Child Labor in Afghanistan

A Four-Province Study in Kabul, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Balkh

Task Order I: Research & Data Collection International Child Labor Issues

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U.S. Department of Labor
Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking
Frances Perkins Building
200 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20210

Submitted by:

ICF Macro, Inc.
11785 Beltsville Drive, Suite 300
Calverton, MD 20705
Main Telephone: (301) 572–0200
Facsimile: (301) 572–0999
www.macrointernational.com

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Macro International Inc. and its partner organization in Afghanistan, the Afghan Center for Socio-Economic and Opinion Research (ACSOR-Surveys), conducted data collection on child labor in Afghanistan from 2006 to 2007. The specific objective of this research was to collect, describe, and analyze data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence, as well as the welfare implications, of child work in Afghanistan. The study seeks to raise awareness about the issue of child labor in Afghanistan, and to inform current and future child labor policy and technical assistance efforts of the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL) Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT).

A nationwide survey was conducted on selected household and child-specific demographic and socioeconomic variables. In addition, a more detailed survey was conducted on four provinces: Kabul, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Balkh, and four sectors: agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling.[1] Data collection focused on children aged 5 to 17 and included information related to conditions of work, entry points into work, characteristics of families, educational status, and services designed to assist working children.

The study provides statistically valid information at national and provincial levels with regards to a certain number of issues concerning child work, child labor, and general characteristics of working children. The study combined the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques, and consisted of four phases of data collection: a) a background research phase, including collection of background materials and key informant interviews; b) a nationwide household survey; c) a four-province household survey and an in-depth four-province survey; and d) a four-sector working children study.

Nationally, 24.2 percent of children aged 5 to 17 worked in the week preceding the survey. The total number of children currently working in Afghanistan is estimated to be 2.27 million. When the time horizon is extended to 1 year, the percentage of children working in Afghanistan increases to 27.2 percent. Depending on the region under consideration, the prevalence of child labor in Afghanistan ranges from 18 percent to 42 percent. Western and Southwestern regions have the highest prevalence rates (33.1 percent). These regions account only for about 19.7 percent of the population of Afghanistan and 26.9 percent of the working children. Central/Kabul, Eastern, and South Central regions have the lowest child work rates (18.7 percent combined), but account for a third of working children.

Weekly work rates in the four-province study conducted in late April through early June 2007 are considerably higher in these four provinces, compared to the national data from December 2006, for which the combined weekly work rate for children based on 1660 cases was measured at 15.5 percent. Nangarhar province, the province with the highest weekly child work rates in the four-province survey (31.7 percent), is in the Eastern region where one of the lowest child work rates was found in the national survey (19.1 percent). Kabul province has the lowest child work rates in the four-province study (22.9 percent). The reasons for the differences between the work rates based on the four-province study and the national survey could be attributed to the data for

[1] See Annex I for sector definitions.

the four-province survey including disproportionately less females, the seasonality of work, and possibly the context in which the questions were asked.

According to the national data in this study, girls are less than half as likely to work as boys (12.4 percent as compared to 33.7 percent)—a difference that persists across all age groups. While national data shows similar rates of working and not going to school for boys and girls, the four-province data show that boys are much more likely to be working and not attending school than girls. Work rates across both genders increase substantially between each subsequent older age group. The weekly work rates for the youngest cohort (5 through 8 years of age) is 4.4 percent. Work rates are particularly high for those 13 years or older (47 percent). In this group, work rates are particularly high for boys (62 percent). Age is similarly related to working and not attending school. While those who are 15 through 17 years of age make up 45 percent of working children, they represent 53.8 percent of those who are working and not attending school.

Nationally, 81.3 percent of working children in Afghanistan reside in rural areas. Provincial capitals across Afghanistan have the highest work rates for children (28.3 percent). For girls, the highest work rates are in the rural villages (13.5 percent) and decline in each stage of increased urbanity.

Agriculture, selling, artisanship, and manufacturing are the four main economic sectors employing children in Afghanistan as a whole, accounting for four in five child workers nationwide. Agriculture is the industry that has the largest share of child workers in the country (22 percent), followed closely by street/bazaar selling and artisanship (both 20 percent), and manufacturing (17 percent). The main sectors employing children within the 4 provinces selected for the study resemble the data obtained at the national level, with 4 sectors (selling, agriculture, manufacturing, and other service activities) accounting for 9 out of 10 working children. There are great differences in the distribution of children by industries across provinces. Working children in Kabul, as a mostly urban economy, tend to be in the selling sector and other service activities (35 and 31 percent respectively), with a relatively low proportion in agriculture (14 percent). On the other hand, children in Nangarhar, and to a lesser extent in Kandahar, work predominantly in agriculture (43 and 30 percent respectively). Balkh is more mixed, with a relatively even distribution across the three main sectors (agriculture, manufacturing, and selling).

According to the national data, working children in Afghanistan work on average 30 hours per week, while the four-province data show an overall four-province average of 36 hours per week. School attendance status has a very important effect on number of hours worked in the last week, with working children who are currently attending school working 32 hours on average, compared to the average of 48 hours worked by children who are working and not in school. This effect was equivalent across provinces, urban/rural settings, and industries. In short, school attendance accounts for more variance in working hours (17 percent) than any of the other factors analyzed, including occupation (12 percent of variance), industry (3.6 percent), gender (0.5 percent), and province (0.4 percent).

The study explores the relationship between socioeconomic status of the child's household and work rates. To this end, the study constructed a wealth index using data collected in the four-province survey and then transformed the index into quintiles based on the number of children

(5 to 17 years old) that are within 5 equal-sized groups throughout the 4 provinces. According to the wealth index, Kandahar is the poorest of the 4 provinces, with 38.8 percent of the children living in the lowest quintile. Nangarhar is the next poorest with 57.7 percent living in the bottom 2 wealth groups. Not surprisingly, Kabul is the wealthiest of the four provinces.. The study finds that, in some provinces, work rates are negatively related to wealth index: Provinces that are least wealthy have the highest work rates for children. This may be an indication that wealth plays a role in the different work rates across provinces.

One of the most important motives for understanding child work in developing countries is its effect on schooling. In Afghanistan, the current school attendance rate for children between 5 and 17 years old is 58.7 percent. Although those who are not going to school tend to work more hours than those who are going to school, participation in child work does not seem to reduce overall schooling outcomes of children measured by current school attendance, ever school attendance, or educational attainment. For instance, the nationwide survey that covered 5,295 children between the ages of 5 and 17 years shows that working children (children who worked in the past week preceding the survey) have a higher current school attendance rate (69 percent) than nonworking children (56 percent). However, important differences arise when the data are disaggregated by age, gender, and place of residence.

Adults and children were asked to identify the major reasons why the child was not attending school. Economic, cultural, and security reasons, as well as access to school, are important reasons. The reasons are distinguished by work status and gender of the child. Accordingly, their importance varies depending on the circumstances of the child. For instance, the most important constraint for girls is the fact that “family does not allow schooling.”

Regarding entrance into child work, the national data show that about 62 percent of all working children in Afghanistan started working before their 11th birthday. Most working children in the 4 provinces reported that their father was the person who influenced them most in getting their current job (63 percent), although a sizeable 22 percent said that, in fact, no one influenced them. The main reason adults in the household of the working child allow children to work is associated with the family’s economic situation.

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims to collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data regarding child labor in Afghanistan and four provinces. The study includes an in-depth look at the situation of child workers in Kabul, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Balkh, as well as child workers engaged in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling. Data collection focused on children aged 5 to 17 and included information related to conditions of work, entry points into work, characteristics of families, educational status, and services designed to assist working children. The study seeks to raise awareness about the issue of child labor in Afghanistan and to inform current and future child labor policy and technical assistance efforts of USDOL OCFT.

2.2 INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCH TEAM

The research team responsible for the design of data-gathering tools, implementation of the research, and data analysis was a joint effort by Macro International Inc. and its partner organization in Afghanistan, ACSOR-Surveys. The ACSOR-Surveys team was led by an in-country manager and included field supervisors and trained interviewers. ACSOR-Surveys' experience in conducting surveys throughout Afghanistan, and its knowledge of the complex political and social context within the country, were particularly relevant to the successful completion of the project.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW OF CHILD LABOR IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE FOUR PROVINCES

For the purposes of this study, "child work" is defined as work among children in an economically active population, with the exception of those who are currently unemployed and seeking work. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the economically active population "comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations system of national accounts and balances during a specific time-referenced period."[2]

This definition includes the following:[3]

- Paid employees (paid in cash or in kind);
- Self-employed persons;
- Own-account workers;

[2] International Labour Office. (2000). *Current international recommendations on labor statistics: 2000 edition.* Geneva: International Labour Organization.

[3] International Labour Office-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour. (2004). *Manual for child labour data analysis and statistical reports.* Geneva: International Labour Organization.

- Apprentices who receive payment in cash or in kind; and
- Unpaid family workers who produce economic goods or services for their own household consumption.

This definition excludes the following:

- Household chores; and
- Activities that are part of schooling.

The term "child labor" is distinct in itself, as it refers to work that is inconsistent with the standards set forth by Article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) related to work that is excessive in hours or exertion, is performed under hazardous conditions, is physically or psychologically harmful, interferes with education, and is performed by children under 12 years old.[4] The worst forms of child labor are specified by ILO Convention 182: Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Worst forms of child labor include the use of a child for the purposes of sexual exploitation in pornography or prostitution; any activities related to the production or trafficking of drugs; any work that could prove hazardous to children's health, safety, or morals; and all practices characteristic of enslavement, including the trafficking of children, serfdom, debt bondage, and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children into armed conflict.[5]

In accordance with the principles of the UNCRC, children in Afghanistan are permitted to engage in economic activity with parental permission as early as age 13 if the work is for educational purposes; they may work up to 30 hours per week until age 16, after which they may work 35 hours per week.[6] Over half of the population of Afghanistan consists of children and youth under 19 years old and, due to the local culture and precarious economic situation, many of these children are economically active. Many are also involved in some of the worst forms of child labor.[7]

The most recent data available indicate that, for the year 2000, approximately 601,000 children between the ages of 10 and 14 worked in Afghanistan—a figure which represents about one quarter of the population in that age group.[8] It should be noted, however, that this figure was estimated before much of the political, social, and religious changes that have taken place in Afghanistan over the past decade and, as such, the data may not reflect the current situation of child work in the country. While several informative studies have been conducted on the subject, the literature on child work in Afghanistan is not extensive. Most of the research that has been

[4] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2007). *Economic and social rights in Afghanistan II.* From http://www.aihrc.org.af/Rep_ESRII_Eng_Full_Text_30_Aug_2007.pdf.
[5] International Labour Organization (ILO). (1999). *C182, Worst forms of child labor convention, 1999.* From http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm.
[6] *Ordinance No. 103 of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to adopt the Labour Code.* From http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/legis/nofr/oeur/lxweafg.htm#Labor%20Law.
[7] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled. (2007). *Ministry strategy for the Afghanistan national development strategy*. Draft.
[8] International Labour Office-Bureau of Statistics. (1997). *Economically active population 1950-2010.* STAT Working Paper.

carried out is limited in scope and provides information only on certain aspects of the phenomenon, such as the conditions of urban street children or public opinion about child work. Additionally, existing studies are restricted because of difficulties in accessing certain populations due to insecurity, armed conflict, cultural and religious values or norms, and the hidden or illegal nature of some types of child labor. Because of such limitations in accessibility and scope, the literature generally lacks insight into several areas of child work, including information on the specific characteristics of the agricultural and domestic work sector, the balance children maintain between work and school, the overall prevalence of the worst forms of child labor in Afghanistan, etc.

2.3.1 Types of Child Labor

The literature on child work in Afghanistan indicates that children are employed in a large number of economic activities. A 2006 study by the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) found the majority of children work as shopkeepers (21 percent), vendors (13 percent), carpet weavers (8 percent), and tailors (6 percent). In addition, a significant portion of children interviewed were employed in workshops (12 percent) or engaged in retail selling on the streets (8 percent). The majority of children work selling goods, either in shops or on the street, or in the manufacturing sector. Hand-woven carpets are a significant export for Afghanistan, and children as young as 6 years old are employed in the carpet industry, where the typical work day is 12 hours.[9] The sample for this AIHRC study was drawn from urban areas of all 34 provinces of Afghanistan, and particularly from local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) providing direct services to child workers, shops, workshops, and other workplaces known to employ children. The study thus focuses only on the most visible forms of child labor, taking place primarily in urban areas. Data related to children employed in domestic labor, illicit activities, or rural areas are not presented.[10]

A 2002 study conducted by Terre des Hommes and the local Afghan NGO Aschiana found a large number of Afghan children involved in street work, with over 37,000 children working on the streets in 16 districts of Kabul alone. Of the 1,000 children surveyed, 88 percent were boys and 54 percent were between the ages of 13 and 14. A significant number (36 percent) were also between 8 and 10 years old, and some were as young as 6 years old. Street children work between 6 and 15 hours per day, with most children working 6 to 9 hours. Eighty-six percent of the children in the study worked every day. The two most prevalent types of work among street children in Kabul were the selling of small items, such as food, drink, and cigarettes, and the collecting of firewood and paper. Girls were far more prone to collect of firewood than to engage in vending, while the opposite was true for boys. Less than 1 percent of children surveyed reported begging as a source of income.[11]

There are also a large number of children believed to be involved in some of the worst forms of child labor in Afghanistan, including those who have been trafficked or transported to neighboring countries to work, those recruited into armed conflict, and those subjected to sexual

[9] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*
[10] Ibid.
[11] Terre des Hommes & Aschiana. (2002). *Needs assessment of children working on the streets of Kabul.*

exploitation. A review of the literature indicates that children as young as 6 years old are often sent to Saudi Arabia or Pakistan to work in restaurants, factories, and on the streets. Additionally, there is a practice in Afghanistan of parents loaning children for the purpose of agricultural or domestic work; parents are able to collect a salary in return for the work their children perform. Such situations are closely linked with trafficking in the literature, as they often resemble servitude.[12]

In 2003, it was estimated that about 8,000 children, mostly young boys from poor families, were recruited by the varied fighting factions in Afghanistan. While many of the underage soldiers did not participate directly in combat, they were often conscribed to prepare arms, place landmines, serve officers directly, care for the wounded, and collect the dead.[13] Between 2003 and 2005, a USDOL-funded United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) project demobilized 7,444 child soldiers and provided reintegration services to 12,614 child soldiers and other war-affected youth.[14]

A 2007 AIHRC report claims that over half of marriages involving children under age 16 are a result of economic difficulties, The Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled (MOLSAMD) reports that over half of all girls under age 16 are thought to be married. Some marriages are the equivalent of forced prostitution and are arranged for periods of months or even days.[15]

Afghanistan's ongoing context of insecurity and instability has made the process of gathering data on child work challenging. While existing studies indicate that a large number of children are engaged in some form of work, these studies have been limited in scope due to an inability to access populations and specific geographic regions. According to the 2007 AIHRC study comprising over 11,000 interviews in 32 of 34 provinces in the country, over one third of families reported at least 1 child under age 15 working, and a significant number of families reported that most or all of the children in the household were working.[16]

2.3.2 Reasons for Child Labor in Afghanistan

Over two decades of war, civil unrest, and drought have led Afghanistan to become one of the poorest countries in the world, with 60 percent of families living below the World Bank standard of "absolute poverty," or less than 1 USD per day.[17] Abject poverty has been compounded by the insecurity, collapse of infrastructure, and stressed familial and community supports experienced

[12] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.* Working Paper.
[13] Chrobok, V. (2005). *Demobilizing and reintegrating Afghanistan's young soldiers.* Paper 42. Bonn International Center for Conversion.
[14] U.S. Department of Labor. (2007). *Demobilization of child soldiers and socio-economic reintegration of war-affected young people in Afghanistan.* ILAB Technical Cooperation Project Summary.
[15] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2007). *Economic and social rights in Afghanistan II.*
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

by the country's citizens.[18] As a result, Afghanistan's impoverished families often rely on their children to provide income and essential goods. In the 2007 AIHRC study, 31 percent of families reported that their children's earnings were their only source of income; in the 2006 study, 96 percent of children were working because of poverty and poor economic conditions.[19] It is unclear in the literature how many children are coerced or forced to work, either by their parents, relatives, or third parties.

An examination of cultural norms suggests that all Afghan family members, including teenagers and children, experience a sense of duty to financially contribute to the family. It is commonly held that some degree of work inside and perhaps outside of the home is essential to an Afghan child's development.[20] Over half of the 500 parents interviewed for a 2006 report by AIHRC were in favor of child labor, so long as the child is not abused or deprived of rest.[21] According to a 2002 UNICEF study, employment is also held by many as an effective means of occupying the time and energy of children who, without ready access to education, would otherwise be idle or free to do as they wish—conditions Afghans believe can lead to bad development.[22]

In addition to the influence of cultural norms on the working status of Afghan children, many children seek employment because their parents are unable to work or are unemployed for various reasons. The past 20 years of war and armed conflict have resulted in the death or disability of many male family heads, and the loss of a father can necessitate children becoming economically active.[23] Twenty percent of the Kabul children interviewed by Aschiana (in the 2002 study mentioned above) reported having no father; in 56 percent of the families, neither the mother nor father was employed. Mothers with more than 5 children are prohibited from working outside of the home, and the reported national average of 6.8 children for every woman, along with societal views toward women in the workplace, indicates that the majority of mothers are prevented from securing employment.[24]

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[18] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled. (2006). *National strategy for children at risk.* See also Human Rights Watch. (2006). *Lessons in terror: Attacks on education in Afghanistan.*

[19] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2007). *Economic and social rights in Afghanistan II.* See also Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*

[20] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.* See also Terre des Hommes & Aschiana. (2002). *Needs assessment of children working on the streets of Kabul.*

[21] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*

[22] Save the Children & United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2003). *The children of Kabul: Discussions with Afghan families.*

[23] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.* Also, it is estimated that roughly half a million children lost at least one parent due to the wars and conflicts in Afghanistan (Chrobok, V, 2005).

[24] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled. (2007). *Ministry strategy for the Afghanistan national development strategy.*

Lack of education, societal supports, and economic infrastructure also contribute to the unemployment of Afghan parents and the need for children as a source of family income.[25] The need for cash to secure food and other basic necessities, fueled by the increasingly monetary nature of the Afghan economy, has led to a large number of workers in the informal employment market where there is little stability in wage-paid opportunities.[26] The burden of providing income is oftentimes shared or carried entirely by child workers.[27]

The literature related to educational attainment and outcomes in Afghanistan up to this point indicates that low participation in compulsory education is both a cause and risk of children becoming increasingly economically active. The country's educational system is in distress, both in terms of its infrastructure and governance, and it has been estimated that only about half of Afghan children between 7 and 13 years old attend school.[28] While enrollment in grades 1 and 2 is relatively high, dropout rates increase as children age; 74 percent of enrolled girls and 56 percent of enrolled boys drop out by the fifth grade. In 2006, Oxfam reported that net enrollment for all levels of schooling for children ages 5 to 17 was only about 42 percent, with roughly 7 million children not enrolled.[29] Southern provinces tend to have lower enrollment rates than do their northern neighbors, as do rural areas when compared with cities.[30] Factors keeping children from attending school include poor physical infrastructure; an inability for families to pay for books, uniforms, and transportation; untrained teachers (or no teachers at all); and security concerns. Access to schools also poses a problem, as many children in rural areas would have to walk for 2 to 3 hours on average to get to school, and the opportunity cost of having an adult or older youth accompany the child for safety is more than many families can afford.[31] Children are thus put to work in order to avoid becoming idle, to develop skills in lieu of an education, and to help support the family. The 2007 report of AIHRC's field monitoring activities relates that 11.9 percent of families with children who did not attend primary school, or who did not attend regularly, responded that girls do not attend because they have to work. One third (35.8 percent) of families listed work as the reason boys do not attend regularly.[32]

2.3.3 Risks Associated with Child Labor in Afghanistan

Child workers in Afghanistan can suffer greatly due to the work they perform, and they are at risk of educational disadvantage, poor health, physical injury, poor socio-emotional development, and threat of abuse and exploitation. Sixty-five percent of children surveyed by AIHRC in 2006 reported that they did not attend school,[33] and only 35 percent of street children in the 2002 Aschiana study were enrolled in school.[34] Moreover, 2006 reports by Oxfam and

[25] Ministry of Rehabilitation and Development & Central Statistics Office (CSO). (2007). *The National risk and vulnerability assessment.* See also Ministry of Rehabilitation and Development & Central Statistics Office (CSO). (2007). *The National risk and vulnerability assessment 2005.*
[26] Ibid. See also Christian Children's Fund. (2003). *Children in conflict: Afghanistan.*
[27] Christian Children's Fund. (2003). *Children in conflict: Afghanistan.*
[28] Oxfam International. (2004). *Report card: Progress on compulsory education.*
[29] Oxfam International. (2006). *Free, quality education for every Afghan child.* Briefing Paper 93.
[30] Oxfam International. (2004). *Report card: Progress on compulsory education.*
[31] Chrobok, V. (2005). *Demobilizing and reintegrating Afghanistan's young soldiers.*
[32] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2007). *Economic and social rights in Afghanistan II.*
[33] Ibid.
[34] Terre des Hommes & Aschiana. (2002). *Needs assessment of children working on the streets of Kabul.*

MOLSAMD estimate that between roughly five and seven million school-aged children are not enrolled in school, a figure reflective of the number of children working.[35]

Children who work also tend to suffer from physical injury and general health deterioration. The majority of children working on the streets of Kabul eat nothing during the day and, although this figure is thought to be a gross underestimate, 10 percent of the children were found to have some type of physical illness or psychological damage.[36] Common ailments include skin diseases, ear problems, eye infections, and exposure to parasites. In particular, children working as carpet weavers face a number of hazards, including long hours working in very dim light and inhaling wool dust resulting in respiratory problems. Many street vendor children, who often work alone and are thought to be used in drug trafficking, are at a heightened risk of drug addiction, physical and sexual abuse, other types of crime, and overexposure to the elements. Children who work on farms do a great deal of heavy labor and are often injured and exhausted.[37] Child domestic workers, out of sight from society and often separated from their families, are particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation and other forms of abuse. While sexual abuse occurs among Afghan boys and girls alike, it is rarely reported for boys and even less so in the case of girls. Sexual abuse is most prevalent in the Southern and Eastern regions of Afghanistan.[38]

Perhaps the largest risk for child workers in Afghanistan is involvement in the worst forms of child labor, including child soldiering, human trafficking, prostitution, and pornography. In 2003, a presidential decree prohibited the recruitment of males under age 22 to the Afghan National Army, but in 2006, the government changed the recruitment age to 18 years old.[39] In addition, Afghanistan signed the Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, dealing with children in armed conflict, in 1994, which establishes 18 as the minimum age for direct participation in the armed forces. However, factional armies and regional militias control large territories and wield influence outside of major cities like Kabul. Some of these groups are thought to be engaged in the illegal poppy trade and child soldier recruitment. Children also often volunteer to participate in armed conflict or join militias to escape economic hardships and, while young boys do not usually participate in active combat, reports indicate that a significant number of boys are sexually abused by commanders.[40]

In terms of human trafficking, a 2007 UNICEF report estimates that thousands of Afghan boys and girls are trafficked to Pakistan and to Gulf countries every year for the purposes of forced labor, especially in the commercial sex industry. While reports suggest that the overwhelming

[35] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled. (2006). *National strategy for children at risk.* See also Oxfam International. (2006). *Free, quality education for every Afghan child.*
[36] Terre des Hommes & Aschiana. (2002). *Needs assessment of children working on the streets of Kabul.*
[37] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*
[38] Chrobok, V. (2005). *Demobilizing and reintegrating Afghanistan's young soldiers.*
[39] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State Report on Human Rights Practices in Afghanistan 2006.*
[40] Ibid.

majority of trafficked Afghan children are boys between 8 and 17 years old, cultural sensitivities obscure even general information concerning the trafficking of girls.[41]

While all Afghan families and children have experienced hardship over the past few decades, existing national and local studies of child labor indicate that the situation currently faced by Afghan children is particularly challenging. Though the government and many national and international NGOs are focusing their efforts on the issue of child work and child labor in its worst forms, the overall understanding of the phenomenon within the country is lacking and points to a need for further research. Continued research into the dynamics of child work and child labor will help to inform national and international public policy decisions, and will contribute greatly to efforts aimed at eliminating child labor in Afghanistan.

[41] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.*

3. DEMOGRAPHIC, EDUCATIONAL, AND SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF AFGHANISTAN AND FOUR PROVINCES: KABUL, KANDAHAR, BALKH, AND NANGARHAR

This study focuses on the provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, Balkh, and Nangarhar, with the goal of collecting data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence of child work in the agricultural, manufacturing, construction, and selling sectors in Afghanistan. The four-province focus yields a more detailed and in-depth picture of the situation in and around the four cities of Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad (Nangarhar province), and Mazar-I-Sharif (Balkh province). These provinces are particularly important and representative for several reasons. Kabul represents the center of government and also represents the only true metropolitan area in all of Afghanistan. It has both Dari and Pashto speakers, but Dari is the dominant language in Kabul. Balkh represents a typical central or northern province that is predominantly Dari speaking. It has a strong mix of both urban and rural areas, and would be in strong contrast to areas dominated primarily by Pashto speakers. Nangarhar has the central city of Jalalabad, a gateway to Pakistan, and is a predominantly Pastho-speaking province. Kandahar is the home of the Taliban and recent religious conservative thinking in Afghanistan. It is a poorer province than the other three and is predominantly Pashto speaking. It is also representative of the contentious Southern region in Afghanistan.

3.1 RECENT POPULATION STATISTICS FOR AFGHANISTAN AND THE FOUR PROVINCES

The population of Afghanistan is linguistically and ethnically diverse, consisting of Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Turkmen, Hazara, Baloch, Nuristani, Aimak, and Kizilahi. The largest ethnic groups are Pashtun and Tajik, with over 41 percent and 35 percent of households respectively.

Table 1: Ethnic Background of the Afghan Population

Ethnic Group	Central/ Kabul	Eastern	South Central	South-western	Western	Northern	Central/ Hazarjat	Total
Pashtun	21.3%	88.8%	73.0%	95.8%	38.8%	17.5%	0.6%	41.1%
Tajik	63.9%	6.1%	10.0%	2.1%	43.8%	45.2%	36.9%	35.4%
Uzbek	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.4%	26.9%	0.0%	8.0%
Turkmen	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	6.1%	0.0%	2.1%
Hazara	10.0%	0.0%	17.0%	1.1%	4.6%	3.3%	56.3%	10.2%
Baloch	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	8.3%	1.0%	0.0%	1.4%
Nuristani	1.0%	5.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
Aimak	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	6.3%	0.6%
Other	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%

Base: n=2,096 households in Afghanistan.

Over 22 years of conflict and subsequent displacement have produced widespread economic, social, and political turmoil. As such, a national population census does not exist and has been difficult to collect since 1979. Attempts have been made to estimate the population by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) of Afghanistan; however, its estimates are based on the 1979 census. Some recent reports estimate the population of Afghanistan to be approximately

31.9 million as of mid-2007.[42] The CSO, however, estimated the population to be a little over 22 million.[43] Out of the entire population, 50 percent of the country's population is reported to be under age 18.[44]

Table 2: Population by Provinces of Study[45]

Province	Total	Urban	Rural
Kabul	3,138,000	2,553,900	584,200
Nangarhar	1,289,000	172,500	1,116,500
Kandahar	1,011,700	324,800	686,900
Balkh	1,096,100	371,600	724,500
Country Total	**22,575,900**	**4,862,100**	**17,713,800**

Estimates are for the settled population and do not include nomad populations.

3.2 MIGRATION PATTERNS OF AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan's migration pattern follows a rural-urban population flow that began decades earlier. Ongoing conflict and insecurity have been the primary triggers for migration in Afghanistan. The Soviet-Afghan war of 1979 to 1989 and over two decades of civil war following the departure of the Soviets created enormous population movements of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs).[46] Afghans fled to neighboring countries, resulting in 2.2 million refugees in Iran and 3.2 million in Pakistan.[47] Current refugee population estimates place registered refugees in Pakistan at 2.16 million and at 940,000 in Iran.[48] Some reports suggest the total refugee population in Iran is larger when including 1.5 million unregistered refugees.[49]

The pattern of displacement for the IDPs has never been consistent; multiple displacements repeatedly occur as a result of conflict and drought. Similar to refugees, the Soviet-Afghan war and subsequent civil wars displaced over one million people within the country.[50] Millions were compelled to move from cities to rural areas, and again from war-affected urban centers to rural areas.[51] In 2002, an estimated 700,000 people were internally displaced.[52] In search of work and

[42] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2007). *The world factbook.* See also Population Reference Bureau. (2007). *2007 world population.*
[43] Government of Afghanistan-Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2005-2006. Estimates are for settled population and do not include nomad population.
[44] Population Reference Bureau. (2007). *2007 world population.* See also Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2007). *The world factbook.* See also United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *UNICEF basic data factsheet.*
[45] Government of Afghanistan-Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2005-2006. Estimates are for settled population and do not include nomad population.
[46] Amnesty International. (1999). *Refugees from Afghanistan: The world's largest single refugee group.*
[47] Blood, P. R., (Ed.). (2001). *Afghanistan: A country study.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (GPO) for the Library of Congress.
[48] U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. (2007). *World refugee survey 2007.*
[49] Radio Free Europe & Radio Liberty. (2008). *Afghanistan/Iran: Kabul pleads with Tehran to delay refugee expulsions.* From http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?docid=478b624e9.
[50] Blood, P. R., (Ed.). (2001). *Afghanistan: A country study.*
[51] Ibid.
[52] International Organization for Migration. (2003). *Trafficking in persons: An analysis of Afghanistan.*

shelter, IDPs migrated from rural areas to urban centers, such as Kabul, Mazar-I-Sharif, and Jalalabad, among others.[53]

Renewed violence in mid-2006, and again in 2007, once again displaced tens of thousands within the country.[54] The southern provinces of Kandahar, Helmud, Urusgan, and Farah were most affected, with thousands of families displaced by fighting.[55] The largest IDP population is the Kuchi, a traditionally pastoral group, followed by the Pashtun, who fled political persecution in the north.[56]

Another aspect to the migration pattern is the return migration of refugees or returnees to their place of origin. While millions of Afghan refugees continue to reside in refugee camps in neighboring countries, many returned to Afghanistan despite continued conflict and chronic food insecurity.[57] According to a recent Human Rights Watch report, approximately two million refugees, mostly from Pakistan, retuned to Afghanistan in 2007.[58] The lack of adequate shelter and lack of employment, however, have also produced a reverse flow of refugees. The Women's Commission reported that a significant number of Afghan returnees returned to Pakistan.[59] The housing and land issues, coupled with chronic unemployment, will remain a growing concern as an estimated 540,000 refugees are expected to return to Afghanistan.[60]

3.3 SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF AFGHANISTAN

The economy of Afghanistan is driven by the agricultural sector, with wheat, cereal, fruits, nuts, and opium being the core products.[61] The largest force in the economy is poppy cultivation, contributing 82 percent of the world's opiate. Several factors have been identified as key reasons for opium's economic importance: insecurity, institutional weakness, poor infrastructure, and rural poverty. Since the collapse of the post-Soviet-Afghan war government and the end of Taliban rule, the country's insecurity created an avenue for financing warring factions.[62] The continued lack of security, institutional weakness, and chronic corruption that followed in the wake of the Taliban provided for further opium production. Afghanistan's poor infrastructure, particularly the roads and agricultural-stocking facilities, made opium a better crop to produce, as it is virtually drought resistant and can be easily cultivated with little irrigation.[63] Moreover, lacking the long-term financing necessary to grow other crops and pursue alternative livelihoods,

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[53] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2003). *Emerging challenges: Closing gaps in the protection of Afghan women and girls.*
[54] Internal Displacement Monitoring Center. (2006). *Afghanistan: Fighting in the South sets off new displacement.* See also Human Rights Watch. (2008). *World report 2008.*
[55] Internal Displacement Monitoring Center. (2006). *Afghanistan: Fighting in the South sets off new displacement.*
[56] Ibid.
[57] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2003). *Emerging challenges: Closing gaps in the protection of Afghan women and girls.*
[58] Human Rights Watch. (2008). *World report 2008.*
[59] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2003). *Emerging challenges: Closing gaps in the protection of Afghan women and girls.*
[60] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2007). *UNHCR global appeal 2008-2009.*
[61] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2007). *The world factbook.*
[62] World Bank. (2007). *Afghanistan: Drug policy and counter-narcotics policy.* Washington, DC: Author.
[63] Martin, E., and Symansky, S. (2006). *Macroeconomic impact of the drug economy and counter-narcotics effort. Afghanistan: Drug industry and counter-narcotics policy.* Washington, DC: World Bank, 25–46.

many farming families in poor rural communities turned to opium cultivation.[64] According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), poppy cultivation for opium production rose 17 percent from 2006, resulting in approximately 8,200 tons of opium. While provinces in the North Central region have drastically decreased poppy cultivation, provinces in the Southern region along the border of Pakistan are reported to have produced 70 percent of the country's total opium production.[65]

Afghanistan's per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in 2002 was US$190 for a then population of about 22 million.[66] Despite some economic improvements since 2002, Afghanistan remains one of the poorest countries in the world,[67] with about 70 percent of the population living in extreme poverty.[68] Current GDP stands at US$7.5 billion, rising 12 percent from US$6.9 billion in 2006.[69] This past year, over 50 percent of GDP was derived from opium production.[70] High unemployment; shortages of water; and lack of healthcare, electricity, and housing are a few of the challenges faced by Afghan people.[71] Reports indicate that over 75 percent of the population lacks access to safe drinking water.[72] Additionally, access to electricity is only available to 10 percent of the population.[73]

Particular socioeconomic challenges exist for women as they continue to face distinct hardships despite recent political changes. While the end of Taliban rule has reversed laws preventing women from leaving their homes, some sociocultural norms continue to prevent them from working outside the home.[74] It becomes especially problematic when women are the sole head of households or have no additional support to care for large families. Consequently, the responsibility of earning money to support the family often falls on children.

3.4 EDUCATIONAL PROFILE OF AFGHANISTAN

The Constitution of Afghanistan specifies in Article 43 that "all citizens" have the right to receive free education up to 4 years of college.[75] The education system, however, is still in the rebuilding process after decades of uninterrupted conflict. Since the fall of the Taliban in 2001, school enrollment increased dramatically. The country experienced another increase in school

[64] Ibid.
[65] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2007). *Opium survey 2007.* See also Semple, K., and Golden, T. (2007). Afghans pressed by U.S. on plan to spray poppies. *New York Times.*
[66] United Nations Development Programme. (2004). *Afghanistan: National development, security with a human face.*
[67] Asian Development Bank. (2007). *Afghanistan 2007 factsheet.*
[68] Government of Afghanistan, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, United Nations Development Programme, and World Bank Group. (2004). *Securing Afghanistan's future: Accomplishments and the strategic path forward.*
[69] Central Statistics Office of Afghanistan, *Data year 1384 (March 2005-March 2006).* Projection differs from the International Monetary Fund, *World Economic Outlook Database 2007*, reporting GDP at US$9.9 billion.
[70] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). (2007). *Opium survey 2007.*
[71] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2007). *The world factbook.*
[72] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *UNICEF basic data factsheet.*
[73] United States Agency for International Development (USAID). (2007). *Afghanistan.*
[74] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. (2003). *Emerging challenges: Closing gaps in the protection of Afghan women and girls.*
[75] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*

attendance by about 50 percent in 2003.[76] Despite these achievements, educational needs have not been met for all Afghan children. Three significant divisions in school attendance exist in Afghanistan: north-south, urban-rural, and gender. Provinces in the north typically have higher enrollment rates than the southern provinces.[77] Another geographical division occurs between urban and rural areas. Major urban centers, such as the capital Kabul, have higher percentages of child school enrollment than do rural areas.[78] The third most significant division hindering school enrollment and attendance is gender. Despite the increase in school attendance in 2003, girls continue to struggle for the same educational opportunities as their male counterparts. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), only about 44 girls for every 100 boys attend primary school.[79] In addition, out of 2 million primary school-aged children who do not attend school, 1.3 million are girls.[80] Based on this study, the following table indicates that 38.9 percent of girls and 14.2 percent of boys between 7 and 17 years old[81] never acquired formal education. Interestingly, educational attainment of girls who have ever attended school is not substantially lower than for boys.

Table 3: Child Educational Attendance and Attainment by Gender

Educational Status	Male	Female	Total
Currently Attending	77.9%	53.2%	66.9%
Never Attended	14.2%	38.9%	25.1%
Some Primary	4.2%	4.3%	4.3%
Primary	2.2%	1.5%	1.9%
Some Secondary	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%
Secondary	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
Higher	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Nonstandard	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%
DK	0.7%	1.4%	1.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=4,381 children (7 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.
Note: Educational Status refers to the level completed before leaving.

[76] Oxfam International. (2006). *Free, quality education for every Afghan child.*
[77] Ibid.
[78] Oxfam International. (2004). *Report card: Progress on compulsory education grade 1-9.*
[79] United Nations Educations, Scientific and Cultrual Organization (UNESCO). (2007). *Regional overview: South and West Asia, Education for all global monitoring report.*
[80] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *Humanitarian action report.*
[81] Five- and 6-year-old children were removed because formal education typically does not begin until a child is 7 years old.

4. LEGAL & INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK RELATED TO CHILD LABOR IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE FOUR PROVINCES

4.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Afghanistan is still in the early stages of establishing the foundations for a functioning democracy; ongoing security problems and a severe lack of infrastructure remain obstacles to the legitimacy of state institutions and to rule of law.[82] Additionally, incidents of terrorist violence increased 20 percent in 2007 from the previous year,[83] and there is corruption and lack of transparency in all branches of government.[84] The judicial system outside of Kabul is dysfunctional; because judges lack legal education and basic resources, decisions are often made without reference to the written law (which is not widely known by judges), and bribery is common practice.[85] In the absence of security and rule of law, human rights violations, including child labor, continue across the country.[86] Against this backdrop, the new Afghan government is increasing legislative and monitoring efforts in response to the complaints of human rights violations from the international community.

In terms of children working, the Afghan Labour Code stipulates that youths aged 15 may be employed as workers, service personnel, and contract employees, and youths aged 14 may be employed as trainees learning special crafts and vocations. With the consent of a legal guardian, the age requirement for trainees is lowered to 13. Youths under 16 of age may work a maximum of 30 hours per week, while those aged 16 and 17 may work 35 hours per week. Article 127 of the Labour Code prohibits both women and youth from engaging in underground work or work that is physically demanding or potentially detrimental to one's health.[87] However, the law pertains to formal employment arrangements and does not address the more prevalent forms of child labor in the informal sector. Further, there appears to be little effort by the State to enforce existing child labor laws.[88] Article 49 of the Constitution of Afghanistan, ratified in 2004, prohibits forced child labor.

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[82] Thier, J. A., and Center on Democracy, Development, & the Rule of Law. (2004). *Reestablishing the judicial system in Afghanistan.* Working Paper. See also U.S. Institute of Peace. (2004). *Establishing the rule of law in Afghanistan.* Special Report.

[83] United Nations General Assembly Security Council. (2007). *The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security.*

[84] Ibid.

[85] U.S. Institute of Peace. (2004). *Establishing the rule of law in Afghanistan.* Special Report.

[86] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *Annual report.* See also Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State report on human rights practices in Afghanistan 2006.* See also Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*

[87] *Ordinance No. 103 of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to adopt the Labour Code.* From http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/legis/nofr/oeur/lxweafg.htm#Labor%20Law.

[88] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State report on human rights practices in Afghanistan 2006.*

Given the influence of third parties in the development of Afghanistan's legal structures and institutions, human rights issues, including those related to child labor, have been incorporated into the agenda of the Government. Article 7 of Afghanistan's Constitution reaffirms the state's commitment to international treaties and conventions to which it is a party. The Government ratified the 1989 UNCRC; the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography; the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In addition, Afghanistan is a member of ILO and is working to implement some ILO labor standards into its legal system. For instance, it is a signatory of the ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105).[89] However, to date, Afghanistan has yet to ratify either ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor or 138 on minimum age for employment.[90]

In 2004, in accordance with the South Asian Regional Strategy to Combat Child Trafficking and the larger mission of the World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), the Afghan Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled (MOLSAMD), together with other government agencies and international NGOs, began drafting a National Plan of Action. The comprehensive plan outlines measures for the protection of children from sexual exploitation; the prevention of trafficking, recovery, and reintegration; and the establishment of a legal framework that is in line with international instruments, such as the UNCRC.[91] Without the Government's ratification of ILO Convention 182, however, the credibility of the National Plan remains questionable, and it has yet to be fully adopted by the Government.[92]

Building on the National Plan to Combat Child Trafficking, the Government of Afghanistan has begun to implement the National Strategy for Children at Risk (NSFCAR). The Strategy, designed by MOLSAMD, UNICEF, and other partners, officially launched in May 2006. It focuses on developing services, programs, and resources to support families and protect children vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, including trafficked children.[93] Particular attention is given in the NSFCAR to child soldiers and war-affected children, street-working children, children without parental care, and girls forced into marriage.[94]

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[89] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2007). *Economic and social rights in Afghanistan II.*

[90] International Labour Organization (ILO). (1973). *C138, Minimum age convention, 1973.* From http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm. See also International Labour Organization (ILO). (1999). *C182, Worst forms of child labor convention, 1999.* From http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm.

[91] *National plan of action to combat child trafficking.* Final draft.

[92] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.* See also United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). *Pipeline projects: AFG/S54—Measure to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings in Afghanistan.* From http://www.unodc.org/afg/en/projects_pipeline.html.

[93] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Press Centre. (2006). *Afghanistan launches national strategy for children at risk.*

[94] Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. (2006). *A better future for Afghanistan's vulnerable children & their families.*

Currently, Afghanistan does not have a legal definition of trafficking or any laws specifically prohibiting human trafficking. Traffickers of children can be prosecuted under laws against kidnapping, rape, forced labor, the transportation of minors, and child endangerment.[95] According to Article 420 of the Afghan Penal Code, persons convicted of kidnapping a child under age 18 can receive up to 7 years in prison. The maximum sentence is extended to 10 years if the child is female.[96] Additionally, a 2005 presidential decree allows for extended prison terms for child traffickers and mandates that child traffickers convicted of murder be sentenced to death.[97] However, there remains a general problem of enforcement of the law in Afghanistan, especially outside of the provincial cities where no formal court system exists. Throughout the country, village councils (or "jirgas") make decisions based on Islamic law and local traditions. The clergy can wield extraordinary influence over these councils, as can regional power-holders.[98] Despite this general absence of rule of law, the Government has made limited efforts to enforce laws relating to trafficking. During a 10-month period in 2005, AIHRC and UNICEF reported 150 complaints of child trafficking and 50 arrests.[99] In 2006, roughly 50 arrests led to 15 convictions of child traffickers. Jail sentences ranged from several months to 20 years, and 7 traffickers were sentenced to death.[100]

Central to all nation-building and reform efforts in Afghanistan are legal and judicial reform. AIHRC, under presidential mandate and in consultation with the UN, proposed an Action Plan for Transitional Justice in 2005, which includes the recognition of past and current human rights violations and measures to strengthen government accountability.[101]

4.2 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Within Afghanistan, the issue of child labor is addressed by a variety of ministries, government agencies, NGOs, and international organizations. The infancy of the Afghan Government and its infrastructure, as well as the immediate need for social services aimed at child laborers throughout the country, necessitates response from a wide community.

[95] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)-Division of Policy and Planning. (2007). *Preventing child trafficking in the gulf countries, Yemen and Afghanistan: Policy options.*

[96] Government of Afghanistan. (1976). *Penal code.* From http://www.idlo.int/AfghanLaws/Afghan%20Laws/CD%20Laws%201921%20-%20to%20date%20in%20English/Afghan%20Laws%20in%20English%20(and%20other%20languages)/Penal%20Code%201976.pdf.

[97] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State report on human rights practices in Afghanistan 2006.*

[98] U.S. Institute of Peace. (2004). *Establishing the rule of law in Afghanistan.* Special Report.

[99] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State report on human rights practices in Afghanistan 2006.*

[100] U.S. Department of State. (2006). *Trafficking in persons report.* From http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/66086.pdf.

[101] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2005). *Peace, reconciliation, & justice in Afghanistan: Action plan of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.* From http://www.aihrc.org.af/tj_actionplan_19_dec_05.htm.

4.2.1 Government Agencies

The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled is charged with monitoring and examining the application of current labor laws under a broader mandate concerning: (1) labor affairs, and (2) social protection. The Ministry's activities include implementing vocational training programs targeting youth, demobilized child soldiers, and other disadvantaged populations, as well as developing and implementing social protection policies to address vulnerable and at-risk children. In collaboration with key stakeholders, the Ministry is also working to implement National Plans of Action to address the problem of child trafficking and to provide outreach and services to at-risk children. The Ministry is planning to establish a Child Protection Secretariat with its own strategic plan and mandate to set up support services for children.[102] In 2003, the Ministry, in cooperation with UNICEF, established a transit center, along with a family verification system, to help reunite trafficked children with their families. The following year, over 200 children were repatriated from Saudi Arabia.[103] In 2005, over 300 children were repatriated from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Zambia, United Arab Emirates, and Oman.[104]

The Ministry of Education aims to ensure that all children have access to education and that, in accordance with Article 43 of the Afghan Constitution, education is provided by the state up to university level, and is mandatory up to the secondary level. The demand for educational services is far greater than the resources available. Currently, the Ministry is implementing the National Education Strategic Plan (NESP), a 5-year comprehensive plan to improve teacher training, create a new curriculum for secondary education to include technical and vocational education, and establish 4,900 new schools and 18 new Teacher Training Colleges by 2010.[105]

The Ministry of Justice is responsible for upholding the rule of law, ensuring all laws and presidential decrees are in line with the Constitution, Islamic law, and international conventions to which the Government is a party. However, the Ministry suffers from a severe lack of infrastructure, training, and resources. Justice officials, including Ministry officials, are currently undergoing legal training as part of a comprehensive reform of all legal institutions. Within the next 5 years, the Ministry plans to institute the legal framework required under the Constitution, increase general awareness of legal rights, establish a legal aid program, and oversee the construction of 22 new prisons.[106]

The Ministry of Women's Affairs works to ensure gender equality in rehabilitation and development activities, including activities targeting children. Between 2005 and 2006, the Ministry signed an agreement with Italy to build a training center for women and girls in Kabul,

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[102] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled. (2007). *Ministry strategy for the Afghanistan national development strategy (with focus on prioritization).*
[103] U.S. Department of State. (2004). *Trafficking in persons report.*
[104] Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. (2007). *U.S. Department of State report on human rights practices in Afghanistan 2006.*
[105] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Education. (2007). *National education strategic plan for Afghanistan.*
[106] Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-Ministry of Justice. (2007). *Strategy of Ministry of Justice for the Afghanistan national development strategy (with focus on prioritization).* From http://www.acbar.org/ministry%20strategies/MoJ%20-%20English.pdf.

published a protocol of prohibition of forced and child marriages, and collaborated with the Ministry of Public Health to combat malnutrition among women and children.[107]

The Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission was established by constitutional mandate to promote and protect human rights in the country, as well as to monitor state authorities and NGOs to ensure the equal distribution of services and welfare. The AIHRC Child Protection Unit coordinates with NGOs and other international agencies, such as UNICEF, in monitoring efforts, and has organized awareness campaigns and workshops to prevent child trafficking. Currently, the Child Protection Unit is leading an effort to establish child protection networks at the province level.[108] AIHRC has also produced some of the most comprehensive research on human rights in Afghanistan, including a countrywide survey on child labor practices.[109]

4.2.2 International Organizations

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) manages all UN humanitarian, relief, recovery, reconstruction, and development activities, in coordination with the Afghan government. Established in 2002, UNAMA aims to strengthen government institutions, provide technical assistance to the government, and promote human rights. It supports AIHRC in its mission to combat child labor and conducts its own investigations into human rights violations.[110]

The United Nations Children's Fund is currently involved in both emergency response and development programming, including health, education, and child protection efforts. It works closely with AIHRC and other agencies of the Afghan government to support the NSFCAR, and it helped to establish the Child Protection Action Network (CPAN). The National CPAN is an ongoing project of MOLSAMD to map and connect existing child protection services available across the country.[111] In 2007, UNICEF supported the AIHRC's baseline assessment of children in detention facilities across 11 provinces. UNICEF's broader approach to the prevention of child labor focuses on vocational training and literacy programs that can provide better employment opportunities to children and youths who financially contribute to their families.[112] UNICEF also supports informational and networking hubs called Youth Information and Contact Centers (YICC) in six pilot provinces. These centers help connect youth with programs and services that are available in their area.[113]

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[107] Ghazanfar, H. B. (2007). *Performance report of MoWA for 2005-2006.* Ministry of Women's Affairs.
[108] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). *Introduction of child protection unit.* From http://www.aihrc.org.af/chi_rig.htm.
[109] Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC). (2006). *An overview on the situation of child labour in Afghanistan research report.*
[110] United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. *Overview.* From http://www.unama-afg.org/about/overview.htm. See also United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan. *Human rights.* From http://www.unama-afg.org/about/_hr/Human_Rights.htm.
[111] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *UNICEF external situation report from Afghanistan, 1 June–31 July 2007.*
[112] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *General questions and answers sheet—Jan/Feb 2007.*
[113] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2007). *UNICEF external situation report from Afghanistan, 1 June–31 July, 2007.*

4.2.3 Nongovernmental Organizations

Afghanistan Demain runs 3 daycare centers in Kabul, each serving 100 to 120 children and teenagers. The children served at the centers come from impoverished families and have not had the opportunity to attend school. Many of these children work to support their families. The centers offer basic hygiene and health education, reading and math classes, and recreational activities. In addition, Afghanistan Demain operates two Family Houses for orphan boys. In each house, a married Afghan couple acts as parents for 15 children. The organization is planning to open a similar Family House for orphaned girls.[114]

Aschiana is an Afghan NGO that aims to serve vulnerable, street-working children and their families by providing life skills and educational services, healthcare, and vocational training. It serves an estimated 2,000 children from drop-in centers in Kabul, and reaches 800 children living in IDP camps through its outreach program. In addition, Aschiana staff members educate students' family members on the dangers and effects of child abuse and neglect. The drop-in centers, established under the Aschiana Street Children Project, numbered six before political changes closed several centers where MOLSAMD now plans to open kindergarten classes.[115] In 2002, Achiana collaborated with Terre des Hommes and conducted a study of children working on the streets of Kabul. The study found that 37,000 children were working on the streets of Kabul, primarily engaged in street vending and the collection of firewood.[116]

Children in Crisis established the Karte Char Day Care Center in 1998, which provides education and healthcare to roughly 500 children daily. The Center provides children with a midday meal and access to an onsite clinic. In collaboration with World Vision, Children in Crisis is currently training teachers in Ghor and Badghis through the Government Teacher Training Program. It also works with nomadic communities living in Kabul whose way of life has been disrupted by war, droughts, and the scattering of landmines.[117]

Enfants du Monde - Droits de l'Homme (EMDH) advocates for the recognition and application of the UNCRC. Its mission in Afghanistan focuses on the refugee populations of Kabul. Specifically, EMHD opened a daycare center for vulnerable children in the Hazara community of Deh Qabel. Roughly 300 children are registered at the center, which provides courses in literacy and mathematics, health education, and recreational activities. In addition, youth workers are trained to recognize specific psychological and behavioral problems in an effort to involve the larger community in the program.[118]

Save the Children has initiated a CPAN in northern Afghanistan, a project that has since been introduced in Kabul and Kandahar. In Mazar city, Save the Children established four children's working centers, offering literacy and life-skills training, as well as counseling and recreational services to 1,000 children working on the street. Accelerated classes are offered to afford working children the opportunity to join their peers in a formal educational setting. In addition,

[114] Terre des Hommes. *Afghanistan demain.* From http://www.tdhafghanistan.org/ad.htm.
[115] Ibid. See also http://www.Aschiana.com/default.asp?action=article&ID=14. Estimates of children served vary according to Aschiana and Terre des Hommes, as do the number of operational drop-in centers.
[116] Terre des Hommes & Aschiana. (2002). *Needs assessment of children working on the streets of Kabul.*
[117] Children in Crisis. *Afghanistan programs.* From http://www.childrenincrisis.org/pages/afghanistan.html.
[118] Terre des Hommes, Afghanistan. *EMDH.* From http://www.tdhafghanistan.org/emdh.htm.

staff members educate older children on the UNCRC and other child protection issues through regularly held informational sessions. Save the Children meets with employers in Mazar City, in an effort to develop safer working environments for children and flexible working hours to allow children to attend the centers. In the provinces of Kabul, Balkh, and Jawzjan, Save the Children is working with local partners to open more learning centers with an accelerated curriculum. In Kabul, it established a children's radio program, which has an estimated network of 900,000 listeners under the age of 15.[119]

Terre des Hommes Afghanistan works to provide direct assistance to vulnerable children and to raise awareness of child rights issues. In 2002, it launched the Peshawar Street Children Project to serve refugee and working children in the northwestern border province of Peshawar. A drop-in center was established, offering educational, healthcare, social development, and advocacy services.[120] Terre des Hommes has also supported the Aschiana Street Children Project since 1995, helping to establish a drop-in center for street-working children in Shar-I-Naw and in Khair Khana. As a result of political changes in Afghanistan, the Khair Khana center was evacuated in 2003.[121] Terre des Hommes coordinates and administers the Child Rights Consortium, a joint project of five national and international NGOs dedicated to improving the living conditions of street and working children. Terre des Hommes, Aschiana, Afghanistan Demain, Children in Crisis, and EMDH make up the Child Rights Consortium.[122]

The Christian Children's Fund (CCF) began its Emergency Entry Program into Afghanistan in 2001. The project created secure environments called Child Centered Spaces in the four northern provinces of Badakshan, Baghlan, Kunduz, and Takhar; in those provinces, CCF provides informal education and psychological support to children. Within the first 3 months of operation, an estimated 12,000 children were benefiting from Child Centered Spaces. CCF has also been engaged in data collection through its monitoring and program evaluation efforts. In 2002, it conducted community surveys to determine the needs of children and to mobilize community members. The program has since expanded to include water and sanitation programs, youth literacy and vocational training, and the rehabilitation of former child soldiers, with aims to increase the protection and wellbeing of children and youth.[123]

[119] Save the Children, UK. (2006). *Afghanistan country brief 2006.*
[120] Terre des Hommes, Afghanistan. *Peshawar street children project.* From http://www.tdhafghanistan.org/projects4.htm.
[121] Terre des Hommes, Afghanistan. *The ASCHIAN center for street working children, Kabul.* From http://www.tdhafghanistan.org/projects6.htm.
[122] Terre des Hommes, Afghanistan. *Child rights consortium.* From http://www.tdhafghanistan.org/crconsortium.htm.
[123] Snyder, L., and Triplehorn, C. (2002). *Assessment of CCF's emergency entry program into Afghanistan: Its impact on child well-being and protection.* Christian Children's Fund.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 RESEARCH ENVIRONMENT

Afghanistan has a number of socioeconomic, political, cultural, historical, and geographical particularities that align to make it one of the toughest research environments in the world.

One of the main obstacles is political and civil disruption. Violence and armed struggle between different militias, tribal groups, and international forces are a problem in the country as a whole, but are particularly pronounced in the Eastern and Southern regions adjacent to Pakistan, where the remnants of the Taliban regime are concentrated. Such violence can interrupt data collection efforts when a situation suddenly arises in the midst of fieldwork.

Lack of accessibility to distant locations and lack of infrastructure, such as paved roads or airports, provide additional, often dangerous, obstacles to conducting survey research in Afghanistan. In addition to geographical inaccessibility, there is a wide ethnolinguistic fragmentation across the country. Building trust and rapport with respondents requires that interviewers be local and share ethnicity with them, especially outside of Kabul. These constraints are further complicated by cultural norms that limit access to women. While the typical Afghan household will open its doors to strangers and offer hospitality, access to women is limited, especially in the villages and small towns around the country. Since the culture requires that women interview women and men interview men, the field team has to have at least 45 percent women in order to have a gender-balanced sample. Afghan female interviewers do not travel or conduct interviews independently. They are accompanied by male family members who may or may not also be interviewers. The accompanying family members will converse with the male heads of household to ease the sampling and interviewing process.

In addition to these preexisting cultural norms, the typical Afghan has never been surveyed and is unaware of what survey research is about. This lack of familiarity with survey research has multiple ramifications. One is that supervisors and interviewers must spend extra time explaining to local leaders and respondents why they are doing this work and encouraging participation. Interview teams sometimes must reemphasize the objective of the research and encourage participation in addition to the standard protocol of explaining the reasons for the study. Quite a different problem arising from unfamiliarity with survey research is harassment from the police and other security forces that consider interviewing a suspicious activity.

Illiteracy is another obstacle faced by researchers in the country. According to data collected by Macro's subcontractor in successive national surveys of Afghanistan, anywhere from 48 to 53 percent of the population in Afghanistan is illiterate. This has obvious implications for questionnaire design and the use of standard tools, such as show cards. Show cards are a basic interview support tool, showing the response categories for specific items to prompt respondents, particularly about questions with a large number of response options, which might put strain on the respondent's immediate memory buffer. While any questions can be asked, the more complex and reliant on a show card it is, the more likely a significant portion of respondents will refuse to answer or give a "don't know" reply. For this study, no show cards were used.

One final challenge is the lack of current or consistent population data. There is no official census of Afghanistan. The CSO of the Afghan government has attempted to provide updates each year since 2003, but its base is influenced by figures from the 1979 census. The UN has been working with the CSO to update population data, and there have been several studies, including one conducted by the World Food Program and National Vulnerability Assessment Program, that have contributed significantly to knowledge about the population.

5.1.1 Research Infrastructure

Decades of armed conflict and the repressive policies of the Taliban have delayed the emergence of a professional research industry. There has been a growing number of advertising agencies or NGOs trying to fill the gap in recent years, such as the Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit or the Institute for Afghan Studies. ACSOR-Surveys is the only registered for-profit, market research agency in Afghanistan. The firm is a joint venture between the American company D3 Systems and the Bulgarian company TNS-Balkan British Social Surveys (BBSS) (both members of the European Society for Opinion and Research Marketing). ACSOR-Surveys has conducted qualitative and quantitative research projects for an international clientele, including a wide array of governmental, public, and private organizations. D3 Systems and BBSS provide hands-on project management, but have worked to develop research teams of Afghans in multiple offices (Kabul, Kandahar, Mazar-I-Sharif, Jalalabad, and Herat) to lead a multiethnic and gender-balanced field team. While ACSOR has worked in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan, some provinces, such as Zabul and Urozogan, have been recently inaccessible due to security concerns.

5.2 STUDY DESIGN

The specific objective of this research was to collect data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence of child work[124] in Afghanistan, with a concentration on four provinces (Kabul, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Balkh) and four sectors (agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling). The varied focus of this study meant that each research question would be most efficiently addressed using a sequential, multilevel research design, with a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques.

The study had four phases: a background research phase, including collection of background materials and key informant interviews; a nationwide household survey; a four-province household survey; and an in-depth, four-province, four-sector working children study. Each of the data collection activities was implemented in sequential order so that data collected at every step could be used to inform the design of the next study. Information for estimating the relative size and importance of child work was initially derived from key informant interviews and the documents provided by organizations working with children. These aspects were further clarified during the nationwide survey, which obtained nationally representative data on child demographics, child labor rates, occupations, and economic activity sectors. Collecting this data was essential not only to provide a solid benchmark for the subsequent studies, but also due to the scarcity of other reliable and up-to-date demographic and occupational data sources for

[124] Although not all kinds of child work may be considered exploitative or worst forms, this research will attempt to gather information about child work in general, as very little is known about child labor in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan. The four-province household survey provided a more focused and in-depth picture of the situation in and around Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad (Nangarhar province), and Mazar-I-Sharif (Balkh province). This study included two modules: a household composition interview with the most knowledgeable member of the household, and short interviews with all working children identified within the household. Finally, in-depth qualitative child interviews were conducted to help better understand the situation in four economic sectors (within the four provinces of interest) that the two previous studies had identified as particularly important.

Table 4: Research Elements

Study	Objective	Representativeness	Population	Sample Size
Key Informant Interview	To gain understanding of the incidence and nature of child labor in Afghanistan	Qualitative, national level	Representatives from local and international organizations, government agencies, and social services that work on child labor	16 respondents
Nationwide Household Survey	To obtain national estimates of child labor and basic demographic profiles	National level	Adults and children	2,096 households, 5,514 individuals
Four-Province Household Survey	To obtain estimates of child labor, its conditions, and determinants in four specific provinces	Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, Kandahar	Adults and children	1,165 households, 8,295 individuals
Four-Province Short Child Interviews	To cross-validate data from the Household Survey, and obtain subjective self-reports from working children	Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, Kandahar	Working children	641 children
Four-Province, Four-Sector Working Child Interviews	To gain an in-depth view on child labor in four specific sectors	Qualitative, four sectors in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, Kandahar	Children working in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or selling in the four provinces	200 children

5.2.1 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted to develop a profile of child labor in Afghanistan that covers the sectors children work in and provides some information on the magnitude of child labor in these sectors, as well as describes their conditions of work and compensation. Sixteen individuals from local and international organizations, government agencies, and social services that work on child labor were interviewed to develop a profile of child labor in Afghanistan. This profile covers the sectors children work in and provides some information on the magnitude of child labor in these sectors, as well as describes their conditions of work and compensation.

The Macro team interviewed representatives from the following types of organizations:

- Local NGOs engaged in assisting children outside homes;
- Local social service agencies;

- Local offices of international donor organizations, such as UNICEF, ILO, and International Organization for Migration;
- Government agencies; and
- Faith-based organizations.

The purpose of the key informant interviews was to garner informants' understanding of the nature of child work in the informal sector and how this phenomenon is maintained (where children come from, who profits, who regulates it, etc.). The key informants provided knowledge needed to identify specific geographies, develop the research questions more fully, and understand the current state of interventions with children working in the informal sector. The outcome of this was an initial knowledge base that the Macro team used to refine sample plans, interviews/observation guides, and questionnaires.

5.2.2 Household Surveys

5.2.2.1 Sampling

Since there is no official census of Afghanistan, the data used by the Macro team to draw samples is selected by evaluating a combination of sources, including the official releases from CSO, information from the UN and other agencies, and ACSOR's (Macro's subcontractor in Afghanistan) own survey information.

The sampling strategy for both the nationwide and the four-province studies is based on a multistage cluster design described below in detail. In summary, a multistage cluster design is used when there is limited information about individual units within a sampling frame, but information is known about higher-level population aggregations. Thus, one starts by selecting sampling locations at a regional or provincial level. Succeeding smaller levels are then selected in a similar fashion until the enumeration areas are identified. If population data is available, which is the case down to the district level, probability proportionate to selection (PPS) methods are used to ensure that interviewees have equal, or as close to equal as possible, probability of selection. This allows samples to meet the criteria of being probability samples, which is important for generalizing results back to the population. The following describes the eight steps in detail.

Step One: Distribution of Sampling Points by Region and Urban/Rural Strata

Based on historical census data and more recent updates from CSO of the Government of Afghanistan, the Agriculture/Irrigation Department, and NGOs, it was estimated that Afghanistan is 22.5 percent urban and 77.5 percent rural. A target national sample was created to distribute the primary sampling units in 22.5 percent of the urban districts in provinces, and 77.5 percent in rural districts. Because of the lack of census data, the subcontractor set samples to aim for a 50/50 male-female split, but oversampled slightly for women in some rural areas due to the difficulties involved in reaching rural women.

Urban and rural sampling points were distributed across seven regions: Central/Kabul, Eastern, South Central, Southwestern, Western, Northern, and Central/Hazarjat. The sample was further subdivided into 32 provinces in Afghanistan, including all but Zabul and Urusgan, which were excluded due to security concerns.

Step Two: Selection of Sampling Points and Replacement of Sampling Points

Within each province, districts were selected by size of population in descending order, followed by executing a step over this list so that districts rotate according to population size. Due to the local cultural traditions, the universe at the outset was divided into male and female subsamples. Each region, province, and further stratum was allocated an equal number of male and female sampling points. The two subsamples were covered by the field force of the respective gender. The instability and frequent fighting in some provinces can cause a sampling point to be adjusted or replaced to keep interviewers out of areas with active violence. Substitutions were chosen to have similar demographic characteristics to the originally selected sampling point.

Step Three: Selection of Starting Points within Each Sampling Point

The settlements within districts were selected at random by the field director. Field managers used maps generated from several sources to select starting points within each district. A list of available settlements was written on pieces of paper and then points were drawn randomly. Each sampling point was then assigned a starting point and given direction. The starting points were recognizable locations (like a mosque, school, bazaar, etc.) within each of the selected settlements for the survey. Field supervisors then worked with the interviewing teams to reach the starting points. This was often one of the most significant challenges, especially in remote and rural districts, where transportation is difficult to obtain. One of the significant costs of fieldwork was the need to hire alternative transportation to reach sampling points where no public transportation exists.

Step Four: Household Selection (Random Walk)

Ten interviewers were assigned per sampling point. As noted earlier, the sampling points were divided by urban and rural, and male and female. The interviewing teams were divided by gender. Males worked in male sampling points and females worked in female sampling points. Households were selected by conducting a random walk. In urban areas, from the given starting point, the interviewer headed in the assigned direction and stopped at the second street or lane on the right-hand side of his/her route. From there on, the first contacted household was the first house on the right from the beginning of the street. Farther on, the selected household was every third inhabitable house on the right side of the interviewer route. In blocks of flats, the selection routine was each fifth apartment. In compounds with more than one household, no more than two households were interviewed. In rural areas, the interviewer started from the center of the village (or the bazaar, mosque, etc.) and went to the right, selecting every third inhabitable house on his/her route. Compounds containing two or more houses behind a common wall were treated like detached houses, counting them counterclockwise from the gate of the compound.

Step Five: Respondent Selection (Kish Grid)

After selecting a household, interviewers were instructed to utilize a Kish grid for randomizing the target respondent within the household. Members of the household were listed with their names and their ages in descending order, and then the respondent was selected according to the rules of the Kish grid.

Step Six: Respondent Substitution

Under no circumstances were interviewers allowed to substitute an alternate member of a household for the respondent selected by the Kish grid. If the respondent refused to participate or was not available after callbacks, then the interviewer moved on to the next household according to the random route.

Step Seven: Callbacks

Interviewers were required to make two callbacks before replacing the designated respondent. In Afghanistan, almost 90 percent of interviews occurred on the first visit, 10 percent on the second visit, and usually fewer than 2 percent on the third visit. While this is high for completion on first contact in general, it is not uncommon in Afghanistan. High unemployment and the tendency for women to be in the home increase the likelihood of completion on first contact. If a respondent is not home, someone from the household is often dispatched to locate the respondent and ask them to come home to complete the interview.

Step Eight: Back-Checks

The methodology required that at least 15 percent of the interviews in any given study be subject to some form of back-check. The back-checks consisted either of direct observation during the interview, a return visit to the residence where an interview took place, or, to a far lesser extent, some telephone checks from the central office. Telephone checks are not particularly effective in Afghanistan, as telephone penetration is very low. Back-checks were conducted by both field supervisors and office staff. They verified that the random walk was conducted properly, that the Kish selection of the respondent was completed correctly, and that no respondent substitution was made. Twenty-five percent of the sample received back-checks.

5.2.2.2 Nationwide Survey

Macro's subcontractor, ACSOR, conducts a monthly national omnibus survey in Afghanistan. It includes 32 provinces, urban and rural locations, and males and females. The survey uses a multistage cluster design described in the preceding section. ACSOR has conducted 38 monthly waves thus far, including both urban and rural respondents. The Sheharwali (municipal administration in Afghanistan) defines the urban population as those living within municipal limits. By default, the rural population comprises those who are living outside the municipal limits. The rural areas were defined neither in terms of population density nor remoteness. The country was divided into 7 geographical regions consisting of 34 provinces. The sample was distributed proportionally to geographic and residential characteristics of population per province. Within each province, districts were selected, listing them by size of population in descending order and then executing a step over from this list. A total of 32 provinces were

covered in Wave 38. The provinces of Urozgan and Zabul were excluded because they were still considered too dangerous for fieldwork at the time of the survey. A total of 2,096 adults were interviewed, which provided information about a total of 5,514 individuals (including the adult respondent and any children living in his/her household).

The following table presents the sample allocations by urban or rural setting in each of the 32 provinces.

Table 5: Nationwide Study: Final Sample

Province	Rural Setting	Urban Setting	Total
Kabul	49	240	289
Kapisa	40	0	40
Parwan	50	0	50
Wardak	50	0	50
Logar	30	0	30
Ghazni	90	10	100
Paktia	40	0	40
Paktika	40	0	40
Khost	40	0	40
Nangarhar	99	19	118
Laghman	39	0	39
Kunar	30	0	30
Nooristan	10	0	10
Badakhshan	80	0	80
Takhar	70	10	80
Baghlan	60	10	70
Kunduz	60	20	80
Balkh	60	40	100
Samangan	30	0	30
Juzjan	30	10	40
Sar-I-Pul	50	0	50
Faryab	70	10	80
Badghis	40	0	40
Herat	100	40	140
Farah	40	0	40
Nimroz	20	0	20
Helmand	70	10	80
Kandahar	80	30	110
Ghor	70	0	70
Bamiyan	40	0	40
Panjshir	20	0	20
Dehkondi	50	0	50
Total	**1,647**	**449**	**2,096**

To determine the prevalence of child labor, major sectors employing children, and the relationship to school attendance, a series of questions were placed on the monthly omnibus survey. They included some of the following:

- What is the furthest (the identified child) has advanced in school?;
- Is (the identified child) currently attending school?;
- When did (the identified child) quit school?;

- Does (the identified child) work, whether for himself or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?;
- When did (the identified child) start working, whether for himself or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?; and
- Please describe the main work in which (the identified child) is involved.

The tacked-on questions also gather demographics on the child, as well as a wide range of household demographics.

5.2.2.3 Four-Province Survey

The four-province survey constitutes the main data source for this study. This survey provides an estimate of the number of working children in urban and rural areas of Balkh, Kabul, Kandahar, and Nangarhar provinces, with a special focus on their capitals (Mazar-I-Sharif, Kabul City, Kandahar City, and Jalalabad respectively). The sample was distributed proportionally to geographic and residential characteristics of population per province. Within each province, districts were selected, listing them by size of population in descending order and then executing a step over from this list. Every sample location was split into male and female clusters of equal size. The following table presents the sample allocations by urban and rural setting in each of the four provinces.

Table 6: Four-Province Study–Household Interview Allocations

Urban

District (Province)	Number of Interviews
Kabul City (Kabul)	240
Kandahar City (Kandahar)	110
Jalalabad City (Nangarhar)	50
Mazar-I-Sharif (Balkh)	80
Balkh City (Balkh)	20
Total	**500**

Rural (Kabul Province)

District	Number of Interviews
Bagrami	10
Dah Sabz	10
Kalakan	10
Mirbachakot	10
Paghman	10
Qarabagh	10
Shaker Darah	10
Total	**70**

Rural (Kandahar Province)

District	Number of Interviews
Speen Boldak	30
Daman	20
Arghandab	20
Panjwayi	20
Arghestan	20
Zeri	20
Shah Wali Kott	10

District	Number of Interviews
Khak Reiz	10
Maiwand, replaced with Dand	10
Maiwand, replaced with Arghandab	10
Shorabak	10
Maroof	10
Total	**190**[125]

Rural (Nangarhar Province)

District	Number of Interviews
Surkhrod	40
Khogyani	40
Behsood	30
Chaparhar	20
Rodat	20
Kama	20
Achin	20
Shenwar	20
Bati Kot	20
Kooz Konar	10
Sheirzad	10
Total	**250**[126]

Rural (Balkh Province)

District	Number of Interviews
Balkh rural	35
Sholgara	25
Dehdadi	20
Nahri-I-shahi	20
Kholm	20
Shorteipa, replaced with Marmool	20
Dawlat Abad	20
Char Bolak	20
Chamtal	20
Total	**200**

Grand Total: 1,200[127]

The province-specific surveys of 300 interviews each allow for statistically representative information about self-reported child labor among households. Since households without children were not excluded from the sample, it also allows for statistically representative demographic and occupational data about the entire population in the four provinces. However, we did not enumerate every household in a province in a census-like manner, so the data on children working are projections based on what is reported in the household interviews. Besides this initial stratification by province in step one, the sampling methodology used was the same as the nationwide study. In order to adjust for the disproportion between the number of interviews assigned to each province and their actual population, we developed weights based on projected population figures from CSO.[128] We gave each interview a different weight by province and

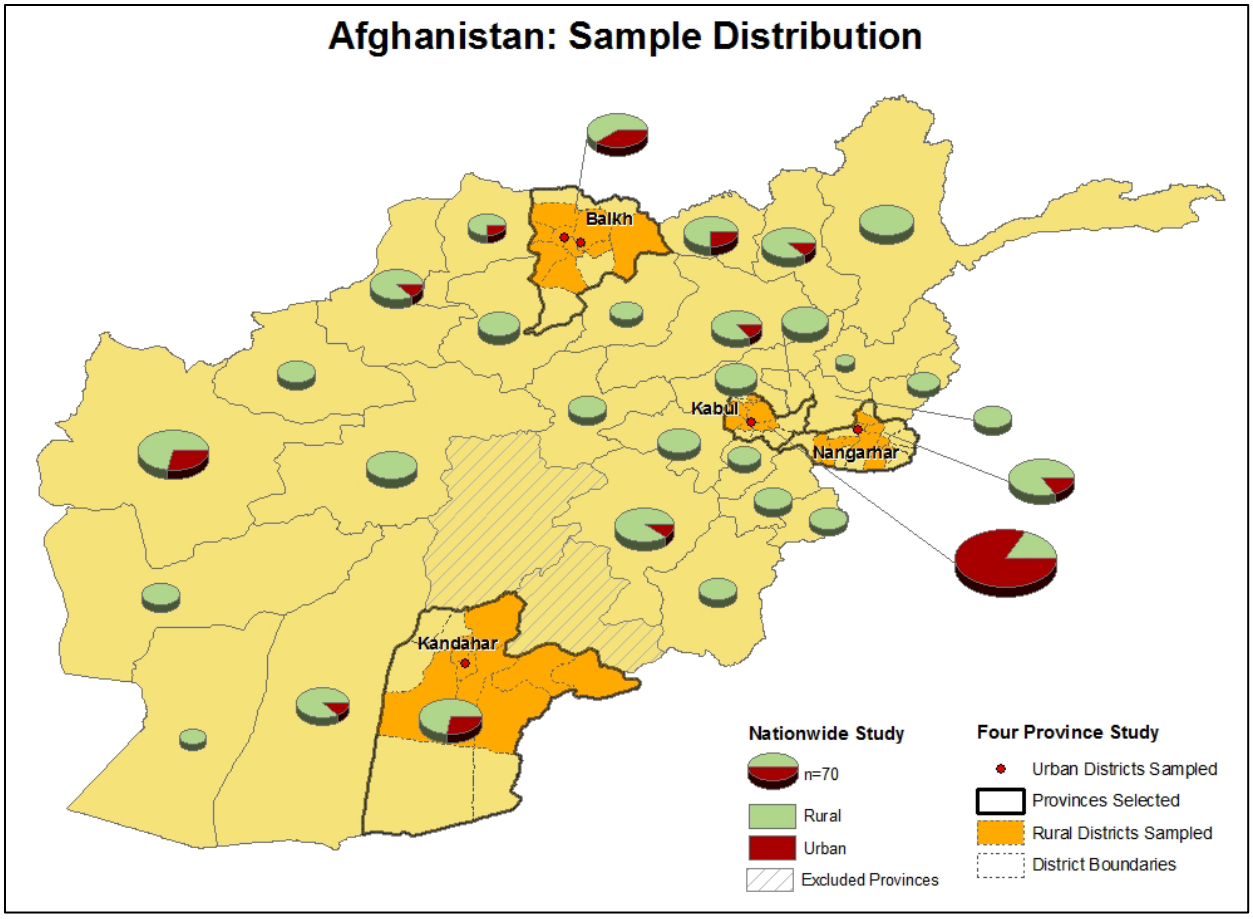
[125] The final number of interviews in rural Kandahar was 175 after completing the quality-control process.
[126] The final number of interviews in rural Nangarhar was 240 after completing the quality-control process.
[127] The final number of interviews was 1,165 after completing the quality-control process. Deviations by province and setting from the original sample were corrected during the weighting phase.
[128] Central Statistics Organization of Afghanistan. (2003). *Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook.* From http://www.cso-af.net/cso/documents/105Population.pdf.

setting (urban or rural), so that the final proportions reflect the actual population within each province or setting.

This study used a modified version of the National Child Labour Surveys (NCLSs) developed by the Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labor (SIMPOC), an agency within the ILO International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC). The SIMPOC survey is a complex survey that is administered in two parts: a household interview in which the most knowledgeable household member is asked general questions about the household and particular questions about every household member, and a child interview in which each child who worked in the last week is asked about him/herself. The final dataset therefore includes a much larger number of individuals (n=8,295) than households (n=1,165), with every individual nested within his/her specific household. While both surveys are geared toward assessing the frequency of occurrence and nature of the economic activity of children, they also cover the subjects of education, health, economic wellbeing, and noneconomic activity. The child and household surveys are similar and, for many items, virtually identical. The purpose of the redundancy is: (1) to capture similar data for adult residents over 17 years old, (2) to provide some reference data to assess the quality of data, and (3) to allow for some comparison between how children and adults respond.

The SIMPOC convention is to use the child interview data in most cases when examining issues related to the activities of children. However, only 65 percent of the children identified in the household module as working in the last week could be interviewed with the working children module.[129] This response rate somewhat undermines the representativeness of the child interviews and so, unless otherwise indicated, this report will default to the household portion of the survey for child-related results. Noteworthy differences between child and adult reports for those children for whom we collected data in both surveys will be nonetheless examined and reported.

[129] There were two main reasons behind this lower-than-expected response rate. First, not all families or children were willing to participate after the household interview was conducted. Some respondents grew wary of the interviewer's presence in the household and suspicious of their motivations for collecting so much information about the members of the family. Second, interviewing multiple children was not always possible due to time restraints in visiting some of the sampling points that had limited transportation options.



5.2.3 Four-Sector Working Children Interviews

Based on the findings of the nationwide and four-province surveys, we selected, in collaboration with USDOL-OCFT, four sectors of the economy where children are actively engaged in labor for study, namely agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and selling. The interviews included a combination of quantitative information (e.g., characteristics) and qualitative information (e.g., perceptions of work and conditions). Two hundred children were interviewed as part of this exercise using a quota sampling approach (50 per selected economic sector). The 200 in-depth interviews with children were evenly spread out among Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad, and Mazar-I-Sharif.[130] Sampling for this exercise was conducted in a nonrandom fashion in order to meet the quotas, so their results cannot be projected to the general population of children working in these four sectors. Quota sampling is justified by the low incidence of child labor in certain sectors. For example, considering the final estimate of children found in the construction sector, obtaining a sample of 50 interviews with children in this sector using a probabilistic approach would have required tripling the size of the sample of households in the four-province household study.

[130] The 50 interviews per sector amount to roughly 12 interviews per sector, per province.

The four-sector child interviews are customized to address sector-specific issues, such as activities carried out, materials used, and goods and services produced in each particular sector. The figures obtained from this study should be considered qualitatively, given that they are based on a nonprobabilistic sample.

5.3 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

All completed questionnaires were sent to the central offices of ACSOR in Kabul for editing and data processing. In addition to completeness and integrity of skip patterns, our subcontractor qualitatively examines other sources of error such as:

- Response-set behavior (automatically giving the same response to every question);
- Patterns of consistent responses across respondents within an interviewer's pool of respondents;
- Patterns of nonresponse of interviewers who have substantially higher average rates of nonresponse across their interviewer pools compared with their peers; and
- Productivity tests and diagnostics. Interviewers whose interviews are much shorter than the average or who complete many more interviews per day (generally measured in terms of one or two standard deviations above the norm) are singled out for management attention.

5.3.1 Data Quality Control

As a part of the standard quality control process, Macro conducts a number of data assessments using custom SPSS and Excel programs. Macro analysts examine all data received from the subcontractor to test for the following indicators of data integrity:

- Data completeness, as evidenced by the presence of all questions and response categories from the final fielded questionnaire;
- Duplicate records test;
- Thorough comparison of locations in the data with the sample plan;
- Item-by-item review of the data to verify labeling consistency between data variables and questionnaire items, as well as the presence of missing values or results out of the expected range;
- Questionnaire logic integrity tests. Many items in these questionnaires only apply to those who gave a specific response to a previous question. The logic of the questionnaire is tested by applying filters to the data that reproduce the skip patterns on the questionnaire to verify that filtered questions have been, in fact, responded to by those who are supposed to respond; and
- Qualitative assessment. Whether the data concord with a number of logical principles and universal demographic parameters (e.g., gender splits, maximum possible educational attainment by age, maximum number of interviews by interviewer, and day).

5.3.2 Analysis

The objective of this study is to collect information on the incidence and nature of child labor in Afghanistan, with a focus on four specific economic sectors (agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling) and four specific provinces (Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar). The analysis of the data collected is structured in the same way: Each section first presents a nationwide overview of a particular aspect of child labor, and then focuses on the four specific provinces and sectors. Given that separate customized studies were conducted in order to have accurate measurements at multiple levels, different samples will be referenced depending on the level of analysis.

Chart 1: List of Studies and Their Level of Analysis

Study	Level of Analysis
Nationwide Household Study	National Profile
Four-Province Study	1. Household and Child Profiles in Four Provinces 2. Subjective Working Children Self-Reports
Four-Province Household Study ⇩ Four-Province Working Children Interviews	1. Household and Child Profiles in Four Provinces 2. Subjective Working Children Self-Reports
Four-Sector Child Interviews	Four-Sector Profiles

The analysis included in this report is of a descriptive nature. Data are presented in frequency tables and cross-tabulations of specific child labor variables and other variables of interest, such as location, gender, age, or economic sector. The bases under each table identify the specific study and population referenced by the table.

5.4 LIMITATIONS

As with any survey-based research, this study has a number of limitations associated with its particular design, as well as an additional set of constraints imposed by the research environment. Although the former are a given, the latter have exceptional relevance in a country as complex and difficult as Afghanistan.

5.4.1 Design-Based Limitations

This study cannot establish causal relations between any of the variables measured. Its observational design allows for the generation of detailed descriptive profiles, particularly of child workers in Balkh, Kabul, Kandahar, and Nangarhar provinces; however, no causal relationship between child labor and any other variable can be inferred from the data. With nonexperimental designs in general, and survey data in particular, causal directions can only be hypothesized, based on theoretical and logical assumptions.

The fact that data were collected sequentially at different levels offered many advantages from a planning perspective, allowing for the adjustment of the research objectives at the next level based on data collected previously. It nonetheless presents one disadvantage from an analysis perspective: The study deviates from a cross-sectional design, and therefore the effect of time needs to be estimated when comparing different studies. While the nationwide survey was

fielded between December 11 and 23, 2006, the four-province household and child interviews were fielded between April 14 and June 2, 2007, and the four-sector child interviews between May 1 and May 31, 2007. This has direct implications in terms of the comparability of data from different studies, with possible complications, such as the existence of seasonal effects on child labor rates. Time can also have many more indirect and subtle influences on the study variables, either through cyclical (e.g., school year, climate, daylight hours) or noncyclical factors (e.g., sociopolitical events, economic trends).

Finally, the particular sampling strategy used creates additional design limitations. While multistage cluster sampling uses resources more efficiently than simple random sampling, it may create design effects depending on the homogeneity within and between clusters. Human populations tend to cluster based on their similarity on a number of social parameters. As a consequence, individuals tend to be more similar to others within their group than to individuals in other groups or clusters. This increases the margin of error obtained from such design beyond that obtained from a simple random sample. Multistage cluster sampling nonetheless offers a valid probabilistic alternative to simple random sampling in real-life situations, where the resources available are finite.

5.4.2 External Limitations

The first obvious limitation for the nationwide study was the exclusion of two provinces (Urusgan and Zabul) due to security concerns. For the four-province survey, there were also three sampling points that had to be replaced due to security concerns in Kandahar and Balkh.

The second main limitation was underreporting of female children in both the national and four-province surveys. The national survey was slightly skewed with 44.5 percent of children (5 to 17 years old) being female, while the four-province survey resulted in a sample of children that was only 38 percent female (though it was less distorted for adults, who were 45.1 percent female). There are cultural reasons that might explain this bias. Afghan families keep information about girls in the family private. Seemingly innocent incidents can be enough to destroy a girl's honor, and families are very protective. According to our field team, the nationwide survey asked fewer questions and was much less intrusive. As a result, respondents probably felt less guarded. The household study was very invasive by Afghan standards. It is likely that adult respondents wanted to protect the privacy of girls in the family, especially those aged 12 to 17 who might be married off soon. With dowries being several times the size of annual salaries, families often do everything they can not to jeopardize this potential windfall for the family through a careless mistake, which could dishonor the girl and cause the arrangement to fall apart. All issues concerning women in Afghanistan can face these challenges, but especially the kind of personal family details the project questionnaires aimed to collect.

6. PROFILE OF THE CHILDREN WORKING IN SELECTED SECTORS

6.1 RESEARCH MEASUREMENT ISSUES

6.1.1 Measuring Work

Work was measured in two different ways in this study. In the short national survey, work was measured in one question designed to capture as much of the concept of work as possible:

> *Does (name) work cultivating or harvesting agricultural products, catch or gather fish, prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale, sell articles, newspapers, drinks, or food, repair tools or equipment, etc., whether for him- or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?*

Timeframe was then determined with a follow-up question:

> *When did the child last work, whether for him- or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?*

For the four-province survey, a battery of questions originally designed for ILO's SIMPOC surveys was used. This battery of questions measures work with three- or four-part questions designed to capture information on all children who work, whether in a traditional sense, in an employee/employer relationship, or in a more informal capacity, such as unpaid work for a family business (Table 7). These questions were asked about work conducted in the past week and in the past year. The fourth question was not used for the annual measure.

Table 7: Survey Questions

Question	Categories
During the last 7 days, did you work?	1. Yes—working. 2. No.
Since last (day of the week) did you undertake any activity for:	1. Payment in cash? 2. Payment in kind? 3. Own account? 4. Own enterprise? 5. A family member without pay? } working 6. No.
[If none] Since last (day of the week) did you undertake any of the following activities?	1. Cultivate or harvest agricultural products, catch/gather fish or seafood, or perform mining activities? 2. Prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale? 3. Sell articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products? 4. Wash, iron, clean, or repair tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind? 5. Maintain or repair boats? 6. Transport goods to market or for storage, or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale? 7. Carry out construction or maintenance of buildings, homes, or boats for someone else? 8. Other similar activities? } working 9. No.

Question	Categories
Even if you were not working since last (day of the week), did you have a job, business, or enterprise from which you were temporarily absent?	1. Yes—working. 2. No.

6.2 PROFILE OF WORKING CHILDREN

6.2.1 Percentage of Children Working

In this study, a nationally representative survey conducted in December 2006 indicates that 24.2 percent of children aged 5 to 17 had worked in the past week. This figure is based on a one-survey item rather than the more comprehensive four-question battery outlined above that is used in the other data reported in this paper.[131] It may be understated because of the high rate (4.6 percent) of refusals and nonresponse. If the nonrespondents are excluded from the denominator, the figure increases to 25.2 percent. About 1 in 4 children between the ages of 5 and 17 in Afghanistan worked during the last week preceding the survey. Given the prevailing demographic structure of the country, the total number of children currently working is estimated to be 2.27 million.[132] When the time horizon is extended to 1 year, the percentage of children working in Afghanistan increases to 27.2 percent (28.3 percent if nonresponse is excluded).

Table 8: Child Work in Afghanistan: Worked Last Week by Region

Region	Worked Last Week	Don't Know or Refused	Estimated Number of Working Children	% Working Child Population
Central/Kabul	17.9%	6.8%	319,781	18.9%
Eastern	19.1%	5.6%	177,023	11.8%
South Central	19.4%	7.6%	267,928	12.4%
Southwestern	23.3%	3.9%	178,044	9.3%
Western[133]	41.9%	3.3%	456,950	10.4%
Northern	24.3%	1.9%	668,533	30.6%
Central/Hazarjat	33.9%	5.8%	198,071	6.5%
Total	**24.2%**	**4.6%**	**2,266,329**	**100.0%**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

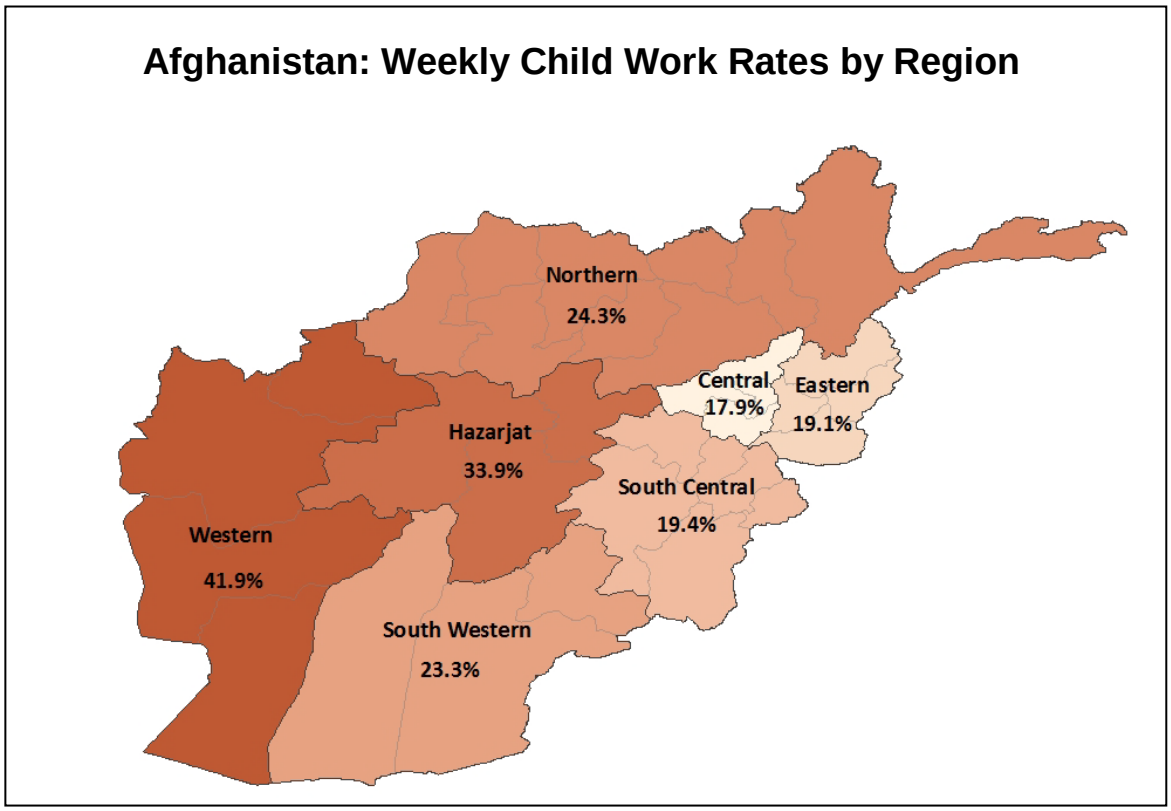
Depending on the region under consideration, the prevalence of child labor in Afghanistan ranges from 18 percent to 42 percent. Western and Southwestern regions have the highest prevalence rates (33.1 percent). These regions account only for about 19.7 percent of the population of Afghanistan and 26.9 percent of the working children. Central/Kabul, Eastern, and

[131] Unlike the more detailed four-province household survey, the nationwide household survey is not based on the SIMPOC methodology for identifying child work. It relies on one straight question: "Does (name) work cultivating or harvesting agricultural products; catch or gather fish; prepare food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale; sell articles, newspapers, drinks, or food; repair tools or equipment; etc., whether for himself or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?" The timing of the work is assessed with a follow-up question: "When did the child last work, whether for himself or herself, an employer, or a family farm or business?"

[132] This estimate excludes two provinces that were not included in the sample due to security concerns. If the work rates in the Western region prevailed in these 2 provinces, the total population of working children would be 2,366,434.

[133] Excludes Zabul and Urozgan, which were not included due to security concerns.

South Central regions have the lowest child work rates (18.7 percent combined), but account for one third of working children.



Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Weekly work rates in the four-province study conducted in late April through early June 2007 are considerably higher in these four provinces compared with the national data from December 2006, for which the combined weekly work rate for children, based on 1,660 cases, was measured at 15.5 percent (16.1 percent if nonrespondents are excluded). Nangarhar province, the province with the highest weekly child work rates in the four-province survey (31.7 percent), is in the Eastern region, where one of the lowest child work rates was found in the national survey (19.1 percent). Kabul province has the lowest child work rates in the four-province study (22.9 percent).

Table 9: Child Work Rates in Four Selected Provinces: Worked in Past Week

Province	Region	Reported Percentage	Calculated Using SIMPOC Methodology*	Additional Working Children Identified with Child Screener[134]	Estimated Number of Children[135]
Kabul	Central/Kabul	21.6%	22.4%	22.9%	379,622
Nangarhar	Eastern	30.5%	30.6%	31.7%	214,568
Balkh	South Central	25.2%	25.9%	26.9%	161,965
Kandahar	Southwestern	27.8%	27.9%	28.5%	162,573
Total	**N/A**	**24.9%**	**25.5%**	**26.2%**	**918,728**

* Includes those temporarily absent from work. Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Table 10: Child Work Rates in Four Selected Provinces: Worked in Past 12 Months

Province	Region	Reported Percentage	Calculated Using SIMPOC Methodology	Additional Working Children Identified with Child Screener	Estimated Number of Children
Kabul	Central/Kabul	22.8%	22.8%	23.1%	383,114
Nangarhar	Eastern	31.6%	31.7%	32.4%	219,819
Balkh	South Central	27.1%	27.1%	27.3%	164,047
Kandahar	Southwestern	29.0%	29.0%	29.3%	167,283
Total	**N/A**	**26.2%**	**26.3%**	**26.76%**	**934,263**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There are a number of reasons explaining the differences between the work rates based on the four-province work rates and work rates based on the national survey. First, the proportion of children in the four-province data is disproportionately less female (see box below). If the child sample for the four-province survey was balanced to match the household data, the overall work rate of children in the 4 provinces would decline to 25.1 percent—almost precisely the national average with nonrespondents removed (25.2 percent). Another reason may be seasonality. In the four-province data, there is only a 0.8 percent difference between weekly and annual work rates, which is an indication that the survey took place during a peak of child labor during the year. This seasonality hypothesis is corroborated in interviews with working children within the four provinces. Based on 641 child interviews in the four-province survey, 70 percent of children work at their current job for 2 months or less throughout the year (a full discussion of seasonality is available in section 6.3.3). Some of the difference may also be due to how and in what context the questions were asked. The more comprehensive battery of questions used in the four-province survey is designed to capture economic activities that might not be considered work

[134] For the follow-up child interviews in the four-province household study, eligible children were screened to ascertain their working status. Eligibility was based on their being identified as working by the most knowledgeable member of the household or as evidenced by the interviewer's observations. The screening process identified a small additional number of working children.

[135] Estimates based on 2005 to 2006 estimates of total population of provinces provided by the Central Statistics Office of Afghanistan (CSO).

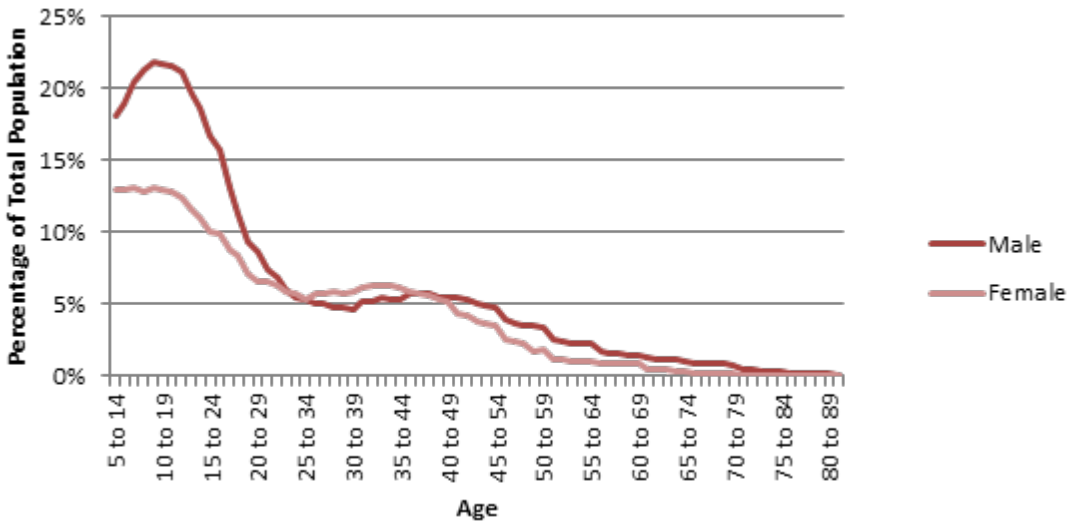
using a simple one question design.[136] The context of the four-province survey may also affect estimates, but in the other direction. There is evidence that the invasive nature of the survey may have lowered estimates of economic activity, in particular for girls (see box below).

Afghan Culture and the Underestimation of Working Girls

It is difficult in countries such as Afghanistan to gather accurate information about women in general, and young women and girls in particular. The problems lie in the cultural context of a patriarchal society with a concept of honor that is extremely sensitive about its female members. This is particularly the case with girls as they approach the age to be married. With dowries being several times the sizes of annual salaries, families often do everything they can to avoid jeopardizing this potential windfall for the family through a careless mistake that could dishonor the girl. The result is that, in household studies, girls are often undercounted and it is anticipated that even when counted, some information about the activities of girls may be withheld.

Despite well-trained local interview teams that are sensitive to the local culture, there is evidence that, as in both the national and four-province surveys, there is an underreporting of girls in the sample. The national survey that was much less intrusive was slightly skewed, with 44.5 percent of children (5 through 17 years old) being female. Projections from the Afghan CSO put the figure at 48.3 percent in 2002. The four-province survey was much more intrusive and resulted in a sample of children that was only 38.0 percent female (though less distorted for adults, which were 45.1 percent female). The graphic below shows the moving average (grouped by 10-year age groups) of males and females in the final sample, showing a clear male bias for the younger age groups (under 25 years old).

Percentage of Total Sample by Gender in 10-Year Age Groups



[136] The additional questions and the screening of children not identified by the household survey account for 1.3 percentage points of the weekly work rate in the four-province survey. The national survey question was designed to capture as much as it could in one question.

6.2.1.1 Estimating Potential Survey Error

The sampling methodology used in this survey is quite complex. The sample was designed to maximize the accuracy of estimates in an environment of limited information and finite budget constraints. The complexity, however, makes it very difficult to calculate margins of error for estimates produced. Furthermore, unlike simpler samples, margins of error must be calculated for each variable of interest separately. It is therefore impossible to calculate a one-size-fits-all margin of error (e.g., +/- 4 percent) that can be used throughout the report.

The problem rests in two issues. First, the cluster design changes the unit of analysis from individuals or households to cluster, changing the calculations from simple proportions to ratios. Secondly, to generate such an estimate, it is necessary to estimate the variance of the measure of interest within the population. Since nothing is known about the population variance beforehand, sample variance is used. This may be problematic since some design effects might reduce the sample variance and thus underestimate margins of error.

It is also important to note that, in difficult research environments such as Afghanistan, nonstatistical error may also play a role. Nonsampling error occurs in all surveys (primarily due to nonresponse). In difficult environments such as Afghanistan, problems can multiply. For instance, while every effort has been made to select a sample probabilistically, the lack of available data in Afghanistan makes it impossible to ensure equal probability of selection of primary sample units. Other problems can be cultural. One problem encountered in Afghanistan is the underreporting of young girls. If work rates for girls are not also underreported, estimates of overall child labor rates may be overestimated. While one can postulate about the direction and magnitude of nonsampling error, it is impossible to quantify this potential error.

6.2.1.2 Estimated Margins of Error

The purpose of this section is to estimate the margin of error for key variables—particularly for child work rates in the national survey and the four-province survey. Calculations are based on ratio estimates (working children to total children) that are calculated for each stratum. Estimated variance is then pooled to generate estimates for the larger area (i.e., Afghanistan and the four provinces).

National Survey

In the national data, variance was calculated for urban and rural strata for each region—South Central and Central/Hazarjat only had rural samples. Margins of error varied across regions due to differences in sample size and high variation among clusters. The results indicate that, for the national estimates of child work rates (24.2 percent), the margin of error is +/- 2.3 percent at a 95 percent confidence interval. If the sample was a simple random sample of children, the expected margin of error would be +/- 1.3 percent—indicating a 1 percentage point design effect in the sample. This margin of error implies that between 2,050,385 and 2,482,273 children are working in Afghanistan.

Table 11: Margin of Error Estimates for Child Labor Rates–Afghanistan by Region

Region	Child Work Rate	Margin of Error	Number of Working Children	Margin of Error
Central/Kabul	17.9%	±4.8%	319,781	±85,045
Eastern	19.1%	±8.6%	177,023	±79,434
South Central	19.4%	±5.0%	267,928	±69,227
Southwestern	23.3%	±5.9%	178,044	±45,298
Western[137]	41.9%	±8.9%	456,950	±96,577
Northern	24.3%	±4.9%	668,533	±135,732
Central/Hazarjat	33.9%	±10.0%	198,071	±58,571
Total	**24.2%**	**±2.3%**	**2,266,329**	**±215,944**

Four-Province Survey

For the four-province survey, data were separated into eight strata—urban and rural in each of the four provinces. In this survey, the smaller and less diverse populations within strata resulted in lower estimated variances—in turn producing lower margins of error. Margins of error for each of the provinces range from 3.4 to 3.8 percent—very close to the 3.2 to 3.3 percent that would have resulted from a simple random sample. Combined, the sample shows a minimal sample design effect of 0.3 percentage points. The child work rate for the 4 provinces combined (26.2 percent) is +/- 1.9 percent at a 95 percent confidence interval, making the estimated number of working children in the 4 provinces between 850,655 and 986,779.

Table 12: Margin of Error Estimates for Child Labor Estimates–Four-Province Survey

Province	Region	Child Work Rate	Margin of Error	Number of Working Children	Margin of Error
Kabul	Central/Kabul	22.9%	±3.4%	379,622	±56,489
Nangarhar	Eastern	31.7%	±3.8%	214,568	±25,549
Balkh	South Central	26.9%	±3.8%	161,965	±23,097
Kandahar	Southwestern	28.5%	±3.5%	162,573	±19,867
Total	**N/A**	**26.2%**	**±1.9%**	**918,728**	**±68,062**

6.2.2 Sociodemographic Characteristics of Working Children

6.2.2.1 Sex of Working Children

Gender is a strong indicator of the likelihood that a child will work in Afghanistan. The cultural particularities of Afghanistan place many restrictions on female participation in economic activities, and child work is not an exception. According to the national data, girls are less than half as likely to work as boys (12.4 percent as compared with 33.7 percent)—a difference that persists across all age groups. Boys and girls are much closer, however, in their likelihood to be working and not attending school—a result of much lower school attendance rates among girls.

[137] Excludes Zabul and Urozgan, which were not included due to security concerns.

Table 13: National Weekly Child Work Rates by Gender

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children Population	Sample Size
Male	33.7%	8.5%	62.3%	2,938
Female	12.4%	6.4%	37.8%	2,357
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Despite generally higher child work rates measured in the four-province survey, the work rate for girls appears to be less than one third of the rate measured in the national survey for girls (4 percent as compared with 12.4 percent). Some of this difference appears to be specific to the four targeted provinces. The results from the national survey indicate that, within the four provinces, the work rate for girls is less than half the national average (5.6 percent). While national data show similar rates of working and not going to school for boys and girls, the four-province data show that boys are much more likely to be working and not attending school than girls.

While the work rates of girls are consistent between the national and four-province survey, the gender makeup of the four-province survey appears skewed with an underrepresentation of girls. The national survey indicates that more than one third (37.8 percent) of working children are girls; for the four-province survey, the figure is 5.9 percent. While lower work rates in the selected province will lower the proportion of girls in the population of child workers, some of the difference is due to an overall underrepresentation of girls in the sample (see box above). If the population is adjusted to make up for this difference, the proportion of girls goes up to 7.4 percent across the 4 selected provinces—a figure which is still substantially lower than the 16 percent recorded for the 4 provinces from the national survey.

Table 14: Child Work by Gender in Four Selected Provinces

Kabul

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Male	35.5%	8.0%	93.3%	533
Female	3.9%	1.5%	6.7%	343
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Male	47.6%	11.9%	96.1%	593
Female	3.4%	1.9%	3.9%	331
Total	**31.7%**	**8.4%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Male	40.3%	7.5%	92.3%	536
Female	5.4%	0.6%	7.7%	333
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Male	44.4%	19.2%	95.0%	528
Female	3.6%	2.7%	5.0%	335
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Gender	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Male	40.2%	10.5%	94.1%	2,190
Female	4.0%	1.6%	5.9%	1,342
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.2.2 Age of Working Children

Age is also strongly related to child work in Afghanistan. Work rates across both genders increase substantially between each subsequent older age group. The weekly work rates for the youngest cohort (5 through 8 years of age) is 4.4 percent—a figure that is weighted down by scarcely measurable work rates for children 5 and 6 years old (0.7 percent). Work rates are particularly high for those 13 years or older (47 percent). Work rates for this age group are particularly high for boys (62 percent). As a group, these older boys account for nearly half (48.8 percent) of all working children and nearly two thirds (63.1 percent) of working boys.

Age is similarly related to working and not attending school. While those who are 15 through 17 years old make up 45 percent of working children, they represent 53.8 percent of those who are working and not in school.

Table 15: Child Work by Age in National Survey

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children Population	Sample Size
5 thru 8	4.4%	1.4%	6.5%	1,884
9 thru 12	23.2%	5.9%	30.5%	1,688
13 thru 14	37.0%	9.4%	18.1%	627
15 thru 17	52.6%	19.6%	45.0%	1,096
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Rates at which children participate in economic activities are fairly consistent across the four target provinces and relative to the national survey. Despite above-average work rates, Balkh has the lowest incidence of children 5 through 8 years old who are working (1.6 percent)—Nangarhar and Kandahar have marginally higher work rates for this age group (5.2 percent and 4.3 percent respectively).

The work rates of boys across age groups in the four-province survey are nearly identical to the national figures. This supports the hypothesis that the higher work rates in the four-province

survey are primarily due to the skewed gender balance of the sample. Nangarhar is the target province with the highest work rates among younger boys.

Table 16: Child Work by Age in Four Selected Provinces

Kabul

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
5 thru 8	3.1%	2.3%	3.7%	238
9 thru 12	17.6%	2.9%	22.5%	258
13 thru 14	25.8%	1.3%	18.3%	142
15 thru 17	46.4%	13.6%	55.5%	238
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
5 thru 8	5.2%	2.5%	4.2%	238
9 thru 12	24.9%	6.7%	23.4%	275
13 thru 14	41.6%	4.6%	22.9%	161
15 thru 17	58.1%	17.9%	49.4%	250
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
5 thru 8	1.6%	0.4%	1.7%	245
9 thru 12	21.6%	2.4%	23.0%	248
13 thru 14	34.2%	2.8%	20.8%	143
15 thru 17	54.6%	13.3%	54.5%	233
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
5 thru 8	4.3%	3.5%	4.7%	272
9 thru 12	21.0%	7.7%	24.2%	283
13 thru 14	48.1%	21.3%	24.0%	123
15 thru 17	62.6%	28.5%	47.1%	185
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Age	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
5 thru 8	3.4%	2.3%	3.6%	993
9 thru 12	20.3%	4.4%	23.1%	1,064
13 thru 14	33.7%	5.1%	20.8%	569
15 thru 17	52.3%	16.4%	52.4%	906
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.2.3 Geographic Setting

Nationally, 81.3 percent of working children in Afghanistan reside in rural areas. While the work rates for children from the rural areas is only marginally above the national rate, it is much higher than the rate for nonrural children (20.9 percent)—a figure that is brought down by low work rates in Kabul (15.2 percent). The cities[138] in our sample have the highest work rates for children (28.3 percent). For girls, the highest work rates are in the rural villages (13.5 percent) and declines in each stage of increased urbanity.

The incidence of children who are working and not going to school decreases as the geographic setting becomes more urban. In the rural villages, 9 percent of children are working and not attending school—a figure that represents 93.3 percent of children in this situation nationally.

Table 17: Child Work by Geographic Setting

Geographic Setting	Type	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children Population	Sample Size
Villages	Rural	25.2%	9.0%	81.3%	4,146
Towns	Urban	26.6%	4.5%	3.2%	154
Cities	Urban	28.3%	2.7%	8.1%	368
Kabul	Urban	15.2%	1.6%	7.4%	627
Total	**Urban**	**20.9%**	**2.3%**	**18.7%**	**1,149**
Total	**Rural & Urban**	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

In highly urban Kabul and highly rural Nangarhar, work rates are substantially higher for rural children. The difference is highest in Nangarhar, where one third (33.2 percent) of children work in rural areas, as compared with just over one fifth (21.5 percent) in urban areas. In Kabul, the difference is slightly smaller (29.1 percent as compared with 21.6 percent), but unlike in Nangarhar, part of this difference is due to a relatively small number of girls in the rural Kabul sample, which artificially inflates the numbers. While Balkh and Kandahar have fairly even work rates for urban and rural, the totals for the four provinces show that children in rural areas have a greater likelihood of working. There is no measured difference between urban and rural work rates of girls in the four-province data.

In the 4 selected provinces, rural children combined are only marginally more likely to be working and not attending school (8.1 percent as compared with 6.1 percent)—a difference that is relatively small compared with the national figures. In Kandahar, interestingly, urban children are more likely to be working and not going to school compared with their rural counterparts.

[138] Those with a population over 100,000, other than Kabul, are: Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mazar-I-Sharif, and Balkh City.

Table 18: Child Work by Geographic Setting in Four Selected Provinces

Kabul

Setting	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Rural	29.1%	6.6%	22.3%	196
Urban	21.6%	5.1%	77.7%	680
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Setting	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Rural	33.2%	8.9%	90.8%	752
Urban	21.5%	4.1%	9.2%	172
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Setting	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Rural	26.8%	4.8%	68.0%	609
Urban	27.3%	5.0%	32.0%	260
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Setting	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Rural	28.2%	11.4%	67.1%	568
Urban	29.2%	15.6%	32.9%	295
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Setting	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Rural	29.8%	8.1%	54.3%	2,125
Urban	23.0%	6.1%	45.7%	1,407
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.2.4 Ethnicity

According to the national survey, children from Afghanistan's largest ethnic group, the Pashtun, have substantially lower work rates than other ethnic groups, with 21.6 percent of Pashtun children working as compared with 26.3 percent for all other ethnic groups. The Turkmen and Uzbeks of the Northern regions of the country have the highest child work rates (36 percent and 32.8 percent respectively), followed by the primarily Shi'i Muslim Hazara from the center of the country. There is a slightly higher work rate among children who are not from the dominant ethnic group in the region where they live (26.1 percent as compared with 23.1 percent). This is not, however, the case for Pashtun children living in non-Pashtun regions. For Tajik children,

work rates are much higher for children in non-Tajik regions (32.1 percent as compared with 21.3 percent).

One in 5 children in Turkmen households (20.2 percent) is working while not attending school—the highest rate of any ethnic group measured. Uzbek children have roughly half the amount of children working (10.2 percent) and not attending school, followed by Pashtun children (9.2 percent), who had the lowest measured overall work rate.

Table 19: Child Work by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size
Pashtun	21.6%	9.2%	38.8%	2,310
Tajik	23.9%	4.8%	33.6%	1,800
Hazara	29.1%	4.8%	11.8%	523
Uzbek	32.8%	10.2%	10.8%	421
Turkmen	36.0%	20.2%	3.2%	114
Other	18.1%	7.1%	1.8%	127
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

6.2.2.5 Language

While the four-province study did not ask respondents for their ethnicity, the language of the interview was recorded. While the Pashtun people are the largest ethnicity, Dari, an Afghan dialect of Persian that is spoken throughout most of the northern two thirds of the country, is the primary language of half of the population.[139] Interestingly, while the Pashtun have lower work rates than non-Pashtuns in the national survey, those who speak Pashto have higher work rates in the four-province survey. This is probably due to lower work rates in Kabul, which has a sizable population of Dari-speaking Pashtuns. Similar to the ethnicity data, the four-province data show a small but statistically insignificant difference between the work rates of children whose families speak a language different from the dominant language within their home province (29 percent as compared with 26.1 percent). A similar effect is seen in the rate at which children work and do not attend school.

Table 20: Child Work by Language of Interview in Four Target Provinces

Kabul

Language of Interview	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Pashto	29.4%	17.6%	2.0%	17
Dari	22.8%	5.2%	98.0%	859
Other	n/a	n/a	0.0%	-
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

[139] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2008). World factbook. From https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html.

Nangarhar

Language of Interview	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Pashto	31.4%	8.5%	92.4%	863
Dari	34.4%	4.9%	7.6%	61
Other	n/a	n/a	0.0%	-
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Language of Interview	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Pashto	27.3%	0.0%	2.5%	22
Dari	27.5%	5.1%	97.5%	829
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Language of Interview	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Pashto	28.3%	12.5%	95.3%	827
Dari	33.6%	19.4%	4.7%	36
Other	n/a	n/a	0.0%	-
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Language of Interview	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Pashto	29.9%	10.4%	39.7%	1,729
Dari	24.4%	5.3%	60.3%	1,785
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3532**
Minority Language	**29.0%**	**9.1%**	**13.4%**	**154**
Majority Language	**26.1%**	**7.0%**	**86.6%**	**3,378**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.3 Business Sectors and Occupation

6.2.3.1 Business Sectors

Agriculture, selling, artisanship, and manufacturing are the four main economic sectors employing children in Afghanistan as a whole, accounting for four in five child workers nationwide. Agriculture is the industry that has the largest share of child workers in the country (22 percent), followed closely by street/bazaar selling and artisanship (both 20 percent), and manufacturing (17 percent).

Table 21: Child's Industry by Gender

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	26.0%	7.9%	21.9%
Street/Bazaar Selling	25.1%	2.7%	20.0%
Artisanship	15.5%	33.2%	19.6%

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Manufacturing	9.9%	41.1%	17.0%
Repair/Maintenance	8.0%	0.7%	6.3%
Manual Labor	3.7%	8.2%	4.8%
Stockbreeding	3.6%	1.4%	3.1%
Service Industry	2.9%	0.0%	2.3%
Retail Shop Selling	2.5%	0.3%	2.0%
Construction	0.8%	0.0%	0.6%
Other	0.5%	0.7%	0.5%
Refused/Don't Know	1.3%	3.8%	1.9%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Female and male working children cluster in different industries. While three out of four females work in either artisanship or manufacturing, one in two males work in agriculture or street/ bazaar selling.

The data obtained from the main sectors employing children within the 4 provinces resemble the data obtained at the national level, with 4 sectors (selling, agriculture, manufacturing, and other service activities) accounting for 9 out of 10 working children. There are great differences in the distribution of children by industries across provinces. Working children in Kabul, as a mostly urban economy, tend to be in the selling sector (wholesale and retail trade) and other service activities (35 and 31 percent respectively), with a relatively low proportion in agriculture (14 percent). On the other hand, children in Nangarhar, and to a lesser extent in Kandahar, work predominantly in agriculture (43 and 30 percent respectively). Balkh is more mixed, with a relatively even distribution across the three main sectors (agriculture, manufacturing, and selling).

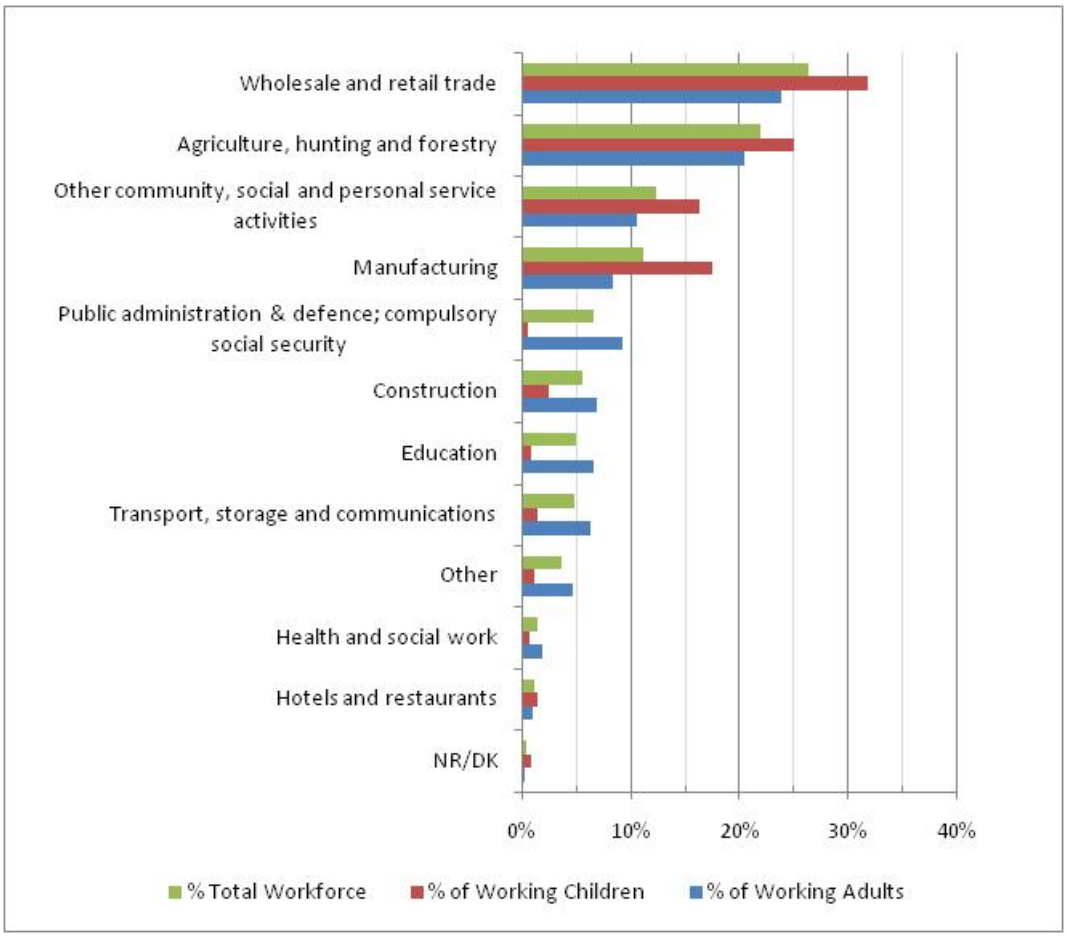
Table 22: Child's Industry in Four Selected Provinces

Industry	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	35.4%	28.5%	31.4%	28.1%	31.8%
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	14.3%	43.5%	21.2%	30.0%	25.1%
Manufacturing	12.4%	13.0%	30.8%	21.9%	17.5%
Other community, social, and personal service activities	31.1%	3.9%	7.1%	7.5%	16.3%
Construction	1.1%	3.9%	2.6%	3.8%	2.5%
Transport, storage, and communications	0.0%	1.9%	1.3%	4.4%	1.5%
Hotels and restaurants	1.1%	1.4%	1.3%	1.9%	1.3%
Education	1.1%	1.0%	0.6%	0.6%	0.9%
Real estate, renting, and business activities	1.1%	0.5%	0.0%	0.6%	0.7%
Health and social work	1.1%	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	0.7%
Public administration and defense, and compulsory social security	0.8%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.4%
Other	0.5%	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
DK/NR	0.0%	1.4%	1.9%	0.6%	0.8%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

A comparison of the proportion of working adults and children in each industry shows that some industries occupy a greater share of working children than working adults. More specifically, selling, agriculture, manufacturing, and other service activities are not only the main economic sectors in terms of overall employment, but they also attract a greater proportion of working children than working adults. The proportion of working children in manufacturing, in particular, dwarfs the proportion of working adults (17.3 and 8.5 percent respectively). On the other hand, more formal sectors, such as public administration or education, have an almost exclusively adult workforce. Construction, which is the sixth most important sector in terms of total workforce within the 4 provinces, employs a relatively small number of children (only 2.5 percent of all working children).

Chart 2: Distribution of Adult and Child Workers per Industry in Four Selected Provinces



Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) and 1,995 adults (18 years old and older) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week.

Given the differences in population by province, selling in Kabul is, in absolute terms, the sector that employs the most children, accounting for approximately 15 percent of the total number of children who worked in the last week in all 4 provinces, followed closely by "other service activities" in Kabul (13 percent of working children). Agriculture in Nangarhar comes in third, accounting for 10 percent of working children.

Within the four provinces, manufacturing is the sector with the greatest prevalence of child work.[140] On average, 1 in 2 manufacturing workers (48.4 percent) is a child, although in Kabul, this proportion is even higher (61.3 percent), with children making up almost two thirds of the workforce. "Other service activities," hotels, and restaurants are the next sectors with the greatest prevalence of child labor. Hotels and restaurants, though, only employ 1.1 percent of the total active workforce in these 4 provinces, so the actual number of working children in this sector is relatively small. Selling and agriculture have a slightly lower prevalence of child labor (37 and 35 percent respectively) but, as mentioned above, they have much greater importance in absolute numbers.

Table 23: Prevalence of Child Work by Industry in Four Selected Provinces

Industry	Percent Children	Sample Size
Manufacturing	48.4%	398
Other community, social, and personal service activities	40.7%	262
Hotels and restaurants	38.7%	32
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	37.4%	642
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	35.4%	777
Real estate, renting, and business activities	31.6%	18
Health and social work	14.3%	36
Construction	13.8%	168
Transport, storage, and communications	9.4%	139
Education	5.7%	125
Other	14.8%	29

Base: n=2,936 persons who worked in the last week, regardless of age. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.3.2 Types of Occupations

As a mostly agricultural economy, it is not surprising that a majority (21 percent) of child workers in Afghanistan carry out farming-related activities, with an additional 4 percent dedicated specifically to shepherding. Shop keeping is the second most common occupation, followed by a number of craft occupations (typically at the apprentice level), such as tailoring, carpet weaving, mechanics, and carpentry. A clearly defined pattern is the division of labor by gender. These occupational differences are based on cultural norms dictating that females cannot leave the household unless they have explicit permission from their father or husband and are accompanied by a man. This limits the number of occupations most girls can select to only those that can be performed inside the household, such as tailoring and carpet weaving, which occupy two in three working girls. On the other hand, outdoor occupations are carried out mostly by male children, with activities such as farming and shop keeping occupying almost half of all working boys.

[140] Prevalence of child work by industry is defined as the number of working children over the total number of workers in a given industry.

Table 24: Child's Occupation by Sex and Industry

Agriculture

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Farmer	25.6%	6.5%	21.3%
Shepherd	4.1%	2.1%	3.7%

Street/Bazaar Setting

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Shopkeeper[141]	22.3%	1.7%	17.6%
Seller of mobile phone sets	2.1%	0.3%	1.7%

Manufacturing/Artisanship

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Tailor student	8.0%	32.5%	13.6%
Carpet weaving	3.2%	30.5%	9.4%
Mechanic student	5.3%	0.3%	4.2%
Carpenter student	0.8%	7.5%	2.3%
Embroiderer	2.5%	0.3%	2.0%
Blacksmith	9.6%	0.7%	7.6%

Manual Labor

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
House laborer	1.4%	6.8%	2.7%

Misc.

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Other	13.9%	7.2%	10.5%
DK/NR	1.0%	3.4%	3.4%

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. All percentages add up to 100%. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

At the aggregate level, the 4 selected provinces closely mirror the results obtained nationwide, with most working children occupied as farmers or shopkeepers (20 and 13 percent respectively). There are nonetheless some differences among the main occupations, with tailoring and carpet weaving involving a smaller share of child laborers at the provincial level (each occupation employing between 5 and 6 percent fewer children) than at the national level. This is likely related to the underrepresentation of females in the four-province sample.

Table 25 shows the proportion of working children in each occupation by province. Four in 5 working children are clustered in just 14 occupations, with a sizable 22 percent scattered among 52 other occupations, each of them accounting for less than 1 percent of working children.

Table 25: Working Child's Occupation in Four Selected Provinces

Agriculture, Hunting, and Forestry

Occupation	Kabul	Balkh	Kandahar	Nangarhar	Total
Farmer	10.1%	17.8%	18.7%	40.6%	20.1%
Shepherd	4.3%	3.5%	11.1%	2.6%	5.0%
Laborer (daily wage)	0.5%	1.7%	2.9%	3.3%	1.8%

[141] Although a majority of shopkeepers work in the street or bazaar selling sector, 7 percent reported working in the retail shop selling sector, and a further 3 percent in the manual labor sector. For clearer reporting, they are all included within the street or bazaar selling sector.

Manufacturing/Other Service Activities

Occupation	Kabul	Balkh	Kandahar	Nangarhar	Total
Tailor student	7.8%	9.1%	8.9%	6.0%	7.8%
Carpet weaver	6.4%	5.8%	0.0%	0.0%	3.6%
Carpenter apprentice	1.9%	2.3%	4.5%	2.6%	2.6%
Baker (apprentice)	3.1%	3.2%	1.2%	0.8%	2.2%
Embroiderer	1.6%	2.3%	3.2%	0.4%	1.7%

Wholesale and Retail Trade, Repair of Vehicles

Occupation	Kabul	Balkh	Kandahar	Nangarhar	Total
Shopkeeper	14.6%	13.4%	13.3%	11.7%	13.5%
Mechanic apprentice	10.7%	2.7%	6.3%	5.8%	7.4%
Seller	8.8%	7.0%	5.5%	4.7%	6.9%
Fixer of bicycles	3.1%	2.2%	0.9%	1.6%	2.2%

Construction

Occupation	Kabul	Balkh	Kandahar	Nangarhar	Total
Painter apprentice	3.1%	0.9%	N/A	2.6%	2.1%
Cart pusher	2.7%	3.1%	N/A	0.4%	1.8%

Misc.

Occupation	Kabul	Balkh	Kandahar	Nangarhar	Total
Other	23.0%	25.0%	26.2%	17.0%	22.5%
DK/NR	N/A	2.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. All percentages add up to 100%. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There are some differences between provinces in terms of the occupations where working children can be found. In accordance with its mostly urban nature, there is a smaller proportion of child farmers in Kabul than in the rest of the country, along with a much greater diversity of occupations. Although shop keeping is the main occupation, it only accounts for 15 percent of all working children, with an additional 9 percent dedicated to types of selling other than shop keeping (recorded simply as "seller"). In Nangarhar, on the other hand, two in five working children are farmers, while in Kandahar almost one in three are farmers or shepherds.

School attendance status does not have a large influence on the type of occupation children may have. Working children currently attending school are slightly more likely to be farmers, shopkeepers, tailor students, and sellers, while children working and not in school are somewhat more likely to be baker apprentices and mechanic apprentices.

Table 26: Working Child's Occupation by School Status

Occupation	Working and in School	Working and Not in School	Total
Farmer	21.5%	15.7%	20.0%
Shopkeeper	14.6%	10.4%	13.5%
Tailor student	8.6%	5.7%	7.8%
Mechanic apprentice	6.9%	8.8%	7.4%
Seller	7.7%	5.0%	6.9%
Shepherd	5.2%	4.4%	5.0%
Carpet weaver	3.4%	4.3%	3.6%
Carpenter apprentice	2.7%	2.4%	2.6%
Fixer of bicycles	2.0%	2.9%	2.2%
Baker apprentice	1.6%	4.1%	2.2%

Occupation	Working and in School	Working and Not in School	Total
Painter apprentice	1.9%	2.4%	2.1%
Other	23.5%	33.1%	26.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Among the occupations with a larger absolute number of working children, there are wide differences in terms of the prevalence of child work relative to the total workforce employed in each occupation. One extreme is shepherding. Although shepherding employs less than 2 percent of the active population in the 4 provinces,[142] more than 9 in 10 shepherds are children. Carpet weaver, painter, tailor, and mechanic apprentice are occupations with a greater absolute number of workers and a high prevalence of child workers (about two in three). On the other end, daily wage labor (21 percent), farming (31 percent), and shop keeping (32 percent) are occupations with large absolute numbers of child workers, but lower prevalence rates relative to the total number of workers they occupy.

Table 27: Prevalence of Child Work by Occupation in Four Selected Provinces

Occupation	Total	Sample Size
Shepherd	91.7%	57
Painter apprentice	66.7%	26
Tailor student	66.0%	111
Carpet weaver	63.5%	41
Mechanic apprentice	62.9%	94
Fixer of bicycles	60.6%	28
Baker apprentice	57.1%	40
Embroiderer	53.3%	32
Seller	51.7%	111
Carpenter apprentice	50.0%	55
Cart pusher	36.4%	39
Shopkeeper	32.0%	364
Farmer	30.8%	717
Laborer (daily wage)	20.8%	81

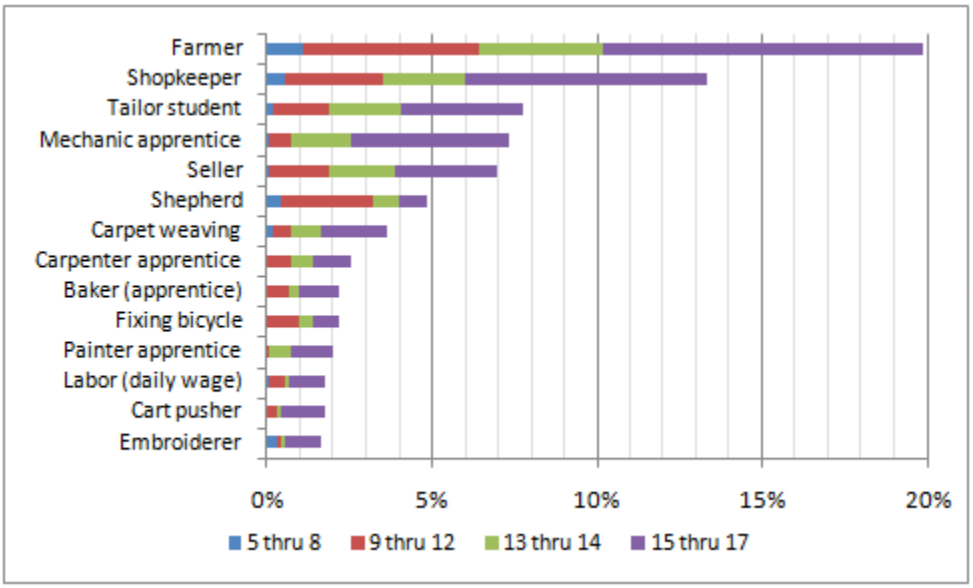
Base: n=2,936 persons who worked in the last week, regardless of age. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The great disparities in prevalence among different occupations highlight that some occupations are more open to child work than others. Apprenticeships, for example, are by definition biased toward younger workers. Tasks that are formative by nature and not likely to be harmful to the child's health or development are considered appropriate for ages 13 and above under ILO Convention 138.[143] The 1987 Afghan Labour Code reflects this, establishing that children aged 14 and older (or 13 if they have parental or guardian permission) can work as trainees. A breakdown of occupation by age shows that, in fact, most children (81 percent) in apprenticeships[144] are above age 12 (see the rightmost 2 sections of the bar in Chart 3). In absolute terms, farming, shop keeping, shepherding, selling, and tailor apprenticeships are the

[142] Since the household survey is representative of the entire population in each province, it can provide estimates of the entire workforce in each occupation, irrespective of age.
[143] International Labour Organization (ILO). (1973). *ILO minimum age convention.* From http://www.ilo.org/dyn/declaris/DECLARATIONWEB.DOWNLOAD_BLOB?Var_DocumentID=6219.
[144] Includes carpenter, baker, tailor, and mechanic apprenticeships.

occupations employing a larger number of children under age 13 (see the leftmost 2 sections of the bar in Chart 3). These 5 occupations alone employ 76 percent of all working children under age 13. This is directly related to their also being among the sectors with the largest number of child workers overall. Prevalence of children under 13 years old as a proportion of the total number of working children in each occupation is slightly different: Shepherding would be the occupation with the highest proportion of working children under age 13 (40 percent), followed by fixing bicycles (31 percent), and farming and daily labor (24 percent each). In contrast, painter apprenticeships, cart pushing, and embroidering together only employ 0.9 percent of all working children under 13 years old.

Chart 3: Working Child's Occupation by Age Group



Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey. The occupations included in the graph add up to 78 percent of all working children. Occupations with a share below 2 percent are omitted.

Industry categories are perhaps general enough so that there are no clear differences between them in terms of median working child ages in each industry. The median age for most of them (except for unspecified "other" industries, which had only 4 recorded responses) is 14 or older. In a sector like agriculture or manufacturing, for example, this means that 1 in 2 working children is below 14 years old.

Table 28: Working Child's Median Age and Age Ranges by Industry

Industry	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	n
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	15.0	3.0	17	6	11	290
Agriculture	14.0	4.0	17	5	12	266
Manufacturing	14.0	3.0	17	5	12	184
Other community, social, and personal service activities	15.0	3.0	17	6	11	104
Construction	15.4	2.0	17	8	9	28
Transport, storage, and communications	15.0	2.5	17	7	10	19

Industry	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	n
Hotels and restaurants	15.0	2.0	17	12	5	14
Education	16.6	2.0	17	14	3	8
Real estate, renting, and business activities	16.0	1.7	17	13	4	6
Health and social work	16.2	1.0	17	7	10	5
Other (specify)	12.0	2.2	15	11	4	4
Refused/Don't Know	15.0	3.3	17	7	10	10
Total	**15.0**	**4.0**	**17**	**5**	**12**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. The interquartile range (IQR), or midspread, is a measure of statistical dispersion, reflecting the difference between the third and first (middle) quartiles, or the range of values that includes the middle 50 percent of all subjects. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In terms of median ages among the main occupations, shepherds are again the youngest child workers in the 4 provinces (median age of 12), followed by carpenter apprentices and children fixing bicycles (median age of 13.2 for both). Actual age ranges are very sensitive to outliers and not very representative. The interquartile range (IQR) is a dispersion measure that is less sensitive to outliers and highly skewed distributions, as is the case with the distribution of working children's age. Baker apprentices have the widest IQRs, with 50 percent of all children in this category contained in a 5-year range, followed by farmers, shopkeepers, sellers, and day laborers (all with an IQR of 4).

Table 29: Working Child's Median Age and Age Ranges by Occupation

Agriculture, Hunting, and Forestry

Occupation	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	N
Farmer	14.0	4.0	17	5	12	215
Shepherd	12.0	3.6	17	7	10	51
Laborer (daily wage)	15.8	4.0	17	8	9	21

Manufacturing/Other Service Activities

Occupation	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	N
Tailor student	14.0	3.5	17	6	11	75
Carpet weaver	15.0	3.0	17	8	9	25
Carpenter apprentice	13.2	3.0	16	9	7	27
Baker apprentice	15.8	5.0	17	9	8	18
Embroiderer	16.0	4.5	17	5	12	17

Wholesale and Retail Trade, Repair of Vehicles

Occupation	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	N
Shopkeeper	15.0	4.0	17	6	11	124
Mechanic apprentice	15.0	2.2	17	7	10	59
Seller	14.0	4.0	17	8	9	60
Fixer of bicycles	13.2	4.2	17	9	8	18

Construction, Other, Grand Total

Occupation	Median Age	IQR	Max	Min	Range	N
Painter apprentice	16.0	2.0	17	12	5	15
Cart pusher	16.0	2.5	17	10	7	13
Other	15.0	3.6	16	11	5	7
Total	**15.0**	**4.0**	**17**	**5**	**12**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.2.4 Types of Occupations in Four Selected Sectors

The following section takes a closer look at the types of occupations and activities in the four sectors selected for additional in-depth interviewing: agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling. This information is based on 200 interviews with children working in each sector in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Although the occupation breakdown within each sector generally resembles the breakdown found in the household survey, neither the sample size nor the sampling methodology for these interviews allows extrapolation of the results to the general population of children working in each sector. They do nonetheless offer a more nuanced view of the specific activities carried out in each sector. This is particularly true for the construction industry, where none of the other studies found a number of children large enough to allow any meaningful analysis of the sector. Given the small sample sizes, percentages should be considered qualitatively and are rounded up.

6.2.4.1 Agriculture

In our sample, two in five children involved in agriculture irrigate land as their main task, followed by plowing and harvesting, each accounting for about one in five children. The main task of the remaining fifth is shepherding or grooming/shearing cattle.

Regardless of what their main task is, most children are involved in irrigation to some extent, followed distantly by tending to plants (82 and 48 percent respectively). Tasks requiring greater physical strength, such as preparing soil or clearing land, are carried out by less than one third of the children in our sample. Planting, composting, herding or feeding animals, maintaining irrigation systems, cleaning or maintaining tools, and collecting wood are other tasks mentioned by a small minority.

Wheat is the main crop produced by our sample of children in the agriculture sector (70 percent). Most other crops are foodstuffs, such as onions, potatoes, fruits, and corn. An exception to this is the 12 percent of children who reported producing wool and the 8 percent who reported producing poppies. Most children in the agriculture sector are involved in the production of at least two products.

Only about 1 in 4 children in the agriculture sector (24 percent) reported using tools for their activities. Tools typically used include shovels (mentioned by 14 percent of children in agriculture), sickles (12 percent), and tractors (12 percent).

6.2.4.2 Construction

In our sample of children working in the construction sector, 74 percent are mainly involved with carrying construction materials. The remaining children's main tasks are preparing paints, cleaning, and masonry. Irrespective of their main task, most children carry heavy objects, such as bricks or cement, and climb ladders or scaffolding.

Most children work in small construction projects, such as dwellings, sheds, stables, and wells, although 1 in 4 reported working in large residential buildings and 1 in 10 in large commercial buildings. Nearly 1 in 3 children in the construction sector (30 percent) reported using tools for his/her activities. Tools mentioned often include shovels and carts (reported by 17 percent of all children in the construction sector) and a number of others, such as hammers, chisels, wedges, cranes, derricks, hoists, and nonmotorized vehicles. On average, only about half of the tools that children use are in good repair, according to their own reports.

6.2.4.3 Manufacturing

Tailoring, sewing, ironing, embroidering, and weaving carpets are the main occupations for about three in five of the children sampled from the manufacturing sector. The remaining two fifths are spread out among a diverse number of occupations, including making or repairing shoes, kneading dough, and cleaning. Clothes, carpets, and embroideries are the goods that most children produce. The remaining minority produce an assortment of goods, including metal works, bread, shoes, desserts, and flour. The materials children use most often are closely related to their occupations and goods: Thread, cloth, and buttons are the most frequent materials, followed by flour, wheat, wood, paint, and a number of other goods mentioned very rarely.

Almost half of all children in the manufacturing sample (46 percent) reported using tools for their work. Tools mentioned often include so-called tailoring and embroidering machines (used by 17 and 10 percent of all children respectively), scissors (12 percent), pliers and small electric machines (6 percent each), and other less frequent instruments, such as hooks, needles, and carts.

6.2.4.4 Selling

Most children in our sample work by themselves in shops, markets, kiosks, or on the street, although one in three works with other people (parents, siblings, and other nonrelated children or adults). In terms of goods sold, those most often mentioned are cigarettes, beverages, food, and prepared food. Other specific goods mentioned include top-up cards for cell phones, plastic bags, fruits, biscuits, and soup. One in 10 children in the selling sector reported using tools for his/her activities. The only tools mentioned were carts (used by 6 percent of all children in our selling sample), and buckets, scales, and purses (4 percent each). About one in three uses a motorized vehicle to transport the products he/she sells, with one in five using a nonmotorized vehicle and one in two using other unspecified transportation methods.

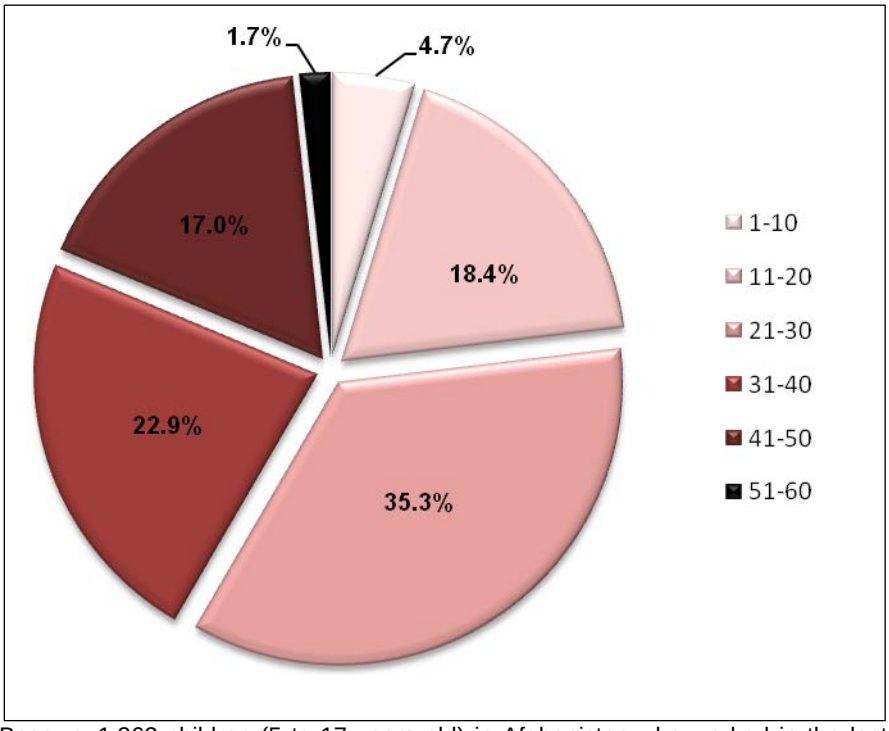
6.3 WORK CHARACTERISTICS

6.3.1 Hours/Days Worked

6.3.1.1 Working Hours

Working children in Afghanistan work on average 30 hours per week. About 5 percent work less than 10 hours per week, while 19 percent work more than 40 hours per week. About 42 percent of working children work more than 30 hours per week.

Chart 4: Number of Hours Worked per Week



Base: n=1,262 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Note: data for 21 children were missing. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Article 49 of the Afghan Labour Code explicitly prohibits children under 16 years old from working more than 30 hours per week and children 16 to 17 years old from working more than 35 hours per week.[145] However, 19 percent of all Afghan children between those ages usually work more than the maximum hours allowed for their age brackets. Children aged 13 to 15 work on average 31 hours per week, while children aged 16 to 17 work on average 33 hours per week. While children under age 13 should not be engaged in any type of work according to ILO Convention 138, the 14 percent of Afghan children under age 13 who work do so, on average, 27 hours per week. While there are no significant gender differences, age is positively correlated (r=.20) to number of hours worked per week. The linear regression equation using these

[145] Government of Afghanistan. (1987). *Labour code of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.* From http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/SERIAL/6702/69052/F2057053744/AFG6702.pdf.

variables estimates that, starting from a constant of 19 hours per week, every year of age adds 50 minutes to the average time a working child works per week.

At the provincial level, there are no large differences in number of hours worked per province, although the overall four-province average at 36 hours per week is substantially higher than the national average. While there are few females in our four-province sample, gender appears to have a significant effect on the average number of hours worked, with girls working 31 hours on average and males working 37 hours. A larger source of variation was the business sector, with children in the construction sector working the longest hours on average (42.5), followed by children in "other community, social, and personal service activities." There are some differences by sector between provinces. Within the agriculture sector, for example, children in Balkh and Kandahar work longer (41 and 40 hours respectively) than children in Kabul and Nangarhar (33 and 35 hours respectively).

Table 30: Number of Hours Worked by Industry[146]

Industry	Mean	SD	N
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	36.6	19.1	290
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	36.5	16.8	266
Manufacturing	32.3	16.9	184
Other community, social, and personal service activities	37.9	19.8	104
Construction	42.5	20.4	28
Total	**36.4**	**18.4**	**290**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul.
Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

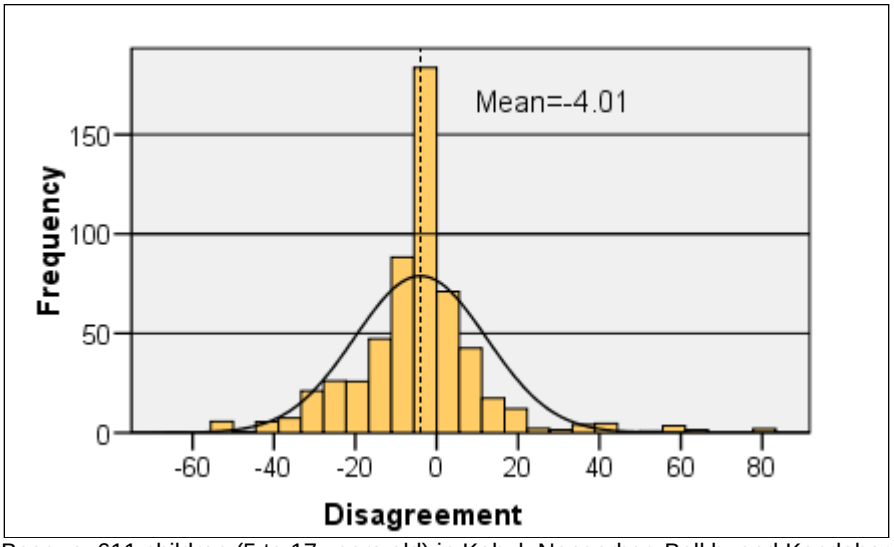
Average weekly working hours among the main occupations (in this case, those with a share of at least 2 percent of all working children), are longest for painter apprentices (52 hours), baker apprentices (44 hours), and shepherds (41 hours), and shortest for carpet weavers (28 hours), tailor students (32 hours), and carpenter apprentices (33 hours).

School attendance status has a very important effect on number of hours worked in the last week. Working children who are currently attending school work 32 hours on average, compared with 48 hours on average for working children who are not currently attending school. This effect was equivalent across provinces, urban and rural settings, and industries. In summary, school attendance accounts for more variance[147] in working hours (17 percent) than any of the other factors analyzed, including occupation (12 percent of variance), industry (3.6 percent), gender (0.5 percent), and province (0.4 percent).

In order to cross-validate general work time figures, we analyzed the difference between the number of hours worked as reported by working children and that reported by the household respondents. Although there were some extreme cases (with a maximum disagreement of -66 and 81 hours at each end), most reports from adults and children gravitate toward agreement (see Chart 5). Nonetheless, there is a mean difference of 4 hours between them, suggesting that either adults slightly underestimate the number of hours children in the household work, or that children overestimate them.

[146] Only includes the five most important industries in terms of number of children involved. Inclusion of industries with a smaller number of children was not informative, due to the small cell sizes after disaggregating by province.
[147] Calculated using Eta squared (sum of between-group deviations squared by the total deviations squared).

Chart 5: Difference between Adult and Working Children Reports: Number of Hours Child Worked in the Last Week

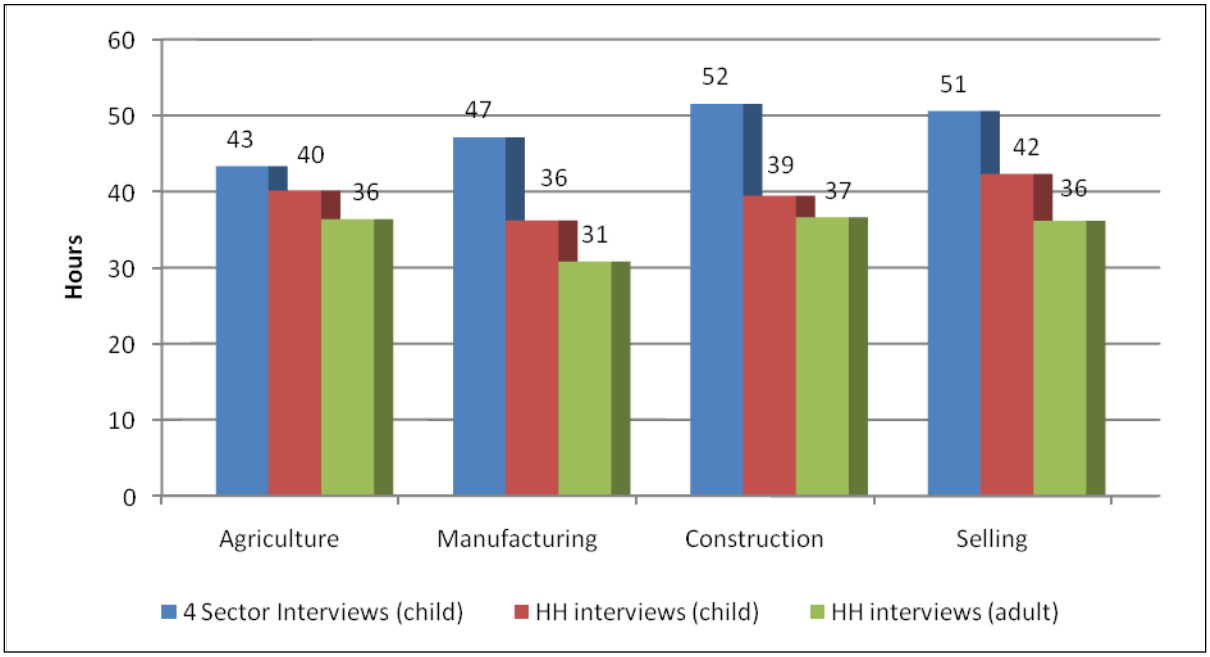


Base: n=611 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week and have data in both the household surveys and the working children interviews. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The 200 children within the 4 sectors selected for in-depth surveys reported working more hours per week than the average working children within the 4 provinces: 43 in agriculture, 47 in manufacturing, 52 in construction, and 51 in selling. These figures are higher than what children in the same sectors from the four-province household survey reported, which in turn are higher than what the adult informants within the household reported.

Exactly 50 percent of the children working in these 4 sectors reported having break time. Among those who have break time, 79 percent have 1 break a day (with an average duration of 54 minutes), 16 percent have 2 breaks (59 minutes), and 5 percent have 3 breaks (32 minutes). Children working in the agriculture sector appear to have more breaks. The average duration of their breaks is 56 minutes, and 46 percent have 2 or 3 breaks. In the manufacturing sector, the average duration of children's breaks is 50 minutes, with 21 percent having 2 or 3 breaks. In selling, only 14 percent have 2 or 3 breaks; the average duration of their breaks is 53 minutes. In construction, the average duration of children's breaks is the highest at 58 minutes, but 96 percent only have 1 break a day.

Chart 6: Difference between Adult and Working Children Reports: Number of Hours Child Worked in the Last Week per Sector



Base: n=200 children in 4 sectors; n=484 children in 4 sectors and 4 provinces who worked in the last week and have data in both the household surveys and the working children interviews. Source: Four-Province Household Survey; Four-Province Child Interviews; Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

6.3.1.2 Working Days

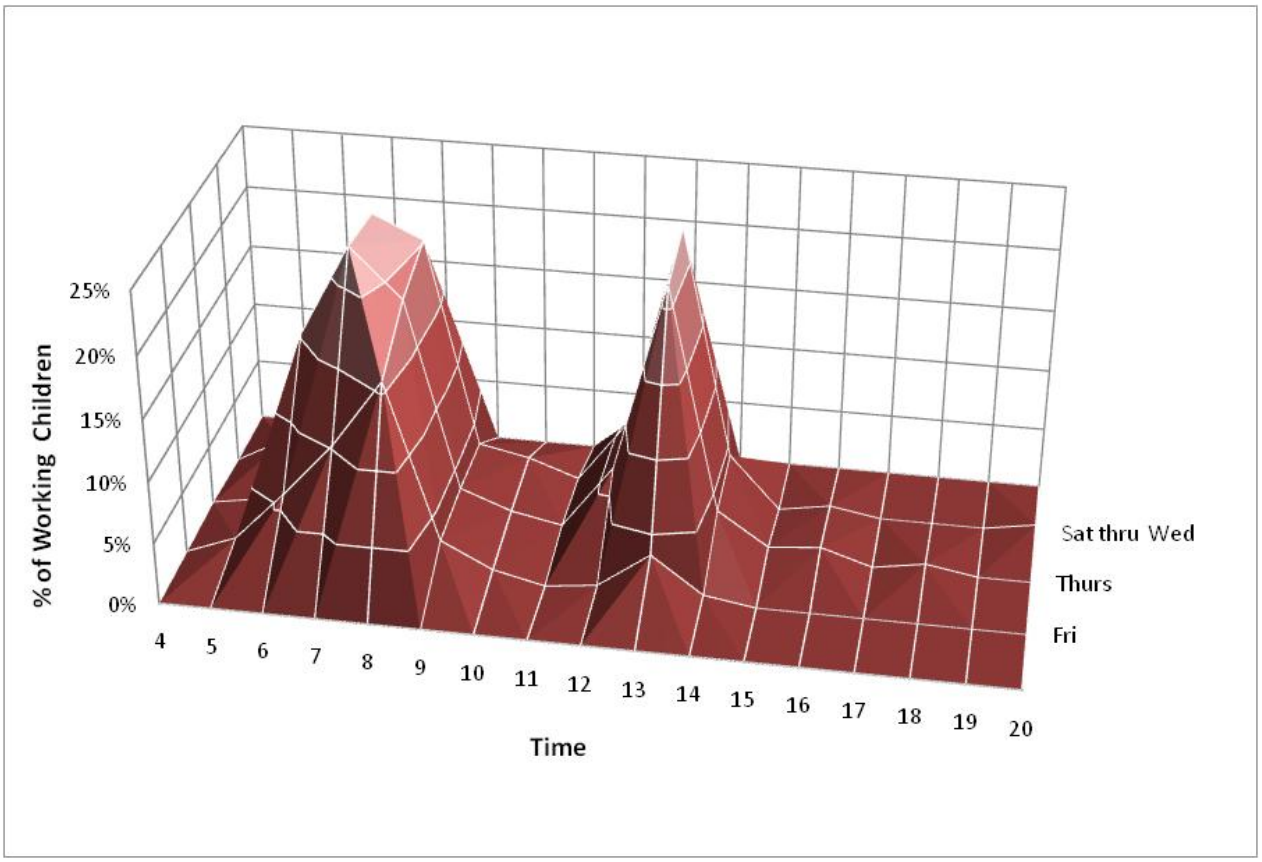
An overwhelming majority of working children in Balkh, Kabul, Kandahar, and Nangarhar work 6 or 7 days per week (44 and 47 percent respectively). Of the remaining 10 percent, more than half work 5 days. Only 3 percent of all working children worked 4 days or less. There are no differences by gender or age, and very small differences by sector, with children in the agriculture sector working on average about one third of a day more than those in construction, manufacturing, or selling. Similarly, there are small differences by province, with children in Kabul working slightly less on average (6.23 days) than children in predominantly agricultural Kandahar (6.44 days) and Nangarhar (6.40 days). This is not entirely due to the effect of sector differences between provinces: When we analyze only children working in agriculture, those in Nangarhar and Kandahar still work more days on average. Finally, working children who are currently attending school work slightly fewer days on average (6.24) than those who are working and not in school (6.52).

Thursday and, most notably, Friday are the 2 days when fewer children work. Thursday and Friday are the weekend in Afghanistan. Friday is the Muslim prayer day, and is also contemplated in Article 57 of the Afghan Labour Code as a holiday. While most working children work during every other day of the week, only 43 percent of working children work on Friday.[148]

[148] Data obtained from 641 child interviews in 4 provinces.

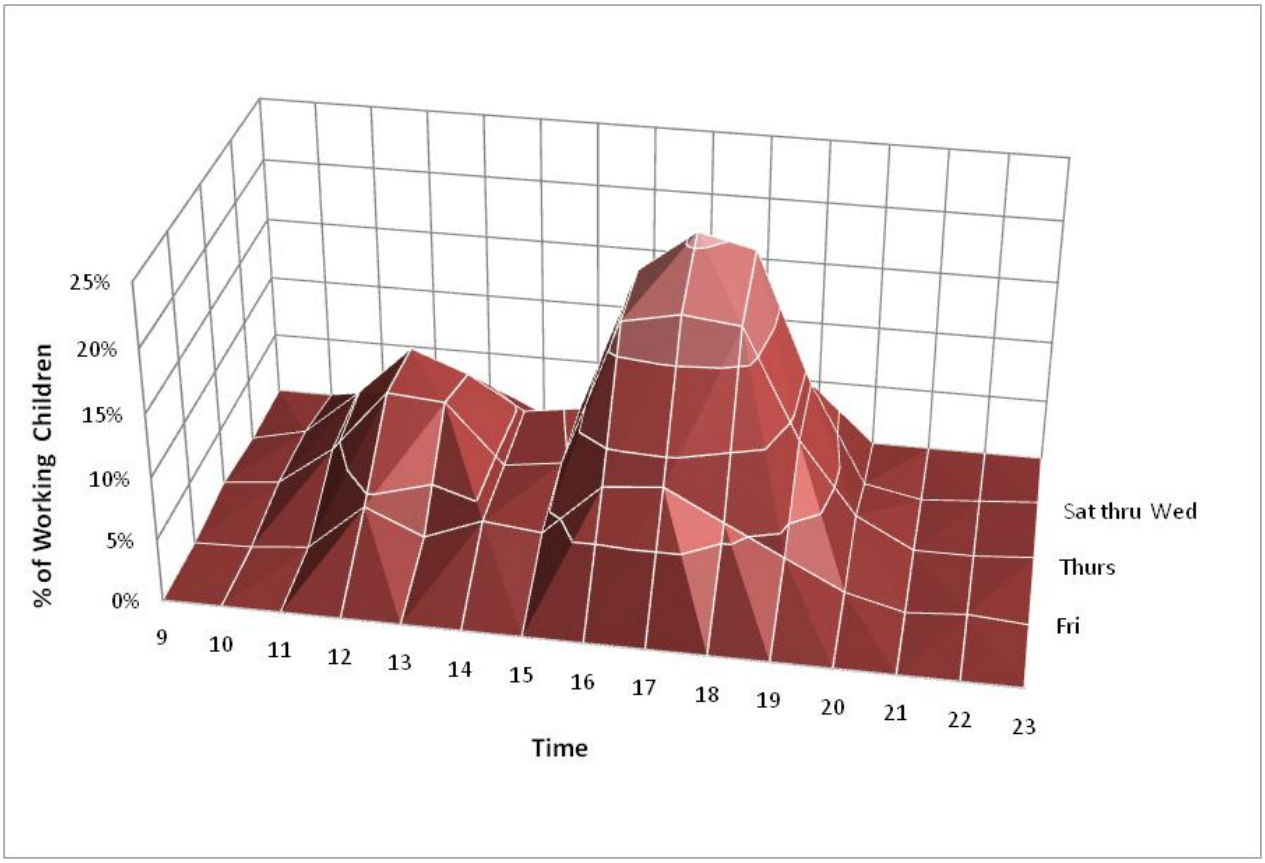
Charts 7 and 8 show the hours at which working children in the 4 provinces start and end their work day during the summer season.[149] There are 2 main peaks for starting work, with an initial peak at 7:00 a.m. (with 22 percent starting their day between Saturday and Wednesday), followed by another major peak at 1:00 p.m., (23 percent). Children end their working day starting at noon (9 percent between Saturday and Wednesday), followed by a major peak between 4:00 and 6:00 p.m. (with 21 percent ending their workday at 5:00 p.m. between Saturday and Wednesday). Finally, although peaks are similar on Friday, they are much less pointed due to the smaller absolute number of children working.

Chart 7: Time Working Day Starts (Summer)



[149] The summer season has the greater proportion of working children according to our data. Times for starting and ending the workday during the winter season are similar although, likely due to daylight time differences, the main starting peak occurs later (8:00 a.m.), and the ending peak occurs earlier (4:00 p.m.). See "Seasonality" (section 6.3.3) for more details.

Chart 8: Time Working Day Ends (Summer)



Base: n=611 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week and have data in both the household surveys and the working children interviews. Source: Four-Province Child Interviews.

These different peaks, particularly in regards to the time work starts, are related to school attendance: Children who attend school start their work day later (2 hours on average), with about 1 in 3 starting at 1:00 p.m. For further discussion on the relationship between child work and schooling, see section 6.8.1.

6.3.2 Earnings

Almost 9 in 10 working children in the 4 provinces get paid in cash for their work (85 percent),[150] with a small proportion (1 percent) receiving payments in kind, according to adult informants. When children were asked about specific types of in-kind payment, a much larger proportion confirmed receiving specific in-kind benefits. About half (47 percent) reported receiving food, with an additional 10 percent receiving assistance with schooling and clothes. Roughly another half (53 percent) reported not receiving any benefits in kind. Among those who get paid, 62 percent of working children in the 4 provinces are paid monthly or weekly, with only 12 percent being paid piece rate. Eighty-six percent reported being paid on time and fairly.

[150] Eleven point five percent of those not included in this figure belong to the nonresponse category.

About 1 in 3 children (37 percent) working in the 4 economic sectors reported that they are able to save some of their money. This proportion is higher in the manufacturing and selling sectors (46 and 45 percent respectively) than in the agriculture and construction sectors (24 and 33 percent respectively). A majority of children are able to spend their money on food and/or clothing (46 percent), followed by 34 percent who buy school materials and books. Most children in these 4 sectors negotiate their own payments (68 percent). Parents negotiate payments for a majority (86 percent) of those who do not negotiate their own payments.

6.3.2.1 Monthly Earnings

Reported monthly earnings[151] vary greatly, with a mean of 2,614 Afghanis (about US$52),[152] a median of 2,000 Afs. (US$40), and a standard deviation of 2,625 Afs. (US$53). Earnings are typically an unreliable measure. This large standard deviation is probably a sign of actual variation in income, with some degree of contamination from measurement error. One way to remove artificial distortions due to large variation from a small number of cases is to remove outliers. There were seven cases that fell under the standard definition of "outlier" (values that are at least three standard deviations away from the mean). After removing them, the standard deviation is reduced to 1,750. The resulting earnings distributions are not unlike most typical income distributions, showing a slight positive skew (meaning most children tend to group on the low end of the earnings continuum). With this type of non-normal data, the median[153] is the preferred measure of central tendency, given that it is not as affected by skew as the mean is.

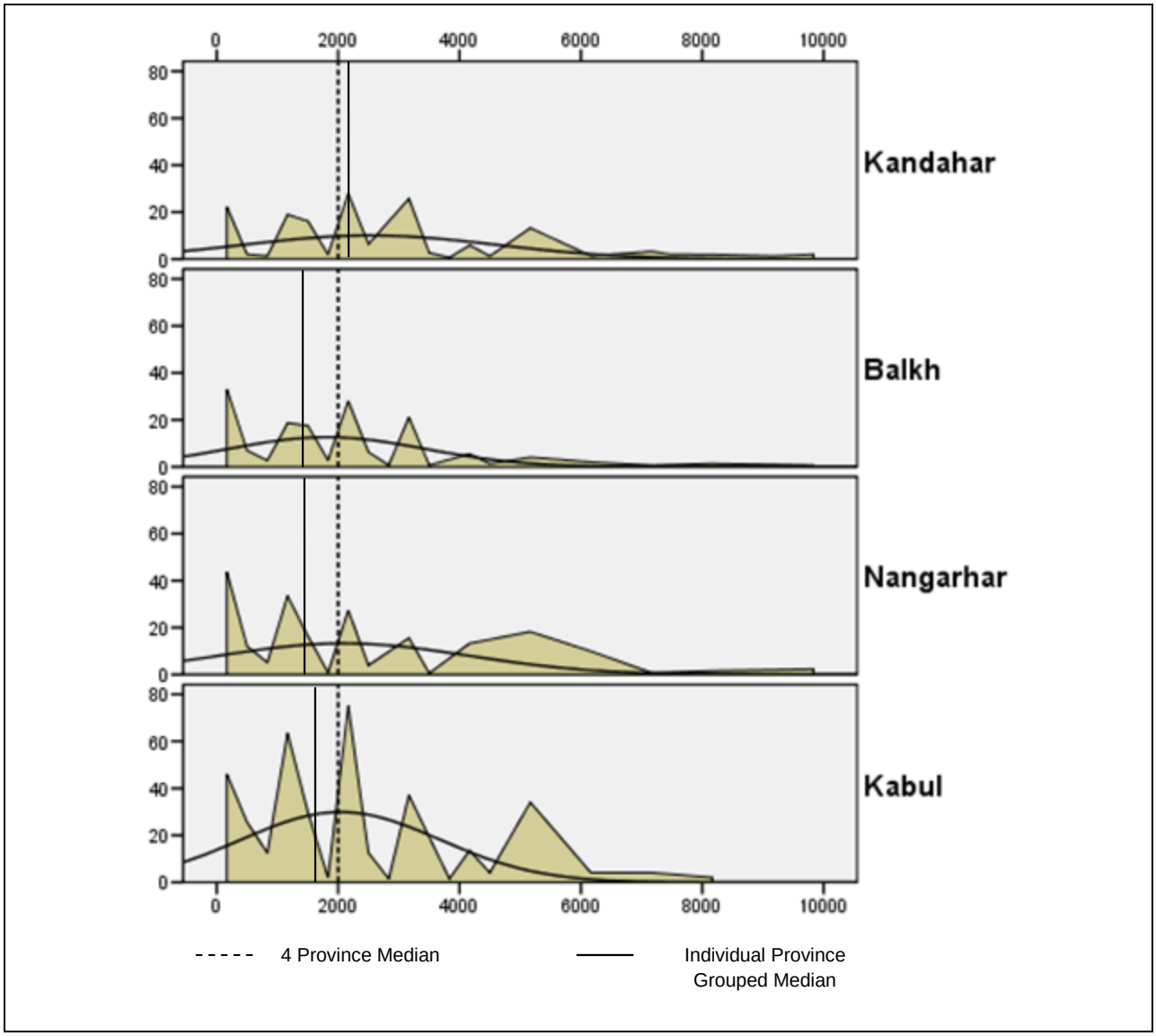
As the chart below shows, grouped median earnings in Kandahar (2,084 Afs. or US$42) are higher than the four-province median earnings of 2,000 Afs.

Although there are no gender differences in earnings among children who do get paid, only 2 in 3 females working in the last week got paid, which is significantly lower than the proportion of males who got paid (about 9 in 10). Median earnings for all working children are, as a result, substantially lower for females (1,500 Afs. or US$30) than males (2,000 Afs.).

There are also some differences within the 4 sectors selected for the in-depth study, with children in construction earning the highest median monthly amount (3,000 Afs. or US$61) and children in manufacturing earning the lowest (1,500 Afs. or US$30). Earnings for children in agriculture and selling were almost identical to the overall median of 2,000 Afs.

[151] Earnings per child include payment in cash plus the estimated market value of any payments received in kind, as reported by adult informants.
[152] Set at the exchange rate of May 13, 2006 (midpoint of the household survey data collection phase): 1 Afghani=0.02023 USD.
[153] Central tendency statistic indicating the middle value in a group of values arranged in sequence by size.

Chart 9: Reported Monthly Earnings Distribution (in Afs.) per Province



Base: n=934 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul (outliers excluded). Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Adult and child informants mostly agreed on whether the child was paid for his/her work or not, but they disagreed on how much. There was a substantial difference of 1,409 Afs. between the averages of the respective reports, suggesting that adults overestimate and/or children underestimate their average monthly earnings. There are reasons to believe adults may have a more accurate perception than children. On the one hand, four in five working children reported giving all or part of their earnings to their parents, either directly or through their employer. On the other hand, children may have a cognitive disadvantage in understanding and calculating average monthly earnings. In any case, we can establish with confidence that actual median monthly earnings for paid working children in the 4 provinces is near or between the 1,000 Afs. (US$20) reported by children and the 2,000 Afs. (US$40) reported by adults in their households.

6.3.2.2 Hourly Earnings

Table 31: Adult and Child Hourly Earnings (in Afs.) by Province

Adults

Province	Median	IQR	N
Kabul	24.0	27.1	503
Nangarhar	21.3	23.7	544
Balkh	17.5	17.9	506
Kandahar	23.1	23.2	442
Total	**23.1**	**25.3**	**1,995**

Children

Province	Median	IQR	N
Kabul	12.3	14.2	199
Nangarhar	9.9	19.2	276
Balkh	10.9	15.0	225
Kandahar	13.8	14.9	241
Total	**11.5**	**15.2**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) and 1,995 adults (18 years old and older) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Median child earnings are highest in Kandahar (13.8 Afs. per hour) and lowest in Nangarhar (9.9 Afs. per hour). The greatest gap between adult and child earnings is also in Nangarhar, with child median earnings being 46 percent of adult median earnings. Children in Kandahar are better paid (13.8 Afs. per hour), followed by children in Kabul (12.3 Afs. per hour). These two provinces also have the highest median adult hourly rates. In terms of urban versus rural residence, median earnings for children in rural areas are 10.6 Afs. per hour, 74 percent of what children in metropolitan Kabul earn. This differential is similar for adults in rural areas, whose hourly earnings rate is 71 percent of that of adults in Kabul.

Similar to the number of hours worked, there is a small but consistent correlation between age and hourly earnings (r=.13). This correlation is more apparent when we analyze median earnings for different age groups.

Table 32: Child Hourly Earnings (in Afs.) by Age Group

Age	Median	IQR	N
5-12	9.6	15.6	252
13-14	11.5	16.2	206
15-17	13.8	15.4	483
Total	**11.6**	**14.9**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Although the sample of females was small, there are also apparent differences by gender, with females earning a median of 9.7 Afs. per hour versus males earning 11.6 Afs. per hour. This may be related to direct gender biases as well as indirect biases, such as the differences in the typical industries and occupations of each gender. In fact, a disaggregation by sector shows that children in construction and agriculture (mostly male occupations) have higher median earnings (20.5 and 11.1 Afs. per hour respectively) than children in manufacturing (a sector where most females are clustered), who earn a median of 10.2 Afs. per hour.

Table 33: Adult and Child Hourly Earnings (in Afs.) by Industry

Adults

Occupation	Median	IQR	N
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	19.8	25.4	452
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	18.0	23.7	511
Manufacturing	17.3	17.3	214
Other community, social, and personal service activities	23.0	33.0	158
Construction	27.7	33.7	140
Transport, storage, and communications	33.0	25.6	120
Total[154]	**23.1**	**25.3**	**1,995**

Children

Occupation	Median	IQR	N
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	11.5	15.3	290
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	11.5	21.3	266
Manufacturing	10.1	13.1	184
Other community, social, and personal service activities	12.7	10.1	104
Construction	20.3	22.6	28
Transport, storage, and communications	11.9	18.7	19
Total[155]	**11.5**	**15.2**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul.
Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Variation in hourly earnings is much higher between occupations (accounting for 15 percent of the total variance) than sectors (4 percent of the total variance), age (3 percent), urban and rural settings (1 percent), provinces (0.5 percent), or gender (0.5 percent). Children working as embroiderers earned the highest[156] median hourly rates (22.2 Afs. per hour), followed by children working as daily laborers (19.5 Afs. per hour). On the other end, children working as carpet weavers, shepherds, or tailor students earned the lowest rates (7.4, 7.7, and 8.6 Afs. per hour respectively). The difference with median adult earnings is lowest for daily laborers, mechanic apprentices, and cart pushers, and highest for bike mechanics, tailor students, and painter apprentices.

Table 34: Adult and Child Hourly Earnings by Occupation

Adults

Occupation	Median	IQR	N
Farmer	18.3	23.7	502
Shopkeeper	22.4	21.6	240
Tailor student	19.2	13.0	36
Seller	15.6	9.3	51
Mechanic apprentice	11.7	21.0	35
Shepherd	13.3	10.8	6
Carpenter apprentice	17.7	32.7	28
Carpet weaver	11.4	6.2	16
Laborer (daily wage)	19.2	18.8	60
Baker apprentice	20.9	26.1	22
Fixer of bicycles	23.1	9.3	10
Embroiderer	24.7	13.5	15

[154] Includes other industries employing a small number of children.
[155] Includes other industries employing a small number of children.
[156] Among occupations employing at least 2 percent of working children.

Occupation	Median	IQR	N
Hotel laborer	23.8	22.4	12
Painter apprentice	21.8	19.2	11
Total	**23.3**	**25.5**	**1,995**

Children

Occupation	Median	IQR	N
Farmer	14.1	20.9	215
Shopkeeper	12.8	15.5	124
Tailor student	8.6	11.5	75
Seller	12.2	12.9	60
Mechanic apprentice	11.5	11.1	59
Shepherd	7.7	13.2	51
Carpenter apprentice	12.5	17.4	27
Carpet weaver	7.4	26.6	25
Laborer (daily wage)	19.5	20.7	21
Baker apprentice	13.8	8.5	18
Fixer of bicycles	10.3	6.6	18
Embroiderer	22.2	13.0	17
Hotel laborer	15.0	28.4	15
Painter apprentice	11.5	11.7	15
Total	**11.6**	**14.9**	**941**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.3.3 Seasonality

Given the highly agricultural nature of child work in Afghanistan as a whole, it is to be expected that a large proportion of labor will be seasonal. Indeed, 30.9 percent of all working children work during specific seasons, with total rates of seasonality for children in the agricultural sector more than doubling those of children working in any other sector (56.9 and 23.7 percent respectively). As a result of their lower participation in agricultural occupations, girls also show lower rates of participation in seasonal work.

Table 35: Work Seasonality by Gender

Work Seasonal?	Male	Female	Total
Yes	33.3%	22.9%	30.9%
No	60.2%	72.3%	63.0%
DK/NR	6.5%	4.8%	6.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

While the agricultural sector is the main seasonal employer of children in Afghanistan (accounting for 40.3 percent of all seasonal child workers), artisanship, selling, and manufacturing are the main nonseasonal employments (22.3, 22, and 18.7 percent respectively).

Table 36: Work Seasonality by Industry

Industry	Seasonal	Not Seasonal	Total
Agriculture	40.3%	14.2%	21.9%
Street/Bazaar Selling	14.4%	22.0%	20.0%
Artisanship	15.1%	22.3%	19.6%
Manufacturing	14.4%	18.7%	17.0%

Industry	Seasonal	Not Seasonal	Total
Repair/Maintenance	3.5%	7.8%	6.3%
Manual Labor	3.5%	5.4%	4.8%
Stockbreeding	4.0%	2.1%	3.1%
Service Industry	2.3%	2.1%	2.3%
Retail Shop Selling	0.3%	3.0%	2.0%
Construction	0.5%	0.6%	0.6%
Other	0.8%	0.4%	0.5%
DK/NR	1.0%	1.4%	1.9%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

There are some differences at the provincial level regarding work seasonality. Children in Kabul, and to a lesser extent in Balkh, have a higher proportion of permanent work (32 and 21 percent respectively). Children in Nangarhar, on the other hand, have the greatest rate of seasonality (37 percent), in line with its greater proportion of agricultural child workers.

Table 37: Work Seasonality in Four Selected Provinces

Work Arrangement	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Temporary[157]	41.9%	40.4%	50.3%	61.9%	46.6%
Permanent	32.2%	9.1%	20.6%	6.3%	20.2%
Seasonal	13.0%	36.5%	15.5%	19.4%	20.0%
Mainly casual when it suited him/her	5.9%	3.4%	6.5%	3.1%	4.9%
Casual work when it was possible to find work	4.3%	3.4%	1.9%	5.6%	3.9%
DK/NR	2.7%	7.2%	5.2%	3.8%	4.4%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Seasonality in the agricultural sector is actually even higher in the 4 selected provinces (73 percent) than in Afghanistan as a whole (40 percent). This may be related to the specific climate particularities of these four provinces. For example, Nangarhar, the main agricultural province of the four provinces studied, has just one season for crop cultivation, as opposed to other agricultural regions that have two.[158]

[157] The term "temporary work" typically refers to any type of work that is performed regularly but is not considered permanent or long term. "Seasonal work" also refers to a type of temporary work which is performed regularly but only during specific seasons of the year, such as school holidays. "Casual work" is typically used to refer to temporary work that is performed on an ad hoc basis, without regularity.

[158] Parenti, C. (2005). Afghan poppies bloom. From http://www.agenceglobal.com/article.asp?id=369.

Table 38: Work Seasonality by Sector

Industry	Mainly Casual When It Suited Him/ Her	Casual Work When it Was Possi-ble to Find Work	Sea-sonal	Tempo-rary	Perma-nent	DK/NR	Total	Sample Size
Wholesale and retail trade, and repair of motor vehicles	4.6%	4.2%	1.8%	56.3%	27.5%	5.6%	100%	290
Agriculture, hunting, and forestry	3.1%	1.3%	73.1%	10.8%	8.5%	3.1%	100%	266
Manufacturing	5.1%	5.8%	0.6%	66.0%	18.6%	3.8%	100%	184
Other community, social, and personal service activities	3.5%	3.5%	4.9%	58.7%	25.9%	3.5%	100%	104
Construction	13.6%	22.7%	4.5%	54.5%	4.5%	0.0%	100%	28
Hotels and restaurants	15.4%	0.0%	0.0%	69.2%	7.7%	7.7%	100%	14
Transport, storage, and communications	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	76.9%	15.4%	7.7%	100%	19
Education	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	55.6%	11.1%	0.0%	100%	8
Other	4.5%	0.0%	0.0%	31.8%	54.5%	9.1%	100%	18
Refused/ Don't Know	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%	0.0%	14.3%	100%	10

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul.
Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The seasonality of work varies by sector, but is considered mainly temporary, with some permanent work in selected sectors, such as wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing, and other community, social, and personal services.

School attendance has a subtle effect on work arrangements. The work of children currently attending school is described as seasonal (22 percent) and mainly casual when it suited them (6 percent) more often than the work of working children not attending school (15 and 2 percent respectively). More working children not attending school reported their work as permanent (26 percent) and casual when they can find it (5 percent) than children attending school (18 and 3 percent respectively).

Age has also a tenuous relationship with seasonality, with younger children (5 through 12 years old) showing higher rates of seasonal work (27 percent) than the rest, and children 13 through 14 years old having slightly higher rates of temporary work (54 percent).

Table 39: Work Seasonality by Age Group

Work Arrangement	5 thru 12	13 thru 14	15 thru 17	Total
Mainly casual when it suited him/her	5.0%	2.9%	5.5%	4.8%
Casual work when it was possible to find work	3.2%	2.8%	4.6%	3.8%
Seasonal	27.5%	16.4%	17.6%	20.0%
Temporary	42.9%	53.9%	45.7%	46.7%

Work Arrangement	5 thru 12	13 thru 14	15 thru 17	Total
Permanent	14.5%	19.9%	23.3%	20.3%
DK/NR	7.0%	4.1%	3.2%	4.4%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=940 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.3.4 Entrance into Work

Table 40 presents children's age of entrance into work by sex in Afghanistan. The values are based on those children who ever worked in the past. The data show that 2.1 percent of working children in Afghanistan entered into work by age 5. Of all working children in Afghanistan, about 62 percent of working children started working before their 11th birthday, with the largest proportion of children entering when they were 7, 8, 9, or 10 years old (12, 14, 11, and 17 percent respectively).

Table 40: Child's Age of Entrance into Work by Sex

Age	Male	Female	Total	Cumulative
5	2.5%	0.3%	2.1%	2.1%
6	5.1%	11.8%	6.5%	8.6%
7	10.6%	15.3%	11.6%	20.2%
8	14.7%	9.9%	13.7%	33.9%
9	10.7%	10.8%	10.7%	44.6%
10	18.3%	12.7%	17.1%	61.7%
11	6.8%	9.2%	7.3%	69.0%
12	10.6%	8.3%	10.1%	79.1%
13	5.8%	9.9%	6.6%	85.8%
14	6.3%	7.0%	6.5%	92.2%
15	4.3%	1.9%	3.8%	96.1%
16	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%	97.9%
17	1.1%	0.6%	1.0%	98.9%
NR/DK	1.3%	0.3%	1.1%	100.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,511 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who ever worked in the past. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

A further disaggregation by geographic area shows the presence of regional variation in terms of work starting age (Table 41). For example, children from Eastern, Western, and Central/Hazarjat regions start working earlier than children from Central/Kabul, South Central, Southwestern, and Northern regions.

Table 41: Child's Age of Entrance into Work by Region

Age	Central/ Kabul	Eastern	South Central	South-western	Western	Northern	Central/ Hazarjat	Total
5	1.0%	5.2%	0.5%	9.1%	1.3%	0.2%	1.4%	2.1%
6	1.5%	14.2%	1.0%	7.9%	10.7%	2.0%	18.2%	6.5%
7	7.1%	13.4%	7.3%	6.7%	19.2%	7.5%	27.0%	11.6%
8	14.3%	17.9%	9.3%	8.5%	15.4%	12.7%	20.9%	13.7%
9	10.2%	7.5%	10.9%	7.9%	15.8%	12.7%	3.4%	10.7%
10	14.3%	17.9%	21.2%	17.6%	18.8%	19.7%	4.1%	17.1%
11	9.2%	2.2%	8.8%	9.7%	5.1%	9.5%	1.4%	7.3%
12	11.7%	7.5%	10.9%	17.6%	5.1%	11.3%	5.4%	10.1%
13	9.2%	3.7%	11.4%	3.0%	3.0%	8.2%	4.7%	6.6%

Age	Central/ Kabul	Eastern	South Central	South-western	Western	Northern	Central/ Hazarjat	Total
14	10.2%	3.0%	7.8%	4.8%	2.6%	8.4%	5.4%	6.5%
15	5.6%	3.0%	6.2%	3.0%	1.7%	3.4%	4.7%	3.8%
16	4.1%	0.7%	3.1%	1.2%	1.3%	1.6%	0.7%	1.9%
17	0.5%	0.7%	1.0%	2.4%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	1.0%
DK/NR	1.0%	3.0%	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,511 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who ever worked in the past. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The starting age for work also exhibited some variation by level of urbanization. The variation is clearer when children of young ages, from 5 to 7 years old inclusive, are considered (Table 42). About 22.5 percent of working children in the villages start working before their eighth birthday. For the same category, the values for cities and Kabul metro areas[159] are about 14 percent and 6 percent respectively. However, the difference declines starting from age 8. It is also worth noting that the distribution of Kabul metro and cities is similar. For these 2 geographic groups, the largest proportions of children start their first work between ages 8 and 12.

Table 42: Child's Age of Entrance into Work by Region

Age	Villages	Towns	Cities	Metros (Kabul)	Total
5	1.9%	0.0%	4.3%	1.9%	2.1%
6	7.6%	0.0%	2.6%	1.0%	6.5%
7	13.0%	4.3%	6.8%	2.9%	11.6%
8	13.8%	6.5%	14.5%	14.6%	13.7%
9	9.3%	19.6%	20.5%	12.6%	10.7%
10	16.9%	13.0%	18.8%	19.4%	17.1%
11	7.1%	13.0%	6.8%	7.8%	7.3%
12	9.6%	15.2%	10.3%	14.6%	10.1%
13	6.8%	8.7%	2.6%	7.8%	6.6%
14	5.9%	17.4%	6.0%	8.7%	6.5%
15	4.1%	2.2%	2.6%	2.9%	3.8%
16	1.8%	0.0%	1.7%	2.9%	1.9%
17	1.0%	0.0%	1.7%	1.0%	1.0%
NR/DK	1.1%	0.0%	0.9%	1.9%	1.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,511 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who ever worked in the past. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Most working children in the 4 provinces reported that their father was the person who influenced them most in getting their current job (63 percent), although a sizable 22 percent said that, in fact, no one influenced them (that they decided by themselves). A majority (87 percent) said that their current job is their first one.

At the aggregate level, 46 percent of the active population in the 4 provinces, including children and adults, started their current jobs[160] before they turned 18 years old, 30 percent before age 15 (the legal working age in Afghanistan), and 18 percent before age 13 (the minimum age for light work).

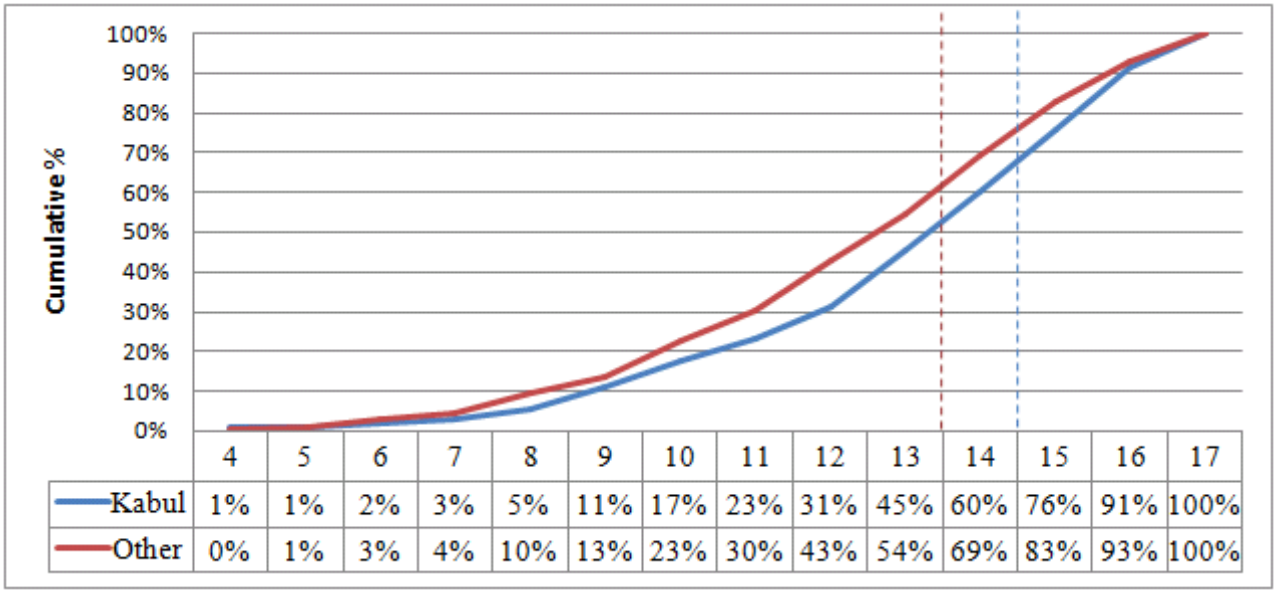
[159] Areas encompassed by the 16 Nahias (subdistricts) of the Kabul city district.

[160] Entrance into work calculated as difference between the person's current age and time spent in current job, according to adult informants in the household. This figure only includes adults who started their current jobs before they were 18 years old. Only includes persons who worked in the last year.

Entrance into work differs considerably by business sector, with children in the agricultural sector entering at the youngest age (50 percent have already entered by the time they are 12.5 years old), and children in construction entering at the oldest age (with a median age of 14.5).

As a result of these differences by sector, there are important differences by province, with children in Kabul who worked in the last year entering their current jobs later (median of 15 years old) than children in the other 3 provinces (median of 14 years old). Chart 10 presents the cumulative percentage of age of entrance into the current job, showing how entrance rates in Kabul only catch up with the other 3 provinces after age 16.

Chart 10: Age of Entrance into Work: Cumulative Percentage and Median in Kabul vs. Balkh, Kandahar, and Nangarhar



	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Kabul	1%	1%	2%	3%	5%	11%	17%	23%	31%	45%	60%	76%	91%	100%
Other	0%	1%	3%	4%	10%	13%	23%	30%	43%	54%	69%	83%	93%	100%

Base: n=1,083 persons in Kabul, Balkh, Kandahar, and Nangarhar who worked in the last 12 months and started their current job before age 18. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

School attendance status does not appear to delay entrance into work. Limiting our analysis to males to control for gender biases in school attendance and working status, the median age of entrance for boys who are currently working and attending school is actually lower (13 years) than for boys who are not currently attending school (13 years and 6 months).

6.3.5 Reported Reasons to Work

The main reason adults in the household of the working child allow children to work is associated with the family's economic situation. About 1 in 2 respondents (54 percent) nationwide indicated that their first or second reason is to supplement family income. Another 22 percent mentioned helping in the household enterprise, and 8.5 percent mentioned paying an outstanding family debt. Other reasons given include 43 percent who said that they let the child work so that the child could learn skills, 13 percent for socialization, and some school-related reasons, such as "cannot afford school fees," "child not interested in school," "schooling is irrelevant," or "school is too far."

The situation is similar in the four provinces, with a greater emphasis on learning skills, which is the second reason most often mentioned, particularly in Kabul and Balkh.

Table 43: Reasons for Letting Child Work in Kabul, Balkh, Kandahar, and Nangarhar

Reason	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	All
Supplement family income	53.8%	55.4%	61.6%	46.5%	54.2%
Learn skills	47.7%	38.3%	49.7%	31.7%	42.9%
Help in household enterprise	21.2%	28.0%	19.1%	21.1%	22.4%
For socialization	13.7%	13.0%	10.2%	13.3%	12.9%
Cannot afford school fees	11.1%	9.0%	5.1%	6.3%	8.7%
Pay outstanding family debt	7.8%	7.7%	7.3%	12.2%	8.5%
Child not interested in school	6.4%	4.6%	2.8%	7.5%	5.6%
School is too far	3.3%	2.3%	2.4%	4.1%	3.0%
Schooling is irrelevant	2.6%	2.3%	0.5%	3.5%	2.4%
To replace adult who is working away from home	1.0%	3.2%	1.7%	1.0%	1.6%
Other	5.1%	0.5%	5.6%	0.5%	3.2%

Base: n=770 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last year in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul and had a valid response. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There are differences in the reasons given by adults for letting children work, depending on whether they are attending school or not. Although supplementing family income is still the main reason for both working children in school and working children not in school, the proportion who responded that they let the child work to learn skills is greater for children who are attending school (29 percent) than for those who are not (18 percent). There are other reasons that are substantially lower for children attending school, including "pay outstanding family debt" (4 versus 8 percent) and obvious ones, such as "child is not interested in school" (1 versus 11 percent) or "schooling is irrelevant" (1 versus 3 percent).

Disaggregating respondents by industry type shows that supplementing family income is the most important reason for children working in all sectors. Similarly, helping in household enterprise is the second most important reason in agriculture, construction, and selling sectors. However, the second most important reason to work in the manufacturing sector is to learn skills. It is worth noting that no child cited working in the agriculture sector as an important sector to acquire skills. Payment for outstanding family debt is indicated as the third most important in agriculture and selling sectors, but it is the fourth in manufacturing and construction.

Table 44: Main Reason to Work by Industry Type

Reason	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
To supplement family income	47.1%	44.2%	52.2%	52.9%	49.0%
Help in household enterprise	43.1%	21.2%	30.4%	33.3%	32.0%
Learn skills	0.0%	25.0%	8.7%	2.0%	9.0%
Pay outstanding family debt	9.8%	9.6%	4.3%	5.9%	7.5%
Pay personal expenses, clothing, various amusements	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	5.9%	2.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or selling in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

6.4 WORK LOCATIONS

6.4.1 Work Locations by Sex

Shops, farms, and family dwellings are the most typical locations where child workers can be found in Afghanistan. The effect of sex is most noticeable in that there are locations that are almost exclusively male or female: 98 percent of all child workers who work at shops are male, as are 93 percent who work at farms, while 82 percent of all children working at their family dwelling are female.

Table 45: Work Location by Sex

Location	Male	Female	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	50.5%	3.4%	39.8%
Farm/garden/orchard/vineyard	23.9%	5.8%	19.8%
At the family dwelling	4.6%	70.5%	19.6%
Employer's house	3.2%	15.8%	6.1%
On the street	7.4%	0.3%	5.8%
Different places (mobile)	4.4%	0.7%	3.6%
Industry/factory	1.9%	2.1%	1.9%
Construction	1.7%	0.0%	1.3%
Formal office	0.5%	1.0%	0.6%
DK/NR	1.8%	0.3%	1.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

At the provincial level, the picture is similar, with about 2 in 3 females (62 percent) working at their home, and just a few working at the farm/plantation/garden (11 percent), or the employer's house or shops (6 percent each). The small number of females in our sample does not allow for any meaningful disaggregation by province, but this pattern appears to be similar across the four provinces.

6.4.2 Work Locations by Sector

Table 46 shows work locations by industry type. The results are based on interviews with 200 children in the 4 sectors listed. It appears that shops, markets, and kiosks are major sites for activities in the manufacturing and selling sectors. As expected, agriculture is predominantly carried out in plantations, farms, or gardens. Construction work is performed at construction sites, employers' houses, and other places. Streets are primary sites for activities related to selling.

Table 46: Work Locations by Industry Type

Location	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	0.0%	65.4%	0.0%	43.1%	28.0%
Plantation/farm/garden	94.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.0%
Construction	0.0%	0.0%	63.0%	0.0%	14.5%
Different places (mobile)	5.9%	1.9%	17.4%	25.5%	12.5%
Employer's house	0.0%	19.2%	15.2%	0.0%	8.5%
On the street	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	31.4%	8.0%

Location	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Factory	0.0%	9.6%	4.3%	0.0%	3.5%
His/her family dwelling	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or selling in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

Children in these four sectors were asked about the social characteristics of the locations where they work. Although cultural norms did not allow the researchers to ask about certain taboos such as prostitution, a large number of other social problems at the child's location were recorded. A very small minority reported having been affected by gang or drug activities at or near work (3 percent total), in the form of harassment. Nonetheless, about 40 percent reported seeing children or young people taking drugs, stealing, or fighting, and an additional 16 percent reported seeing people selling drugs. While these issues were reported quite evenly across urban and rural settings and industries, manufacturing and selling show somewhat higher rates. Observations from our field team indicate that there may be a cultural bias affecting these numbers: Apparently, and while legal, tobacco is considered a drug in Afghanistan. The research instruments were not designed to collect data on drug activities; therefore, it is impossible to disaggregate this effect from our current figures. However, we estimate that the majority of children seeing people taking or selling drugs are possibly referring to tobacco.

6.4.3 Work Locations by Region

Linked to these differences by sector, there are some differences in work locations by province. Shops, markets, and kiosks are more common in Kabul and Nangarhar than in Kandahar and Balkh. Plantations, farms, and gardens are more predominant in Nangarhar, and to a lesser extent in Kandahar and Balkh. Children working at their employer's house, as well as at their family dwelling, are predominantly from Balkh and Kabul.

Table 47: Work Locations by Region

Location	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	52.8%	37.7%	42.3%	46.5%	46.4%
Plantation/farm/garden	10.0%	41.1%	18.6%	20.8%	20.6%
On the street	9.7%	7.7%	9.6%	7.5%	8.8%
Employer's house	8.9%	4.3%	9.6%	4.4%	7.2%
His/her family dwelling	8.1%	1.4%	10.9%	3.8%	6.3%
Herding in the countryside	4.6%	2.4%	2.6%	10.7%	4.8%
Different places (mobile)	1.6%	4.3%	5.1%	5.7%	3.6%
Other	2.2%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	1.0%
DK/NR	2.2%	1.0%	0.6%	0.6%	1.3%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Work location by place of residence shows that rural children are evenly distributed among plantations, farms, and gardens, as well as shops, markets, and kiosks. Urban working children work mainly in shops, markets, or kiosks, and to a lesser degree at their employer's house, on the street, and at their family dwelling. When we take into account the size of the population in each setting, activities carried out on the streets and in shops, kiosks, markets, factories, and employer's houses are by and large in urban areas.

Table 48: Work Locations by Setting

Location	Rural	Urban	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	36.9%	58.1%	46.6%
Plantation/farm/garden	33.7%	5.2%	20.7%
On the street	8.3%	9.6%	8.9%
Employer's house	4.3%	10.6%	7.2%
His/her family dwelling	3.9%	8.9%	6.2%
Herding in the countryside	8.1%	1.0%	4.8%
Different places (mobile)	3.9%	3.0%	3.5%
DK/NR	0.4%	1.5%	1.2%
Other	0.4%	2.2%	0.9%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There does not appear to be a stark difference between urban and rural settings in terms of the social problems found at the location where the child works. Similar to what children in the 4 economic sectors reported, 2.4 percent of children working in the 4 provinces said they have been affected by drug or gang activities, typically 1 or 2 times per month. This proportion was higher in rural (3.7 percent) than urban locations (1.1 percent); it was also higher than in Balkh and Kandahar (7.1 and 4.5 percent respectively). On the other hand, working children in urban areas reported incidences of children or young people taking drugs (35 percent) or children stealing or fighting (43 percent) more often than in rural areas (30 and 28 percent respectively). These proportions were lower in Balkh province (19 and 29 percent respectively) than in the other 3 provinces (averaging 35 and 37 percent respectively). Finally, children working in rural settings see people selling drugs slightly more often than children in urban areas (15 and 11 percent respectively). This proportion was also considerably higher in Kandahar (28 percent) than in Nangarhar (13 percent), Balkh (11 percent), or Kabul (8 percent).

6.4.4 Work Locations by Age

Working children's age does not seem to play an important role in terms of the locations where they work. There are some identifiable patterns, nonetheless. At the national level, younger children (between 5 and 12 years old) are less concentrated in shops, markets or kiosks, and have a slightly higher presence working on the street. Older children (15 to 17 years old), on the other hand, work in shops, markets, and/or kiosks to a greater degree than the other age categories.

Table 49: Work Location by Age Group Nationwide

Location	5-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	33.8%	41.4%	44.0%	39.8%
Farm/garden/orchard/vineyard	21.9%	18.1%	18.7%	19.8%
His/her family dwelling	21.3%	21.6%	17.5%	19.6%
Employer's house	6.3%	6.0%	5.9%	6.1%
On the street	6.5%	5.6%	5.2%	5.8%
Different places (mobile)	3.8%	3.0%	3.6%	3.6%
Industry/factory	1.9%	1.7%	2.1%	1.9%
Construction	1.3%	0.9%	1.6%	1.3%
Formal office	0.6%	0.9%	0.5%	0.6%
Refused/Don't Know	2.5%	0.9%	0.9%	1.5%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The situation in the 4 provinces shows that younger children (5 to 12 years old) are found herding in the countryside in much greater proportions than older children. They also have higher rates of work in plantations, farms and gardens, and on the streets.

Table 50: Work Location by Age Group in Four Selected Provinces

Location	5-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Shop/market/kiosk	42.0%	51.1%	46.9%	46.5%
Plantation/farm/garden	26.1%	18.8%	18.6%	20.6%
On the street	11.8%	10.8%	6.6%	8.8%
Employer's house	0.8%	5.4%	11.1%	7.2%
His/her family dwelling	3.4%	6.5%	7.5%	6.2%
Herding in the countryside	11.8%	3.8%	1.7%	4.8%
Different places (mobile)	3.4%	1.6%	4.5%	3.6%
Other	0.0%	0.5%	1.7%	1.0%
DK/NR	0.8%	1.6%	1.5%	1.3%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

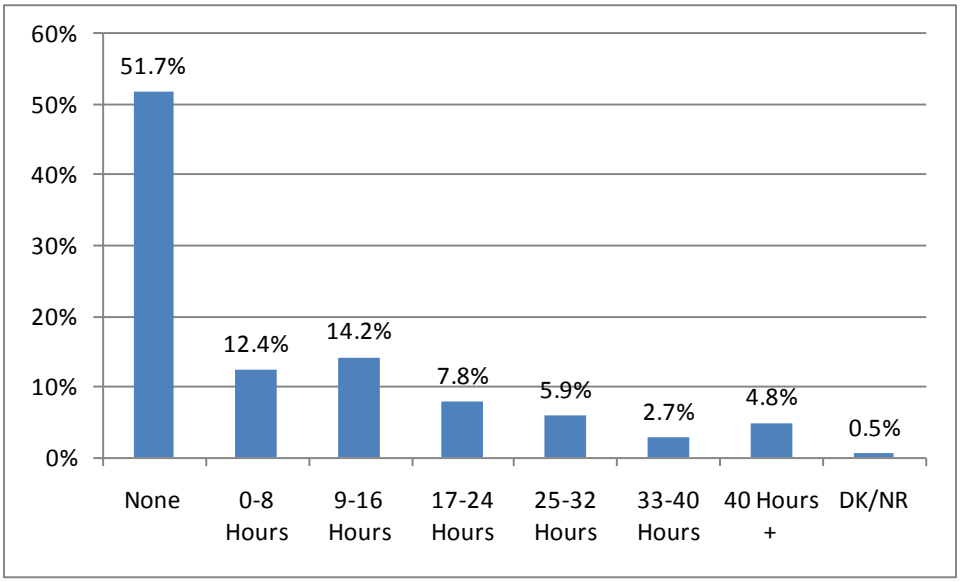
Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.5 CHILD WORK AND HOUSEHOLD CHORES

6.5.1 Chores: Prevalence and Types of Activities

One of the most important activities that children in developing countries are engaged in is household chores, and Afghanistan is no exception. Out of the total 3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) included in the four-province survey, about half (51.7 percent) of children reported that they had done chores in the previous week. On average, a child spent about 10 hours (9.83 hours) in the past week completing chores. The majority of children, about 64.1 percent, work 8 hours or less per week on household chores (Chart 11).

Chart 11: Hours on Chores Done in Past Week in Four Provinces



Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Children spend more time completing chores in the more rural province of Nangarhar. More than half (51.7 percent) of Nangarhar children conducted chores in the past week—more than in any other province—and 19.9 percent did 25 hours or more of chores (compared with 11.9 percent in the remaining 3 provinces). Children in more urban Kabul and Balkh spend less time completing chores.

Table 51: Last Week's Chores in Four Provinces in Number of Hours

Province	None	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	Above 40	DK/NR	N
Kabul	51.1%	14.6%	14.1%	7.4%	6.5%	1.7%	4.0%	0.5%	876
Nangarhar	49.3%	7.2%	13.9%	9.6%	6.6%	4.9%	8.1%	0.3%	924
Balkh	54.8%	17.3%	15.0%	5.3%	2.7%	1.2%	3.3%	0.5%	869
Kandahar	52.8%	7.0%	14.4%	9.8%	6.7%	4.6%	4.6%	0.2%	863
Total	**51.7%**	**12.4%**	**14.3%**	**7.8%**	**5.9%**	**2.7%**	**4.8%**	**0.4%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Almost three quarters (72 percent) of children who do chores, and more than one third of all children in the 4 selected provinces (34.6 percent), do chores 7 days a week. There is little difference between the days of chores across the four selected provinces.

Table 52: Last Week's Chores in Four Provinces in Number of Days

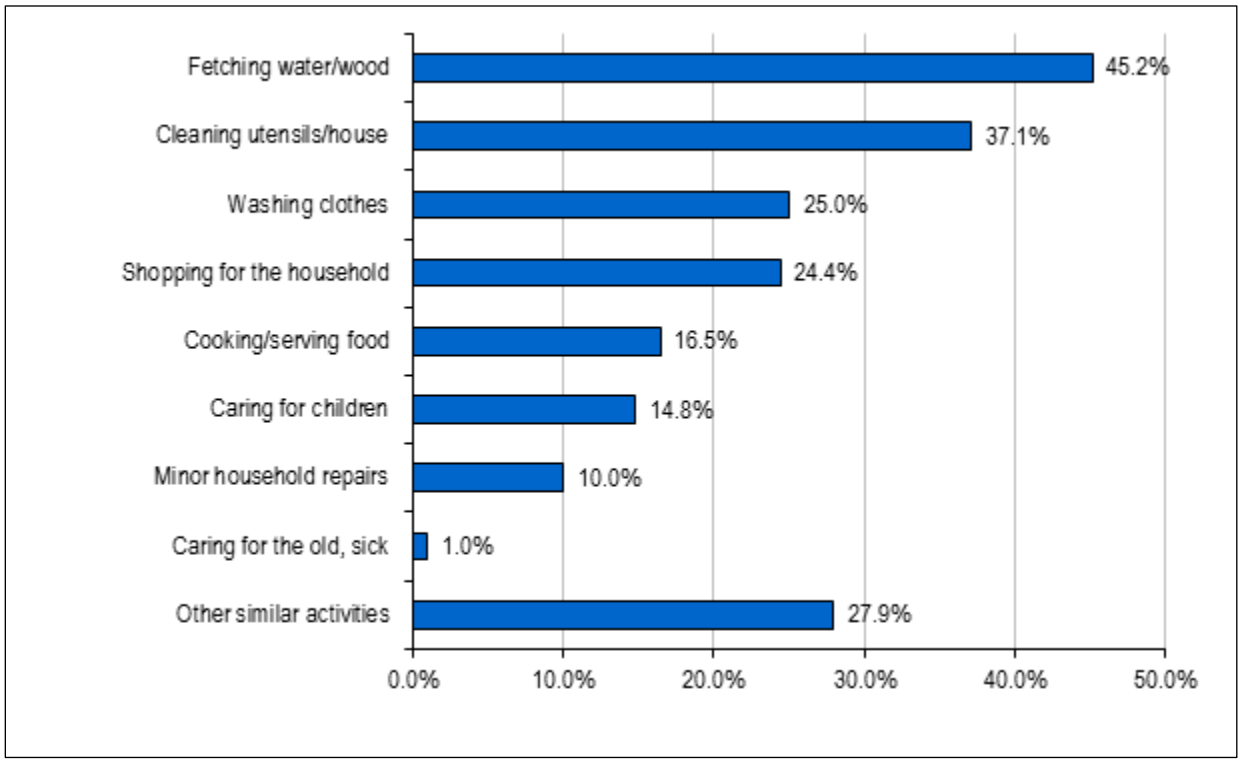
Province	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DK/NR	N
Kabul	51.1%	0.6%	0.8%	1.9%	2.3%	2.5%	6.4%	34.1%	0.2%	876
Nangarhar	49.2%	0.3%	0.6%	0.6%	1.2%	3.2%	7.1%	37.6%	0.3%	924
Balkh	55.0%	0.5%	0.3%	0.5%	1.8%	2.8%	4.8%	33.8%	0.3%	869
Kandahar	52.8%	N/A	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	4.6%	7.4%	33.7%	0.2%	863
Total	**51.7%**	**0.4%**	**0.6%**	**1.1%**	**1.7%**	**3.1%**	**6.4%**	**34.7%**	**0.2%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.5.2 Types of Activities

Children undertake different types of household chores, such as cooking, house cleaning, laundry, shopping for the household, and caring for younger children and the elderly. Chart 12 presents the types of chores carried out by all children between the ages of 5 and 17 in the four selected provinces. In order of importance, these activities include fetching water or wood, cleaning the house and utensils, washing clothes, shopping, cooking, caring for children, minor household repairs, and caring for the elderly.

Chart 12: Household Chore Activities Performed by Children



Base: n=1,693 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who also spent some time on chores in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Chores are performed by boys and girls, by children of all age groups, and by working and nonworking children. Disaggregating chores by the aforementioned characteristics reveals some important differences both in the type of activities that they specialize in and the amount of hours each group spends on chores.

6.5.3 Chores and Gender

Boys and girls specialize on different activities of household chores. Table 53 reports gender-differentiated household activities based on the actual chore activities performed by each group in the week preceding the survey. The top three chore activities for boys are fetching water or wood, shopping, and minor household repairs. Cleaning, washing clothes, and cooking constitute the top three chore activities for girls.

Table 53: Household Chores Performed by Gender

Male

Type of Chore	%
Fetching water/wood	67.5%
Shopping for the household	40.6%
Minor household repairs	17.1%
Cleaning utensils/house	15.2%
Caring for children	8.8%
Washing clothes	4.6%

Type of Chore	%
Cooking/serving food	3.7%
Caring for the old/sick	0.3%
Other similar activities	27.9%

Female

Type of Chore	%
Cleaning utensils/house	55.1%
Washing clothes	41.9%
Cooking/serving food	27.0%
Fetching water/wood	26.8%
Caring for children	19.7%
Shopping for the household	11.1%
Minor household repairs	4.2%
Caring for the old/sick	1.6%
Other similar activities	28.0%

Base: n=1,689 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who spent some time on chores in the last week. Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces.

Gender differences in chores are also observed in the amount of time that each group spends on them in a given week. The nationwide data show that, on average, boys spend about 7 hours per week on chores compared with girls who spend more than twice as much, 15 hours.[161]

The figures in Table 54 are hours spent on chores in the past week preceding the survey, classified by gender. The table shows that about two thirds of boys (64.4 percent) did no chores in the past week, compared with 31.6 percent of girls. More than one quarter of girls (25.4 percent) do 25 hours or more in a given week—a figure that is 5.9 percent for boys.

Table 54: Hours Spent on Chores per Week by Sex

Hours per Week	Male	Female	Total
None	64.4%	31.6%	51.7%
1-8	11.1%	14.4%	12.4%
9-16	12.6%	17.0%	14.3%
17-24	5.6%	11.4%	7.8%
25-32	3.6%	9.5%	5.9%
33-40	1.0%	5.3%	2.7%
Above 40	1.3%	10.3%	4.8%
DK/NR	0.4%	0.5%	0.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Boys spend a similar amount of time doing chores in each of the four selected provinces. In contrast, the time spent by girls varies considerably. While children spend more time overall doing chores in Nangarhar, boys in this province do similar amounts of chores as boys from the other three provinces. However, three quarters of girls in Nangarhar (75.4 percent) participated

[161] The four-province data provide a different result in terms of the amount of hours spent on chores per week. Respectively, boys and girls spend 15 and 23 hours per week. For obvious reasons of coverage and sample size, the nationwide data are more representative than the four-province data. However, in both cases, there exists a considerable gender difference in the amount of time spent on household chores.

in chores in the past week, and 42 percent did over 25 hours of chores—double the figure for girls in the remaining 3 provinces.

Table 55: Hours Spent on Chores by Gender in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar Provinces

Kabul

Gender	None	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	Above 40	DK/NR	n
Male	65.8%	13.2%	10.3%	3.9%	3.7%	1.1%	1.5%	0.5%	533
Female	29.3%	16.6%	19.9%	12.5%	10.8%	2.6%	7.9%	0.5%	343
Total	**51.3%**	**14.5%**	**14.1%**	**7.3%**	**6.5%**	**1.7%**	**4.1%**	**0.5%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Gender	None	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	Above 40	DK/NR	n
Male	62.1%	6.9%	14.3%	9.0%	4.4%	1.2%	1.6%	0.5%	593
Female	26.5%	7.3%	13.1%	10.6%	11.0%	11.4%	19.6%	0.4%	331
Total	**49.3%**	**7.1%**	**13.9%**	**9.6%**	**6.8%**	**4.9%**	**8.1%**	**0.4%**	**924**

Balkh

Gender	None	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	Above 40	DK/NR	n
Male	66.3%	16.4%	12.4%	2.2%	1.3%	0.3%	0.8%	0.3%	536
Female	36.4%	18.6%	19.0%	10.4%	4.8%	2.6%	7.4%	0.9%	333
Total	**54.8%**	**17.3%**	**15.0%**	**5.3%**	**2.7%**	**1.2%**	**3.3%**	**0.5%**	**869**

Kandahar

Gender	None	1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	Above 40	DK/NR	n
Male	61.5%	4.6%	17.0%	9.5%	4.9%	1.4%	0.9%	0.3%	528
Female	39.0%	10.8%	10.3%	10.3%	9.4%	9.4%	10.3%	0.4%	335
Total	**52.7%**	**7.0%**	**14.4%**	**9.8%**	**6.7%**	**4.6%**	**4.6%**	**0.4%**	**863**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Overall, looking at paid activities (work) and household chores by gender, the result suggests that, in terms of time spent on any activity, the burden on male children is slightly higher than on female children in Afghanistan.

Table 56: Mean Time Spent on Chores and Work by Gender in Four Provinces

Gender	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	5.44	14.04	19.48
Female	15.78	1.05	16.83
Total	**9.44**	**9.00**	**18.45**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.5.4 Chores and Age

Children aged 9 through 12 and 13 through 14 are more likely to do chores than other age groups. With 18.7 percent doing 25 or more hours a week, those aged 13 through 14 spend the most time doing chores. Just more than two thirds (68.5 percent) of children aged 5 through 8 do not participate in chores.

Table 57: Hours Spent on Chores per Week by Age–Descriptive Statistics

Hours of Chores per Week	5-8	9-12	13-14	15-17	Total
None	70.6%	41.9%	41.5%	49.1%	51.7%
1-8	11.3%	16.7%	11.0%	9.5%	12.4%
9-16	8.5%	17.5%	18.9%	13.7%	14.3%
17-24	5.2%	9.7%	9.7%	7.4%	7.8%
25-32	1.1%	6.6%	7.7%	9.0%	5.9%
33-40	1.0%	2.8%	3.0%	4.1%	2.7%
Above 40	1.5%	4.5%	8.0%	6.6%	4.8%
DK/NR	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	0.8%	0.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

As children get older, they tend to be more active in responsible activities. In the four selected provinces, girls tend to take on more chores and boys take on more economic activity. At ages 9 through 12, the average hours of chores for boys peaks and then slowly declines as they get older and take on more economic activity. Girls, throughout their childhood, do more chores than boys and take on more and more responsibility in the home. The result is an almost uniform growth in total hours spent.

Table 58: Mean Time Spent on Chores and Work by Age in Four Provinces

Age 5 thru 8

Sex	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	2.95	1.73	4.69
Female	6.04	0.12	6.19
Total	**4.33**	**1.02**	**5.36**

Age 9 thru 12

Sex	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	7.17	10.41	17.58
Female	15.71	0.80	16.51
Total	**10.66**	**6.47**	**17.15**

Age 13 thru 14

Sex	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	6.00	16.51	22.50
Female	22.63	1.45	24.16
Total	**12.48**	**10.64**	**23.15**

Age 15 thru 17

Sex	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	5.55	26.60	32.17
Female	25.65	2.57	28.08
Total	**11.56**	**19.36**	**30.93**

Total

Sex	Hours of Chores	Hours of Work	Total Hours
Male	5.44	14.04	19.48
Female	15.78	1.05	16.83
Total	**9.44**	**9.00**	**18.45**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.5.5 Chores and Work

More than two thirds (71.9 percent) of children who work do not participate in chores, compared with 44.8 percent of nonworking children. Children who are not working are 4 times as likely to do 25 hours of chores (16.4 percent as compared with 4.4 percent).

Table 59: Hours Spent on Chores per Week by Age Group

Hours per Week	Not Working	Working	Total
None	44.8%	71.9%	51.7%
1-8	13.6%	8.6%	12.4%
9-16	15.8%	9.7%	14.3%
17-24	8.8%	4.9%	7.8%
25-32	6.6%	3.8%	5.9%
33-40	3.5%	0.2%	2.7%
Above 40	6.3%	0.5%	4.8%
DK/NR	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Disaggregating the amount of time spent by age group and working status at the same time shows that those who are in the youngest age category and are nonworking are different. On average, children in this age category and who are nonworking spend 3 hours per week on chores. All others spend more or less the same amount of time (about 9 hours) on chores.

6.6 Child Work and Selected Household and Demographic Characteristics

6.6.1 Child Work and Household Size

There appears to be a mild inverse relationship between the number of household members and work rates among children. This appears to be primarily a function of wealth, in that large households in Afghanistan tend to be wealthier than smaller households. The relationship between family size and the rate at which children are working and not in school is less clear. For boys, the relationship is robust, but for girls, the highest rates are in the largest households. More than 1 in 10 girls (11.2 percent) in households of 14 or more members are working and not going to school.

Table 60: Child Work by Household Size

Number of Household Members	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size
1 to 6	26.3%	9.4%	16.8%	820
7 to 8	25.8%	6.7%	27.4%	1,363
9 to 10	24.4%	7.8%	26.7%	1,403
11 plus	21.8%	7.1%	29.0%	1,709
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The four-province survey reveals a population that is concentrated in smaller households. Average household size from the four-province survey is 7.19 individuals per household. The national survey revealed 8.62 individuals per household in the 4 selected provinces. The difference appears to be related to how the question was asked and the different context of the survey, which is suspected of reducing estimates of girls in the four-province data.[162]

In each of the four selected provinces, the highest work rates for children are found in small households. Across the 4 provinces, nearly one third (31.4 percent) of children from households of 6 members or fewer are working, as compared with 25 percent of children in larger households. A similar pattern appears in rates of children who work and do not attend school. The work rate for a child in a household of 6 members or fewer is 9.3 percent, compared with 6.2 percent in larger households.

Table 61: Child Work by Household Size

Kabul

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1 to 6	28.6%	7.3%	41.7%	290
7 to 8	19.6%	4.6%	29.2%	306
9 to 10	20.9%	4.4%	18.8%	177
11 plus	20.0%	4.1%	10.3%	103
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1 to 6	40.0%	13.6%	28.3%	206
7 to 8	29.9%	7.8%	33.1%	326
9 to 10	32.2%	6.9%	24.8%	221
11 plus	24.0%	4.4%	13.7%	171
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1 to 6	30.8%	5.2%	47.8%	363
7 to 8	27.7%	5.4%	35.2%	297
9 to 10	19.1%	3.6%	11.5%	142
11 plus	19.4%	2.9%	5.5%	67
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

[162] The question in the national survey was worded, "How many people live here at this address?" The four-province survey asks the person to list all of the people: "Can you please provide (first) names of all persons who normally reside in this household, beginning with the head of the household (including children who are temporarily absent for any reason)?" The national survey allows for some respondents to overestimate the household size. The four-province survey only allows respondents to underestimate by failing to include a family member. The listing of household members also is much more intrusive and may have made some respondents uncomfortable with listing, in particular, young female household members. In fact, if most of the "missing" household members are female, it would completely explain the disproportionately male sample in this survey.

Kandahar

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1 to 6	33.9%	16.9%	39.4%	288
7 to 8	25.3%	9.3%	33.1%	321
9 to 10	26.0%	12.4%	20.5%	193
11 plus	28.0%	13.2%	7.1%	61
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1 to 6	31.4%	9.3%	39.2%	1,147
7 to 8	24.0%	6.2%	31.9%	1,250
9 to 10	24.1%	6.3%	19.2%	733
11 plus	22.0%	5.0%	9.7%	402
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The number of children (aged 5 through 17) in a household is also negatively correlated to work rates of children. In the national survey data, a child in a single family home has a one-in-three chance (32.4 percent) of being a working child.[163] Children with only 1 sibling have similarly high work rates (28.2 percent). Only children also have the highest rates of working and not attending school (11.9 percent).

Table 62: Child Work by Number of Children in Household

Number of Children	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size
1	32.4%	11.9%	8.3%	327
2	28.2%	8.0%	24.4%	1,108
3	23.3%	6.7%	25.8%	1,422
4	20.3%	6.3%	18.6%	1,180
5 plus	23.4%	8.2%	22.9%	1,258
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The four-province survey shows an even stronger inverse relationship between number of children (aged 5 through 17) in a household and rates of child work. In all four of the selected provinces, the rate of child work is at least double for an only child. Combined, 58.6 percent of children in single-child homes work. This phenomenon is also strong for rates of children who are working and not attending school, with children of single-child homes having at least double the rate of other children. Combined, 17.1 percent of only children work and do not go to school. This relationship remains robust when adjusted for age and gender through logistic regression—an analysis that reveals that, when controlling for age and gender, only children are four times as likely to work as other children.

[163] It was expected that there would be an age effect that would reduce work rates among children with small families. Surprisingly, the average age of children from households with two or fewer children is actually slightly above the sample average.

Table 63: Child Work by Household Size

Kabul

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1	44.3%	10.1%	8.7%	40
2	26.2%	5.5%	17.5%	136
3	25.0%	6.9%	30.4%	243
4	20.2%	4.8%	22.8%	228
5 plus	17.9%	3.6%	20.6%	229
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1	77.6%	28.2%	8.0%	29
2	37.7%	6.9%	17.8%	136
3	30.1%	9.6%	20.5%	201
4	27.3%	10.7%	21.1%	228
5 plus	28.9%	4.5%	32.5%	330
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1	67.3%	10.4%	16.8%	58
2	36.1%	3.4%	17.6%	114
3	24.2%	4.1%	27.8%	267
4	22.6%	5.2%	20.4%	212
5 plus	18.8%	4.6%	17.4%	218
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1	72.3%	48.0%	9.7%	33
2	42.5%	23.9%	19.1%	112
3	26.3%	10.4%	23.8%	222
4	21.2%	7.4%	24.5%	284
5 plus	26.5%	11.2%	23.0%	212
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Number of Household Members	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1	58.6%	17.9%	10.1%	160
2	32.4%	8.1%	17.9%	498
3	25.8%	7.3%	26.5%	933
4	22.0%	6.5%	22.3%	952
5 plus	22.0%	5.1%	23.2%	989
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.6.2 Child Work and Age of the Household Head

Nationally we have no consistently reported data on the age of the head of household. In the four-province survey, however, the data exists. The age of the head of household is not strongly related to overall work rates of children in the household, with only a slight increase in the work rates in households headed by older individuals: 27 percent for children in a household with a head older than 40 years old, as compared with 24.7 percent. Much of this difference is because children in households with an older head of household tend to be older themselves. Despite this child's age effect, children in households headed by young individuals tend to have higher rates of working and not going to school. Across the 4 selected provinces, more than 1 in 10 children (11.9 percent) in households headed by someone aged 30 and younger work and do not attend school. This may be related to the lower number of children in these households.

Table 64: Age of the Head of Household and Children's Working Status

Kabul

Age of Head of Household	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
17-30 years	24.8%	10.4%	5.9%	49
31-40 years	20.6%	4.1%	24.7%	244
41-50 years	23.3%	5.5%	43.6%	370
50 years plus	24.4%	5.6%	25.7%	213
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Age of Head of Household	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
17-30 years	22.8%	8.7%	3.5%	44
31-40 years	31.7%	8.3%	27.3%	254
41-50 years	37.1%	9.2%	48.3%	379
50 years plus	24.8%	6.8%	20.9%	247
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Age of Head of Household	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
17-30 years	24.9%	6.5%	6.4%	60
31-40 years	24.2%	5.5%	24.7%	239
41-50 years	28.6%	4.1%	41.5%	340
50 years plus	27.9%	4.8%	27.3%	230
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Age of Head of Household	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
17-30 years	37.3%	34.2%	4.7%	32
31-40 years	26.7%	12.3%	31.8%	292
41-50 years	27.7%	10.4%	35.3%	313
50 years plus	30.6%	13.7%	28.1%	226
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Age of Head of Household	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
17-30 years	25.9%	11.9%	5.2%	185
31-40 years	24.5%	6.7%	26.6%	1,029
41-50 years	27.5%	6.8%	42.9%	1,402
50 years plus	26.1%	7.1%	25.3%	916
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.6.3 Child Work and Education of the Household Head

The literacy of the head of a child's household is a good predictor of whether a child works. Across all four selected provinces, a child in a household with a head who can read a newspaper easily is less likely to work. Combined, only 21.9 percent of children with a literate head of household are working, compared with 30.5 percent of other children. This clear relationship is also apparent in regards to children who work and do not go to school. Across the four selected provinces, children with literate heads of households are half as likely or less to be working and not going to school. Those with a literate head of household account for almost half of children (49.4 percent); in the selected 4 provinces, they only account for 21.7 percent of children who work and do not go to school.

Table 65: Literacy of the Head of Household and Children's Working Status

Kabul

Ability to Read Newspaper or Letter	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Easily	17.6%	2.3%	43.1%	483
With Difficulty	28.5%	7.7%	13.7%	100
Not At All	30.2%	9.9%	43.2%	293
Don't Know	n/a	n/a	0.0%	-
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Ability to Read Newspaper or Letter	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Easily	28.3%	2.7%	42.2%	443
With Difficulty	35.6%	1.7%	7.4%	61
Not At All	34.8%	15.0 %	50.4%	416
Don't Know	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Ability to Read Newspaper or Letter	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Easily	24.6%	2.4%	39.9%	378
With Difficulty	28.0%	7.1%	6.9%	57
Not At All	28.8%	6.6%	52.3%	427
Don't Know	29.4%	14.1%	0.9%	7
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Ability to Read Newspaper or Letter	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Easily	27.2%	7.9%	36.8%	334
With Difficulty	19.6%	7.9%	4.1%	52
Not At All	30.3%	16.7%	59.1%	477
Don't Know	n/a	n/a	0.0%	-
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Ability to Read Newspaper or Letter	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Easily	21.9%	3.1%	41.2%	1,638
With Difficulty	28.5%	6.7%	9.3%	270
Not At All	30.9%	11.9%	49.3%	1,613
Don't Know	20.3%	9.8%	0.2%	11
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

As one can expect, there is also a strong relationship between the working status of children and the educational level of the head of the child's household. In the 4 selected provinces, 53.3 percent of the working children and 74.2 percent of the children who work and do not go to school are from households where the head has not completed the first grade. The relationship is strongest in Kabul, where only 16.8 percent of children in a household with a head who has completed secondary school or higher are working, and only 1.8 percent are working and attending school.

Table 66: Educational Attainment of Head of Household and Child's Working Status

Kabul

Educational Attainment	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
None/Preschool	29.7%	9.7%	49.3%	338
Any Primary or Some Secondary	23.4%	5.2%	20.1%	180
Secondary Complete or Higher	16.8%	1.8%	28.0%	323
Other	14.3%	0.0%	2.6%	35
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Educational Attainment	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
None/Preschool	33.5%	13.8%	50.4%	433
Any Primary or Some Secondary	32.2%	4.9%	19.3%	170
Secondary Complete or Higher	28.8%	2.4%	30.4%	319
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Educational Attainment	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
None/Preschool	29.9%	7.0%	58.3%	458
Any Primary or Some Secondary	22.6%	1.4%	20.4%	212
Secondary Complete or Higher	25.7%	3.7%	21.4%	191
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Educational Attainment	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
None/Preschool	30.8%	17.3%	61.4%	489
Any Primary or Some Secondary	26.1%	11.9%	16.7%	158
Secondary Complete or Higher	25.0%	3.2%	18.6%	184
Other	25.0%	3.1%	3.4%	32
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Educational Attainment	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
None/Preschool	30.8%	11.6%	53.3%	1,718
Any Primary or Some Secondary	25.3%	5.3%	19.4%	720
Secondary Complete or Higher	21.2%	2.3%	25.7%	1,017
Other	15.7%	0.7%	1.7%	77
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.6.4 Work Status and Occupation of Parent or Head of Household

The work status of the head of household is not a strong indicator of children's work rates. This may be because the data are pulling in two directions. Employment indicates that opportunities exist, but it reduces the need for allowing children to work. Unemployment may indicate need but not opportunity.

Table 67: Child Work by Work Status in Afghanistan

Work Status	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size
Working Full-Time	24.6%	7.4%	58.3%	3,038
Working Part-Time	23.0%	7.0%	21.5%	1,198
Unemployed/Looking	24.1%	9.3%	7.5%	399
Unemployed/Not Looking	24.5%	7.5%	12.4%	650
DK/Refused	40.0%	40.0%	0.3%	10
Total	**24.2%**	**7.6%**	**100.0%**	**5,295**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The four-province data reveal a consistent relationship between unemployment of the head of household and the economic activities of children within the household; children are more likely

to work if the head of household has not worked in the last week. This relationship holds in all four of the selected provinces, but is very small in primarily rural Nangarhar. The relationship is strongest in Kabul, where children are 65 percent more likely to work if their head of household is not working, compared with 16 percent for the remaining 3 provinces. Employment similarly affects the rates of children who are working and not going to school.

Table 68: Child Work by Work Status in Selected Four Provinces

Kabul

Worked in Last Week	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	35.0%	8.9%	19.6%	119
Yes	21.2%	4.9%	80.4%	757
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Worked in Last Week	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	33.3%	9.0%	17.5%	152
Yes	31.3%	8.1%	82.5%	772
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Worked in Last Week	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	31.9%	6.2%	11.1%	81
Yes	26.4%	4.7%	88.9%	788
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Worked in Last Week	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	33.7%	17.0%	15.0%	110
Yes	27.7%	12.2%	85.0%	753
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Worked in Last Week	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	34.0%	9.9%	16.8%	462
Yes	25.1%	6.7%	83.2%	3,070
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.6.5 Death or Absence of Parent

Across the four selected provinces, absence of a parent is rare. About 1 in 20 children (5.6 percent) in the 4 selected provinces has an absent parent, and none in the sample were missing both parents. In all but one province (Nangarhar), it is slightly more common to have a

missing father. Death is the cause of 90.2 percent of the absences. Therefore, it is very rare for parents to leave the household where their children reside (affecting 0.5 percent of children in the 4 provinces).

Table 69: Parental Absence by Province

Province	Mother Absent	Father Absent	Both Absent	Neither Absent
Kabul	0.9%	5.1%	0.2%	93.8%
Nangarhar	3.2%	2.1%	0.7%	94.0%
Balkh	2.3%	2.8%	1.5%	93.3%
Kandahar	1.9%	N/A	0.5%	97.5%
Total	**1.8%**	**3.3%**	**0.6%**	**94.4%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The death or absence of one of a child's parents correlates with an increased likelihood that the child will work or work and not go to school. Although the sample is small, the death or absence of a child's father appears to have a larger effect. More than 4 out of 10 children (44.8 percent) whose father is absent are working, and 17.9 percent are working and not attending school. There was no measurable difference in the work rates of children with a deceased parent as compared with those with an absent parent.

Table 70: Child Work by Parental Absence in Four Selected Provinces

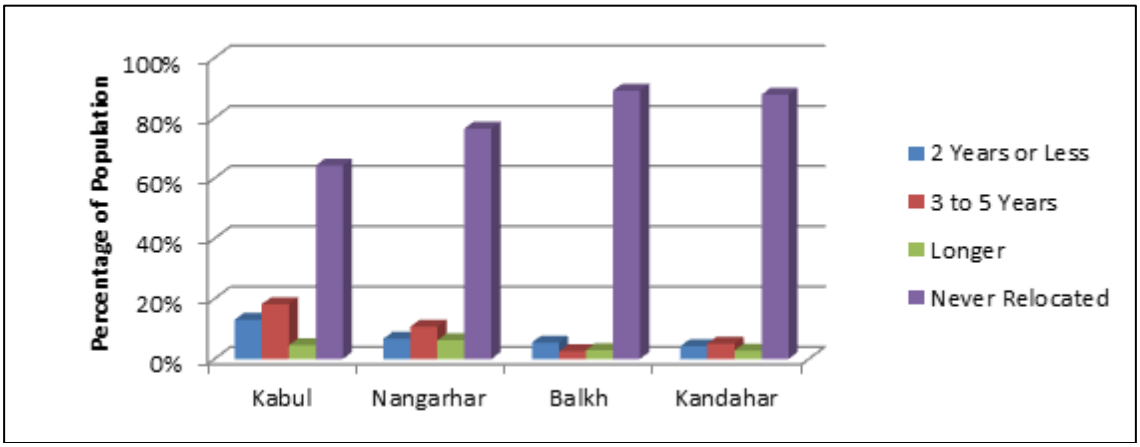
Parental Absence	% Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size
Mother Absent	31.8%	8.7%	2.5%	74
Father Absent	44.8%	17.9%	3.8%	89
Both Absent	38.2%	13.9	1.0%	27
Neither Absent	25.4%	6.6%	92.7%	3,342
Either Parent Absent	40.0%	14.6%	8.6%	190
Either Parent Dead	40.3%	14.8%	7.9%	172
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.6.6 Child Work and Migration Status

In the four selected provinces, 25.5 percent of the population are from households that have relocated—28.8 percent of all children aged 5 to 17. Kabul has the highest proportion of individuals who have relocated, with 31.3 percent of the population having relocated in the past 5 years (33.7 percent of children aged 5 to 17). Nangarhar has the next most relocated population—17.4 percent having relocated in the past 5 years.

Chart 13: Years Since Relocation by Four Selected Provinces



Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There is no measured relationship between relocation and child work. Across the 4 selected provinces, those who have not relocated have only marginally lower work rates for children (26.1 percent as compared with 26.4 percent for children of families that have relocated), and actually have higher rates for working and not attending school (7.6 percent as compared with 5.7 percent).

Table 71: Child Work by Years Since Relocation in Four Selected Provinces

Years Since Relocation	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
2 Years or Less	27.8%	7.0%	10.8%	304
3 to 5 Years	25.4%	4.9%	12.2%	336
Longer	26.1%	5.0%	4.1%	137
Never Relocated	26.1%	7.6%	73.3%	2,755
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

More than half (55.1 percent) of the individuals in relocated households have only relocated locally within the province where they live. This is particularly the case in Balkh and Kabul. Nearly 3 in 10 are assumed to be returning refugees from either Pakistan or Iran. More than half (52.7 percent) of those relocating to Nangarhar came from neighboring Pakistan. Many also came from Pakistan to Kandahar (38.4 percent). However, this is a small portion of the total population of Kandahar because only 12.2 percent of Kandahar residents are from households that have relocated. Relocation from another province accounts for 15.1 percent of the individuals who have relocated. Kandahar has a higher rate of relocation from other provinces (27.3 percent). Almost half (49.3 percent) of these individuals are in households that have relocated from the neighboring regions of Helmand and Uruzghan, which have been heavily affected by the conflict in the region.

Table 72: Last Place of Residence for Relocated Household Members by Provinces

Origin of Relocated Individuals	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Same Province	59.5%	37.7%	79.6%	34.3%	55.1%
Other Provinces	16.6%	3.7%	16.9%	27.3%	15.1%
Pakistan	11.4%	52.7%	3.6%	38.4%	20.3%
Iran	12.6%	5.9%	0.0%	0.0%	9.6%
Sample Size	**746**	**539**	**217**	**243**	**1,745**

Base: n=1,745 individuals in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces from households that have relocated. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The household's prior location has a greater effect on child work rates. Those returning from Pakistan and Iran have lower child work rates than those relocating within or between provinces (23.6 percent as compared with 27.5 percent). Similarly, this group, which had the resources to flee Afghanistan during the war with the Soviet Union or the Taliban regime, has lower rates of children working and not attending school (3.7 percent as compared with 6.5 percent).

Table 73: Child Work by Last Place of Residence in Four Selected Provinces

Last Place of Residence	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Same Province	27.8%	6.1%	16.1%	416
Other Provinces	26.5%	7.8%	4.2%	117
Pakistan or Iran	23.6%	3.7%	6.7%	244
Did Not Relocate	26.1%	7.6%	73.0%	2,755
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In Kabul, the most provided reason for relocation is that the respondents were renting their house and were asked to move. This was cited as the main reason in the households of 40.4 percent of those that had relocated. Outside of Kabul, the top responses are that they were looking for a job (30.4 percent) and that they found a job (20.8 percent). A substantial proportion of Nangarhar and Kandahar's households relocated, seeking a better security situation (20 percent and 10.8 percent respectively). Seven out of 10 (68.3 percent) that cited seeking a better security situation relocated from Pakistan or Iran.

Table 74: Reason for Relocating by Provinces

Origin of Relocated Individuals	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Job transfer	3.9%	9.2%	17.0%	12.9%	6.5%
Found a job	4.9%	21.9%	20.2%	18.7%	10.1%
Looking for job	22.4%	25.4%	31.9%	40.9%	25.0%
Looking for better land	0.8%	8.0%	4.9%	1.7%	2.5%
Schooling/training	6.8%	2.9%	2.9%	4.8%	5.7%
Buying new private house	14.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Renting house	40.4%	10.3%	17.0%	4.7%	30.7%
Better security condition	5.8%	20.0%	3.6%	10.8%	8.6%
Other	0.0%	2.4%	2.4%	5.4%	1.0%
Sample size	**746**	**539**	**217**	**243**	**1,745**

Base: n=1,745 individuals in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces from households that have relocated. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There is very little measurable relationship between reasons for relocation and child work rates. Those from households that relocated because they found a job or were looking for a job have the highest work rates for response categories with a substantial number of respondents. Even combined, the difference is quite small relative to other individuals from households that have relocated (28.8 percent compared with 25.2 percent) or all other individuals (25.9 percent). Those from households that relocated seeking better security have somewhat lower child work rates (22.2 percent), but the difference is again small due to the small sample.

Table 75: Child Work by Reason for Relocating in Four Selected Provinces

Last Place of Residence	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
Job transfer	24.6%	4.1%	1.8%	67
Found a job	31.6%	7.7%	3.2%	108
Looking for job	27.8%	8.1%	7.1%	216
Looking for better land	31.2%	10.8%	0.7%	25
Schooling /training	12.2%	2.8%	0.7%	38
Buying new private house	28.6%	5.0%	2.5%	43
Renting house	26.5%	3.7%	8.9%	193
Better security condition	22.2%	5.6%	1.7%	74
Other	38.5%	14.8%	0.4%	13
Did not relocate	26.1%	7.6%	73.0%	2,755
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.7 CHILD WORK AND HOUSEHOLD SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

6.7.1 Household Characteristics

Housing characteristics vary across provinces, with much of the differences related to the urban versus rural distribution. Three quarters of children in the 4 selected provinces (76.7 percent) live in detached homes, and an equal proportion own their own home (76.3 percent); the figures are both higher outside of Kabul (84 percent and 84.1 percent respectively).

Table 76: Housing Characteristics of Children by Province

In what type of dwelling does the household live?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Detached/separate house	68.6%	82.3%	87.9%	82.0%	76.7%
Semidetached	28.5%	16.3%	10.7%	16.7%	21.2%
Flat/apartment	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%	0.2%	0.5%
Hut/shack	2.2%	0.7%	1.4%	1.0%	1.6%

What is the ownership status of this dwelling?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Owned	67.7%	84.4%	83.3%	84.5%	76.3%
Provided free by employer	2.0%	3.9%	0.7%	5.3%	2.7%
Provided free by owner	4.1%	2.4%	3.6%	4.8%	3.8%
Rented from private owner	25.7%	8.9%	12.1%	4.7%	16.7%
Other (specify)	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%	0.7%	0.4%
Mortgage	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%

Is there a kitchen available to the household?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Inside house and exclusive	59.7%	61.5%	46.4%	64.1%	58.5%
Inside house and shared	15.3%	27.9%	6.4%	21.6%	17.2%
Outside house and exclusive	16.7%	9.5%	38.4%	11.3%	18.2%
Outside house and shared	1.5%	0.0%	2.4%	1.0%	1.3%
Not available	6.7%	1.1%	6.4%	2.1%	4.8%

Are there bathrooms available to the household?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Inside house and exclusive	54.4%	54.6%	46.0%	60.3%	54.0%
Inside house and shared	24.4%	31.9%	19.4%	25.0%	25.1%
Outside house and exclusive	16.9%	11.9%	31.4%	13.3%	17.8%
Outside house and shared	3.9%	1.1%	1.6%	0.5%	2.4%
Not available	0.4%	0.5%	1.6%	0.8%	0.7%

Are there toilets available to the household?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Inside house and exclusive	32.4%	45.8%	29.2%	48.2%	37.0%
Inside house and shared	9.7%	24.6%	7.2%	18.6%	13.6%
Outside house and exclusive	29.7%	17.8%	50.3%	20.2%	29.4%
Outside house and shared	26.6%	11.8%	12.5%	13.0%	19.1%
Not available	1.7%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.9%

What kind of toilet facility does your household use?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Flush to sewage system or septic tank	12.4%	9.4%	6.9%	11.9%	10.8%
Pour flush latrine (water seal type)	0.0%	0.3%	0.4%	1.0%	0.3%
Traditional pit latrine	85.0%	81.0%	91.5%	83.2%	85.0%
Open pit	2.2%	8.9%	0.3%	3.9%	3.5%
Bucket	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Bush/field	0.4%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.3%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Most children live in homes with their own indoor facilities to cook and wash (58.5 percent and 54 percent respectively), but only just over one third have an exclusive indoor toilet, with more than 8 in 10 having a simple latrine. Gas is used for cooking by roughly half of children's households (48.9 percent)—a figure that is much lower outside of Kabul (31.5 percent). Private and public wells are the most common sources of drinking water, which are used by the households of more than half of the children in the four provinces, though pipe-borne sources are more common in Kabul. Outside of Kabul, more than 1 in 10 (11.6 percent) rely on unprotected sources, such as rivers, ponds, and streams. Most, particularly outside of Kabul, have dirt floors.

Table 77: Housing Characteristics of Children by Province

What is your main source of cooking fuel?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Wood/straw	26.9%	64.9%	51.4%	71.5%	45.7%
Charcoal	0.4%	0.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.3%
Kerosene	2.1%	2.9%	1.9%	1.7%	2.1%
Gas	68.4%	30.5%	41.1%	22.7%	48.9%
Electricity	1.3%	0.9%	2.7%	3.1%	1.8%
Solar	0.0%	0.8%	0.6%	0.0%	0.3%
Other (specify)	1.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.5%	0.9%

What is the main source of drinking water?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Pipe-borne inside house	20.7%	12.5%	17.6%	5.5%	16.1%
Pipe-borne outside house	24.5%	10.9%	14.1%	4.9%	16.9%
Tanker service	1.1%	0.0%	0.4%	0.2%	0.6%
River/stream	1.4%	1.2%	0.8%	2.4%	1.4%
Borehole	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.7%	0.2%
Private well	36.7%	39.9%	28.0%	50.5%	38.1%
Public well	11.2%	18.9%	22.9%	24.9%	16.9%
Dugout/pond/river	1.2%	8.3%	12.5%	10.0%	5.9%
Spring	3.2%	8.3%	3.1%	0.8%	3.8%

What is the main source of lighting?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Kerosene	9.5%	39.3%	27.5%	24.8%	20.9%
Electricity	78.2%	28.3%	60.2%	36.7%	58.7%
Gas lamp	12.3%	31.0%	12.0%	37.4%	20.0%
Solar energy	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.4%
Other (specify)	0.0%	0.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%

What is the principle kind of flooring in the house?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Dirt or sand	66.4%	81.3%	81.0%	83.8%	74.6%
Wood	3.2%	1.2%	0.0%	1.2%	1.9%
Cement	27.8%	16.1%	16.8%	13.5%	21.3%
Parquet	0.0%	0.7%	1.2%	0.4%	0.4%
Tile	2.5%	0.7%	1.0%	0.4%	1.6%
Vinyl/linoleum	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.1%

What kind of roof does the house have?

Type	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Natural material	87.3%	93.0%	89.3%	93.7%	89.8%
Plastic sheets or fabric	0.0%	3.0%	2.1%	2.3%	1.3%
Tiles, asbestos, cement, or fibrous	12.4%	3.9%	8.6%	4.0%	8.8%
Other	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.7.1.1 Durable Goods

Durable goods ownership is surprisingly high, according to both the national and the four-province survey. The national data indicate that 42.8 percent of Afghan children live in households with a television—70.5 percent in the 4 selected provinces. This is high compared with the 19 percent measured by the 2005 National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment survey (NRVA)—a national survey of more than 30,000 households.

Table 78: Durable Goods Ownership of Children's Households, National and Four Provinces

Durable Good	National	Four Provinces
TV	42.8%	70.5%
Satellite Dish	11.3%	11.3%
Telephone (Land Line)	4.2%	9.9%
Mobile Phone	43.0%	75.5%
Radio w/FM	83.4%	94.3%
Radio w/AM	87.2%	92.3%
Radio w/Shortwave	79.5%	82.9%

Durable Good	National	Four Provinces
Car Radio	18.2%	25.7%
Personal Computer	4.3%	9.0%
Internet Connection	1.3%	3.4%
Sample Size	**5,295**	**1,660**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The four-province data, heavily weighted by Kabul, indicate that two thirds (68.1 percent) of children in the 4 selected provinces have televisions in their home. This figure is quite comparable to the national survey results, but is considerably higher than the 43.4 percent for the 4 provinces measured by the NRVA. Similarly, higher ownership rates were measured for radios (90.2 percent) and refrigerators (27.4 percent), which were lower in the NRVA (84.8 percent and 15.9 percent respectively).

It is anticipated that the reality of current durable goods possession in Afghanistan is closer to that measured in the national and four-province surveys. The NRVA was conducted by CSO. Governments in developing countries are notorious for underestimating durable goods ownership because some respondents want to conceal their taxable wealth from government officials.

Table 79: Durable Goods Ownership of Children's Households by Province

Communications

Durable Good	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Televisions	92.4%	44.7%	61.7%	32.5%	68.1%
Radios	89.8%	93.1%	86.5%	92.0%	90.2%
Telephones	74.2%	69.8%	59.1%	63.8%	69.0%
Computers	20.5%	13.1%	17.1%	9.3%	16.7%

Transportation

Durable Good	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Cars/Trucks	16.0%	15.2%	10.7%	12.7%	14.4%
Motorbikes	12.2%	26.1%	20.6%	58.8%	23.9%
Bicycles	74.5%	80.3%	72.3%	78.5%	75.9%
Boats with Motors	0.0%	3.4%	2.4%	3.3%	1.6%
Boats without Motors	0.0%	2.2%	1.7%	3.7%	1.3%
Donkeys or Horses	6.9%	37.9%	27.5%	31.4%	20.4%

Other

Durable Good	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Wardrobes	61.0%	55.9%	44.4%	38.4%	53.5%
Refrigerators	36.1%	14.5%	28.3%	16.7%	27.4%
Sewing Machines/Looms	71.8%	78.0%	72.1%	65.9%	72.1%
Agricultural Land	20.0%	69.8%	44.0%	55.1%	39.5%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.7.2 Wealth Index

Wealth is a concept that is difficult to capture accurately through surveys. Each aspect of a household, from the structure in which the respondents live to their individual possessions, is considered a component of wealth. In order to get a complete picture, one has to be able to summarize each component into a scale. Macro, with support from the World Bank, developed a methodology for creating such a summary scale using variables from its Demographic and

Health Survey (DHS)—a survey conducted in more than 75 countries throughout the developing world. This wealth index uses a multivariate data reduction technique to create a wealth factor score that can later be ranked in quintiles.[164]

For this study, Macro created a modified wealth index using data collected in the four-province survey. The index was then transformed into quintiles, based on the number of children (5 to 17 years) who are within 5 equally sized groups throughout the 4 provinces.

According to the wealth index, Kandahar is the poorest of the 4 provinces, with 38.8 percent of the children living in the lowest quintile. Nangarhar is the next poorest, with 57.7 percent living in the bottom 2 wealth groups. Not surprisingly, Kabul is the wealthiest of the four provinces. It is important, though, to consider that, while many in Kabul enjoy a relatively prosperous life, a small portion live in the most abject poverty.

Table 80: Wealth Index by Province

Index Measure	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Mean	0.372	-0.207	-0.097	-0.257	0.078
Median	0.171	-0.477	-0.306	-0.566	-0.133
Minimum	-1.376	-1.379	-1.672	-1.548	-1.672
Maximum	3.081	5.071	4.273	3.128	5.071
Lowest Quintile	7.9%	26.4%	28.3%	38.8%	20.0%
Second Quintile	15.5%	31.3%	18.1%	21.2%	19.9%
Third Quintile	24.6%	17.6%	18.8%	11.0%	20.0%
Fourth Quintile	23.5%	14.2%	21.8%	14.9%	20.0%
Highest Quintile	28.5%	10.5%	13.1%	14.1%	20.0%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In Kabul, there is a clear correlation between wealth and work rates. Nearly one third of children in the lowest 2 quintiles (29.8 percent) are currently working, compared with 18.2 percent in the upper 2 quintiles. This pattern also follows for the rates of children who work and do not go to school (11.2 percent as compared with 2.6 percent). It is important to note, however, that work in Kabul is not in any way exclusive to poor children. In fact, 41.1 percent of children working in Kabul are in the top 2 quintiles. Nangarhar follows a similar pattern of lower work rates in wealthier households, but in this case, working children are much more concentrated in the lower 2 quintiles, where 65.2 percent of working children in this province live.

Kandarhar and Balkh show virtually no relationship between wealth and the economic activities of children. Kandahar, in particular, shows virtually identical work rates across all quintiles, and rates at which children work and do not go to school are lowest (9.8 percent) in the lowest quintile.

Combined, work rates across the four selected provinces show a strong relationship. This may be an indication that wealth plays a role in the different work rates across provinces. It is likely more than coincidental that the two provinces that are least wealthy have the highest work rates for children.

[164] Rutstein, S. O., and Johnson, K. (2004). The DHS wealth index. DHS Comparative Reports No. 6. Calverton, MD: Macro International Inc.

Table 81: Child Work by Wealth Index Quintile

Kabul

Quintile	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1st	30.7%	11.0%	10.6%	81
2nd	29.4%	11.3%	19.9%	143
3rd	26.4%	5.9%	28.3%	215
4th	17.9%	2.1%	18.3%	200
5th	18.4%	3.0%	22.8%	237
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Quintile	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1st	35.5%	9.0%	29.6%	235
2nd	36.1%	11.4%	35.6%	278
3rd	27.1%	8.5%	15.0%	161
4th	29.2%	6.0%	13.1%	137
5th	19.9%	0.7%	6.6%	113
Total	**31.7%**	**8.4%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Quintile	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1st	27.9%	7.2%	29.3%	251
2nd	28.3%	5.2%	19.0%	159
3rd	22.9%	4.3%	15.9%	163
4th	28.4%	2.6%	22.9%	187
5th	26.5%	3.6%	12.9%	109
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Quintile	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1st	28.5%	9.8%	38.8%	326
2nd	28.9%	15.0%	21.5%	179
3rd	27.8%	16.3%	10.7%	97
4th	28.5%	17.2%	14.9%	133
5th	28.3%	10.1%	14.0%	128
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Quintile	% Children Worked Last Week	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Working Children	Sample Size (Number of Children)
1st	30.5%	9.2%	23.3%	893
2nd	31.2%	11.0%	23.7%	759
3rd	26.1%	7.0%	19.9%	636
4th	22.7%	4.5%	17.3%	657
5th	20.6%	3.6%	15.7%	587
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.7.3 Child Work and Household Hardship

In the four-province survey, respondents were asked if the household had faced any of a list of hardships in the past 12 months. Across the 4 provinces, 8.1 percent of children were in households that had experienced 1 or more of the listed hardships. Kandahar was the province with the highest incidence of hardship (13.9 percent), followed by Nangarhar (9.4 percent). The most common hardships include the death or injury of a household member or income earner, and crop failure.

Table 82: Family Hardship by Four Selected Provinces

Type of Hardship	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Death of a household member/income earner	1.6%	1.4%	3.4%	4.3%	2.3%
Illness/injury that prevented person from usual work	2.6%	1.9%	2.3%	1.8%	2.3%
Crop failure	1.2%	2.1%	0.8%	4.0%	1.7%
Flood or drought	0.7%	1.4%	0.1%	4.0%	1.3%
Flood or destruction of property	0.1%	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
Not faced any of the above	93.9%	90.6%	93.2%	86.1%	91.8%
Faced any of the above	6.1%	9.4%	6.5%	13.9%	8.1%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

While the sample size in individual provinces makes inference about individual provinces difficult, across the four provinces, children from families that have faced a hardship are more likely to be working than other children. More than one third (35.4 percent) of all children whose households faced hardship were currently working. Hardship also appears related to rates at which children work and not attend school. In the four provinces, children whose families faced hardship are nearly twice as likely to be working and not attending school.

Table 83: Child Work by Household Hardship in Four Selected Provinces

Kabul

Experienced Hardship	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	21.6%	5.3%	88.6%	818
Yes	42.6%	6.4%	11.4%	58
Total	**22.9%**	**5.4%**	**100.0%**	**876**

Nangarhar

Experienced Hardship	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	31.2%	7.4%	89.4%	839
Yes	35.6%	17.0%	10.6%	85
Total	**31.7%**	**8.3%**	**100.0%**	**924**

Balkh

Experienced Hardship	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	27.2%	4.6%	94.4%	813
Yes	23.1%	9.0%	5.6%	56
Total	**26.9%**	**4.8%**	**100.0%**	**869**

Kandahar

Experienced Hardship	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	27.9%	12.9%	84.4%	744
Yes	31.9%	12.3%	15.6%	119
Total	**28.5%**	**12.8%**	**100.0%**	**863**

Grand Total

Experienced Hardship	% Children Working	% of Children Working and Not in School	% of Weighted Working Children Sample	Sample Size (Number of Children)
No	25.4%	6.7%	89.1%	3,214
Yes	35.4%	11.0%	10.9%	318
Total	**26.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**	**3,532**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Most of the families that had faced hardship borrowed money from relatives and friends in order to overcome their hardship. Sending children to work was the second most common response. There is some indication that debt plays a role in the increased economic activities of children from families that had faced hardship. In all, 7 percent of those that borrowed money indicated that they provided child work to pay off part of their debt.

Table 84: Child Work by Hardship-Coping Strategy in Four Selected Provinces

Coping Strategy	% Children Working	% of Nonworking Children
Assistance from government agencies	8.7%	8.7%
Assistance from NGOs	9.1%	5.7%
Assistance from religious organizations	0.0%	1.6%
Assistance from local community NGOs operated by Afghans	0.0%	0.0%
Borrowed money from bank or other institutions	2.5%	3.6%
Borrowed money from friend/relatives	37.8%	36.8%
Borrowed money from nonrelatives	4.7%	5.0%
Took children away from school as could not afford	0.0%	2.2%
Set children to work	15.5%	12.2%
Increased use of children in household work	5.7%	1.1%
Total	**7.1%**	**11.6%**

Base: n=318 children (5 to 17 years old, whose families have experienced hardship in the past 12 months) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.8 EFFECT OF WORK ON CHILD WELFARE OPPORTUNITIES

6.8.1 Child Work and Schooling

6.8.1.1 Current School Attendance Rate

In Afghanistan, the current school attendance rate for children between 5 and 17 is 58.0 percent. One important observation is that participation in child work does not seem to reduce overall schooling outcomes of children measured by current school attendance, ever school attendance, or educational attainment. For instance, the nationwide survey that covered 5,295 children between 5 and 17 shows that working children (children who worked in the past week preceding the survey) have a higher current school attendance rate (68.7%) than nonworking children (54.5%).[165]

Table 85: Current School Attendance Rate in Afghanistan by Working Status

Is the child currently attending school?	Nonworking	Working	Total
Yes	54.5%	68.7%	58.0%
No	44.4%	31.2%	40.8%
DK/Refused	1.1%	0.2%	1.2%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

A similar difference in schooling between working and nonworking children is also observed in a different sample covering the four selected provinces of Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar. Current school attendance by working status in these four provinces is presented in Table 86. In all four provinces, working children have better current school attendance rate than nonworking children.[166] The average of the current school attendance rate for working and nonworking children in the four provinces is 73 percent and 59.7 percent, respectively.

Table 86: Current School Attendance Rate in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar by Working Status

Province	Nonworking	Working	Total
Kabul	69.3%	76.4%	70.9%
Nangarhar	51.7%	73.8%	58.7%
Balkh	65.2%	82.0%	69.8%
Kandahar	33.0%	55.1%	39.3%
Total	**59.7%**	**73.0%**	**63.2%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

As presented in Table 86, the current school attendance rate is different in different provinces. For working children, the largest current attendance rate is in Balkh (82 percent), and the lowest is in Kandahar (55.1 percent). In the nonworking category, children in Kabul and Balkh provinces have the first and second largest current school attendance rates, with 69.3 percent and

[165] Although the difference is exaggerated by imbalances in the samples with respect to age and gender, working children still have higher attendance rates for the same age and gender category.

[166] As discussed in the next subsections, there are some confounding factors, such as age, that affect this relationship.

65.2 percent respectively. Again, the current school attendance rate of nonworking children is the lowest in Kandahar (33 percent).

6.8.1.2 Ever School Attendance Rate

Ever school attendance measures if the child has ever attended school, irrespective of his or her current schooling status. In Afghanistan, the ever school attendance rate for children between 5 and 17 years old is about 60.9 percent (Table 87). Ever attendance rate is higher among working children (77.5 percent) when compared with nonworking children (55.1 percent).[167]

Table 87: Ever School Attendance Rate in Afghanistan by Working Status

Has the child ever attended school?	Nonworking	Working	Total
Yes	55.1%	77.5%	60.9%
No	42.2%	22.2%	37.0%
DK/Refused	2.7%	0.3%	2.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Similarly, the result from the survey of 4 selected provinces shows that the ever school attendance rate is higher for working children (81.4 percent) than nonworking children (61 percent). Also, provincial differences in ever school attendance rates are observed. Balkh province has the largest ever school attendance rate for working children (87.2 percent). However, the ever school attendance rate for working children is also high in Kabul province (86 percent).

In the nonworking children category, Kabul province has the largest ever school attendance rate (70 percent), followed by Balkh (68 percent) and Nangarhar (54 percent). Kandahar province has the lowest ever school attendance rate among nonworking children (34 percent).

Table 88: Ever School Attendance Rate in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar

Province	Nonworking	Working	Total
Kabul	70.1%	85.9%	73.8%
Nangarhar	53.3%	79.1%	61.5%
Balkh	67.5%	87.2%	72.8%
Kandahar	33.6%	66.9%	43.1%
Total	**60.9%**	**81.2%**	**66.2%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

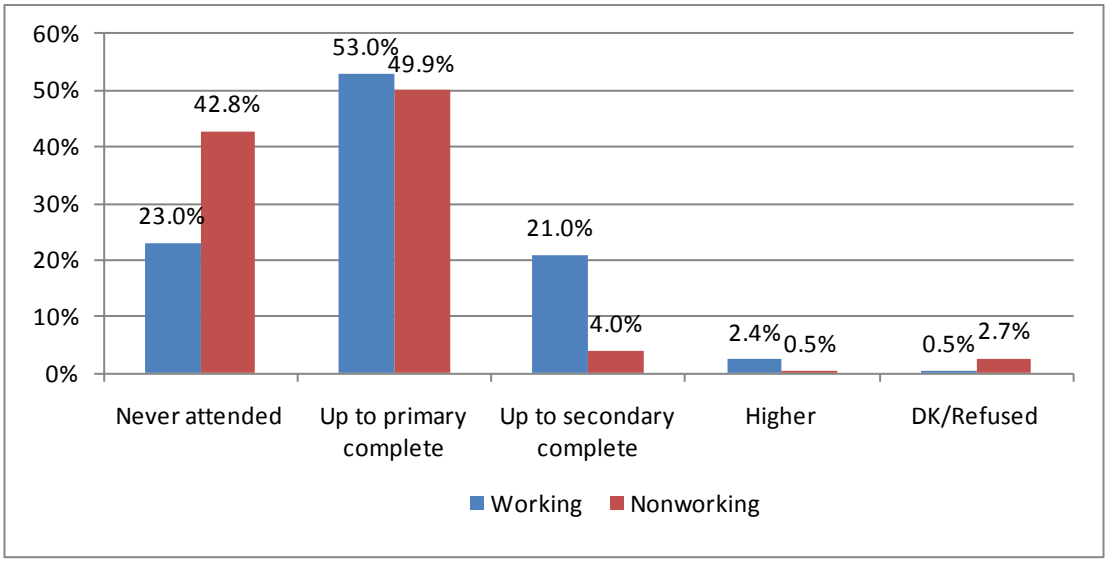
6.8.1.3 Educational Attainment

Chart 14 summarizes educational attainment of children between 5 and 17 years old in Afghanistan. Working children have higher educational attainment when compared with nonworking children. The chart shows that about 80 percent of working children have some education, which is 20 percentage points higher than that of nonworking children. About 53 percent of working children have some primary education, and about 21 percent have

[167] Since current school attendance is part of ever school attendance, the latter is higher than the former.

secondary and higher education. In contrast, the majority of nonworking children with some education (60 percent) are predominantly at primary school levels, with only about 5 percent having some secondary and higher education.

Chart 14: Educational Attainment of Children in Afghanistan



Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Chart excludes other categories (nonstandard education and nonrespondents). Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Educational attainment of children in 4 provinces is presented in Table 89 by working status. Similar to other measures of schooling outcomes mentioned above, educational attainment is stronger for working than nonworking children in all provinces. Consistent with other outcomes, children in Balkh and Kabul provinces have better educational attainment than in other provinces, and the educational attainment of children in Kandahar province is the lowest. There exists a considerable difference between the provinces. For instance, 66 percent of nonworking children and 33 percent of working children in Kandahar have not obtained any level of education. In contrast, in Kabul and Balkh provinces, only approximately 30 percent of nonworking and approximately 14 percent of working children are without any educational attainment.

Table 89: Educational Attainment in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar by Working Status

Nonworking Children

Province	None	Primary	Secondary & Higher	N.S.	Total
Kabul	29.9%	63.3%	6.9%	0.0%	100%
Nangarhar	46.7%	49.9%	3.4%	0.0%	100%
Balkh	32.5%	63.1%	4.4%	0.0%	100%
Kandahar	66.4%	32.4%	1.1%	0.2%	100%
Total	**39.1%**	**56.0%**	**4.9%**	**0.0%**	**100%**

Working Children

Province	None	Primary	Secondary & Higher	N.S.	Total
Kabul	14.1%	68.1%	17.8%	0.0%	100%
Nangarhar	20.9%	66.8%	12.0%	0.4%	100%
Balkh	12.8%	76.8%	10.4%	0.0%	100%
Kandahar	33.1%	56.4%	8.8%	1.7%	100%
Total	**18.8%**	**67.2%**	**13.6%**	**0.4%**	**100%**

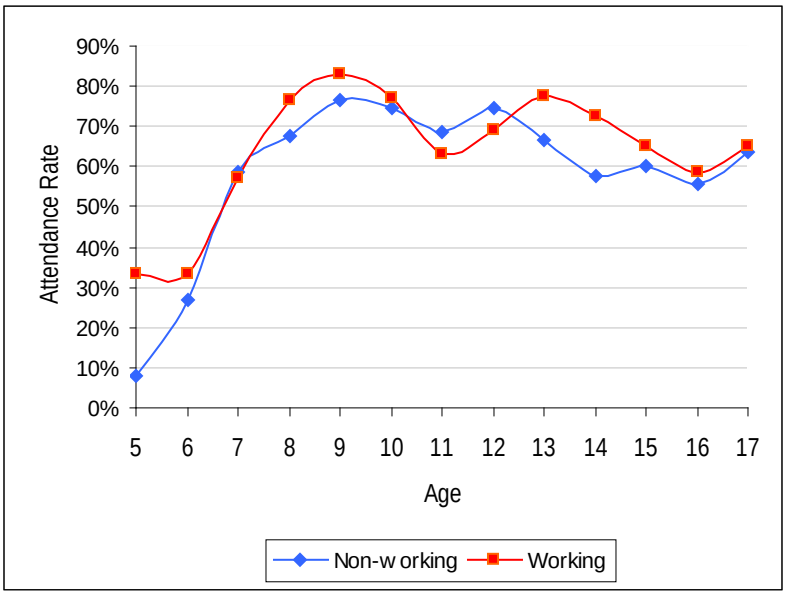
Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Primary includes preschool, primary incomplete, and primary complete; secondary & higher includes secondary incomplete, secondary complete, and higher; and N.S. is nonstandard education. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Overall, current and ever school attendance rates, as well as educational attainment, are different for different groups. A mere comparison of working and nonworking children would be incomplete and misleading without considering other confounding factors. Important differences arise when the data are disaggregated by age, gender, place of residence, sector, and industry type. Using the nationwide, four-province and four-sector datasets, the following sections discuss child work and schooling vis-à-vis age, gender, place of residence, and sector.

6.8.1.4 Child Work and Schooling: Age Differences

From ages 5 to 7, the school attendance rate is below 50 percent for both working and nonworking children. Then, attendance rate sharply rises to 60 percent, then to 83 percent between the range of 8 and 9 years. Thereafter, attendance rate starts to level off within the range of upper 50s to lower 70s. Overall, working children have slightly higher attendance rates at most age levels.

Chart 15: Current School Attendance Rate by Working Status



Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Table 90 presents ever school attendance by age category in 4 selected provinces of Afghanistan. Similarly, ever school attendance is about 20 percentage points higher in the working children sample. A disaggregated look at the sample by age categories indicates that the youngest age group (5 to 8 years old) is much higher in the nonworking than in the working children sample (36 percent and 4 percent respectively). Since the school attendance rate is the lowest for the youngest group, the domination of this group exaggerates the difference between working and nonworking samples in terms of school achievement. However, some differences still exist at higher age groups. For instance, the ever attendance rate for children between the ages of 15 and 17 is higher in the working (80 percent) than in the nonworking category (72 percent).

Table 90: Ever School Attendance Rate by Working Status and Age Group

Nonworking

Ever Attended?	5-8	9-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Yes	39.3%	73.8%	74.2%	71.7%	61.1%
No	60.7%	26.2%	25.8%	28.3%	38.9%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**939**	**840**	**380**	**452**	**2,611**

Working

Ever Attended?	5-8	9-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Yes	37.5%	84.0%	88.2%	80.4%	81.3%
No	62.5%	16.0%	11.8%	19.6%	18.7%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**32**	**206**	**187**	**469**	**894**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

However, the above-mentioned differences between working and nonworking children in schooling outcomes are partly explainable by the clear differences in age distributions. In general, working children are older than nonworking children. The nationwide data, which cover 1,283 working children and 3,771 nonworking children between ages 5 and 17, show that the median age is 14 years for working children and 9 years for nonworking children. The age distribution is also similar in the four-province data (15 years for working and 10 years for nonworking children).

Therefore, part of the difference between working and nonworking children in attendance and educational attainment is due to differences in age. This is due to the fact that both schooling achievements and participation in child work are increasing with age. Therefore, both schooling and participation in child work are lower among children in the youngest age groups. These groups of children are not equally distributed in both working and nonworking groups. As expected, the nonworking group is more dominated by young children than the working group. For example, children in the 5 to 8 and 9 to 12 age groups constitute 77 percent of the nonworking sample, but only about 37 percent of the working children sample.

Table 91: Educational Attainment of Children by Age and Working Status

Nonworking

Educational Attainment	5-8	9-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Never Attended	59.9%	24.7%	30.5%	31.0%	42.2%
Some Primary	35.8%	71.4%	24.9%	15.2%	43.7%
Primary Completed	0.0%	2.2%	33.1%	18.0%	6.1%
Some Secondary	0.0%	0.0%	9.8%	17.6%	3.1%
Secondary Completed	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.7%	1.7%
Higher	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.3%
Nonstandard	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%
DK/NR	4.0%	1.4%	1.7%	1.7%	2.7%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**1,730**	**1217**	**357**	**467**	**3,771**

Working

Educational Attainment	5-8	9-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Never Attended	30.1%	22.0%	19.4%	22.4%	22.2%
Some Primary	68.7%	74.4%	21.6%	14.4%	37.5%
Primary Completed	0.0%	3.3%	38.8%	18.0%	16.1%
Some Secondary	0.0%	0.0%	19.8%	25.6%	15.1%
Secondary Completed	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.5%	6.1%
Higher	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	2.3%
Nonstandard	1.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.5%	0.4%
DK/NR	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**83**	**391**	**232**	**577**	**1,283**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

6.8.1.5 Child Work and Schooling: Gender Differences

Current and ever school attendance rates, as well as educational attainment, are generally higher for boys than for girls. Table 92 shows that current school attendance for working girls is 48 percent, which is about 23 percentage points lower than for boys (75 percent).

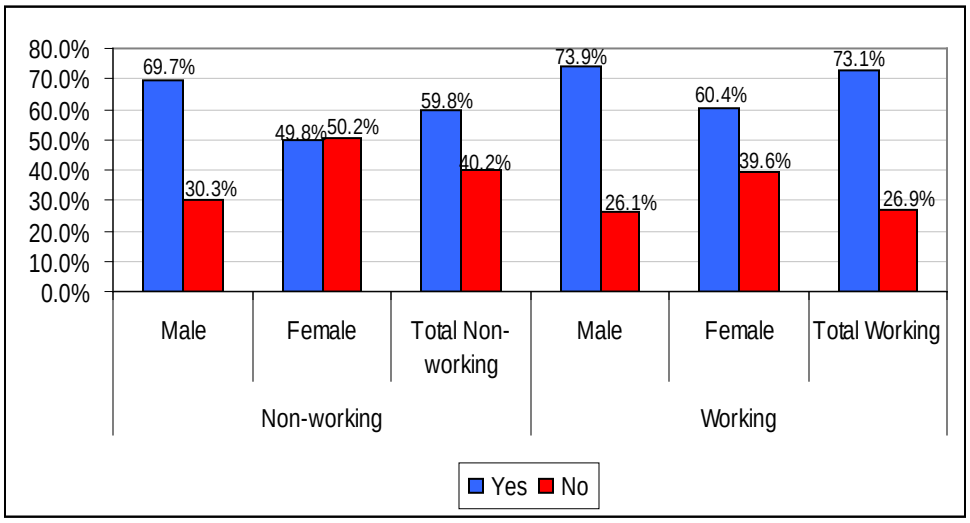
Table 92: Current School Attendance Rate of Working Children by Gender

Is the child currently attending school?	Male	Female	Total
Yes	74.8%	47.9%	68.7%
No	25.1%	51.7%	31.2%
DK/Refused	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Chart 16 presents the results of the child's working status and ever school attendance rate for boys and girls in 4 provinces of Afghanistan. The chart shows that the attendance rate for working children is higher. However, girls' enrollment is lower in both categories. In the nonworking group, the attendance rate of boys is about 70 percent, and that of girls is about 20 percentage points lower. In the working children group, boys have an attendance rate of about 74 percent, and the attendance rate of girls is 14 percentage points lower. Nevertheless, working girls have a higher attendance rate than nonworking girls, and the gender difference is narrower in the working children category.

Chart 16: Current School Attendance Rate by Working Status and Gender



Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Current school attendance for working children by province and gender is presented in Table 93. While boys generally have higher current school attendance rates than girls, the gap is different in different provinces. For instance, the gender gap in Balkh province is negative (i.e., working girls have higher current school attendance rates than working boys). In Kabul, the gap is about 16 percent. In contrast, in Nangarhar and Kandahar provinces, the gaps are 31 percent and 29 percent respectively.

Table 93: Current School Attendance Rate of Working Children by Gender in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar

Male

Province	Yes	No	Total
Kabul	77.4%	22.6%	100.0%
Nangarhar	75.8%	24.2%	100.0%
Balkh	81.8%	18.2%	100.0%
Kandahar	57.2%	42.8%	100.0%

Female

Province	Yes	No	Total
Kabul	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
Nangarhar	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Balkh	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
Kandahar	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%

Base: n=941 working children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Ever school attendance rate in the four provinces shows that, with the exception of Balkh, working boys have higher ever school attendance rates than working girls. Similar to the current school attendance rate presented earlier, the gender gap in Balkh province is negative. Kabul province has the second smallest gender gap (26 percent). The gaps in Nangarhar and Kandahar provinces are 37 percent and 41 percent respectively.

Table 94: Ever School Attendance Rate of Working Children by Gender in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar

Male

Province	Yes	No	Total
Kabul	87.8%	12.2%	100.0%
Nangarhar	81.3%	18.7%	100.0%
Balkh	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%
Kandahar	69.1%	30.9%	100.0%

Female

Province	Yes	No	Total
Kabul	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
Nangarhar	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Balkh	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Kandahar	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Educational attainment of working children by gender and province is presented in Table 95. Gender differences in educational attainment are similar to earlier results obtained using attendance rates: Boys have better educational attainment than girls, and Kabul and Balkh provinces have higher attainment rates than Nangarhar and Kandahar provinces.

Table 95: Educational Attainment of Working Children by Gender in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar

Male

Province	None	Primary	Secondary & Higher	N.S.	Total
Kabul	12.2%	69.3%	18.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Nangarhar	18.7%	68.2%	12.6%	0.5%	100.0%
Balkh	13.3%	77.6%	9.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Kandahar	30.5%	57.8%	9.7%	1.9%	100.0%

Female

Province	None	Primary	Secondary & Higher	N.S.	Total
Kabul	38.5%	61.5%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Nangarhar	55.6%	44.4%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Balkh	7.7%	61.5%	30.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Kandahar	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Base: n=941 children (5 to17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Primary includes preschool, primary incomplete, and primary complete; secondary & higher includes secondary incomplete, secondary complete, and higher; and N.S. is nonstandard education. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Therefore, the seemingly unexpected positive relationship between child work and child school outcomes is, to some extent, the result of sex differentials in the sample. Girls have both lower rates of school attendance and participation in child work (i.e., most working children are males, and more males than females attend school).

6.8.1.6 Child Work and Schooling: Urban-Rural Differences

The divide in school attendance rates by working status seems more pronounced in rural Afghanistan: While overall school attendance rates are lower than in urban areas, 64 percent of working children in rural areas are currently attending school, while only 48 percent of nonworking children attend school in rural areas (Table 96).

Table 96: Current School Attendance Rate by Working Status and Place of Residence

Nonworking

Is the child currently attending school?	Villages	Towns	Cities	Metro/Kabul	Total
Yes	47.9%	71.3%	73.1%	80.8%	54.5%
No	50.9%	28.7%	25.8%	18.5%	44.4%
DK/NR	1.2%	0.0%	1.2%	0.6%	1.1%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**2,930**	**101**	**260**	**480**	**3,771**

Working

Is the child currently attending school?	Villages	Towns	Cities	Metro/Kabul	Total
Yes	64.0%	82.9%	90.4%	89.5%	68.7%
No	35.8%	17.1%	9.6%	10.5%	31.2%
DK/NR	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**1,043**	**41**	**104**	**95**	**1,283**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

Geographic differences are also observed in ever school attendance. The gap between working and nonworking children is higher in rural than in urban areas. The result from the selected four-province data (Table 97) shows that ever school attendance for working children in rural areas is 79.8 percent, which is over 31 percentage points higher than ever attendance for nonworking children in rural areas. The difference between the groups of children in the cities is about 10 percent, and in Kabul metro, it is about 13 percent.

Table 97: Ever School Attendance by Working Status and Place of Residence

Nonworking

Ever Attended School	Rural	City	Metro/Kabul	Total
Yes	48.2%	67.9%	73.1%	61.0%
No	51.8%	32.1%	26.9%	39.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**1,512**	**543**	**536**	**2,591**

Working

Ever Attended School	Rural	City	Metro/Kabul	Total
Yes	79.8%	76.5%	86.2%	81.4%
No	20.2%	23.5%	13.8%	18.6%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
# of children	**613**	**184**	**144**	**941**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

A considerable geographic difference is also observed in educational attainment. In general, irrespective of working status, children in rural areas have lower educational attainment than children in urban areas. When educational attainment is classified by working status and residence, the differences between working and nonworking children in educational attainment are more pronounced in rural than in urban areas. In rural areas, 20 percent of working children do not have any education, compared with 52 percent of nonworking children.

Table 98: Educational Attainment by Working Status and Place of Residence

Nonworking

Educational Attainment	Rural	City	Metro/Kabul	Total
None	51.8%	32.0%	26.9%	38.9%
Preschool	1.5%	1.7%	1.1%	1.4%
Primary Incomplete	42.2%	55.9%	59.3%	51.1%
Primary Completed	2.0%	4.6%	4.8%	3.5%
Secondary Incomplete	2.4%	5.8%	7.8%	5.1%
Secondary Completed	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Higher	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Nonstandard	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Number of children	**1,512**	**543**	**536**	**2,591**

Working

Educational Attainment	Rural	City	Metro/Kabul	Total
None	20.2%	23.5%	13.9%	18.6%
Preschool	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Primary Incomplete	59.2%	52.1%	52.1%	55.9%
Primary Completed	9.9%	10.1%	14.6%	11.4%
Secondary Incomplete	9.5%	12.6%	19.4%	13.1%
Secondary Completed	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.2%
Higher	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Nonstandard	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Number of children	**613**	**184**	**144**	**941**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.8.1.7 Child Work and Schooling: Sectoral Differences

Working children have different rates of school attendance, depending on their occupation and industry. The four-sector data that cover 200 children working in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and selling show that overall current school attendance is about 40 percent. Children working in agriculture, manufacturing, and selling sectors have relatively better current school attendance rates, with 51 percent, 46.2 percent, and 49 percent respectively. However, only 9 percent of children working in the construction sector are currently attending school.

Table 99: Current School Attendance Rate by Sector

Are you currently attending school?	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Yes	51.0%	46.2%	8.7%	49.0%	39.5%
No	49.0%	53.8%	91.3%	51.0%	60.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Number of children	**51**	**52**	**46**	**51**	**200**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

Ever school attendance by sector (Table 100) also indicates the presence of sectoral differences. Ever school attendance rates in agriculture, manufacturing, and selling sectors are 64 percent, 58 percent, and 55 percent respectively. Again, ever school attendance rate among children working in the construction sector is the lowest, with 33 percent.

Table 100: Ever School Attendance Rate by Sector

Has the child ever attended school?	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Yes	64.7%	57.7%	32.6%	54.9%	53.0%
No	35.3%	42.3%	67.4%	45.1%	47.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Number of children	**51**	**52**	**46**	**51**	**200**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

Table 101 summarizes current school attendance rates by industry type and occupation. In Afghanistan as a whole, children in sales (a typically male sector) have an attendance rate of 82 percent, compared with 58 percent in manufacturing (a typically female sector). At 65 percent, attendance rates in the agriculture sector (the main employer of children in Afghanistan) are only slightly below the average across sectors (68 percent). In terms of specific occupations, auto vehicle maintenance (changing oil, fixing vehicles) and sales occupations have the highest rates of school attendance, while embroidering and weaving carpets, all considered manufacturing occupations, have the lowest rates.

Table 101: Current School Attendance Rate of Working Children by Industry/Occupation

Industry

Type	N	%
Street/Bazaar Selling	257	82%
Repair/Maintenance	81	79%
Service Industry	29	76%
Retail Shop Selling	26	73%
Manual Labor	61	66%
Agriculture	281	65%
Stockbreeding	40	65%
Artisanship	251	64%
Construction	8	63%
Manufacturing	218	58%
Other	7	86%
DK/NR	24	71%
Total	**1,283**	**68%**

Occupation

Type	N	%
Changing oil in vehicles	22	82%
Fixing vehicles	37	78%
Selling	328	77%
Irrigating the land	20	75%
Cleaning	204	70%
Sewing pants	69	68%
Shepherding	48	67%
Harvesting crops	236	64%
Embroidering	58	53%
Carpet weaving	103	50%
Other	130	69%
DK/NR	28	68%
Total	**1,283**	**68%**

Base: n=5,295 children (5 to 17 years old) in Afghanistan. Working children includes 1,283 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in the last week. Source: Nationwide Household Survey.

The four-sector data show that children working in the agriculture sector have better educational attainment than in the rest of the sectors. Children working in the manufacturing and selling sectors have more or less similar attainment. However, the educational attainment of children working in the construction sector is the lowest. The proportion of working children without any education is 67 percent in the construction sector, but only 35 percent in the agriculture sector.

Table 102: Educational Attainment by Sector

Educational Attainment	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
None	35.3%	42.3%	67.4%	45.1%	47.0%
Primary Incomplete	58.8%	48.1%	30.4%	51.0%	47.5%
Primary Completed	3.9%	7.7%	2.2%	3.9%	4.5%
Secondary	2.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

6.8.1.8 Child Work and Schooling: Reasons for Not Attending School

About 41 percent of all children from ages 5 to 17 are not currently attending school. The reasons for not attending school, given by the most knowledgeable member of the household, vary depending on the gender and work status of the child. Table 103 presents the list of reasons for not attending school by gender. The top three reasons for boys are: (1) child is too young, (2) family cannot afford schooling, and (3) school is too far. Similarly, the top three reasons for girls are: (1) family does not allow schooling, (2) child is too young, and (3) school is too far. Helping at home with the household chores, which is a traditionally female activity, is mentioned as the fourth important reason for girls not attending school. It is the seventh main reason for boys.

Table 103: Main Reason for Not Attending School for All Children 5 to 17 Years Old by Sex

Male

Main Reason	%
Is/was too young	41.1%
Cannot afford schooling	17.1%
School is too far	15.0%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	14.4%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	12.5%
Family does not allow schooling	8.8%
Help at home with household chores	7.9%
School not considered valuable	6.3%
Disabled/illness	5.3%
School not safe	3.4%
School not available in community	1.3%

Female

Main Reason	%
Family does not allow schooling	50.8%
Is/was too young	24.2%
School is too far	17.0%
Help at home with household chores	16.6%
Cannot afford schooling	12.6%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	5.5%
School not safe	5.2%
School not available in community	5.1%
School not considered valuable	4.8%
Disabled/illness	3.3%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	0.6%

Base: n=1, 288 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who are not attending school. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The list in Table 103 offers important observations on the constraints faced by households in Afghanistan with respect to the schooling decisions of their children. While both age and proximity to school are mentioned as the top three constraints for both boys' and girls' education, the most important reason for girls not attending school is because parents are not willing to send their daughters to school. Although the same reason is mentioned for boys, it ranks as the fifth constraint, with 9 percent of the respondents.

Another important observation is that, according to the adults' responses, working is not among the top three reasons for children not attending school. For boys and girls, work is identified as a major reason for not attending school by 13 percent and 1 percent of the respondents respectively. However, as shown in Table 104, when the same question is addressed to the children themselves, working becomes one of the top reasons for not attending school.

Other reasons for children not attending school, as provided by the list, include helping at home with the household business, which is the fourth important constraint on girls' education, with 17 percent of respondents. Also mentioned as main reasons are school safety, whether the household values education, disability or illness, and school availability in the community. These reasons are identified by 1 to 8 percent of the respondents.

Table 104 lists the main reason for not attending school by working status. As expected, participation in child work becomes an important reason for working children. Others in the top-

three list for working children include the family's ability to afford schooling and poor performance in school. For nonworking children, the top three reasons for not attending school include: (1) too young, (2) family does not allow schooling, and (3) school is too far.

Table 104: Main Reason for Not Attending School by Working Status

Nonworking

Main Reason	%
Is/was too young	38.8%
Family does not allow schooling	34.0%
School is too far	17.2%
Cannot afford schooling	11.0%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	6.5%
Help at home with household chores	11.4%
Disabled/illness	4.6%
School not considered valuable	4.2%
School not safe	4.2%
School not available in community	3.8%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	0.7%

Working

Main Reason	%
Cannot afford schooling	31.0%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	30.9%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	24.2%
Help at home with household chores	17.1%
Family does not allow schooling	16.7%
School not considered valuable	11.6%
School is too far	10.9%
School not safe	5.4%
Is/was too young	3.6%
Disabled/illness	2.5%
School not available in community	1.2%

Base: n=1, 288 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who are not attending school. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Table 105 shows that, in general, the main reasons for not being enrolled or not attending school, provided by working children in 4 sectors, support the results obtained in the four-province data. Inability to afford schooling and work are the top reasons why children do not attend. One major difference between the adults' and children's responses is that adults rank "family does not allow schooling" fifth (Table 104), while children rank it third.

Table 105: Main Reason for Not Attending School by Sector (Children's Response)

Main Reason	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Cannot afford schooling	32.0%	21.4%	35.7%	38.5%	32.2%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	16.0%	14.3%	21.4%	19.2%	18.2%
Family does not allow schooling	16.0%	21.4%	9.5%	19.2%	15.7%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	12.0%	21.4%	14.3%	3.8%	13.2%
School is too far	4.0%	3.6%	7.1%	3.8%	5.0%
School not considered valuable	4.0%	7.1%	0.0%	3.8%	3.3%
School not safe	0.0%	3.6%	2.4%	3.8%	2.5%
Disabled/illness	0.0%	3.6%	0.0%	3.8%	1.7%

Main Reason	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Help at home with household chores	4.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	1.7%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	0.8%
DK/NR	12.0%	3.6%	7.1%	0.0%	5.8%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Number of children	**25**	**28**	**42**	**26**	**121**

Base: n=121 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week and are not attending school. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

As indicated in Table 105 above, participation in child work is deterring some children from school. For working children, participation in child work appears to be one of the top reasons for not attending school. In addition, a survey of 200 working children in 4 selected sectors (agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and industry) shows that work is not a preferred option. Out of those who are not currently attending school, about 65 percent indicated that they would prefer only going to school and not working.

Reasons for not attending school by province reveal different constraints that children are facing in different parts of the country. The four-province data show that the top five reasons for not attending school are generally similar in the four provinces. However, different reasons are emphasized in different provinces. For instance, age (child is too young) is the main reason in Balkh and Kabul. In Nangarhar and Kandahar, the most important reason is that the family does not allow schooling.

Table 106: Main Reason for Not Attending School by Province

Main Reason	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Is/was too young	40.4%	25.8%	42.1%	21.0%	32.1%
Family does not allow schooling	23.5%	36.4%	15.8%	44.3%	30.8%
School is too far	18.0%	18.3%	16.8%	11.1%	15.9%
Cannot afford schooling	17.3%	13.4%	16.0%	11.7%	14.7%
Help at home with household chores	10.6%	21.2%	15.0%	6.6%	12.4%
Poor in studies/not interested in school	10.6%	8.0%	14.0%	7.8%	9.7%
Working for pay, or family business or farm	9.3%	4.5%	6.5%	3.4%	6.4%
School not considered valuable	2.5%	9.1%	3.6%	8.0%	5.5%
School not safe	2.3%	6.7%	0.4%	7.6%	4.4%
Disabled/illness	4.2%	6.3%	7.6%	1.0%	4.2%
School not available in community	1.2%	3.6%	4.1%	5.5%	3.3%

Base: n=1, 288 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who are not attending school. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.8.1.9 Skills Training

Most of the skills training received by children in the four selected provinces takes place as on-the-job training or apprenticeships. As a result, 44.7 percent of working children and 5 percent of nonworking children have received skills training (Table 107). Of children who receive skills training, 33 percent report that they received informal apprenticeships, and 27.8 percent received on-the-job training. Two in 5 nonworking children (39.3 percent) who received training had a certificate program.

Table 107: Types of Skills Training by Working Status

Type of Training	Nonworking Children	Working Children	Total
Informal apprenticeship	16.4%	38.4%	33.0%
On-the-job	6.9%	34.5%	27.8%
Certificate after 1-2 years	39.3%	9.3%	16.6%
Formal apprenticeship	12.9%	6.4%	8.0%
Certificate after 2+ years	3.2%	1.0%	1.5%
Adult literacy	1.6%	0.7%	0.9%
Other	23.1%	8.1%	11.8%
DK/NR	0.5%	3.2%	2.5%

Base: n=485 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who received skills training. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The four-province data show that children in Kabul province have received the most skills training. More than 3 in 5 working children in Kabul (61.5 percent) have received some training. The percentage of those working children is similar in the other three provinces. Respectively, the percentages are 37 percent, 35.8 percent, and 27.7 percent in Balkh, Kandahar, and Nangarhar. Training is rare for nonworking children in all four selected provinces.

Table 108: Skills Training by Working Status and Province

Nonworking

Province	Received Training	Not Received Training	Don't Know/ Refused	Total	Sample Size
Kabul	7.3%	92.5%	0.2%	100.0%	672
Nangarhar	3.4%	96.1%	0.5%	100.0%	637
Balkh	2.9%	96.7%	0.5%	100.0%	635
Kandahar	2.6%	97.1%	0.3%	100.0%	617
Total	**5.1%**	**94.6%**	**0.3%**	**100.0%**	**2,561**

Working

Province	Received Training	Not Received Training	Don't Know/ Refused	Total	Sample Size
Kabul	61.5%	38.5%	0.0%	100.0%	204
Nangarhar	27.7%	68.7%	3.6%	100.0%	287
Balkh	37.0%	60.4%	2.6%	100.0%	234
Kandahar	35.8%	63.8%	0.4%	100.0%	246
Total	**44.7%**	**53.9%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**	**971**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In the four-sector data, which include 200 working children, about 29 percent (57 children) reported that they have received skills training, including informal apprenticeships (47 children), training that leads to a certificate (4 children), and other types of training (6 children). Out of the total 57 children, 23 (40 percent) are working in the manufacturing sector.

6.8.1.10 The Effect of Work on School-Attending Children

Although working children have better education outcomes when compared with nonworking children, some working children still identify work as an important constraint on their education. For instance, out of those children who are currently working and attending school in the 4 provinces, about 21 percent (94 children) reported that their work interferes with their studies. The interference includes five interdependent situations, such as: (1) having insufficient time

available for school and homework, (2) feeling tired at the end of the day, (3) low school marks, (4) feeling tired in the classroom, and (5) missing classes. Table 109 lists the work-school interference.

Table 109: Effect of Work on Schooling

Work-School Interference	%
Insufficient time available for school/homework	52.8%
Feel tired at the end of the day	27.6%
Low school marks	17.1%
Feel tired in classroom	13.3%
Miss classes	6.0%

Base: n=94 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week, are currently attending school, and reported that work had an effect on their schooling. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In the four-sector survey of working children, about half of the children who are currently attending school reported that they often miss school for work. About one quarter of children who are currently attending school said that they miss school rarely, and the approximate remaining 25 percent said that they never miss school.

Table 110: Frequency of Missing Classes

How often do you miss classes?	N	%
Very often (more than 12 times per year)	13	16.5%
Often (6 to 12 times per year)	26	32.9%
Seldom (3 to 5 times per year)	11	13.9%
Very seldom (once or twice per year)	9	11.4%
Never	19	24.1%
DK/NR	1	1.3%
Total	**79**	**100.0%**

Base: n=79 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week and are currently attending school. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

In summary, the results of the survey defy the conventional wisdom on the relationship between child work and schooling in Afghanistan. In particular, child work does not seem to reduce child school attendance or educational attainment. However, more insight could be obtained from the relationship between child work and schooling when other factors, such as age, gender, and place of residence, are considered.

As indicated earlier, the median age for working children is higher than for nonworking children. Schooling outcome also increases with age. Therefore, part of the difference in schooling between working and nonworking children can be explained by age. As indicated in section 6.8.1.8, one of the most important reasons for not attending school is age (i.e., “the child is too young”). Therefore, the reason for the disproportionately lower school outcome for the youngest age group presented in Tables 90 and 91 might be late entrance. The school-age years of this group of children fall in the post-Taliban regime of Afghanistan. Therefore, the security situation might have encouraged parents to keep young children at home.

There exists a considerable gender difference in both attendance and educational attainment (Tables 93 and 95). As noted earlier, girls have both lower rates of school attendance and lower participation in child work, (i.e., most working children are males, and more males than females

attend school). However, the gender gap is lower for working children, implying that the gap in schooling is higher than the gap in participation in child work (Chart 16). Although girls' education is less valued in many developing countries, the gender gap in schooling might have been exacerbated by the Taliban regime's strict rule that banned women from schools. The 7 years (1996–2002) of Taliban rule represent more than 40 percent of school years for children in the 13 to 17 age group, and approximately 10 to 33 percent for children in the 9 to 12 age group. However, 4 years after the Taliban, the survey indicates that some parents do not seem in favor of girls' education. For instance, as Table 103 shows, "family does not allow schooling" is the most important reason for girls not attending school, but it is the sixth reason for boys.

As expected, children from urban areas have better educational outcomes than children from rural areas. However, the rural-urban gap in school attendance rate and attainment is lower for working children than for nonworking children (Tables 97 and 98). More urban children work when compared with children from rural areas and, as expected, more urban children than rural children attend school. This might be due to possible isolation from school and employment opportunities (i.e., children from isolated families would have no access to either school or employment opportunities).[168]

6.8.2 Child Work and Exposure to Hazards

This study did not collect health-related data at the national level. It did, however, collect data in the four-province and four-sector surveys. About 9 in 10 children (86 percent) working in the last week likely face health problems, hazards, or injuries connected to their work, according to adult informants in the 4 provinces. This proportion was slightly higher in Kabul (78.1 percent) than in the other provinces. The main hazard faced by working children at the provincial level is dust, fumes, or gas, with a higher incidence in Kabul (61.9 percent) and Nangarhar (65.7 percent). Extreme temperatures or humidity (46.1 percent) and noisy environments (40.9 percent) are the next most important health hazards. Extreme temperatures are reported to a lesser extent in Kabul (37.3 percent) than in the other 3 provinces, although noisy environments are more common in Kabul (46.6 percent) and less so in Nangarhar (31 percent) than in the remaining provinces. Insufficient lighting appears to be a hazard almost exclusively in Kabul province, where 10.3 percent mentioned it. This is consistent with the higher proportion of manufacturing activities, which in urban locations tend to occur indoors. One surprising finding was that no adult informant reported that working children carry heavy loads. This may be the result of a perceptual bias. In fact, the follow-up interviews with working children in the 4 provinces revealed that 22 percent reported that they carry heavy loads in their daily activities.[169]

[168] However, this holds to the extent that isolation is defined only in terms of rural and urban areas because the result is similar for all rural areas in all regions of Afghanistan. In terms of employment opportunities, all rural areas in all regions are found to be similar. Although some rural areas are close to the urban centers and may have more amenities than other rural areas in other regions, the survey indicates no evidence of the impact of the degree of isolation.

[169] Proportions per province were 23 percent in Kabul, 25 percent in Nangarhar, 19 percent in Balkh, and 21 percent in Kandahar.

Table 111: Exposure to Hazards for Working Children by Province

Does the child work under the following conditions?	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Dust, fumes, gas (oxygen, ammonia)	61.9%	65.7%	49.0%	51.4%	58.6%
Extreme temperatures or humidity	37.3%	53.4%	51.9%	51.5%	46.1%
Noisy environment	46.6%	31.0%	40.8%	40.6%	40.9%
Chemicals	12.3%	19.2%	8.5%	3.8%	11.7%
Dangerous tools	7.7%	13.3%	8.6%	13.8%	10.3%
Insufficient lighting	10.3%	2.1%	2.2%	1.2%	5.4%
Work underground	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	1.2%	0.4%
Work at heights	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Carrying heavy loads	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Base: n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week and provided a valid response. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

There are different risks associated with each occupation. Most of the occupations employing at least 2 percent of working children involve exposure to dust, fumes, or gas (see Table 112). A majority of occupations also involve noisy environments (except for farmers, shepherds, and carpet weavers) and extreme temperatures or humidity (with lower levels for painters and mechanic apprentices). Mechanic apprentices face the highest levels of exposure to chemicals, noise, and insufficient lighting of all occupations.

Table 112: Exposure to Hazards for Working Children by Occupation[170]

Occupation	Dust, fumes, gas (oxygen, ammonia)	Noisy environ-ment	Extreme temper-atures or humidity	Insufficient lighting	Chemicals	Sample size
Farmer	69.0%	10.9%	73.8%	2.7%	23.0%	182
Shopkeeper	79.7%	59.8%	54.2%	2.6%	8.3%	108
Tailor student	38.1%	73.1%	43.7%	8.4%	2.5%	64
Mechanic apprentice	78.2%	75.4%	20.4%	14.1%	43.0%	52
Seller	90.8%	68.3%	56.7%	1.1%	5.4%	52
Shepherd	52.6%	10.1%	63.5%	0.0%	5.1%	45
Carpet weaver	88.0%	2.5%	51.1%	5.1%	0.0%	22
Carpenter apprentice	72.6%	69.1%	76.5%	0.0%	0.0%	25
Baker apprentice	64.8%	41.4%	62.3%	0.0%	15.3%	18
Fixer of bicycles	87.8%	69.0%	41.8%	0.0%	0.0%	15
Painter apprentice	57.3%	29.2%	18.7%	84.3%	10.0%	12

Base: n=687 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the 11 listed occupations in the last week and provided a valid response. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Out of the 200 working children interviewed in the 4 sectors, 33 percent said that their work is physically difficult (Table 113). In terms of physical difficulty of work, there seem to be differences across sectors. The most difficult is the construction sector: 65 percent of children in the construction sector said that their work is physically difficult. The second most difficult is agriculture, with 33 percent of children reporting that their work is physically difficult. Only 21 percent of children engaged in activities related to the manufacturing sector and 16 percent in the selling sector said that their work is physically difficult.

[170] According to adult informants, "work at heights," "work underground," and "carrying heavy loads" were excluded due to low incidence.

Table 113: Physical Difficulty of Work by Industry Type

Is this work physically difficult for you?	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Yes	33.3%	21.2%	65.2%	15.7%	33.0%
No	66.7%	78.8%	34.8%	84.3%	67.0%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

The 200 children were asked to identify the risks associated with their work. Twenty-four percent of the respondents indicated that that there are some risks associated with the work they do, or that the work they do can be dangerous (Table 114). There were differences by sector, with the construction sector being perceived as dangerous by 39 percent of working children, followed by 22 percent in the selling sector, 19 percent in the manufacturing sector, and 15 percent in the agricultural sector.

Table 114: Risks for Working Children by Industry Type

Do you think that there are some particular risks associated with the work you do, or that the work you do can be dangerous?	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Yes	15.7%	19.2%	39.1%	21.6%	23.5%
No	84.3%	80.8%	60.9%	78.4%	76.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

Children in the four sectors perceived that accidents are the main risk associated with their work. Although accidents were named by 17 percent of children, regardless of sector, they were mentioned by a much higher proportion of children in the construction sector (30 percent). Children in the agriculture sector mentioned them less often (6 percent) than the four-sector average. Illnesses, assaults, and abuse from adults or authorities were mentioned less frequently. Children in construction and agriculture were the only ones that mentioned risk of abuse from other adults, while children in the selling sector were the only ones mentioning abuse by authorities.

Table 115: Risk Types for Working Children by Industry Type

Risk Types	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Risks of accidents	5.9%	15.4%	30.4%	15.7%	16.5%
Illnesses	5.9%	3.8%	6.5%	5.9%	5.5%
Being assaulted	5.9%	1.9%	2.2%	2.0%	3.0%
Abuse from other adults	3.9%	0.0%	6.5%	0.0%	2.5%
Abuse by authorities	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.9%	1.5%

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

When asked about specific hazards, dust, fumes, gas, or flames were mentioned most often, particularly by children in construction (65 percent), selling (55 percent), and agriculture (51 percent). Extreme temperatures were mentioned by two in three children in the agriculture

sector, and almost half of all children working in the construction sector. Noise was mentioned, particularly in the manufacturing (67 percent) and selling (57 percent) sectors. Carrying heavy loads was a common issue in the construction sector (61 percent) and, to a lesser extent, in the agriculture sector (24 percent).

Table 116: Exposure to Hazards for Working Children by Industry Type

Risk Types	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Dust, fumes, gas, flames	51.0%	28.8%	65.2%	54.9%	49.5%
Extreme temperatures or humidity	64.7%	28.8%	45.7%	35.3%	43.5%
Noise	5.9%	67.3%	23.9%	56.9%	39.0%
Carrying heavy loads	23.5%	15.4%	60.9%	15.7%	28.0%
Work at heights	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	11.5%
Insufficient ventilation	0.0%	21.2%	10.9%	2.0%	8.5%
Dangerous tools (knives, etc.)	3.9%	15.4%	2.2%	3.9%	6.5%
Chemicals (pesticides, glues, etc.)	5.9%	3.8%	2.2%	0.0%	3.0%
Workplace too dark	0.0%	7.7%	2.2%	0.0%	2.5%
Work underground	0.0%	1.9%	6.5%	0.0%	2.0%
Explosives	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	1.0%
Other	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

6.8.3 Child Work and Health

The hazards faced at work may have an impact on health outcomes for working children. Overall, there is a pattern of higher incidence of injuries and illnesses among children who worked in the last week. This difference is most notable for back and muscle pain and fatigue, where the incidence among working children more than triples the incidence among nonworking children. The one exception is diarrhea, which affects a lower proportion of working children.

Table 117: Illnesses or Injuries by Work Status in Four Selected Provinces

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working	Total
Diarrhea	15.8%	9.1%	14.1%
Lung problems	6.7%	9.8%	7.5%
Fatigue	4.3%	14.2%	6.8%
Allergies	4.6%	7.6%	5.4%
Skin problems	4.4%	6.5%	4.9%
Back/muscle pain	2.5%	8.3%	4.0%
Wounds/deep cuts	2.2%	4.3%	2.7%
Broken bones	1.6%	2.6%	1.8%
Other	15.3%	21.2%	16.8%
None	63.0%	49.9%	59.7%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The situation by province is similar. In general, working children from Kabul have the highest rates of most illnesses or injuries. Incidence of fatigue is highest among working children in Kabul and Kandahar (20 and 14 percent respectively), with working children in Kabul also reporting the highest incidence of back and muscle pain.

Table 118: Illnesses or Injuries by Work Status and Province

Kabul

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Diarrhea	17.2%	10.3%
Lung problems	8.3%	17.3%
Fatigue	6.5%	20.4%
Allergies	5.4%	10.9%
Skin problems	5.3%	8.8%
Back/muscle pain	4.1%	12.6%
Wounds/deep cuts	2.7%	5.3%
Broken bones	2.1%	3.8%
Other	14.6%	27.0%
None	56.8%	33.4%

Nangarhar

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Diarrhea	15.1%	5.8%
Lung problems	7.1%	3.5%
Fatigue	2.3%	8.0%
Allergies	4.1%	8.2%
Skin problems	5.2%	5.5%
Back/muscle pain	1.4%	5.9%
Wounds/deep cuts	3.2%	1.9%
Broken bones	1.4%	1.5%
Other	23.4%	15.9%
None	61.3%	60.3%

Balkh

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Diarrhea	7.9%	10.3%
Lung problems	2.5%	3.6%
Fatigue	1.5%	8.3%
Allergies	1.1%	3.5%
Skin problems	1.5%	3.2%
Back/muscle pain	0.6%	7.0%
Wounds/deep cuts	1.1%	4.5%
Broken bones	0.9%	1.8%
Other	4.5%	12.3%
None	84.3%	66.8%

Kandahar

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Diarrhea	20.8%	9.6%
Lung problems	6.0%	6.6%
Fatigue	2.5%	13.8%
Allergies	6.2%	3.3%
Skin problems	3.6%	5.8%
Back/muscle pain	0.5%	2.9%
Wounds/deep cuts	1.0%	5.0%
Broken bones	1.0%	2.1%
Other	19.7%	23.3%
None	61.4%	57.9%

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Note: Multiple responses; does not add up to 100 percent. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Among the children who mentioned having an illness or injury in the last 12 months, it does not appear that working increases the frequency of the injuries or illnesses. About 2 in 3 children who were injured or ill in the last 12 months report having been injured or ill only once, whether working (67 percent) or not (60% percent). Only a minority, similar for working (8 percent) and nonworking children (7 percent) reported being sick more than 5 times in the last 12 months.

In order to establish a clearer picture of the causes of the most recent health problem, a follow-up question was asked to determine the perceived main cause. At the aggregate level, adults in the household reported that 17 percent of the working children got sick or injured due to work. On the other hand, it appears that nonworking children were injured or sick due to poor living conditions slightly more often than working children (8.9 versus 13.4 percent). These figures have to be taken cautiously, given the large proportion who responded that they did not know the cause of the child's health problem. This could be due to a lack of any observable cause, or to a lack of familiarity with the child's circumstances.

Table 119: Main Cause for Most Recent Illness or Injury by Work Status

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working	Total
Due to work	0.2%	17.1%	5.5%
Due to poor living conditions	19.1%	13.3%	17.3%
Playing/sports	3.5%	3.9%	3.6%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	0.4%	1.5%	0.8%
None of the above	12.4%	18.4%	14.3%
Refused	2.6%	1.1%	2.1%
Don't know	61.8%	44.6%	56.5%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Base: n=1,348 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who got injured or sick in the last 12 months. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Children working in the last week in Balkh appear to be getting injured due to work to a greater extent than working children in the other provinces. All children (regardless of work status) in mostly rural Kandahar and Nangarhar got injured or sick due to poor living conditions to a much greater extent than children in Balkh and Kabul.

Table 120: Main Cause for Most Recent Illness or Injury by Work Status and Province

Kabul

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Due to work	0.2%	14.9%
Due to poor living conditions	8.1%	9.8%
Playing/sports	1.8%	3.9%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	0.0%	1.2%
None of the above	12.6%	17.3%
Refused	3.5%	1.6%
Don't know	73.9%	51.4%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Nangarhar

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Due to work	0.0%	17.9%
Due to poor living conditions	29.2%	20.2%
Playing/sports	2.1%	3.6%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	1.5%	0.0%
None of the above	9.7%	17.9%

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Refused	3.1%	1.2%
Don't know	54.4%	39.3%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Balkh

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Due to work	1.4%	26.9%
Due to poor living conditions	9.9%	1.9%
Playing/sports	9.9%	5.8%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	0.0%	1.9%
None of the above	16.9%	17.3%
Refused	0.0%	0.0%
Don't know	62.0%	46.2%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Kandahar

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	Not Working	Working
Due to work	0.0%	17.6%
Due to poor living conditions	49.1%	26.5%
Playing/sports	7.8%	2.9%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	0.6%	4.4%
None of the above	12.6%	25.0%
Refused	0.0%	0.0%
Don't know	29.9%	23.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=1,348 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who got injured or sick in the last 12 months. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Younger working children got injured or sick due to poor living conditions and due to play or sports to a greater extent than children aged 13 and older. Older children (aged 15 to 17), who also tend to work in the most physically demanding occupations, got injured due to work more often than younger children.

Table 121: Main Cause for Most Recent Illness or Injury by Age Group of Working Child

Illness or Injury in the Last 12 Months	5-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Due to work	17.5%	13.3%	18.3%	17.0%
Due to poor living conditions	15.8%	13.3%	12.4%	13.5%
Playing/sports	6.7%	4.1%	2.5%	3.9%
Traveling long distance under adverse conditions	1.7%	3.1%	0.4%	1.3%
None of the above	17.5%	16.3%	19.9%	18.5%
Refused	3.3%	1.0%	0.4%	1.3%
Don't know	37.5%	49.0%	46.1%	44.4%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Base: n=423 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who got injured or sick in the last 12 months and worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

Only 1 child reported being injured permanently or as a consequence of his/her last injury or illness, representing less than 0.03 percent of all children. For 63 percent of working children who got injured or sick in the last 12 months, their last health problem prevented them from working temporarily. There is evidence that being injured or ill has a greater impact on the school attendance of working children: 61 percent of the working children who are currently attending school and who had a health problem in the last 12 months reported stopping going to

school as a consequence, compared with 52 percent of nonworking children in the same situation.

There were no other significant differences in frequency or seriousness of injuries by gender or age. In fact, rates of injuries or illnesses were similar among working children, while they were slightly higher for younger, nonworking children, suggesting that work has a fixed, pernicious effect on health, irrespective of age.

Table 122: Percentage Who Had Any Injury or Illness in the Last 12 Months by Age and Work Status

Age	Not Working	Working
5 thru 12	40.0%	50.4%
13 thru 14	35.5%	51.9%
15 thru 17	35.2%	51.4%
Total	**38.5%**	**51.2%**

Base: n=3,532 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, and Kabul. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

The occupation the child was performing when he/she got injured or sick offers some evidence of the overall impact of different occupations on working children's health. Although most injuries occurred while children were carrying out farming-related activities (21.7 percent), this proportion is almost the same as the total proportion of working children in the sector, suggesting that farming occupations are not overrepresented among those who got injured. Baker and tinsmith apprenticeships and cart pushing, on the other hand, are occupations that account for a much higher proportion of injuries than the total proportion of children involved in them, suggesting that they take a higher toll on the child's health than the rest. They nonetheless only occupy a small minority of children. Among occupations involving at least 5 percent of all working children, shepherding is the only one that appears to account for a significantly greater proportion of work-related injuries than its share of working children. Other major occupations, such as shopkeeper, tailor student, and mechanic apprentice, have a smaller share of injuries than their share of working children, suggesting that they are less hazardous than the rest.

Table 123: Work Activity Child Was Performing When S/he Got Injured or Sick

Activity	% of Working Children in Each Activity	% of All Activity-Related Injuries
Farmer	20.1%	21.4%
Cart pusher	1.8%	8.3%
Baker apprentice	2.2%	8.0%
Shepherd	5.0%	7.9%
Seller	6.9%	7.4%
Carpenter apprentice	2.6%	5.1%
Mechanic apprentice	7.4%	4.5%
Tailor student	7.8%	3.7%
Fixer of bicycles	2.2%	3.5%
Embroiderer	1.7%	2.8%
Painter apprentice	2.1%	2.5%
Tinsmith apprentice	0.9%	1.7%
Shopkeeper	13.5%	1.7%
Carpet weaver	3.6%	1.7%
Butcher assistant	1.2%	0.8%
Driver assistant	1.1%	0.8%
Blacksmith	0.9%	0.8%

Activity	% of Working Children in Each Activity	% of All Activity-Related Injuries
Water boy/water carrier	0.5%	0.8%
Other	18.0%	12.0%
Refused/don't know	0.5%	4.4%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=80 children who reported work-related injuries; n=941 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

In the sector study with 200 children, about 1 in 2 children (55 percent), regardless of sector, reported having a health problem in the last 12 months. The main physical problem children reported as connected to their work was back or muscle pain, particularly in manufacturing (17 percent) and construction (13 percent), followed by wounds or deep cuts, skin problems, and diarrhea (particularly in the selling sector).

Table 124: Work-Related Illnesses or Injuries in the Last 12 Months by Industry

Type	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Back/muscle pain	13.7%	23.1%	19.6%	11.8%	17.0%
Wounds/deep cuts	13.7%	9.6%	10.9%	7.8%	10.5%
Skin problems	7.8%	9.6%	13.0%	11.8%	10.5%
Diarrhea	11.8%	7.7%	8.7%	19.6%	12.0%
Fatigue	5.9%	7.7%	4.3%	9.8%	7.0%
Allergies	9.8%	9.6%	13.0%	7.8%	10.0%
Lung problems	0.0%	5.8%	2.2%	2.0%	2.5%
Broken bones	0.0%	1.9%	2.2%	3.9%	2.0%
Other	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%

Base: n=200 children (5 to 17 years old) who worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing, or sales in the last week. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

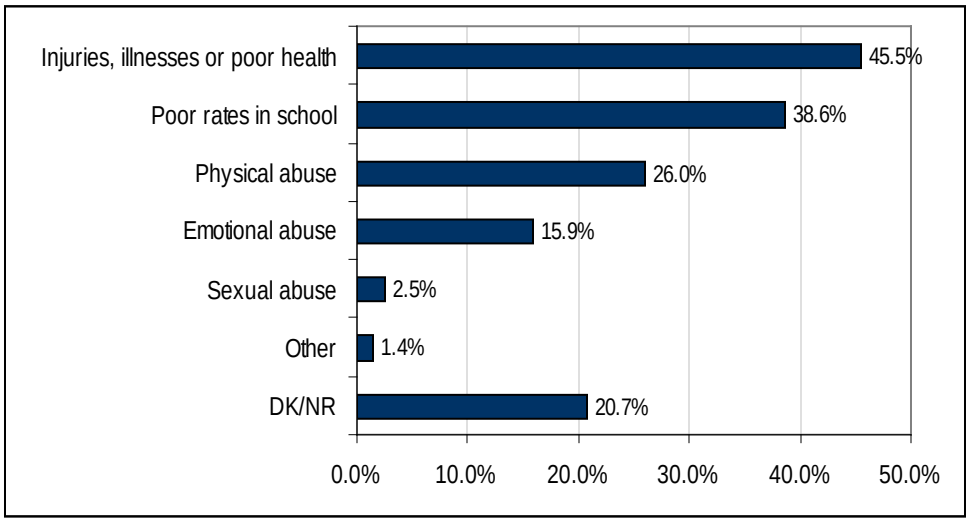
Overall, about 2 in 3 children (61 percent) in the 4 sectors who got injured recently reported that their most recent injury was due to work, with 20 percent reporting it was due to poor living conditions. The proportion who blamed poor living conditions was higher in the manufacturing and selling sectors (29 and 26 percent respectively) than in agriculture or construction (7 and 13 percent respectively). Back or muscle pain and wounds or deep cuts were the problems that about 2 in 5 children who got injured recently identified as most serious (21 percent for both), followed by diarrhea (18 percent) and skin problems (15 percent). Although disaggregating by sector at this level leaves a very small number of cases per category, it appears that manufacturing, construction, and selling account for most cases of serious back or muscle pain (8, 6, and 4 percent of our sample of children within each sector) and agriculture, manufacturing, and selling for most cases of wounds or deep cuts (6, 6, and 4 percent of all children in each sector). Agriculture also accounted for most cases of serious skin problems and allergies in our sample (60 percent of all cases recorded, each problem affecting 6 percent of children in the agriculture sector). All of the serious problems reported were severe enough so that children had to stop working temporarily, but they did not disable or prevent them from working permanently. This question about the consequences of the latest injury or illness may have suffered from severe selection bias in the four-sector interviews: It is unlikely that children permanently disabled or unable to work as a result of work-related injuries would have been identified as working children by the screening questionnaire.

6.9 ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS TOWARD CHILD WORK

6.9.1 Most Knowledgeable Member of the Household: Attitude toward Child Work

Adults and working children were asked to provide their opinion on child work. Chart 17 presents adult responses about potential negative effects of work on children, based on the survey results of 4 selected provinces in Afghanistan. The chart summarizes the responses of the most knowledgeable person for each working child in the household. According to the results, some respondents believe that participation in child work would have negative effects on the child's health and schooling outcomes. Respondents also recognize that working children could be subjected to physical, emotional, and sexual abuses. The most important of all perceived negative effects of child work are those effects on the child's health conditions, such as injuries, illnesses, and poor health (46 percent). The second most noted negative effect of child work is on schooling (39 percent). Other negative effects of child work are physical abuse (26 percent), emotional abuse (16 percent), and sexual abuse (3 percent).

Chart 17: Adults' Perception of Negative Effects of Work on Children



Base: n=893 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.9.2 Working Children's Attitude toward Child Work

Working children's response about being a working child shows a mixed picture. Out of 200 children working in the 4 sectors (agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and selling), 32 percent said that they are proud, and 27 percent said that they are happy being a working child. On the other hand, 21 percent said that they are bored, 18 percent said that they are tired, and 11 percent said that they have sad feelings (Table 125).

Table 125: Children's Feelings on Being a Working Child by Industry Type

Feelings	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Selling	Total
Proud	21.6%	40.4%	21.7%	41.2%	31.5%
Sad	15.7%	5.8%	10.9%	11.8%	11.0%
Bored	27.5%	17.3%	26.1%	13.7%	21.0%
Happy	15.7%	38.5%	26.1%	25.5%	26.5%
Tired	27.5%	9.6%	21.7%	11.8%	17.5%
Indifferent	19.6%	15.4%	13.0%	13.7%	15.5%
Other	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Sample	**51**	**52**	**46**	**51**	**200**

Base: n=200 working children in four-sector survey. Source: Four-Province, Four-Sector Child Interviews.

In Table 125 above, a simple observation of the percentages calculated from total responses in each sector indicates the presence of sectoral differences. The result suggests that the good and bad feelings are related to the extent of hardship associated with the task. For instance, those children in manufacturing and selling are more likely to say they are proud of their work (40.4 and 41.2 percent respectively), as compared with children involved with agriculture and construction (21.6 and 21.7 percent respectively).

Children working in the four sectors were also asked if their work would help them attain their long-term goals. Approximately half of the respondents (49 percent) think that their current work will help them attain their goals when they grow up. The majority of these respondents are working in the manufacturing and selling sectors.[171] However, the remaining half (approximately 51 percent) of working children in the 4 sectors do not think that their current work will help them attain their long-term goals. Most of these respondents are working in the agriculture and construction sectors.[172]

Working children were also asked if they enjoyed their current work. The results obtained from the four-province data are summarized in Table 126. Overall, 73 percent enjoy their work and 27.1 percent do not enjoy their work. Looking at the responses by province reveals the presence of some differences between the provinces. Approximately 81 percent of working children in Balkh province and about 75 percent of working children in Kandahar province enjoy their work. The proportion of working children who enjoy their work in Kabul and Nangarhar provinces is about 70 percent.

Table 126: Children's View of Their Current Work by Province

Province	Enjoyed Working	Did Not Enjoy Working	Total
Kabul	69.5%	30.5%	100%
Nangarhar	70.0%	30.0%	100%
Balkh	80.7%	19.3%	100%
Kandahar	75.4%	24.6%	100%
Total	**72.9%**	**27.1%**	**100%**

Base: n=641 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

[171] Out of the total 97 children, 35 are in manufacturing and 27 are in selling sectors. The remaining are in agriculture (19) and construction (16).

[172] Out of 103 children, 32 are working in the agriculture sector, 30 are working in the construction sector, 24 are working in the selling sector, and 17 are working in the manufacturing sector.

Working children were also asked if they would prefer to go to school and not work. Responses from the four-province survey are summarized in Table 127. The average of the 4 provinces shows that approximately 56 percent prefer to go to school and not work. On the other hand, approximately 44.4 percent responded negatively.

Table 127: Children's Perception of Work and School Choice

Province	Preferred Only Going to School and Not Working	Did Not Prefer Only Going to School and Not Working	Total
Kabul	41.3%	58.7%	100.0%
Nangarhar	86.5%	13.5%	100.0%
Balkh	35.4%	64.6%	100.0%
Kandahar	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	**55.6%**	**44.4%**	**100.0%**

Base: n=460 children (5 to 17 years old) in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces who worked in the last week and are currently attending school. Source: Four-Province Household Survey.

6.9.3 Support Required to Address the Problem of Child Labor

Respondents were asked their opinion on the support required to address the problem of child labor. Table 128 summarizes the responses. The recommendations can be broadly classified into three categories: improving education or school environment, improving the economic situation of families and children, and creating a safe environment.

Respondents' recommendations in the education and school category include improving children's educational level; provision of support, educational materials, and professional training to children; and building modern schools and kindergartens. Recommendations pertaining to the economic situation of the family and children include provision of financial support and creating job opportunities.

Finally, recommendations related to a safe environment include general and specific recommendations. Examples of these recommendations suggested by the respondents are creating a safe environment and protecting children from violence and mistreatment.

Table 128: Support Required to Address the Problem of Child Labor

First Response	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Improving children's educational level	19.0%	12.4%	38.7%	22.4%	23.9%
Developing family's economy	30.5%	24.8%	11.8%	20.0%	21.5%
Professional training courses	27.6%	6.7%	10.9%	12.9%	14.5%
Job opportunities for parents	13.3%	8.6%	15.1%	8.2%	11.6%
Building modern schools	5.7%	8.6%	7.6%	25.9%	11.1%
Job opportunities for children	24.8%	3.8%	5.9%	7.1%	10.4%
Creating safe environment for children	16.2%	11.4%	3.5%	4.7%	8.9%
The government should help the poor	0.0%	18.1%	4.2%	5.9%	7.0%
Opening factories	7.6%	1.9%	5.0%	8.2%	5.6%
Helping farmers	1.0%	1.9%	8.4%	8.2%	4.8%
Paying high salaries for government employees	9.5%	3.8%	2.5%	3.5%	4.8%
Providing stationery for students	12.4%	1.9%	0.0%	3.5%	4.3%

First Response	Kabul	Nangarhar	Balkh	Kandahar	Total
Foreign assistance for children from poor families	6.7%	1.0%	5.0%	0.0%	3.4%
Financial assistance for children	5.7%	1.0%	1.7%	4.7%	3.1%
Healthcare assistance for children	2.9%	0.0%	3.4%	5.9%	2.9%
Creating entertainment parks	3.8%	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	1.7%
Keeping children safe from hazards during work	5.7%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	1.7%
Teachers having better attitude toward students	1.0%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	1.4%
Freedom of speech	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Helping children study only/ Not letting them work during study	1.9%	1.0%	0.0%	1.2%	1.0%
Modern kindergartens	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.2%	0.7%
Transportation to take children to school	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.2%	0.7%
Helping children to be safe from mistreatment	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.5%
Satisfactory salary for children for the work they perform	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
Stop violence against children	0.0%	1.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.5%
Helping children in sports	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**
Sample size	**105**	**105**	**119**	**85**	**414**

Base: n=409 adult respondents (the most knowledgeable person in the household) out of the total 1,615 households in Kabul, Nangarhar, Balkh, and Kandahar provinces. Source: Four-Province Household Survey

7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this research was to collect, describe, and analyze data on the characteristics, nature, and incidence, as well as welfare implications, of child work in Afghanistan, placing additional emphasis on the four provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, Nangarhar, and Balkh, and the four sectors of agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and selling. In terms of economic activity, agriculture, selling, artisanship, and manufacturing are the four main economic sectors employing children in Afghanistan as a whole. Agriculture has the largest share of child workers, followed closely by street or bazaar selling, artisanship, and manufacturing. Similar findings were found within the four provinces studied, as children in Kabul were primarily involved in selling and other service industries, while children in Nangarhar and Kandahar worked mainly in agriculture. Results from Balkh were more varied, with children evenly distributed across agriculture, manufacturing, and selling.

The study found that 24.2 percent of children aged 5 to 17 worked in the week preceding the survey. The Western and Southwestern regions have the highest prevalence rates of child labor (33.1 percent), though they only account for about 19.7 percent of the population of Afghanistan and 26.9 percent of the working children. Central/Kabul, Eastern, and South Central regions have the lowest child work rates (18.7 percent combined), but account for a third of working children.

The national data also found that girls are less than half as likely to work as boys (12.4 percent as compared to 33.7 percent)—a difference that persists across all age groups. While national data show similar rates of working and not going to school for boys and girls, the four-province data show that boys are much more likely to be working and not attending school than girls. Work rates across both genders increase substantially between each subsequent older age group. Work rates are particularly high for those 13 years or older (47 percent). In this group, work rates are particularly high for boys (62 percent). Age is similarly related to working and not attending school. While those who are 15 through 17 years of age make up 45 percent of working children, they represent 53.8 percent of those who are working and not attending school.

One of the most important interesting findings from the study is the relationship between child work and schooling. In Afghanistan, the current school attendance rate for children between 5 and 17 years old is 58.7 percent. Although those who are not going to school tend to work more hours than those who are going to school, participation in child work does not seem to reduce overall schooling outcomes of children measured by current school attendance, ever school attendance, or educational attainment.

Regarding entrance into child work, most working children in the four provinces reported that their father was the person who influenced them most in getting their current job, although a sizeable portion said that, in fact, no one influenced them. The main reason adults in the household of the working child allow children to work is associated with the family's economic situation, usually to supply supplemental income.

Finally, respondents were asked their opinion on the support required to address the problem of child labor. The recommendations can be broadly classified into three categories: improving education or the school environment, improving the economic situation of the family and children, and creating a safe environment.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

While the study documents a wide range of facts on various aspects of child labor in Afghanistan, the following recommendations are highlighted for prompt policy actions.

1. The study finds some evidence on the relationship between socioeconomic status and participation in child work. Provinces that are least wealthy have the highest work rates for children. Therefore, policies and programs aimed at curbing child work may aim at addressing economic circumstances of the household.
2. In Afghanistan, economic reasons, security, and lack of access to school are among the major constraints contributing to the dismal record of enrollment and academic attainment. Therefore, due policy and program attention may be provided to expand school infrastructure and to enhance security in the country in general, and in rural areas in particular.
3. The study identifies that the gender gap in school attendance and attainment is substantially in favor of boys. This predicament holds for both working and nonworking children. The survey identifies that one of the most important constraints that hinders girls from going to school is family restriction. Therefore, aggressive advocacy work that reaches out to families and households is required to promote girls' education.
4. The results of this study defy the conventional wisdom on the relationship between child work and school outcomes. Controlling for selected factors that influence schooling, we fail to obtain a negative relationship between work and the child's schooling outcomes. This finding has an important implication for education and human development policies and programs. However, before any conclusive remarks are drawn, we suggest a more detailed and comprehensive investigation of the issue. In the case of Afghanistan, this would include a follow-up survey analysis. With the changing security situation and substantial national, as well as international, development efforts already in place, a follow-up survey would help to explore the effect of recent developments, including the role of education and human development interventions in Afghanistan.

ANNEX I: SECTOR DEFINITIONS

Agriculture includes activities related to the cultivation of soil, the production of crops, and the raising of livestock. Typical agricultural occupations in Afghanistan include plowing, irrigating, harvesting, shepherding, and sheep shearing.

Construction includes activities related to the building and maintenance of all types of structures. In Afghanistan, most construction is related to residential buildings, public buildings, and public works. Typical construction occupations in Afghanistan include masonry, painting, decorating, and engineering, as well as transporting and preparing construction materials.

Manufacturing entails a variety of activities in Afghanistan, most of them artisanal or with a low degree of mechanization. Some of the most common include processing agricultural goods (e.g., dairy products such as cheese, grains, popcorn, etc.), small household items (e.g., house slippers, baskets, etc.), small-scale metal works (e.g., water tanks, heaters, pots, pans, etc.), woodwork (furniture), clothing, embroideries, and carpets.

Other social and community-related activities can include things like polishing furniture, boats, metals, etc.; working in restaurants; washing cars; fixing bicycles; collecting money in buses; assisting older people (and widowed women not allowed to leave the home) with shopping; and other tasks. Community, social, and personal services may also imply connections to public service through mosques, informal education activities, or volunteer activities for public good, like road or water well repairs or preparation.

Selling in Afghanistan includes the sale of any type of product, whether it is on a stationary or moving location. The sale of services is not developed enough to be considered part of the "selling" sector, and is normally included in the service sector. Typical products sold include cigarettes, drinks, food and snacks, batteries, mobile phones, and top-up cards for mobile phones.