not pulled out of school and/or involved in employment or intensive household chores to replace parent(s). – Support to vulnerable household. – Short-term or structural social protection intervention. – Nature of infrastructure provided might enhance programme impact on child labour (e.g. access to basic utilities, school renovation, etc.)
<i>Expand household access to credit</i>	– Introduction of targeted micro-credit schemes.	– When a lack of access to credit means that families are budget constrained, and/or unable to invest in small enterprise.	– Ensure that credit for business and income generation does not create demand for additional children's time in economic activities or household chores. – Assess the feasibility of credit for consumption and for school expenditures.

253. Micro-loan schemes offer an important means of extending access to credit to poor households, in turn helping to ease household budget constraints and to mitigate social risk. These loans, typically for small enterprise development, enable households to develop an additional income stream and therefore to reduce their reliance on their children's earnings. But the impact of micro-credit on child labour can also work in the opposite direction – increasing child labour – if the micro-enterprises developed involve children directly or require children to take on additional household chores while their mothers operate the micro-enterprise. For this reason, evidence concerning the impact of micro-loans for small enterprise on schooling and child labour is mixed. Caution, therefore, is required in the design of such schemes. It is possible that micro-loans to support human capital investment, e.g., to finance school fees or other educational expenditures, hold greater potential as instruments against child labour than micro-loans for small enterprise development, but the former have not yet been subject to evaluation.

Chapter 10. Transitioning to decent work: Skills development and labour market policies

Summary

- Investment in basic education and skills development is needed to ensure that former child labourers and other vulnerable young people are equipped with the skills needed in the labour market.
- Investment in “second chance” education activities is needed for children whose education has been compromised by child labour.
- Policy measures (comprehensive training programmes, entrepreneurship training programmes and public employment services) are needed to improve the functioning of the labour market for youth, within the constraints of the macro-economic environment, so that households have an incentive to forego child labour and instead invest in their children’s education.

254. Making sure that former child labourers and children at risk of becoming child labourers acquire the skills necessary to find a gainful employment is essential to ensure that child labour does not translate into a lifelong disadvantage, both for the individual concerned and for the society as a whole. Appropriate policy responses need to be devised to improve the labour market outcomes of young workers, and in particular, of those suffering from an early disadvantage.

255. Policies that promote skills development are central to the perspective outlined above. Skills development will contribute to make households more willing to invest in their children’s education as it will increase its expected returns. Increasing the demand for skills will also work in the same direction, and ultimately contribute to generate decent labour market opportunities for young people.

256. The possibility of acquiring the necessary skills, however, might not be sufficient to guarantee that poor and vulnerable households invest in the education of their children. A well functioning labour market for youth which is able to guarantee a smooth transition from school to decent work is then likely to play an important role, as argued in previous sections, in increasing the incentives of vulnerable households to invest in their children’s education and postpone their entry into the labour market.

257. While evidence on the effectiveness of some of the skill development approaches is becoming available, less is known about the linkages between the demand for youth labour and a well functioning labour market for youth, on the one hand, and household decisions concerning education and child labour, on the other. The policy discussion in this section remains to some extent speculative, indicating a substantial knowledge gap that needs to be filled urgently.

258. The discussion will focus along the following main lines: promotion of skills development, improvement of labour market opportunities and the functioning of the youth labour market through appropriate institutions. It is important to stress that youth policy should adopt an integrated approach, linking education and labour market concerns to macro-economic policies, including those pertaining to income redistribution. While these policies may benefit the youth population at large, they should also be tailored to the needs of youth with specific disadvantages.

10.1 Skills development

259. In most countries, young people who are the least educated and the least skilled are the most disadvantaged in the labour market. The fact that youth unemployment often appears to be higher among highly educated workers in several countries is linked mainly to longer transition to work periods and does not necessarily appear to have implications for the quality of jobs that more educated people eventually get in the long term.

260. Education and training are essential for the design of an effective strategy to help young people to reach improved labour market outcomes and decent employment possibilities. Improving youth skills and employability is central to ensuring a smooth and successful transition to decent work.

261. Improving youth skills and employability requires action on three levels: first, there is a need to strengthen the quality of basic education and its relevance vis-à-vis the needs of young people entering the labour market;¹⁹⁰ second, to provide second chance, remedial education to young persons who have been denied sufficient education, a group which includes persons forced out of school at an early age in order to work; and third, to extend the effectiveness and reach of vocational training programmes. Taken together, these measures would help equip young persons with adequate skills and job experience to be successful in their working life either as employees or as self-employed workers.

262. It is worth noting that the interventions discussed here interact with the education sector and many of them in fact need to be clearly integrated into the formal education system. This discussion aims to stress the relevance of these interventions for labour market outcomes, not to underestimate their relevance for the education sector.

Improving the relevance of basic education

263. Educational systems often do not adequately prepare young people for the labour market, particularly those living in remote areas and those coming from poor socio-economic background. Although curricula and teaching methods have often remained largely unchanged over the years, employers are increasingly demanding strong thinking, communication, and entrepreneurial skills – demands largely unmet by educational systems in many developing countries.¹⁹¹ Adolescents might lack skills that are in greatest demand in the labour market and might perform significantly worse in complex procedures and problem-solving tasks than in knowledge items and routine procedures. This mismatch between the skills that young workers bring to the labour market and those demanded by the labour market is likely to lead to a lengthy school to work transition process, high unemployment, sustained period of lower skilled and precarious work and a potentially lifelong labour market disadvantage.

¹⁹⁰ This is an area that has been widely discussed and reflected in several policy analyses and documents (see for instance World Bank, 2007). For this reason, this section will not go into details and only stress its relevance.

¹⁹¹ World Bank (2006) and Fasih (2008).

264. As discussed before, improvement of school quality and relevance is needed. The need to extend the focus of education policies from ensuring school access to improving the quality and the relevance of the learning that takes place at school has been widely recognized. One approach is to adapt course contents to emphasize thinking and behavioural skills (communication, work discipline, critical thinking, independence, leadership and teamwork), grounded in methods which promote students' active participation in the learning process. To improve the quality of education, teachers should also have adequate materials, including access to information technologies. Regular student assessments need to be conducted to inform education policy. Improving basic education should target rural and other remote areas in particular, in order to close the gap in learning and access to post basic education between rural and urban areas and across regions.¹⁹²

Second chance learning

265. Children entering adulthood with insufficient education to be able to acquire decent work is one of the main lifelong damages that child labourers suffer. If left unsatisfied, the need to (re) build the human capital of current and former child labour, will give rise to large numbers of vulnerable households at risk of perpetuating the vicious circle of poverty, low education and child labour.

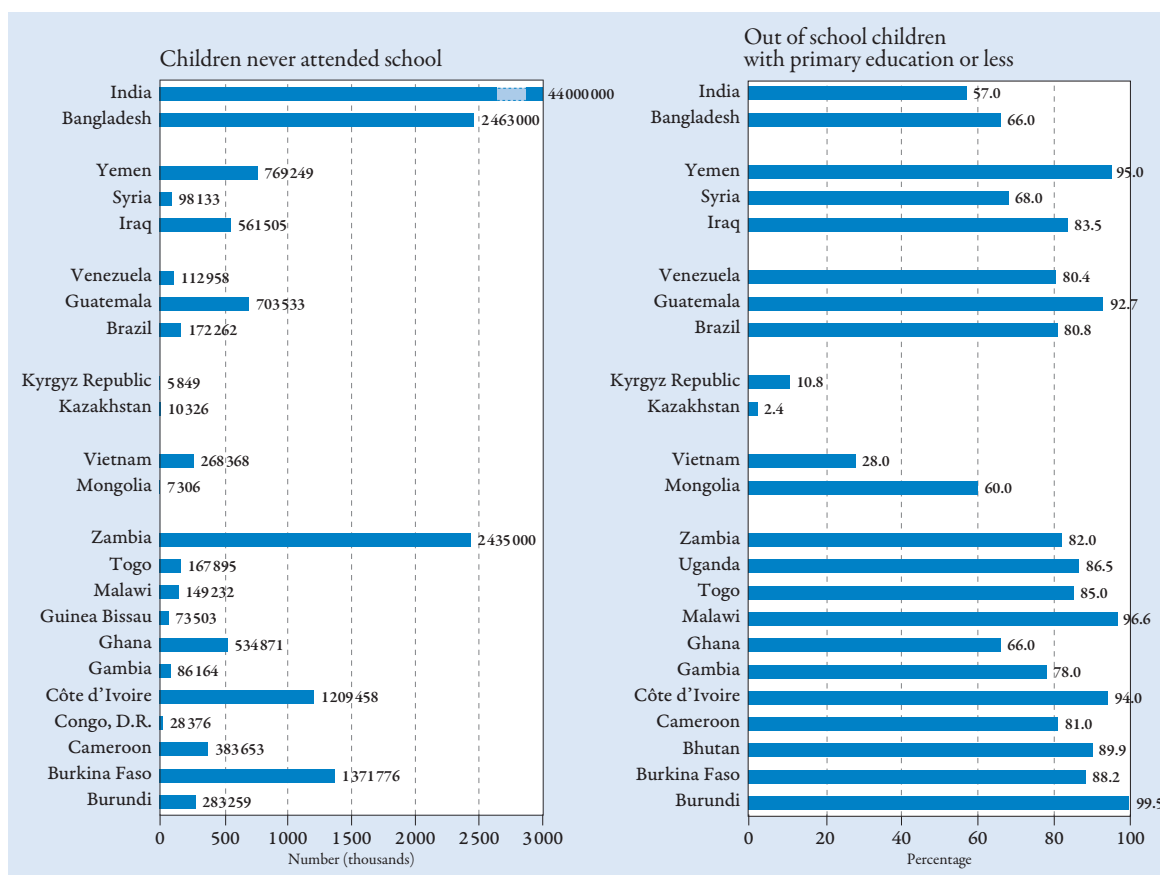
266. This poses a serious challenge not only because of the intrinsic difficulties related to designing and administering second chance interventions, but also because these interventions concern large numbers of children and youth. Many working children have never attended school or have dropped out very early. Child labour also affects the academic achievement of the considerable number of children who combine school and work, contributing to early drop-out and grade repetition. To this, one should also add the large number of youth that enter the labour market without adequate skills.

267. The number of children and youth that are in need of "second chance" interventions is hence very large. Figure 44 illustrates this point. The first chart indicates that a significant number of children have never attended school. In proportional terms, the incidence of this group is higher in Sub-Saharan Africa, although Asia hosts the largest number of children. The second chart demonstrates that a large proportion of children who entered the school system remained there only for the primary cycle or less, and therefore also has only limited levels of education.

268. The twin challenges posed by out-of-school children and child labourers therefore remain daunting. The need for "second chance" interventions has been widely articulated and policy responses have been put in place in a number of contexts (see Panel 14). However, beyond the relative merits of the different approaches followed, the main policy challenge remains the development of a national second chance integrated strategy. In most countries, second chance interventions are implemented in a fragmented and limited way, and do not address the full scope of the problem.

269. The best strategy for offering second chance opportunities depends on the age of the individual concerned. For younger children, transitional education which helps them to (re)enter the formal education system and to acquire a diploma might be the best strategy. For older children and youth, skill development through vocational training might be more appropriate. In what follows, we discuss transitional education measures for younger children. Vocational training is taken up in the subsequent section.

¹⁹² For further discussion on school quality, see UNESCO (2004).



Sources: UCW calculation based on household survey datasets (Annex II).

Figure 45. Children requiring remedial education, age group 9–17 years

270. Transitional education programmes are aimed at smoothing the transition of child labourers and other vulnerable children into the formal school system. They are based on the premise that child labourers are often difficult to insert directly (re-insert) into the formal education system because of their age, different life experiences and lack of familiarity with the school environment. The characteristics of child labourers and the physical and psycho-social consequences that can be associated with child labour – stunted growth, injury, disease including HIV or AIDS, insecurity, anti-social behaviour, low self-esteem, attention deficiency – all invariably have a negative impact on a child’s ability to learn and to socialize. Their lack of formal education also frequently leaves them too far behind their peers to catch up on their own. If systems and programmes do not take these challenging characteristics into account, then inevitably they will either not reach these children or will fail to retain them in the classroom. Transitional education programmes are therefore critical to ensuring that children, once in school, remain there, and are able to learn effectively.

271. Transitional education programmes are based on the recognition that second chance opportunities for young children should not be an alternative to state-run formal education, but rather a stepping-stone to mainstreaming children into formal schools as and when they are ready. The field experience of the ILO-IPEC and other development partners underscores that providing children with basic literacy and numeric skills through non-formal education alone does not ensure that children are permanently withdrawn from work, and that mainstreaming these children into formal systems is therefore critical to ensuring their further education and eventual gainful and skilled employment.

272. Transitional education follows two main models: the first, involving mainstreaming directly into the formal system with remedial support, and the second, involving short-term “bridging” courses, sometimes outside the confines of the formal system. As such, transitional education programmes break down artificial boundaries between what are traditionally considered “formal” and “non-formal” learning arrangements.

273. Providing returning children with remedial support in the regular classroom is in line with the principle of mainstreaming disadvantaged children and promoting inclusive education. Depending primarily on existing school facilities and human resources, it is also likely to be a cost-effective and sustainable option. However, mainstreaming can be effective only if it guarantees efficient quality of education. Two potential problems require consideration. The first is teacher capacity. Teachers may not have adequate training to cope in their classes with additional children who have substantial remedial learning needs. Placing well trained classroom assistants in the classroom may be one way of addressing this concern. The second potential problem is classroom capacity. In contexts in which class sizes are already large, or where physical space is limited, it may not be possible to accommodate additional children in existing classes.

274. Bridging courses, involving intensive compensatory or catch-up courses designed to raise academic proficiency, provide children with a more gradual introduction into the school environment, and a teacher dedicated exclusively to their learning needs. They are typically offered in either non-formal community schools or informal school facilities prior to, during or after regular classes. In both cases, they involve short-term intensive courses designed to permit entry into the formal school system at an age-appropriate grade level. Separate courses can help avoid the social stigmatization of older students attending classes with younger ones. In many cases, regular teachers are recruited to run these courses for a small supplement to their regular income.

Youth training programmes

275. Youth training programmes are essential instruments for providing former child labourers who have reached the minimum age of employment and who cannot be reintegrated into the formal education systems, with the necessary skills to perform well in the labour markets. Of course, vocational training programmes are relevant not only for former child labourers but also for youth at large.¹⁹³ Hence, if well designed and administrated, these programmes are also potentially important as a prevention strategy as they might contribute to create appropriate incentives for youth to stay in school rather than engage in work at an early stage in life.

276. Training interventions are typically sponsored by the public sector. Some governments are direct providers of training, and others give room to private sector participation, fostering competition among training institutions.¹⁹⁴

277. There are a number of basic minimum criteria¹⁹⁵ around which vocational training programmes should be built: i) a detailed assessment of what skills are required and can be absorbed in the local labour market is needed; ii) students are provided assistance in learning how and where to access business support services, such as micro-credit programmes, social protection services, marketing and business accounting; iii) as far as possible, training is conducted locally where the trainees live; iv) training is modular and allows for flexible solutions

¹⁹³ For a review of skill development programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa see Johanson and Van Adams (2004).

¹⁹⁴ Puerto (2007).

¹⁹⁵ ILO (2006d).

Panel 14. Integrating former child labourers into the school system: Policy experiences and lessons

A review of international policy experience reveals numerous examples of transitional education initiatives following both mainstreaming and bridging strategies.


(a) Policy experience relating to mainstreaming education

Community schools (a): Experience in Zambia points to the important potential of these schools. The number of community schools in the country grew to an estimated 3,000 in 2004, with an estimated total enrolment of approximately 500,000 accounting for 25 per cent of overall enrolment in basic education. The community schools have been particularly effective in reaching children orphaned by the HIV, AIDS epidemic and other vulnerable, hard-to-reach groups. According to the Ministry of Education in Zambia, orphans accounted for 13 per cent of public school students but for almost one-third of community school enrolment in 2004. Other evidence shows that community school students are from poorer households – less than one-third of community school families, for example, live in permanent structures against 46 per cent of public school families, while students attending rural community schools are 13 per cent more likely than their public school counterparts to never have breakfast. Over-age students are also much more common in community schools. More than half of community school students are over the age of 14 compared to 28 per cent of public school students. Data on school performance suggest that the community schools do not provide an inferior educational experience for students. Indeed, according to a comprehensive sample-based assessment of student learning undertaken in 2003 by the Examinations Council of Zambia, community school students actually outperform their public school counterparts in some learning achievement measures. In 2003, 29 per cent of community school students met minimum proficiency in English compared to only 18 per cent of public school students; and in mathematics, 46 per cent of community school students met minimum proficiency compared to 43 per cent of public school students. The completion rate for community schools is 72 per cent, the same as that for public schools. At the same time, per unit cost measures are much lower for community schools: recurrent costs per student are \$39 in community schools versus \$67 in public schools.

The Egypt Community Schools project has played a similar role, providing hard-to-reach rural children, particularly girls, with basic education equivalency allowing them to continue to preparatory school in the formal system. The initial UNICEF-supported project that established 200 community schools during the 1990s has now been incorporated into a national Girls' Education Initiative aimed at reaching half a million out-of-school girls in Egypt by 2007.

The *India Balsakhi programme*, run by the NGO Pratham, involves the hiring of young local women ("Balsakhis") with the equivalent of a high school education to provide remedial education to disadvantaged or lagging students within the formal school structure. The programme, begun in 1994, now reaches over 161,000 children in over 20 cities. Balsakhi is one of the few remedial education programmes to have been systematically evaluated. The evaluation showed the programme to be both very effective and extremely cost-efficient in increasing student learning. The programme did not, however, appear to have a significant effect on attendance.

The *Cambodia "Mentors" programme*, involves reintegrating Phnom Penh street children into the formal education schools through the help of mentors. Following a brief training period, these locally-recruited persons monitor and provide remedial support within the classroom to mainstreamed children during their first year in school.

In a similar programme in *Rangpur, Bangladesh*, BRAC-, CB- and IPEC-supported non-formal education teachers monitor and provide technical guidance and moral support to former working children. Programme records show that when regularly supervised and guided, the mainstreamed children performed well and were more likely to be retained in the school system. The non-formal teachers also proved very useful in easing the work burden of the formal classroom teacher, and relations between the two were generally found to be very good. 

(b) Policy experience relating to bridging education

The India *Janshala* programme, a joint Government-UN initiative, serves as a vehicle for mobilizing community involvement in schooling, introducing teaching innovation and meeting learning needs of disadvantaged children. Since its launch in 1998, it has opened more than 2,000 alternative schools, trained 58,000 teachers and established Village Education Committees in 15,000 villages.

An *India Back-to-School pilot programme*, linked to *Janshala* and administered by the Andhra Pradesh Social Welfare Department, offers bridging courses to school non-entrants and early drop-outs in order to raise their academic proficiency to a level permitting their re-entry into the formal education system. The pilot programme was launched in 1997 and by 2000 was reaching around 100,000 children aged 7–12 years each year.

The *Basic Education for Hard-to-Reach Urban Children project* in Bangladesh is a large-scale alternative education effort specifically targeting working children. Based on an “earn and learn” strategy, the project offers a two-year bridging course to working children at the end of which they receive an equivalency of grade 3 and can be admitted to mainstream education. The course runs two hours per day, six days per week, but timing is flexible in order that children are also able to continue working. In 2001, the project covered 351,000 working children aged 8–14 years in six major cities. It involved more than 150 NGO partners.

(c) Policy lessons

These policy experiences have yielded a number of lessons with relevance for replication elsewhere.

Linkages with the formal education system: In the absence of a link to the formal education system, non-formal education programmes risk evolving into parallel, frequently inferior, education systems for disadvantaged children, rather than as bridges to the regular classroom. The integration of non-formal education into the legal framework of basic education helps ensure that students in the non-formal sub-sector are counted in national education statistics and that they are able to move between the non-formal and formal sub-sectors within a diversified basic education system. Integration also helps ensure minimum standards with regard to provision and the assessment of learning outcomes, and enables NFE programmes to benefit from Ministry of Education inspection and supervision services, curriculum development and teacher training.

Teacher capacity: Teachers in many developing country contexts are not well qualified and many lack training in even basic teaching skills. They are also typically poorly remunerated and offered few career opportunities, resulting in low levels of motivation and the need to supplement their incomes by taking on other work. These concerns call into question teachers’ ability to cope with the additional demands of transitional education, and the participatory teaching and learning facilitation methodologies that accompany it. They underscore the need for careful selection and appropriate training of teachers, and for the provision of appropriate teacher support at the classroom level. Placing local teaching assistants in the classroom, as in the India *Balsakhi* programme (see above), may be one way of addressing some of these concerns. Providing regular teachers with a small supplement to their regular income for providing extra-curricular catch-up courses has also been piloted with success in some countries.

Age-specific approaches: Transitional education interventions for children removed from hazardous work need to be related to the approximate age of the child and depend on the level of his/her literacy and psychosocial development. Mainstreaming or direct re-entry is most appropriate for younger returning children, whose remedial learning needs and adjustment difficulties are lesser than their older counterparts. Separate, non-formal TE measures are often best suited for children in the latter half of the basic education age range, as they face a more difficult transition back to formal schooling and face the risk of social stigmatization if placed in classes with younger students. For returning children beyond the age of basic education, vocational and skills training, designed to impart basic skills and knowledge of relevance to the job market and community life, is often most appropriate.

Learning environment: Appropriate physical premises and learning materials are critical ingredients to successful transitional education programmes. In contexts in which class sizes are already large, or physical space is limited, it may not be possible to accommodate additional children in existing classes or to accommodate additional classes of remedial learners. Community-based TE programmes often lack physical premises, equipment and teaching/learning resources, needed for creating an effective learning environment.

Note

¹ Community schools can be defined as community-based, owned and managed, learning institutions that meet the basic/primary education needs of pupils, who for a number of reasons cannot enter government schools.

to suit local and individual needs of the students; v) an effective infrastructure is in place to ensure quality of training delivery; vi) where necessary and relevant, training includes functional literacy and numeric skills education; vii) families and communities are mobilized to ensure that adolescents do not return to hazardous work after training; viii) public employers, employers' organizations and local entrepreneurs are actively involved in providing opportunities for employment after training, even small or micro-enterprises can provide opportunities for apprenticeships and employment.

278. A number of countries have implemented vocational training programmes in order to provide youth with skills that are deemed to yield returns in the labour market and to smooth the school-to-work transition process. A large review of active labour market programmes¹⁹⁶ shows that the majority of employment interventions in middle and low-income countries are highly oriented toward training programmes. The impact of these programmes is larger in developing countries than in the United States and Europe.¹⁹⁷

279. Attitudinal changes at all levels (including among young men and women, parents, teachers, and employers) are required for the success of vocational training programmes. In this context, public awareness programmes about the value of technical jobs might play an important role. Media can be an effective tool in promoting public awareness, for example, on the processes and skills involved in certain jobs and the role of vocational training in providing people with appropriate life and professional skills. Well-developed and organized career guidance services, as well as appropriate, well-informed, and sensitive vocational and career counselling in schools also help to promote vocational education. The aim of career guidance services should be to advise properly about the types of jobs available, skills needed, career paths, salary scales, and about the trends and opportunities of the labour market.

280. The evidence on the effects of training programmes on employment and wages is in large part positive. The most convincing evidence comes from Latin America and the Caribbean. Most impact evaluations in developing countries do not however consider the effects of programmes on long term employability, or the quality of the job, so that some care must be exerted in interpreting these results.¹⁹⁸

281. The Jóvenes training programmes target disadvantaged young people and offer a package of classroom training, work experience, life skills, job search assistance, and counselling. They are large-scale, strongly linked to the labour demand, involve the private sector, and lead to recognized diplomas. Non-experimental evaluations provide evidence of increased employment probability and/or earnings upon graduation in Argentina,¹⁹⁹ Chile,²⁰⁰ Peru²⁰¹ and Mexico.²⁰²

282. A randomized evaluation²⁰³ of the training programme (Jóvenes en Acción) introduced in Colombia in 2005, in particular, shows that the programme raises earnings and employment for both men and women, with larger effects on women. Cost-benefit analysis of these results suggests that the programme generates a large net gain, particularly for women. Similar positive effects are also found for the Procájóven programme in Panama.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁶ Betcherman et al. (2007).

¹⁹⁷ Ñopo, Robles and Saavedra (2002); Betcherman, Olivás and Dar (2004); Betcherman et al. (2007).

¹⁹⁸ Calderón-Madrid (2006).

¹⁹⁹ Aedo and Nuñez (2001); Alzua and Brassiolo (2006).

²⁰⁰ Aedo and Pizarro Valdivia (2004).

²⁰¹ Díaz and Jaramillo (2006).

²⁰² Delajara, Freije and Soloaga (2006).

²⁰³ Attanasio, Kugler and Meghir (2008).

²⁰⁴ Ibarrarán and Rosas Shady (2006).

283. Other similar programmes, on the other hand, do not appear to have a substantive impact. For example, in the Dominican Republic, between 2001 and 2005, the government implemented a job training programme (Juventud y Empleo) for low-income youth consisting of classroom training followed by an internship in a private firm. An evaluation²⁰⁵ of this programme could not identify any significant effect of the training on the likelihood of having a job. Nevertheless, when disaggregated by age and region, the estimates appear to have a significant positive impact for the youngest age group (17–19 years old) and for those in the East and Santo Domingo regions. A marginally significant impact is observed on wages and also in terms of having health insurance coverage conditional on being employed.

284. These mixed findings are confirmed by recent large reviews of programmes²⁰⁶ suggesting that the effectiveness of vocational training programmes depends on the economic situation of the country and on there being adequate employment opportunities at the end of programmes.

285. The thematic evaluation of the ILO-IPEC²⁰⁷ on vocational training programmes in nine countries²⁰⁸ also indicates some weakness in the design of these programmes. Few action programmes conducted formal labour market surveys to help guide their selection of the vocational skills to be taught. Nor was counselling or career guidance offered to the children before skills training was provided. Furthermore, the process of selecting skills for training did not determine whether skills were relevant and appropriate to the ages and development stages of children.²⁰⁹

286. While training programmes are becoming increasingly popular, apprenticeship (especially in the informal economy and in traditional sectors) continues to be the principal means of skills acquisition for young people in developing countries. For instance, in Sub-Saharan Africa, these apprenticeship schemes remain largely dominant, and are characterized by on-the-job training. They most often involve training, without any specified duration (lasting up to eight years); they are not recognized with a diploma, and the production dimension dominates the learning dimension.

287. Young people involved in such learning systems are likely to encounter two major difficulties: (i) poorly qualified master craftspeople unable to theorize or to formalize certain technical concepts; and (ii) the lack of a structured pedagogical learning process. In most cases, traditional apprenticeships appear to remain deficient with respect to integration into the formal sector, leaving self-employment or informal paid employment as the only viable outcome.

288. Coordination of informal apprenticeship with the formal schooling system and formal training system is useful in order to establish coherent learning paths, smoother transition from school to work, and improve access of apprentices and master craftspeople to formal training (for example, theoretical knowledge, advanced technologies and management skills). A good assessment and certification of knowledge and competences acquired in informal apprenticeship is essential for recognition of apprenticeship training in formal education and training systems and in formal labour markets.²¹⁰ For instance, the example of Benin, with the introduction of certificates of professional qualifications for apprenticeship, could be followed by other countries in which traditional apprenticeships are prevalent.

²⁰⁵ Card et al. (2007).

²⁰⁶ Cunningham et al. (2008), Ibararán and Rosas Shady (2006).

²⁰⁷ IPEC (2006b).

²⁰⁸ Bangladesh, Cambodia, Colombia, India, Kenya, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal and Turkey.

²⁰⁹ Freedman (2008).

²¹⁰ ILO (2006b).

10.2 Improving labour market opportunities for young people

289. Equipped with good skills young people still experience difficulties in finding gainful employment. Especially, former child labourers and other young people originating from vulnerable households are likely to be disadvantaged in entering the labour market. These circumstances are likely to feed back on household decisions concerning the investment in the education of their children and the age of their entry into the labour market.

290. Business cycles, international competitiveness and macroeconomic policies shape the evolution and the characteristics of the demand for labour. However, a set of policy measures are available to improve the functioning of the labour market for youth within the constraints of the macroeconomic environment. In fact, such policies if successful, can contribute to improve the growth prospect of a country. Policies addressing the supply and the demand of labour and skills alone are not necessarily able to guarantee positive labour market outcomes and decent work for youth. Labour market institutions that contribute to provide opportunities for decent work, offer adequate protection to young workers, and improve the information flow and the match between the demand and supply of labour, possibly of different skill types, can play a role to improve the functioning of the youth labour market. In particular the focus here should be on interventions aimed at promoting youth entrepreneurship, promoting decent work in the informal economy and improving labour market institutions.

Promoting youth entrepreneurship

291. Given the large share of young people working in small family businesses or who are self-employed, it is important to work with local authorities and communities to help young people start and improve their own business. Promoting youth entrepreneurial activity is a potential means of employment creation.

292. The lack of own capital and difficulties related to obtaining loans from formal financial institutions constitute not only a potential determinant of child labour but also an important constraint for young entrepreneurs. There is a need to develop different instruments in order to facilitate the access to finance for young entrepreneurs. These instruments might include grants, soft loans, and support activities in improving the quality of loan requests.

293. Micro-credit schemes targeting specific groups of young people (migrant, unemployed, women, etc.) and offering support measures such as training and technical assistance might play an important role. Such programmes could be expanded to include a broader range of support services for young entrepreneurs, including i) work space or business incubators services; ii) mentoring and business coaching, providing young entrepreneurs with advice and guidance from experienced professionals; iii) on-the-job training and workshops focusing on start-up issues, as well as business expansion support; iv) youth chambers of commerce, trade associations, entrepreneur networks helping young entrepreneurs find the right partners to enter supply chains; v) online business networks and virtual meeting places creating information and relationship platforms that are easy and inexpensive to access, always available and up-to-date.

294. Certain sectors have strong youth employment potential (e.g., information and communication technologies, environment, hotels and tourism, retail and wholesale distribution, other services, high value added manufacturing, green jobs) and their development could provide job opportunities for young people. A successful example is a youth employment project in the Indian State of Goa. A mix of interventions based on individual motivation, use of best practices, public-private partnerships and legislative measures has resulted in more than 2,000 jobs for young people, in the last three years, in waste management and recycling, with opportunities for further expansion.

295. Despite the widespread implementation of entrepreneurship programmes across the world,²¹¹ impact evaluations of these programmes – in particular on young people – remains scarce. However, what limited evidence there is shows that self-employment programmes can significantly increase the probability of young participants finding a job, at least in the short-term, but their cost effectiveness still needs to be tested.

296. In Peru, the Young Micro Entrepreneurs' Qualification Programme aims to improve earnings of beneficiaries by providing assistance and training in the development of business plans and the creation of profitable businesses. An evaluation²¹² of the programme indicates an increase of 8 per cent in the probability of participants having an operational business and an 8 per cent increase in their average income. Key determinants of success appear to have been access to credit and a high frequency of counselling visits. Similarly, findings from the Bulgaria's Self-Employment Programme show that the programme increases the probability of employment by at least 50 per cent, with higher effects on female young participants. However, costs per placement exceed those of training and subsidized employment programmes.²¹³

Providing decent work in the informal economy

297. The size of the informal economy is large and absorbs a growing proportion of youth in developing countries. Jobs in the informal economy are typically characterized by low and irregular incomes, long working hours and poor working environments, as well as by being unstable forms of employment, often with few prospects of advancement.

298. Protecting young workers in the informal economy should be one of the major objectives of labour market policies. Otherwise, the number of those “excluded” from the labour market will continue to grow and could cause a rift in the current social consensus and derail the poverty reduction and accelerated growth strategies in the medium term.

299. Priorities in tackling the decent work deficit in the informal economy should also include the provision of information and training in order to raise awareness about regulations, rights and obligations. It may also imply opening up formal institutions to informal economy participants, for instance, to give them access to training facilities, or to enterprise support services and micro-credit institutions allowing their use of financial resources, information, markets, public infrastructure as well as social services. Increasing workers' organizations' capacities and presence in the informal economy would contribute to strengthening the voice of informal workers, enabling them to secure their rights and to defend their interests.²¹⁴

300. Identifying the specific factors which contribute to the dynamics of formality/informality in national and local contexts and understanding its diversity is a necessary, though complex, step for developing appropriate policy responses. There is therefore a need to improve statistical information on the informal economy employment in line with internationally recognized methodologies and national policies, conduct regular studies on social protection issues of children and adults working in high-risk sectors, and identify the need for state social services. In Mongolia, the Government has recognized the reality of the informal economy and the Parliament adopted the Policy on Informal Economy in 2006 which is aimed at “formalizing” employment from the informal economy by providing Government services and by

²¹¹ For a review see Dorenbos, Tanzer and Vossen (2002).

²¹² Diaz and Jaramillo (2006).

²¹³ Betcherman et al. (2007) and Puerto (2007).

²¹⁴ ILO (2002b).

creating legal, economic, labour and social protection guarantees for concerned workers. The Policy was designed with the goal, considered essential, of creating a process of legalization to bring workers of the informal economy and enterprises within the legal framework so that they can be registered, recognized and protected.

Strengthening labour market institutions

301. A difficult transition to the labour market may result partly from the lack of both labour market information and job search skills. Employment services, guidance and career advice such as labour market information and career counselling should be made available to young people. This should be based on improved labour market information systems that enable students, first job seekers and unemployed young people to make informed choices about their education and working lives, and thus increase the opportunity for a good entry into the labour market.

302. Labour market information systems need to be further developed (the nature and location of employment, wages and working conditions and opportunities and assistance in using the information), through better management of administrative records, short-term qualitative surveys, and regular employer and household surveys. Having current labour market information is essential to monitor changes in employment and anticipating labour supply needs.

303. Public employment services play a crucial intermediation function, as they are the main provider of labour market services and policies. They should play a more active role in providing information, counselling and training not only to the unemployed, but also to the discouraged workers and jobseekers who are still at school. This can help increase the quantity and quality of job matches, reduce the spells and duration of unemployment and generally increase the efficiency of the labour market. Helping young people in securing places in the labour market should be a particular priority. Empirical results presented earlier in this report showed that young people face an average time lag of two and a half years between leaving school and entering work for the first time, and that over one-third of unemployed youth are long-term unemployed.

304. A critical issue is the need to ensure that at-risk youth are able to access these employment services programmes. This can be difficult because most at-risk youth live in either marginal urban or rural areas, while most employment services are offered in more central locations. One criticism of employment services programmes has been that those who benefit from the programmes are typically more qualified and connected to begin with and therefore more likely to become employed. Therefore, all programmes should be rigorously and carefully targeted to disadvantaged young people in order to minimize such losses and to ensure that the programme is efficient and cost-effective.

10.3 Policy options

305. To ensure that former child labourers acquire the necessary skills to find a gainful employment is a policy priority, potentially involving large numbers of youth. To ensure a well-functioning labour market for youth, on the other hand, it is essential to guarantee that households have incentives to invest in the education of their children and to avoid their early entry into the labour market.

306. Strengthening the quality and relevance of basic education is an important starting point to ensure that young people are well prepared for adult life. Particularly relevant in this context

Table 12. LABOUR MARKETS: Possible policies directed towards providing skills and ensuring successful transitions to decent work

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Applicability/relevance	Design considerations/ cross-sectoral linkages
<i>Skills development</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Curriculum reform. – Regular systems of learning achievement testing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When basic education course contents lack relevance to labour market needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Need to create an integrated not fragmented system. – Course instructors, whether drawn from the existing teacher corps or from the community, require some training on remedial education. – Requires development of special teaching/learning packages that permit progression at an accelerated pace. – Non-formal programmes require substantial grassroots-level mobilization and organization, often making them difficult to scale up and sustain. – In the absence of a link to the formal education system, non-formal education programmes run the danger of evolving into parallel, frequently inferior, education systems for disadvantaged children.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Introduction of bridging education aimed at smoothing transition back to the regular classroom. – Introduction of mainstreaming with remedial support for former child labourers. – Community schools. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When there exists a large stock of former child labourers (school drop-outs and non-entrants) and other out-of-school children lacking the schooling background necessary for reinsertion directly into the regular classroom. 	
<i>Making the labour market work better for young people</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Introduction of vocational training programmes. – Apprenticeship programmes linked to labour market needs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When there exists a large stock of former child labourers too old to re-enter the regular school system, but at the same time lacking the skills required for successful transition to decent work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Need to create an integrated not fragmented system. – Programmes must be closely aligned with articulated labour market needs. – Partnerships with private sector in the form of apprenticeships and training provision often way of easing transition to work following training.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Promote youth entrepreneurial activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When informal economy is very large and employment growth is low. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Focus on high skill competitive sectors. – Public private partnership option. – Develop pilot to be evaluated for scaling up.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Raise awareness in the informal economy. – Enforce legislation that sets a legal framework for young workers in the informal economy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When large part of youth is employed in the informal economy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Identify the factors contributing to the dynamic of informality. – Identify the regulations that might increase the degree of formality.
<i>Inform households of labour market related benefits of education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public employment services. – Labour market information services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When lack of information makes transition to work difficult. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Targeting youth at risk and in remote areas. – Monitor the effectiveness of the services.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Information and awareness-raising activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When young people and their families have misperceptions about returns to education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Target households in marginalized communities. – Target vulnerable children and youth through schools.

are reforms to curricular contents and teaching methods designed to ensure that children have an adequate knowledge and skills base for higher learning. Second chance learning opportunities are needed for children whose education has been compromised by early exposure to work. Relevant second chance measures include “bridging” courses and remedial education aimed at smoothing the transition of out-of-school children back into the regular classroom. Vocational training is also relevant both as a second chance measure for older former child labourers and as a broader measure to provide young people with the flexible and transferable job skills necessary to promote lifelong employability, as well as specific vocational skills to enable entry into the labour market.

307. A number of policy options are available to help improve the functioning of the labour market for youth within the constraints of the macro-economic environment. Offering micro-credit in conjunction with a broader range of enterprise support services is a means of helping young people start and develop small businesses. Establishing a legal framework to protect the growing number of young persons working in the informal economy is also important. Employment services, career guidance and job counselling can all be helpful in addressing transition problems rooted in a lack of job search skills or a lack of labour market information. Finally, as discussed in Chapter 5, providing young people and their families with information about the returns that investment in education generates in the labour market will strengthen the incentives to keep children out of the labour market.

Chapter 11. Building consensus for change: Knowledge building, awareness-raising and social mobilization

Summary

- Strategic communication and advocacy are needed to build a consensus for change at the level of the household, civil society, the social partners and the national political leadership.
- Strategic communication efforts need to address both the social norms and economic considerations underlying child labour decisions.
- Advocacy efforts are needed to mobilize civil society and social partners and build political support for action against child labour.

308. The importance of building a broad-based consensus for change has not been addressed in the report up to this point. Yet, policy responses to child labour are unlikely to be effective in the absence of household awareness, the active participation of civil society and of social partners in implementing them or a high-level political commitment to ensure they are accorded priority in all national development agenda. This chapter looks at the role of strategic communication and advocacy in building a consensus for change at all four of these levels – household, civil society, social partners and the national political leadership.

11.1 Communication: Addressing social norms and knowledge

309. The theoretical basis for communication efforts targeting behaviours rooted in social norms and economic considerations is well-established. Several studies indicate that different economic outcomes can be strongly influenced by social norms.²¹⁵ “Both economic incentives and social norms²¹⁶ influence individual behaviour. Social norms are likely to play a major role in certain decisions that people make, while other decisions seem to be driven primarily by economic incentives. For some decisions, however, both social norms and economic incentives appear to be involved.”²¹⁷ And the two are of course closely inter-related – social norms play an important role in economic decision-making because individuals choose their actions imbedded within their social context.

310. Child labour is a clear example in which both social norms and economic considerations are important, and communication efforts need to be designed with this in mind. Households require information concerning the costs of child labour and benefits of schooling in order to make informed decisions on their children’s time allocation. Better information might thus change perceptions on the costs and benefits of child labour and education, and contribute

²¹⁵ Akerlof (1980); Lindbeck and Snower (1988).

²¹⁶ Coleman (1990) defines social norms as a rule of behaviour that is enforced by social sanctions – like approval or disapproval.

²¹⁷ Lindbeck, Nyberg and Weibull (1999).

to modify household behaviour. But factors which influence decisions concerning children's schooling and child labour can extend well beyond economics. Social norms, cultural attitudes and perceptions, e.g. regarding girls' schooling or early marriage, might also direct household behaviour and impede schooling in favour of child labour. Communication efforts need to target these as well.

311. The importance of social norms and knowledge in influencing behaviour is supported by a large body of anthropological and sociological research. There is also quantitative evidence – albeit indirect – of the specific importance of local attitudes, practices and knowledge with regard to child labour decisions. Research in Mexico and Venezuela, for instance, indicates that greater social acceptance of child labour reduces the “social stigma” associated with it and raises child labour rates.²¹⁸ In Indian districts, children's time allocation decisions are found to be closely related to local attitudes and social norms towards children's activities.²¹⁹

312. In India and Ghana, a large part of the decision concerning children's time allocation is left unexplained even after taking into consideration a large set of quantifiable child, household and community factors. These important elements which remain unexplained are likely to be the product of intangible household perceptions, knowledge and practices regarding children's work and schooling.²²⁰

313. Empirical results consistently point to the importance of mothers' education in influencing decisions concerning school and work. Studies in Guatemala and Morocco, for example, indicate that mothers with at least a primary education are more likely to send their children to school, and less likely to involve them in child labour.²²¹ There are numerous possible interpretations for this result. Mothers' time, for instance, is, in economic terms, an input into the education of their children, and the mother's own level of education raises the productivity of this input. But the result is also likely to be at least in part a reflection of better knowledge concerning the relative costs and benefits of work and school upon which to make informed decisions concerning the division of children's time between the two.

314. Significant gender differences in child labour and schooling are again suggestive of the importance of socio-cultural factors in child labour decisions. UCW research in a number of countries points to a “pure” gender effect in decisions concerning child labour and schooling, i.e., gender is a significant determinant of child labour even when other possible confounding factors are held constant.²²² While this may in part reflect considerations relative to the expected gender differential in terms of return to education and to work, it is also undoubtedly a reflection of social norms concerning the gender roles in society. Other evidence suggests that addressing culture-based concerns around girls' schooling is effective in encouraging girls to enter school. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, for instance, recruiting female teachers, creating female-only schools and providing adequate and separate sanitation facilities can have an important impact on culturally-rooted reluctance to send girls to school.²²³

315. Ethnicity also appears to play an important role in household decisions, even when differences in income and other characteristics have been taken into account. For example, in Guatemala, controlling for income and access to facilities, indigenous children are nine percentage points more likely to work and eight percentage points less likely to attend school

²¹⁸ Freije and Lopez-Calva (2000).

²¹⁹ Chamarbagwala and Tchernis (2009).

²²⁰ Deb and Rosati (2002).

²²¹ UCW (2003a); UCW (2003b).

²²² For recent examples see UCW, forthcoming (a) and (b); UCW (2009a).

²²³ Alderman, Kim and Orazem (1998), and Khandker (1996).

without working than non-indigenous counterparts.²²⁴ In Cambodia, Khmer children are consistently and significantly more likely to be in school and less likely to be engaged in work than ethnic minority children.²²⁵ To the extent that belonging to different ethnic groups reflects different cultural attitudes and practices towards children's school and work, these results too are suggestive of the importance of knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning child labour.

316. This evidence, while again indirect, points to the importance of social norms and knowledge levels in influencing decisions concerning child labour and schooling, and to the potential of communication as a response. But while the theoretical and empirical rationale for an investment in communication appears clear, there is unfortunately much less information concerning the impact of such an investment in changing household perceptions and behaviours with regard to child labour. There are a number of pilot communication efforts targeting child labour, but too little is known about which communication approaches work best, and in what contexts, which impedes the identification of the approaches best suited for broad-scale replication.

317. This gap is mainly the product of the methodological difficulties in measuring shifts in attitudes and behaviour. These shifts may be difficult to quantify or may result from a large variety of influences that are difficult to disentangle empirically. In short, there is still a need for the development of appropriate indicators and specific tools to assess the impact (and in particular the long-term impact) of such interventions.²²⁶ In an attempt to contribute to filling this gap, the ILO-IPEC and UNICEF are both developing tools to assess the impact of specific campaign, awareness-raising, advocacy and social mobilization activities, and the role that such activities play in achieving overall and long-term impact.

318. Below, we present some of the communication efforts relating to child labour undertaken to date, and what, if anything is known about their impact. We also look to evidence on communication impact in other areas, and possible lessons they may have for communication strategies targeting child labour.

319. International agencies, employers' and workers' organizations and NGOs support a wide range of communication activities targeting groups at the different levels (e.g., households, communities and policy makers). Common communication activities include: (a) localized studies in communities which look at the knowledge, awareness and behaviour on child labour. Such studies can also provide a baseline against which progress in bringing about attitudinal change can be assessed; (b) other participatory events at the community level: rallies, public debates; (c) media campaigns (radio and TV spots, documentaries/videos; using country-wide media or local stations); (d) use of existing structures to spread messages about child labour (e.g., education system, religious organizations, traditional leaders etc.); (e) awareness-raising workshops or meetings for various target groups; and (f) development, adaptation and dissemination of awareness-raising materials such as booklets and posters.

320. The ILO-IPEC recently undertook a desk review of 165 projects with awareness-raising elements. The evaluations cited in the review acknowledge the relevance of communication activities and indicate that most communication activities have had a positive impact on households' attitude towards child labour. In Bangladesh, for instance, lack of information is considered as one of the important factors behind sending children to hazardous Bidi factories. In the framework of an ILO-IPEC project, parents received information regarding these

²²⁴ UCW (2003a).

²²⁵ UCW (2006).

²²⁶ Coates and David (2002).

Panel 15. Local level communication efforts targeting child labour and schooling: Field experience from Brazil and Guatemala

Brazil: Attitudinal change and child labour free areas concept

Awareness-raising activity at local level is often aimed at encouraging attitudinal change in communities. Sustaining progress on a long term basis can be assisted by the development of local political structures which provide policy coordination and lend support for changing attitudes at community level. In recent years, a number of countries have developed the idea of child labour free areas.

Brazil has an impressive record in preventing and eliminating child labour. Since 1990, the Government, social partners and civil society have taken a variety of measures to tackle the problem. These measures included conditional cash transfer programmes which had a significant impact on school enrolment, poverty and child labour. The State of Bahia is aiming to set a pioneering example by creating a model of a “Child labour-free State” that can be replicated throughout the country. Bahia is the largest state in the Northeast region of Brazil with a population of 14 million. The incidence of child labour and exclusion from education is significantly higher than elsewhere in the country. The key aims of the ILO-IPEC implemented and USDOL funded project “Support to National Efforts towards a Child Labour-free State, Bahia-Brazil” which recently began are:

- Developing an improved knowledge base on child labour in Bahia.
- Changing attitudes to child labour in target areas, based on a planned communications strategy.
- Development of strengthened legal frameworks at federal and state levels.

- Strengthening capacity of national, state and municipal public and private institutions, employers’ and workers’ organizations and civil society to contribute to the achievement of a “child labour-free state” in Bahia.
- Withdrawal and prevention of child labour in target areas within Bahia and supporting replication of models in other areas.

The concept of the Child Labour Free area can be seen as a way of bringing together advocacy, awareness-raising and social mobilization efforts to support sustainable and locally driven strategies to tackle child labour.

Guatemala: Rotofolio initiative

A UCW-supported initiative in Guatemala offers another potentially useful example of local communication around the themes of child labour and schooling.

The Rotofolio initiative recognizes the importance of understanding existing local knowledge and practices as a starting point for communication efforts and field-level programming interventions. By refining a training tool, it aims to build the capacity of Municipal Committees for Child Protection to carry out simple diagnostic exercises at the grassroots level, to report abuses to the appropriate institutions, and to identify locally-based interventions to prevent and curb child labour.

Again, while robust impact evaluation evidence is lacking, informal feedback indicated that the approach proved effective in influencing local attitudes and practices.

dangers, after which it was found that they became more aware of the hazardous nature of the jobs of their children and tried to find alternative working opportunities for them.²²⁷ However, the ILO-IPEC evaluation reports also indicate that measuring impact, and attributing impact to the project activities, is particularly difficult in the area of communication.

321. There is more robust empirical evidence concerning the impact of local communication in other fields than child labour, particularly in public health, which offer potential lessons for communication targeting child labour. For instance, in Kenya, a detailed HIV, AIDS risk

²²⁷ IPEC (2005b).

information campaign results in a reduction in the incidence of unsafe sex among teenagers.²²⁸ Similar results are observed in Uganda, especially among more educated individuals.²²⁹

322. The preceding discussion highlights the importance of communication as part of a broader strategy against child labour. Households may send their children to work also as a result of the influence of entrenched socio-cultural norms or because they lack adequate information concerning the relative returns and costs of school and work. In both cases, pertinent information delivered through appropriate communication channels can play an important role in encouraging households to choose school instead of work for their children. But communication is an area in which arguably there has been under-investment to date. Expanded communication efforts are needed, to build on the efforts piloted by the ILO-IPEC and other organizations. Communication efforts should be guided by more robust evidence of the relative effectiveness of different communication strategies in addressing local knowledge, attitudes and practices regarding child labour.

11.2 Advocacy: Mobilizing civil society and generating political will

323. Achieving sustainable reduction in child labour requires consensus well beyond the level of the household. Society needs to be mobilized against child labour and to cease being actors – witting or unwitting – in its promulgation. A political commitment at the highest level is also needed to ensure that child labour reduction occupies a prominent place in the national development agenda and is accorded adequate budgetary resources.

324. Social mobilization seeks to build the capacity of stakeholders to carry out activities to combat child labour themselves and to support the establishment of formal and informal structures (or to strengthen existing structures) to organize social actors around the child labour issue. Religious organizations, educational institutions, teachers' organizations, NGOs, the mass media, community-based organizations, employers' and workers' organizations and numerous other groups all need to be actively engaged in addressing child labour. The creation and strengthening of institutional structures such as community-based child protection networks provide useful vehicles for bringing together a wide variety of stakeholders to combat child labour.

325. Advocacy strategies seek to mobilize political support for action against child labour.²³⁰ The main focus of such strategies is the need for the ratification of international standards on child labour, and the implementation of those policy and targeted programme responses which prevent child labour. The ratification of international standards on child labour needs to be accompanied by a strategy for implementation. Therefore, alongside the ratification campaign, advocacy efforts should be directed towards encouraging governments to develop legislative, policy and programme responses which can tackle child labour. Systemic change such as that offered by new law and policy provisions can, if effectively enforced and supported by meaningful service provision, significantly contribute to shifts in social norms. The World Day against Child Labour launched in 2002 by the ILO has played a major role in advocating and mobilizing social society against child labour. Since 2002, the event has been held annually on 12 June, and has attracted greater support each year. In most years, the World Day has generated more media attention on child labour than any other single event.

²²⁸ Dupas (2009).

²²⁹ De Walque (2007).

²³⁰ To support advocacy on policy issues, the ILO recently published a guide to policy responses which have contributed to combating child labour, providing examples of initiatives and approaches taken by governments (IPEC. *Modern policy and legislative responses to child labour*, Geneva, ILO, 2007). Among the topics it covers are where and how the lines have been drawn concerning the types and arrangements of work that could be regarded as hazardous, how countries have created institutions to combat child labour, and how governments have responded in the field of education.

326. A national child labour policy statement and/or a national action plan can provide a framework for a comprehensive strategy. Such a statement or plan might:

- reflect the importance attached to child labour as a national concern at the highest level and the determination to fulfil national and international commitments under various policy frameworks, including the ratified international Conventions;
- provide a framework for a broad-based national dialogue on child labour;
- provide a mechanism for priority setting, making policy decisions and resource allocation;
- identify and establish the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders concerned; and
- provide a mechanism for assessing progress towards specified goals and targets.

327. Advocacy efforts need also to include a focus on “mainstreaming” child labour. This would seek to ensure that measures are taken to prevent or alleviate child labour by addressing its underlying causes in a range of government policies and programmes; for example, in poverty reduction strategies, agricultural reform agendas, social protection planning, education sector plans, and in health, social welfare and child protection programmes. As has been made clear in this report, child labour cuts across policy boundaries, and progress in the combat against it will require it to be effectively integrated into all elements of the social development agenda.

11.3 Policy options

328. Table 13 summarizes the policy interventions discussed in this chapter, indicating examples of specific situations in which they are relevant, as well as key considerations for policy design.

329. Both national- and local-level strategic communication efforts are relevant in reaching households with information on the benefits of schooling, and the costs and risks associated with child labour. Such communication efforts need to be based on knowledge of the economic considerations as well as of the social norms that underlie child labour and schooling decisions. The use of a wide variety of conventional (e.g., radio, television and print media) as well as of non-conventional communication channels (e.g., religious and tribal leaders, school teachers, health care workers) is important in order to achieve maximum outreach. Localized studies which look at the knowledge, awareness and behaviour surrounding child labour are important for providing a baseline against which progress can be assessed in terms of bringing about attitudinal change.

330. Social mobilization plays an important role in engaging a broad range of social actors in efforts against child labour. Care providers in direct contact with children, including teachers and health workers, are in an especially good position to identify and refer child labourers, and therefore constitute particularly important allies in the fight against child labour. Also important are employers’ and workers’ organizations, which together can work to ensure that children are not present in the workplace. Labour inspectorates also have a key role to play in this context. Involving parents in school management, through, for example, parent-school associations, is an important means of giving them a more active stake in their children’s education. Initiatives such as community-based child protection networks provide useful vehicles for bringing together a wide variety of stakeholders – government and non-governmental – to combat child labour.

331. Advocacy aimed at generating political will is also critical to obtaining a successful response to child labour. Important areas of focus for advocacy efforts include the ratification of international legal standards on child labour, and the development of effective legislative, policy and programmatic measures to implement these standards. Advocating for effective “mainstreaming” of child labour concerns into broader national development plans is also of critical importance.

Table 13. ADVOCACY AND SOCIAL COMMUNICATION: Possible policies for building consensus for change

Policy goal/targets	Possible policy measures	Applicability/relevance	Design considerations/ cross-sectoral linkages
<i>Increased access to information on the benefits of schooling, costs and risks associated with child labour.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – National-level communication campaigns. – Local level communication campaigns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When household perceptions and attitudes towards schooling and child labour are conditioned by inaccurate information or by a lack of information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Wide variety of communication channels needed for maximum reach. – Baseline information on local knowledge and cultural attitudes towards child labour is needed to tailor communication messages, and to evaluation of changes in awareness and attitudes following communication efforts.
<i>Mobilizing social actors in efforts against child labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Broad-based social mobilization, aimed at engaging a broad range of social actors (e.g., religious organizations, educational institutions, teachers' organizations, NGOs, the mass media, community-based organizations, employers' and workers' organizations) in efforts against child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When social actors are not active partners in efforts against child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Assess existing structures which can assist in developing mobilization efforts, e.g. national steering committees on child labour and national action committees.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Targeted introduction or extension of parent-teacher associations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When household perceptions of schooling are conditioned by a lack of contact with or lack of involvement in the school system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mapping of existing coverage. – Identification of strategies for building parent-teacher associations in vulnerable communities
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Establishment of community child protection networks and monitoring mechanisms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – When State systems of workplace inspections and child labour monitoring are insufficient for identifying and following up instances of child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Enable labour inspectors to join hands with other State and non-State entities to form a broad-based child labour monitoring systems at the local level.
<i>Generating political will for action against child labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Advocating for ratification of international standards. – Advocating for effective legislative, policy and programmatic responses to child labour. – Advocating for effective "mainstreaming" of child labour concerns into broader national development plans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – In countries which have not yet ratified standards. – All countries which experience child labour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Identification of current strategies to tackle child labour and efforts to mainstream child labour concerns in development strategies.

Chapter 12. From planning to action against child labour: The role of inter-agency cooperation

Summary

- An effective policy response to child labour requires close cooperation and strong commitment on the part of Governments, national social partners and the international development community.
- International cooperation will be most effective if it is built on a common understanding of child labour and of the best approaches for addressing it.
- Additional resources will be required to scale up national action to combat child labour.

332. Responsibility for responding to child labour rests primarily with national governments; employers' and workers' organizations having an important support role. But what form should this response take? Clearly, as this report has illustrated, there are no easy answers to child labour. It is not an isolated issue, but rather the combined product of many factors that bridge traditional policy boundaries. Child labour is closely linked to broader development objectives, arguing for the inclusion of child labour considerations in the overall development strategy of a country.

333. Accordingly, a national policy response to child labour should be cross-sectoral and comprehensive, addressing in an integrated fashion the full range of reasons why children work. In order to be effective, policy responses should be framed in a consistent strategy and closely integrated into broader national and sectoral development plans. While the precise content of policy responses to child labour, including its worst forms, will necessarily be context-specific, research evidence and past policy experience point to a number of possible measures and approaches. The preceding chapters have outlined four core policy pillars – education, social protection, labour market policies and strategic communication and advocacy – and have provided evidence as to why they are important.

334. How should the international development agencies support national efforts to fight child labour in the lead-up to the 2016 target date for the elimination of its worst forms? Partnerships with international development agencies can be important both in the development of integrated national strategies against child labour, and in the implementation of such strategies, in accordance with the relative strengths of each agency.

335. The remainder of this report briefly discusses the possible roles of the UCW partner agencies in supporting national responses to child labour. Three over-riding considerations are important as a preface to this discussion: (i) not every aspect of child labour will be addressed by each agency, and therefore the strategy of working in partnership and dividing responsibilities will be important; (ii) the role of each agency will necessarily be based on each one's comparative advantage; and (iii) the responses of the agencies to child labour will build on and be integrated into core existing programmes of support to national partners.

336. Each agency is already implicated in efforts relating to the broad policy pillars discussed in chapters 8 to 11, but it is important to progress in better defining the specific lines of collaboration among the three agencies in order to improve their collective response to child labour. Moreover, a common understanding of child labour and of the best approaches for addressing it would enhance the effectiveness of their collective response.

Building policy-relevant knowledge

337. The Amsterdam and Oslo international conferences on child labour held in 1997 highlighted the importance of strengthening policy-relevant knowledge relating to child labour. The ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank have an important role to play in this area, building on the policy-oriented research already undertaken under the umbrella of the UCW Programme and of agency-specific research programmes. Much has already been achieved in terms of building a shared knowledge base and vision about the causes and consequences of child labour. This work should continue in order to address remaining and emerging information gaps, including, for example, on hazardous work and on the interplay between labour markets and child labour. While building this common knowledge base and intervention strategy will not require a substantial amount of resources, its payoff could be considerable, as a common understanding of the situation on the part of the three agencies will help increase the effectiveness of the collective fight against child labour.

338. The UCW experience has also underscored the value of inter-agency country-level assessments, in collaboration with national governments, in identifying programmatic responses and in making resource allocation decisions. The country-level assessments help promote the inclusion of child labour concerns in country agency operations, and provide a common basis upon which agency intervention strategies to combat child labour can be established. The assessments thus help to promote consistency in the agency action against child labour, as well as the best use of the relative advantages of each agency in supporting the government action. As the assessments are developed jointly with government and are widely disseminated among key local stakeholders, they also help raise broader awareness of child labour as a development priority and help stimulate policy dialogue on how to combat it.

Strengthening the child labour policy framework

339. This report has highlighted how closely the fight against child labour is associated with reaching a range of national development goals. With this in mind, and on the basis of the common understanding and strategic framework discussed above, the agencies also have an important role to play in continuing to support the integration of child labour concerns into overall national development agendas and plans, including Decent Work Country Programmes, PRSP processes, sectoral plans (EFA, social protection, youth labour markets, etc.), and into decisions concerning budgetary resource allocations, building on current positive experiences in this area.

340. Particularly important in this context will be the establishment of a national strategy to fight child labour and, in collaboration with national governments, an effective integration of child labour concerns into agency-specific programmes of support at the country level.

341. Beyond these programmatic areas of support, additional resources will be needed to effectively scale up the wide variety of pilot efforts currently in place. It is not the aim of this report to assess the global resource requirements for the elimination of child labour. However, there is evidence that necessary resources are significant but not beyond reach. A costing study in Cambodia, for instance, estimated that even in the highest-cost scenario the resources

required for scaling up interventions to eliminate the worst forms of child labour within a few years were not extensive – about US\$10 million per year, equivalent to 2 per cent of annual official development assistance in the country.²³¹ Additional resources are also required to ensure that child labour concerns are mainstreamed into sectoral programmes in the areas of education, social protection and labour market policies.

Learning

342. Support to policy development and piloting will be critical in order to identify effective policy approaches and to promote their broad-scale replication. Again, support to the integration of child labour concerns into policy initiatives in the education, social protection and labour market spheres will be particularly relevant. To this aim, the evaluation of pilot programmes reflecting such integration will be useful for generating knowledge about what effectively works. Evaluation of the impact of the pilots will also be an essential component of the process which will allow the countries and the partner agencies to jointly identify the best strategies to combat child labour. Both policies and programmes relating directly to child labour as well as those relating to other policy pillars relevant for child labour will need to be included as part of the broader efforts to monitor and evaluate development policies and programmes. In order to compare the relative efficiency of various policy approaches, support for the assessment of costs is needed.

Monitoring of child labour trends

343. A final important potential role for the joint inter-agency programmatic work is in supporting national systems to effectively monitor progress towards child labour elimination targets. An expansion of technical support to national statistical offices and/or other relevant government bodies would help establish reliable country-level systems for monitoring the medium and the short term evolution of child labour in a manner integrated with the monitoring of the other development priorities. Integrating child labour indicators into on-going survey programmes and developing adequate methodologies to fully capture the reality of children involved in the worst forms of child labour will be particularly relevant in this context. Also, building on the Resolution on Child Labour Statistics which emerged from the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, and in order to permit more meaningful comparisons across countries and within countries over time it will be important to do further work in order to standardize child labour statistics and the surveys used to gather these statistics, as well as to improve the existing set of monitoring indicators.

²³¹ UCW (2009 b).

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Annex I. Measuring child labour

344. Rapid progress in expanding dedicated household survey programmes, and in adding child labour modules to other ones, means that child labour can be measured with increasing precision. What is more, as national statistical offices integrate child labour into existing data collection efforts, it is also increasingly possible to monitor how child labour levels are changing over time.

345. Table 14, which lists the survey datasets compiled as part of the UCW database on child labour, illustrates this progress. As shown, the database contains over 200 datasets for 94 developing countries; in 67 of these countries, data are available for more than one point in time. But in only 33 of the survey datasets – those from the SIMPOC survey programme – come from specific-purpose child labour surveys containing a complete set of “benchmark” child labour information, as discussed further below. Although comprehensive, the UCW database is by no means exhaustive, and new survey datasets are becoming available regularly as part of on-going survey efforts.

346. ILO SIMPOC surveys,²³² World Bank multi-purpose household surveys,²³³ UNICEF MICS surveys²³⁴ and national labour force surveys are among the most important instruments for generating information on child labour in developing countries. Estimates of child labour incidence generated by these survey instruments are increasingly relied on by countries to monitor progress towards national and global child labour elimination targets.²³⁵ Based on comprehensive interviews with a stratified sample of households, they provide information on the nature and key characteristics of children’s work, as well as on links between children’s work and a range of household and community background variables.

347. The breadth of information available on the characteristics of child labour differs considerably across survey instruments. SIMPOC and other dedicated surveys offer the greatest depth of information. Surveys conducted through the SIMPOC survey programme collect information on children’s involvement in employment and in other productive activities, the

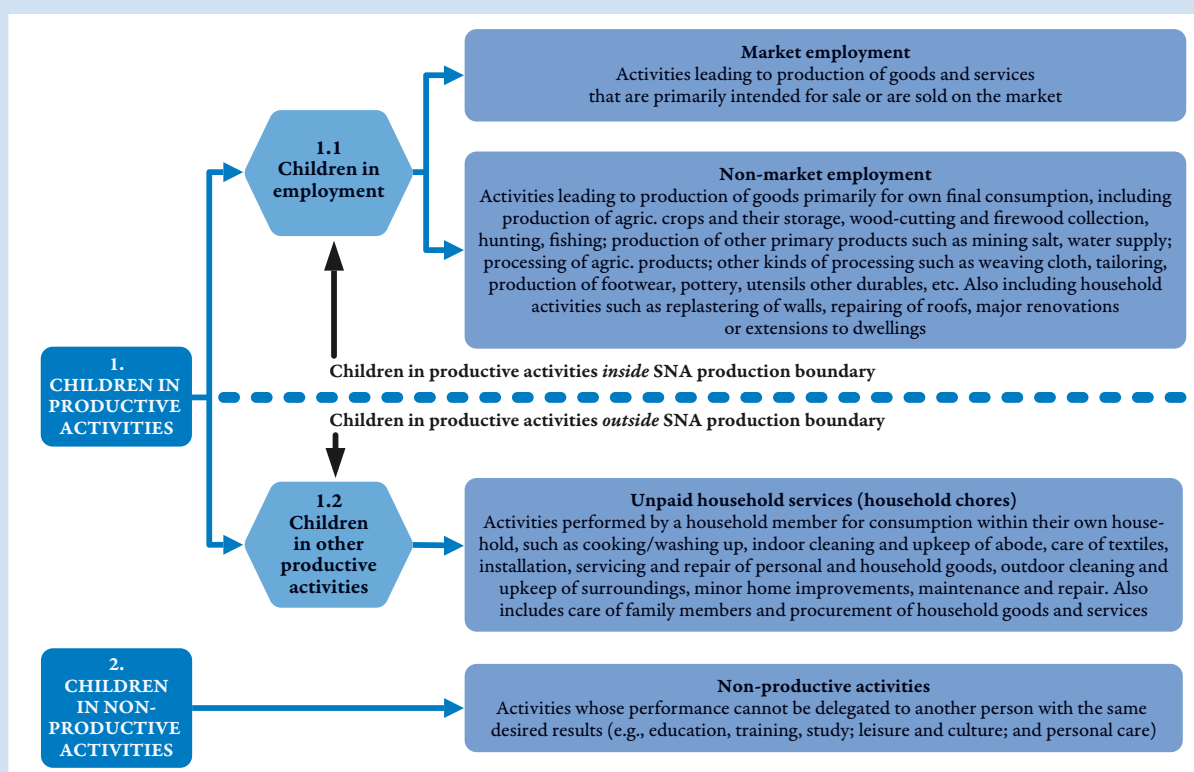
²³² Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour. Since its inception in 1998, more than 250 child labour surveys have been supported, 56 of which were national in scope. An additional 80 baseline surveys and 100 rapid assessments were supported targeting specific groups of child labourers in particular geographical locations.

²³³ Principally, the Living Standards Measurement Study/Integrated Survey series and the Priority Survey series.

²³⁴ Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys.

²³⁵ SIMPOC data enabled the ILO to publish global and regional child labour estimates for the 2000 and 2004 reference years, and a first-ever analysis of child labour trends for the 2000–2004 period. (*The End of Child Labour: Within Reach*; Global Report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, International Labour Conference, 95th Session 2006, Report I (B), International Labour Office, Geneva, 2006.)

Panel 16. Child labour terminology and measures used in this report



former disaggregated by three-digit standard industry²³⁶ and occupational²³⁷ classification, and the latter by type of household chore. The SIMPOC surveys also collect information on work-related illness and injury, work intensity (i.e., working hours), sector in employment (i.e., waged, family, self employed, etc.) and exposure to common workplace hazards. Separate child modules included in some SIMPOC surveys investigate children's own attitudes towards work and their workplace experience.

348. The UNICEF-developed MICS survey instrument contains a separate module of child labour which also collects on involvement in employment and household chores. But beyond work setting (i.e., family or non-family) and working hours, it provides little information about the nature of work performed by children, its hazardousness and injury and illness incurred as a result of work. The MICS survey instrument excludes, older, 15–17 year-old children, although these too are covered by international legal standards.

349. World Bank-supported Living Standard Measurement Surveys (LSMS) and Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaires (CWIQ) surveys differ from the other standard instruments in that

²³⁶ International Standard Industry Classification, ISIC, rev 3.

²³⁷ International Standard Classification of Occupations, ISCO88.

Child labour is a legal rather than statistical concept, and the international legal standards that define it are therefore the necessary frame of reference for child labour statistics. The three principal international conventions on child labour – ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) (C138), United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) (C182) together set the legal boundaries for child labour, and provide the legal basis for national and international actions against it.

But the translation of these broad legal norms into statistical terms for measurement purposes is by no means straightforward. The international legal standards contain a number of flexibility clauses left to the discretion of the competent national authority in consultation (where relevant) with employers' and workers' organizations (e.g., minimum ages, scope of application). This means that there is no single legal definition of child labour across countries, and concomitantly, no single standard statistical measure of child labour consistent with national legislation across countries.

With this limitation in mind, the current report looks primarily at **children in employment** below the general minimum working age of 15 years as a proxy for child labour. The report also covers, older, 15–17 year-old **children working in hazardous forms of employment**, although data limitations prevent a full treatment of this group, as discussed further in Section 2.3.

The definition of children in employment in turn derives from the System of National Accounts (SNA) (Rev. 1993), the conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standards for the measurement of the market economy. It covers children in all market production and in certain types of non-market production, including production of goods for own use. It includes forms of work in both the formal and informal sectors, as well as forms of work both inside and outside family settings (see diagram).

It is worth repeating that this child labour proxy is not necessarily consistent with child labour as defined in legal terms in individual countries. In accordance with Convention No. 138, for example, national authorities may specify temporarily a lower general minimum age of 14 years. The Convention also states that national laws may permit the work of persons from age 12 or 13 years in “light” work that is not likely to be harmful to their health or development or to prejudice their attendance at school. Using children in employment as a proxy for child labour may therefore overstate actual child labour in some national contexts where a provision for light work exists.

The report also looks at **children in other productive activities**, and in particular household chores, as it should be kept in mind that international legal standards do not *a priori* rule out children in other productive activities from consideration in child labour measurement. But data shortcomings and the absence of agreed criteria for measuring child labour in household chores prevent an in-depth discussion of this issue.

they do not typically contain questions relating to child labour *per se*, but rather collect information on child workers as part of questions relating to the general labour force. The questions, therefore, do not reflect the unique nature of children's work, but rather measure the work performed by persons below the age of 18 in the same way as they measure adult workers.

350. Other surveys like labour force or household budget expenditure surveys or national population censuses carried out by national statistical offices provide useful information on child labour. The range of information available, however, varies substantially across countries and time and therefore a generalization of the content of such surveys is not possible.

351. The differences in the various survey instruments affect the comparability of child labour estimates across countries and over time within countries. These differences mean that of the 67 countries in the UCW where estimates are available for more than one point in time, only in 37 can trends over time be assessed reliably. Comparing levels of child labour across countries is problematic for the same reason, even when child labour estimates are available for the same reference year.

352. There are large variations in child labour estimates derived from different survey instruments, even when these survey instruments are implemented in the same or similar reference

Table 14. Availability of data on children's employment, by reference year and country

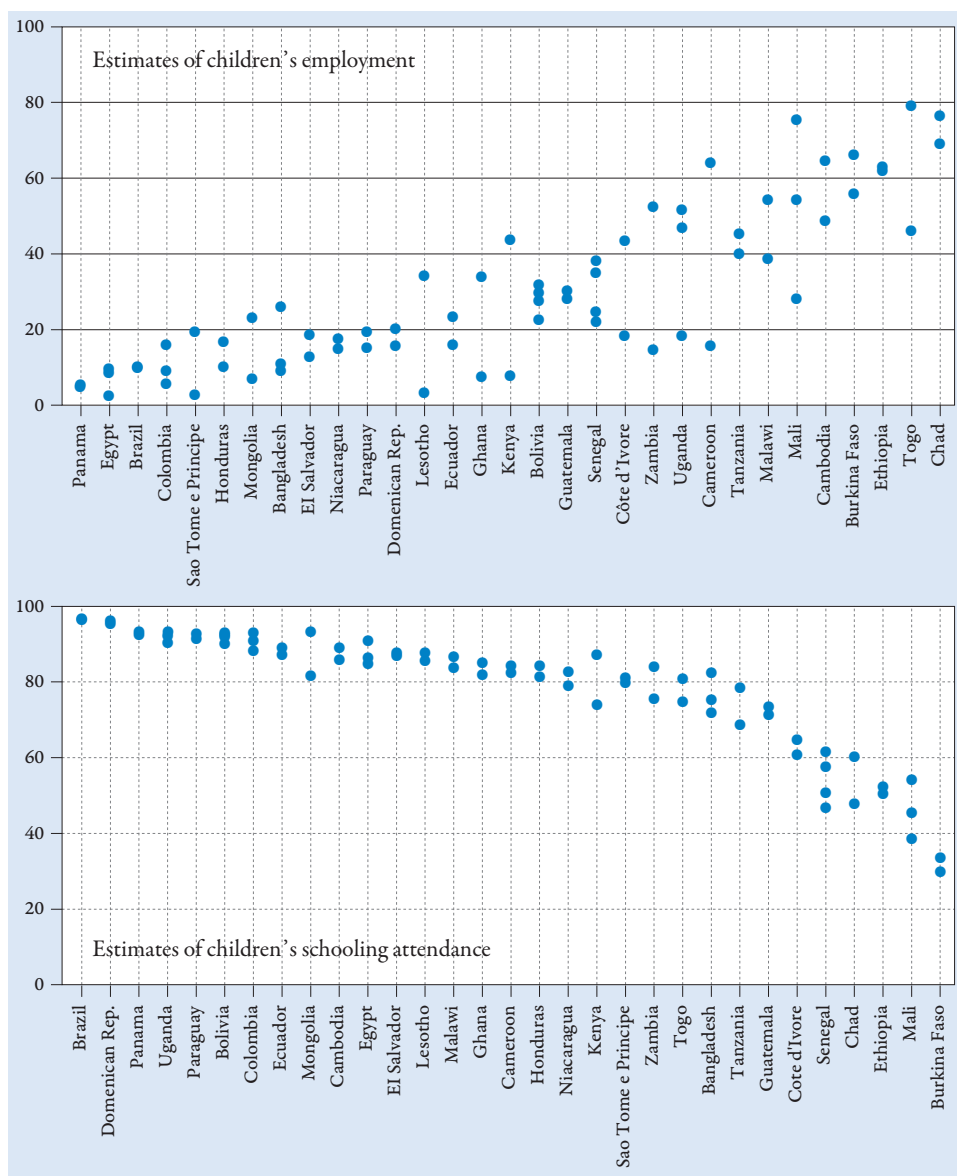
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Africa																	
1. Angola																	
2. Benin				PS							QUIBB				DHS		
3. Burkina Faso			PS				PS		MICS-2			CW/Q			SIMPOC		
4. Burundi							PS		MICS-2					MICS-3			
5. Cameroon					PS				MICS-2	PS					MICS-3	SIMPOC	
6. Cape Verde									MICS-2	IES							
7. Central Afr.Rep.									MICS-2								
8. Chad									MICS-2				DHS				
9. Comoros									MICS-2								
10. Congo, Democratic Republic									MICS-2					DHS			
11. Congo, Rep.							PS		MICS-2	LFS	IS				MICS-3		
12. Côte d'Ivoire							PS		MICS-2					LFS			
13. Ethiopia							IS		MICS-2		IS			MICS-3			
14. Gambia, The							LSMS		SIMPOC			CW/Q			MICS-3		
15. Ghana		LSMS															
16. Guinea									MICS-2						MICS-3		
17. Guinea-Bissau									MICS-2						MICS-3		
18. Kenya					PS		SIMPOC		MICS-2								
19. Lesotho									MICS-2		CW/Q						
20. Liberia																DHS	
21. Madagascar								PS		PS						SIMPOC	
22. Malawi									DHS				DHS		MICS-3		
23. Mali										DHS				SIMPOC	QUIBB	LFS	
24. Mozambique					IS												
25. Namibia								SIMPOC									
26. Niger									MICS-2						DHS		
27. Rwanda									MICS-2								SIMPOC
28. Sao Tomé and Principe-1									MICS-2								
29. Sao Tomé and Principe-2									MICS-2								
30. Senegal-1									PS					SIMPOC			
31. Senegal-2									MICS-2					DHS			
32. Senegal-3														ESPS			
33. Sierra Leone									MICS-2					MICS-3			
34. Somalia															MICS-3		
35. South Africa								SIMPOC									
36. Sudan									MICS-2								
37. Swaziland									MICS-2								
38. Tanzania									LFS								
39. Togo-1									MICS-2								MICS-3
40. Togo-2																	QUIBB
41. Uganda									DHS		PS						PS
42. Zambia																	LFS
43. Zimbabwe								LFS									IS
								SIMPOC									

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Europe																	
44. Albania									MICS-2								
45. Belarus														MICS-3			
46. Bosnia and Herzegovina														MICS-3			
47. Georgia														MICS-3			
48. Macedonia, FYR														MICS-3			
49. Moldova														MICS-3			
50. Serbia														MICS-3			
51. Portugal										SIMPOC							
Americas																	
52. Argentina							IS						SIMPOC				
53. Belize										SIMPOC							
54. Bolivia-1								ECH	ECH								SIMPOC
55. Bolivia-2									MICS-2								
56. Brazil																	
57. Chile																	
58. Colombia-1																	
59. Colombia-2																	
60. Costa Rica																	
61. Dominican Rep.																	
62. Ecuador																	
63. El Salvador																	
64. Guatemala																	
65. Guyana																	
66. Haiti																	
67. Honduras																	
68. Jamaica																	
69. Mexico-1																	
70. Mexico-2																	
71. Nicaragua-1																	
72. Nicaragua-2																	
73. Panama																	
74. Paraguay																	
75. Peru																	
76. Venezuela																	
Asia																	
77. Egypt																	
78. Iraq																	
79. Jordan																	
80. Morocco																	
81. Syrian Arab Republic																	
82. Yemen																	
83. Bangladesh																	
84. Bhutan																	

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
85. India-1			NSSO					NSSO					NSSO				
86. India-2								DHS									
87. Nepal				LSMS			LFS										
88. Pakistan								LFS									
89. Sri Lanka								SIMPOC									
90. Cambodia								IS		SIMPOC							
91. Indonesia						IFLS 2			IFLS 3								
92. Mongolia-1									MICS-2								
93. Mongolia-2									NCLS		NCLS			MICS-3	LFS		
94. Philippines								IES	SIMPOC								
95. Thailand															MICS-3		
96. Timor Leste										LSMS							
97. Vietnam-1									MICS-2						MICS-3		
98. Vietnam-2	LSMS					LSMS					LSMS		LSMS				
99. Azerbaijan																	
100. Kazakhstan				LSMS					MICS-2								
101. Kyrgyz Republic																	
102. Tajikistan							LSMS										
103. Turkey																	
104. Ukraine																	
105. Uzbekistan																	

Notes: ^a Priority Survey (PS). ^b Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire (CWIQ). ^c Questionnaire des Indicateurs de Base du Bien-être (QUIBB). ^d Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS). ^e Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). ^f National Child Labour Survey (NCLS). ^g National Child Labour Survey (NCLS). ^h Living Standards Monitoring Study (LSMS). ⁱ IPEC Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC). ^j Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH). ^k Integrated Survey (IS). ^l Pesquisa Nacional por Amostragem de Domicílios (PNAD). ^m Income/expenditure Household Survey (IES). ⁿ Indonesia Family Life Survey (IFLS). ^o IS-Integrated Survey (IS) (not LSMS). ^p Enquête de Suivi de la Pauvreté au Sénégal (ESPS). ^q Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM). ^r Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI). ^s Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH). ^t Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH). ^u National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). ^v Socio Economic Survey (SES). 1: First round; 2: Second round; 3: Third round.

Figure 46.
Variation in estimates
of children in employment
and school attendance,
10–14 years age group



Source: UCW calculations based on above survey datasets.

periods.²³⁸ Figure 46 illustrates that the problems relate in particular to children's employment estimates – there is much less variation in those relating to school attendance. The main inconsistencies concern the groups of children performing unremunerated and family work, and among children combining school and work. This is not surprising, as these are areas where the differences in surveys structure are likely to be more relevant as they try to capture a not very well defined phenomenon. The study indicates that the structure of the questionnaire, the season of field work and the characteristics of the respondent all play a role in explaining observed differences. However, even when these factors are taken into account, a large part of the difference across survey estimates remains unexplained.

353. The problems associated with survey comparability point to the need for a greater degree of standardization in the questions on child labour in the used in various surveys instruments. Currently, child labour questions differ across survey instruments not only in terms of their level of detail and specific phrasing, but also in terms of the actual productive activities that

²³⁸ Guarcello et al. (2009); Grimsrud, (2001).

they capture. The resolution on child labour statistics emerging from the 18th ICLS (see Panel 16 for discussion) provides common frame of reference and conceptual basis for classifying child labour and should therefore be a central reference in the design of questions on children's activities. Standardized questions need not of course be at the expense of other questions tailored to the specific realities of the country in question, but rather can be an additional survey element aimed at generating data suitable for monitoring, policy design and international comparison.

354. Greater consistency is also needed in terms of what time of the year data are collected and in terms of to whom questions relating to child labour are directed. Children's employment estimates vary considerably in the different seasons of the year and it therefore makes little sense to draw comparisons between estimates referring to different seasons. Responses regarding children's activities can also vary considerably depending on whom in the household is asked, and again this limits the possibility to draw comparisons between estimates based on responses from different household members.

355. Despite progress in building the information base on child labour, gaps and potential distortions of current statistics remain. Information on so-called worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work remains very limited, hampering urgently-needed policy interventions targeting affected children. Given the invisibility of much female child labour – whether because the work is intrinsically hidden (e.g., domestic labour) or is criminalized, (e.g., commercial sexual exploitation) – current statistics frequently fail to capture the extent of girls' activity within the workforce as well as that at home. Migrant child labour is also extremely difficult to track and therefore often under-reported in statistics. Many Government-supported statistical surveys fail to capture child labour under the age of 10 years, despite the fact that child labour often begins much earlier.

Table 15. Country, survey type and year, survey field work period, school academic year

	Country	Survey	Year	Main field work period	School Academic year
AFRICA	Burundi	MICS-2	2000	April–May, 2000	September–July
		MICS-3	2005	October–December, 2005	September–July
	Cameroon	MICS-2	2000	July–August, 2000	September–June
		MICS-3	2006	May–July, 2006	September–June
	Chad	MICS-2	2000	May–September, 2000	October–June
		DHS	2004	July–November, 2004	October–June
	Côte d’Ivoire	MICS-2	2000	June–August, 2000	October–June
		MICS-3	2006	August–October, 2006	October–June
	Gambia, The	MICS-2	2000	May–June, 2000	September–July
		MICS-3	2006	January–March, 2006	September–July
	Guinea Bisseau	MICS-2	2000	April–May, 2000	October–July
		MICS-3	2006	May–June, 2006	October–July
	Malawi	DHS	2000	July–November, 2000	January–November
		MICS-3	2006	July–November, 2006	January–November
	Senegal	MICS-2	2000	May–July, 2000	October–July
		DHS	2005	February–June, 2005	October–July
	Sierra Leone	MICS-2	2000	April–May, 2000	September–July
		MICS-3	2005	October–November, 2005	September–July
	Togo	MICS-2	2000	August–September, 2000	September–June
		MICS-3	2006	May–June, 2006	September–June
Uganda	UNHS	2002–03	May 2002–April 2003	February–December	
	UNHS	2005–06	October 2005–April 2006	February–December	
AMERICAS	Bolivia	ECH	2008	—	February–November
		ECH	2000	November–December	February–November
	El Salvador	EHPM	2007	January–December	January–November
		EHPM	2001	July–December	January–November
	Guatemala	ENCOVI	2006	March–September	March–October
		ENCOVI	2000	July–December	March–October
	Mexico	ENOE-MIT	2007	October–December	September–June
		ENIGH	2000	August–November	September–June
	Nicaragua	ENMV	2005	July–October	February–December
		ENMV	2001	May–August	February–December
	Paraguay	EPH	2005	October 2005–February 2006	February–November
		EPH	1999	August–December	February–November
Venezuela	EHM	2005	2nd semester	September–July	
	EHM	2000	2nd semester	September–July	
ASIA	India	NSSO	2004	July 2004–June 2005	April–March
		NSSO	1999–2000	July 1999–June 2000	April–March
	Mongolia	LFS	2006–07	July–December	September–June
		NCLS	2002–03	October 2002–September 2003	September–June
	Vietnam	HLSS	2006	June–July, September–October	September–May
		HLSS	2002	January–February, May–July, August–December	September–May

Annex II. List of household surveys utilized in the report

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Benin, DHS 2006; **Burkina Faso**, Enquête Nationale sur le Travail des Enfants (ENTE) Simpoc 2006; **Burundi**, MICS-2 2000; MICS-3 2005; **Cameroon**, MICS-2 2000, MICS-3 2006, Troisième Enquête Camerounaise Auprès des Ménages (ECAM 3) Simpoc 2007; **Chad**, MICS-2 2000, DHS 2004; **Côte d'Ivoire**, MICS-2 2000, MICS-3 2006; **Ethiopia**, LFS 2005; **The Gambia**, MICS-2 2000, MICS-3 2005; **Ghana**, MICS-3 2006; **Guinea Bissau**, MICS-3 2006; **Madagascar**, Enquête Nationale sur les Travail des Enfants (ENTE) Simpoc 2007; **Malawi**, DHS 2000, MICS-3 2006; **Mali**, Enquête Permanente Emploi Auprès des Ménages (EPAM) 2007; **Niger**, MICS-2 2000, DHS 2006; **Rwanda**, National Child Labour Survey, Simpoc 2008; **Senegal**, MICS-2 2000, DHS 2005; **Sierra Leone**, MICS-2 2000, MICS-3 2005; **Somalia**, MICS-3 2006; **Togo**, MICS-2 2000, MICS-3 2006, QUIBB 2006; **Uganda** National Household Survey (UNHS) 2002–2003, 2005–2006; **Zambia**, Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2005.

ASIA

Iraq, MICS-3 2006; **Syria**, MICS-3 2006; **Yemen**, MICS-3 2006; **Bangladesh**, Bangladesh National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) Simpoc 2002–03, Annual Labour Force Survey (ALFS) 2005–06, MICS-3 2006; **Cambodia**, Socio Economic Survey (CSES) 2003–04; **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, MICS-3 2006; **Kazakhstan**, MICS-3 2006; **Turkey**, Child Labour Survey, Simpoc 2006; **India**, NSSO 1993–94 (rnd 50), NSSO 1999–00 (rnd 55), NSSO 2004–05 (rnd 61); **Mongolia**, National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) 2000, Labour Force Survey (LFS) 2002–03 Simpoc, LFS 2006–07; **Vietnam**, Living Standard Survey (VLSS) 1993, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006.

LATIN AMERICA

Bolivia, Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH) 1999 2000 2002 2003–04, 2005, Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil (Simpoc) 2008; **Brazil**, PNAD 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001 (Simpoc), 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008; **Colombia**, Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil (Simpoc) 2001, Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH) 2007; **Ecuador**, Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo, Subempleo y Empleo Infantil (Simpoc) 2001, Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo, Subempleo y Empleo Infantil 2004, (Simpoc) 2006; **El Salvador**, Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM) 2001, 2003 (Simpoc), Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM) 2005, 2006, 2007; **Guatemala**, ENCOVI 2000, ENCOVI 2006; **Honduras**, National Child Labour Survey 2002 (Simpoc), Encuesta Permanente de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples 2004, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares

de Propósitos Múltiples (EPHPM) 2007 (Simloc); **México**, ENIGH 2000, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, CLS 2007; **Nicaragua** Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo Infantil y Adolescente (ENTIA) 2000 (Simloc), Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Medición del Nivel de Vida (ENMV), 2001, 2005 ; **Paraguay**, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH) 1999, 2005; **Peru**, Encuesta Nacional de Hogares Sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida (ENNIV) 2000, Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo Infantil (ENTI, Simloc) 2007; **Venezuela**, Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (EHPM), 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

Annex III. How do economists think of child labour?

356. This note only aims at capturing the broad ideas in the literature in a non-technical fashion accessible to non-economists. By no means is this an exhaustive survey of the literature and the interested reader can refer to Cigno and Rosati (2005) and Edmonds (2007).

357. The individual optimization assumption underlying standard economic reasoning implies that one does, on average, what one regards as best for oneself. In general, therefore, public intervention has to be justified on either efficiency or equity grounds.²³⁹

358. The question is much more complicated if, as generally assumed in the economic literature, the child is under the control of his parents. If that is the case, the equity argument in favour of public intervention must in fact be that wealth is too unequally distributed either across households, or between parents and children within the same household. The former is a relevant argument if it can be shown that a child will work if and only if the household to which he belongs is very poor. The latter raises a difficult conceptual problem, because it implies that parents attach lower weight to the well-being of their own children than society as a whole does. Perhaps for this reason, the theoretical literature has concentrated more on trying to demonstrate that parental decisions may be inefficient, than on trying to demonstrate that parents use their superior decision power to their own advantage.²⁴⁰

359. Basu and Van (1998) model child labour as the result of extreme poverty. They start from the assumption that households are too poor to save, and that consumption is allocated between parents and children according to fixed equivalence scales. They also assume that child labour is perfectly substitutable (at a fixed rate lower than one) for adult labour in production. These simplifying assumptions reduce the problem of finding the adult and the child wage rate which simultaneously clear the adult and the child labour market to that of finding the adult wage rate which clears the market for adult-equivalent labour. Parents are assumed to have a lexicographic preference ordering of alternative child consumption-labour baskets. A basket containing child labour is always preferred to one which contains the same amount of child labour, but lower consumption. The ordering of baskets containing different amount of child labour depends crucially on whether consumption is below or above the subsistence level. If it is above, a basket containing no child labour is always preferred to one which contains child labour irrespective of how much parents and children consume. If it is below, a basket containing more consumption is always preferred to one which contains less consumption irrespective of how much the children work. Therefore, if the household can get by with what

²³⁹ Where child labour is concerned, however, there is an additional consideration. As young children are not free agents, it cannot be assumed that those who take decisions on their behalf will act in their best interest. If a child is abducted, or has fallen into evil hands, we can be pretty sure that what will happen to the child is not what he or she would have chosen. Many, but unfortunately not all, unconditional worst cases of child labour fall into this category.

²⁴⁰ Manacorda (2006).

the parents earn, the latter will not countenance any amount of child labour, not even if they and their children could get a large amount of consumption in return. If child labour is necessary for survival, however, consumption will become the overriding consideration. At adult wage rates such that the earnings of the adult family members are sufficient to maintain them and their children at or above the subsistence level, children do not work. At lower wage rates, children work full time. Basu (2001) shows that the market for adult-equivalent labour has up to two possible equilibria, one characterized by a relatively high wage rate, and no child labour, the other characterized by a relatively low one, and child labour. If both equilibria exist, households will prefer the former, but firms will prefer the latter (which gives them higher profits). Therefore, we cannot say whether child labour is efficient or inefficient.

360. This explanation of why children work conforms to the commonly-held view that child labour is a consequence of poverty. But the model is only really appropriate to describe what happens in a situation of extreme poverty. In particular, it is not concerned with what the children do when they do not work, and does not address two important questions, essential to make an efficiency judgement. The first is whether it would be advantageous for parents to finance their children's education on credit if they could, the second whether it might not be better to invest in conventional assets. Baland and Robinson (2000) remedy this by recognizing that a child's future earning capacity increases with the amount of time that the child spends not working. In making their decisions, parents then take into account not only the child's present level of consumption, but also his or her future consumption opportunities. Parental choice is subject to an intertemporal budget constraint, and to two further restrictions. One is that saving cannot be negative because credit markets are imperfect. The other is that parents can take money from their children by making them work when the latter are still young and under parental control, but not when they are independent adults. The model predicts that child labour will be inefficiently high if either of these two additional restrictions is binding.

361. A possible justification for the assumption that a child's future earning capacity increases with the amount of time spent not working is that early work experience has adverse long-term effects on the child's health, and hence on the number of years, or number of days per year, that the future adult will be able to work. But a person's health in adult life is positively affected also by how well she was fed, and by the amount of medical care she received, as a child. If a child's intake of nutrients and medical care depends on how much the child earns, because her parents are poor and cannot borrow, there is then another channel through which early work experience can improve adult earning capacity; see Smith (1999). Another possible justification is that time spent working as a child is time not available for education (but there are theoretical arguments and empirical evidence to the effect that a child may neither work, nor study). A further point to be kept in mind is that most forms of work have a learning-by-doing element which, in a low-technology economy, may be more valuable than formal education. It is thus an empirical question whether the algebraic sum of all these effects will be positive or negative. On the other hand, work at a very young age may yield disutility directly, as well as indirectly through its possible negative effect on future health and earnings. Bommier and Dubois (2005) show that, if this is the case, child labour may be inefficient even if parents are not credit rationed.

362. Cigno and Rosati (2005, Ch. 2) nest these different theoretical contributions into a fairly general model. Parents are assumed to derive utility from their own, and from their children's present and future consumption, as in Baland and Robinson (2000). Here, however, the choice set reflects not only the trade opportunities offered by the market as in that article, but also those offered by the technology of human capital formation as in Cigno and Rosati (2000), and by the possible existence of self-enforcing family norms as in Cigno (1993, 2006a). The subsistence requirements are introduced as further constraints, rather than subsumed in the preference ordering as in Basu and Van (1998). Depending on assets, number of children

in the household, and wage and interest rates, these additional constraints may or may not restrict the choice set. Depending on which combination of constraints is binding, children may work full time, combine work with study, or study full time. In the presence of fixed costs of access to education or work, there is also the possibility that the children will do nothing. Credit and asset markets play a crucial role. If parents are free to borrow or buy assets, and provided that the subsistence constraints are not binding, they will invest in their children's education to the point where the marginal return is equal to the interest factor. If the interest factor is sufficiently low, children will study full time. If it is sufficiently high, the children will work full time. At intermediate values, children will combine work with study. Whichever is the case, the allocation will be efficient. If it involves a certain amount of child labour, this will be at the efficient level.

363. If parents are effectively constrained in the amount of money they can borrow or the amount of assets they can buy, the children will work either full time, or for that amount of time which equates their marginal rate of substitution of present for future consumption to the marginal return to education. This may be larger or smaller than the amount of time they would have worked otherwise, but inefficient anyway. As in Baland-Robinson, child labour will be inefficiently high if the parents cannot borrow from the market, or the children from the parents, as much as they would find advantageous. The second of these eventualities is less likely if a family constitution²⁴¹ is in place, because the parents are then obliged to support their young children, and the children to support their elderly parents, at least to a certain level. Child labour will be inefficiently low if the parents cannot invest in conventional assets as much as they would find advantageous. This possibility, not considered in Baland-Robinson, is a far from remote possibility in a developing country, where large strata of the population do not have the expertise necessary to make financial investments, and the only asset really worth buying, land, hardly ever comes on to the market.

364. The domestic allocation of resources will be inefficient also if some or other of the subsistence constraints are binding. For example, parents may not be able to invest in their children's human capital, or in conventional assets, as much as would be advantageous because that would reduce someone's current consumption below the subsistence level. Worse, the subsistence constraints may be incompatible with the other constraints. If the subsistence constraints could not be met even if children worked full time, there are only two possibilities. One is to sell some of the children as slaves. The other is that some of the parents deliver themselves into bonded labour. Bonded labour and slavery are illegal everywhere, but survive unabated in many parts of the world; see United Nations (1998) and Bales (1999).

365. Dessy and Pallage (2005) take the argument further by showing that these forms of child labour may be the result of optimizing decisions on the part of well-informed parents even if the subsistence constraints are not binding. In other words, altruistic parents may send their children to do this kind of work, knowing full well what the consequences for the physical or moral health of children are going to be, even if there is no absolute necessity to do so. The argument is essentially that there may be a market equilibrium such that the wage rate for worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work is sufficiently higher than the one for "ordinary child labour" to compensate for the adverse consequences.

366. The role of relative prices, particularly of the child wage rate and of the price of education, in the models that we have just reviewed merits a separate mention, because these prices can be manipulated by the policy maker through indirect taxation/subsidization. In Basu and Van (1998), the only price that matters is the adult wage rate. If this is large enough to keep the

²⁴¹ The issue was first addressed in Cigno (1993), where it was demonstrated that, although a contract between an adult and a young child is not legally enforceable, the same effects may be generated by a self-enforcing "family constitution". Rosati (1996) extends the model by introducing uncertainty. Cigno (2006a) shows that a family constitution may be renegotiation proof.

entire family above the breadline, there will be no child labour whatever the child wage rate and the price of education. In Baland and Robinson (2000), by contrast, the child wage rate matters. A reduction in this rate will tighten both the liquidity and the nonnegative-bequest constraints faced by the parents. Therefore, it will make child labour inefficiently high or, if it was inefficiently high already, higher. In Cigno and Rosati (2005), a reduction in either the child wage rate or the price of educational goods and services raises the marginal return to education. If the family is credit rationed, however, a reduction in the child wage rate has also the effect of tightening the liquidity constraint. Therefore, it will make the educational investment more profitable, but will also make it impossible for a number of children from poor families to finance their own education by working part time. In Dessy and Pallage (2005), there are two child wage rates, one for ordinary child labour, and the other, higher, for its worst forms. In equilibrium, a reduction in the former is associated with a higher incidence of the worst forms of child labour, and a reduction in the latter with more child labour of the ordinary type.

367. Uncertainty and asymmetric information also play an important role in the determination of child labour. The reason why assetless parents cannot finance their children's education on credit is in fact that, for moral hazard and adverse selection reasons, the risk associated with this form of investment is generally uninsurable. The theoretical connection between credit constraints and uninsured shocks in a simple model without children and child labour is well understood at least since Deaton (1992). Households respond to what they regard as a transitory reduction in their income by either borrowing, or drawing on assets, but cannot do this forever. After a series of negative shocks, the household's ability to dissave will run out, and its consumption will fall abruptly. If children are allowed to work, however, there is a second line of defence. In the absence of assets on which to draw or to use as collateral, parents may respond to an uninsured negative shock (serious illness of the main breadwinner, poor crop) by making their children work. Indeed, since the return to child labour is less uncertain than the return to education, parents may view children as a form of insurance, and have more children than they otherwise would for precisely this reason. Following this line of argument, Jacoby and Skoufias (1997) show that uninsured income volatility encourages both fertility and child labour. Allowing for the possibility that the return to education is uncertain, and that the associated risk is uninsurable, Pouliot (2006) shows that child labour may be inefficiently high in the Baland-Robinson model even if the nonnegativity constraints on saving and bequests (transfers to grown-up children) are not binding.

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